Editorial

The transmission of Western art music to areas of civilization outside Europe and its diffusion and assimilation there is perhaps one of the most fascinating—and, as yet, relatively little studied—topics in music history of the early modern period. Since cultural influence follows in the wake of empire-building and missionary zeal, it is not surprising that it subsequently becomes embroiled in issues of political power and identity. Looking back at history, it can be all too easy to condemn out of hand what appears to be the imposition of one culture on another, or the development of the culture of the conquerors (whether territorial or spiritual or, indeed, both) at the expense of that of the conquered. The 'celebrations' of the Columbus anniversary in 1992 raised many debates, doubts and feelings of guilt in this respect.

Curiously, when I tried to find contributions on music in the New World for what was to become the first of our 'Iberian discoveries' issues in 1992, the time was somehow not quite right, and the idea was shelved. There seemed to be an underlying problem of cultural transmission here too. While musicology has long been established in some parts of South and Latin America (see Alejandro Vera Aguilera's discussion of the situation in Chile below), the studies of eminent music historians from those countries have remained relatively inaccessible. The contribution of Robert Stevenson over the last half century has, of course, been extraordinary, and he has published many of his findings, first in a series of monographs, and more recently in the pages of his excellent *Inter-American music review*, to which all self-respecting music libraries should subscribe.

Interest in the field has been growing quite rapidly, naturally enough, in North America, although, with the exception of some early music historians, such as Craig Russell and William Summers among others, the focus has tended to be ethnomusicological or on largely 20th-century repertories. The lack of a basic reference tool has been partially filled by the publication of the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, whose indefatigable editor, Emilio Casares, strove to cover music of the Spanish-speaking Americas as comprehensively as possible. Collaboration with a number of established local musicologists, such as Petr Nawrot, Leonardo Waisman and Bernardo Illari, seems to have served as a spur and their research is happily beginning to reach an international forum, in part thanks to the increased ease of communication via e-mail and the internet. This, in turn, has inspired an interest among a still younger generation of scholars, some of whose findings are presented here.

Geoffrey Baker's research into music and music-making in colonial Cuzco has proved ground-breaking in a number of ways, but especially, through drawing on the evidence of thousands of documents of the period, in exploring the dynamic resulting from the meeting of two different musical cultures—the whole process of assimilation, adaptation and cross-fertilization. As he argues in his study on music in Corpus Christi processions as depicted in an important sequence of 17th-century paintings from Cuzco, the situation as regards music and identity in the colonial context was far more complex and subtly fluid than either old-fashioned imperialist views or new-fangled post-modern (and often politically correct) theories would have us believe. His article also highlights the importance of looking beyond obvious centres of music-making—for example, the cathedral—to other lesser institutions and bodies such as confraternities. Similarly, Alejandro Vera Aguilera's account of the musical life of a single monastery in Santiago de Chile emphasizes its diversity and richness in a city so far removed, geographically at least, from western Europe.

Equally far flung a colonial outpost was Manila in the Philippines. Yet here, too, aspects of Western musical culture were absorbed into the fabric of society, and, intriguingly, still find an outlet in present-day cultural manifestations, as David Irving shows in his essay on the *loa* in Manila. Missionaries to China during the European Baroque period, aware of the Asian tradition and expectation of bearing gifts, transported keyboards and other instruments, and these proved a source of fascination to the Chinese. Here in non-colonial realms, however, it seems to have been more a question of curiosity in the otherness of the other rather than any process of assimilation: 'Your music was not made for our ears, nor our ears for your music' was the response of some Chinese musicians to the music of the French Baroque. Yet their emperors were so intrigued by the mechanism and tuning of the keyboards taken to China by the gift-bearing missionaries that they created a veritable collection of them, as well as the post of court tuner.

I hope to have further articles from this exciting 'new world' of musicological research next year, especially now that the music itself is finding its way on to CD so regularly through the Chemins du Baroque series (on the K.617 label) and artists such as Gabriel Garrido and his Ensemble Elyma, The Harp Consort, Ex Cathedra, Capilla Peñaflorida and many others.

Tess Knighton

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Geoffrey Baker

Music at Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco

Fiestas are celebrated with the utmost solemnity and magnificence, with the procession of Corpus in Cuzco one of the most colourful and famous in all Christendom for its silver carriage, altars in the streets, arches and its famous, lively dances, in which the dancers are dressed in beaten silver, as are the others, while the statues of the patron saints of the parishes, which are brought out in the procession, are carried on sumptuous platforms of splendid, devout craftsmanship.[1]

So wrote the Spanish geographer Cosme Bueno in 1768 upon observing the festival of Corpus Christi, the principal annual civic ceremony in colonial Cuzco. Another more detailed description of these festivities around this time is found in a chapter entitled 'The Festivals of Cuzco' in Don Alonso Carrió de la Vandera's 1773 travelogue, *El Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes*:[2]

In all the Catholic world the great festival of God begins in the month of June and concludes after eight days. In the poorest town in all of Spain and the Indies these days are celebrated with jocular solemnity. This solemnity is observed in the churches, during the celebration of the Divine Offices as well as in the processions which are accompanied by the ecclesiastical capitularies in lavish adornments following the sacred communities, with the distinctive marks of their ranks and insignia of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition. Then follows the secular council and all the nobility in their best attire. These three double rows carry their lighted candles of the finest wax, and they observe a fitting solemnity. The sacred monstrance is borne by the bishop, or in case he is incapable, by the dean, and the poles of the pallium or canopy are handled by the most worthy ecclesiastics, or in some places by the seculars. A short distance behind, in the centre of these three rows are several priests, incensing the Lord; and the devout ladies throw perfumed flowers or scented water from their balconies, out of respect for the Saint of Saints. All the streets through which it passes are covered with awnings; the balconies, doors and windows are hung with the finest embellishments, and the walls filled with paintings and the most exquisite mirrors; at short intervals are sumptuous altars where the bishop stops and deposits the sacred monstrance so they can kneel down and worship the Lord, while the priests chant their prayers in which the people join, expressing themselves in their own way, although it is always pious and edifying. So the entire course of the procession is a continuous altar, and up to the end of the first three rows reigns a solemnity and a silence in which only holy praise is heard.

The second part of the procession is really comical, but it seems to me that it is in emulation of the most remote antiquity, for which it cannot be considered as a ridiculous—and certainly not a superstitious—obsequiousness; the dances of the Indians who come from all the nearby parishes and provinces are very serious in substance, because these people are so by nature. Their principal adornments are of solid silver, which they rent from several *mestizos* who earn their living in this business (as is also the case with the paintings, mirrors, engravings and sconces). The dragons and giant figures, although they have no connection with the rites of the Catholic church, are approved for common use in the most respectable cities and towns in Spain because they contribute to the gaiety of the town and its respect for the great festival. This festival in Cuzco is repeated by the Indians in all the parishes, and each in turn contributes to the magnificence of the others; and even the Spaniards view with pleasure these festivals, particularly those put on with ecstatic joy by the Indians.

A third late-18th-century observer of Cuzco's Corpus ceremonies, Ignacio de Castro, confirmed many of these details, and concurred that the city's celebrations were unrivalled in the Americas.[3] The historian Carolyn Dean explains that Corpus Christi was of paramount significance in Cuzco, the former Inka capital, because it not only allowed the city's élites to 'perform' their privileged status within this

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highly stratified society, but also re-enacted the triumph of Christianity over native 'idolatry'—the fundamental premise of Spanish colonialism—in the symbolic heart of Andean civilization.[4]

These eye-witness descriptions bring to life the visual aspects of the 18th-century Corpus Christi procession: all three emphasize the ornate ephemeral architecture, the splendid costumes of the Indian dancers and the participation of the Indian parishes from the city and provinces with the statues of their patron saints carried on their shoulders. However, only that of Carrió de la Vandera makes mention of the aural aspect, and even he merely alludes briefly to the importance of ecclesiastical chant and silence in creating a suitable mood for the 'serious', Hispanic part of the procession. Nevertheless, there are a number of other sources that permit a partial reconstruction of the sound-world of Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco.

The earliest account of music at Corpus Christi was written by Garcilaso de la Vega, who stated that during the 1551 festival, the cathedral chapelmaster Juan de Fuentes had adapted an Inka victory song called a *haylli* for performance by eight *mestizo* choirboys in native costume.[5] However, it was the participation of the indigenous parishes of the city and province that was vital to the subsequent flourishing of this festival. Garcilaso records the participation of the Indians in Corpus processions in the mid-16th century: 'each province singing in its own particular language [. . .], to differentiate one ethnic group from another. [. . .] They carried their drums, flutes, conch shells and other rustic musical instruments.'[6] After the first five urban parishes were founded in 1559 the incorporation of indigenous dances and music at Corpus was regulated by the municipal authorities. In 1573 Viceroy Toledo gave instructions that each parish should participate in the principal civic processions of the year, and should present two or three dances as part of the Corpus festival.[7] This official regulation was reaffirmed in the 17th century: in 1620 the city appointed a new *corregidor* and chief justice, Don Nicolás de Mendoza Carvajal, who noted that the standard of the Corpus celebrations had declined, and ordered that all the guilds and Indian parishes, both urban and rural, should participate with their 'danzas e invenciones'.[8] While these regulations do not specifically mention music, a detailed account of the Jesuit-sponsored celebrations for the beatification of San Ignacio de Loyola in 1610 repeatedly refers to both music and dances, in particular to loud instruments (drums, trumpets and shawms), to hybrid forms of native songs with texts adapted *a lo divino*—reminiscent of the *haylli* reported by Garcilaso de la Vega in 1551—and to polyphony with instruments in the Jesuit church.[9] There were undoubtedly many parallels with Corpus, a festival which seems to have provided a blueprint for important one-off celebrations: when the new cathedral was consecrated in 1654, the Holy Sacrament and sacred images were ceremonially transferred from the old building to the new, involving a procession through the two main plazas, 'adorned with altars, triumphal arches and many tapestries, with all kinds of dances, just as is the custom on the day of Corpus Christi'.[10] Thus during the first century of colonial rule, the Corpus celebrations filled the city centre with indigenous music, more or less hybridized, accompanying the colourful dances which so impressed witnesses, and the sounds of loud instruments and the bells of the city's many churches resounded through the streets.

Cuzco's Corpus Christi paintings

Much as these accounts suggest the vitality of Cuzco's Corpus festivities, there are still many gaps in this picture. Little information can be gleaned about the participation of the city's church musicians, whether indigenous professional *cantores* or Hispanic clerical singers, or about the European-derived music that they performed. Furthermore, there are virtually no descriptive accounts from what might be regarded as Cuzco's artistic 'golden age', which lasted approximately from the mid-17th century until 1720, and reached its apogee during the tenure of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1673–99), a renowned patron of the arts who showed particular devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and consequently to the feast of Corpus Christi.[11] Fortunately, however, a series of paintings of the Corpus procession dating from the early part of Mollinedo's era, probably from 1674 to 1680, provides vital clues about the musical aspects of this

festival and about the wider musical life of the city at this time of cultural florescence.[12]

Saint Rose and 'La Linda': confraternity music in Cuzco

One of the most prominent images of musicians appears in the canvas depicting the procession of the confraternities of Saint Rose and 'La Linda', the local name for the image of the Immaculate Conception which had been adopted as the patron of the bishopric in 1651 (illus.1).[13] This painting shows up to six Andean musicians playing shawms and a sackbut, accompanying the litter on which the statue of Saint Rose is mounted. The image underlines the contribution to the urban soundscape of confraternities, corporations that have been entirely passed over by musicological studies of the region. Confraternities were founded in great numbers in Andean towns and villages, and played an important part in the lives of many inhabitants of colonial Peru. My research in Cuzco's archives has shown that confraternities were also important promoters of musical activities and employers of musicians, and therefore any consideration of music in colonial Cuzco, or, indeed, in any other Andean city, would be incomplete without a consideration of these corporations. In fact it could be argued that far from being of peripheral importance, as their exclusion from musicological accounts would suggest, they were primary religious institutions which were central to many individuals' experience of Catholic religion and ecclesiastical music.

Evidence from local archives confirms the accuracy of the depiction of Andean confraternity musicians in this painting: music was required on a regular basis by Hispanic confraternities based in the cathedral and the churches of the religious orders, and these confraternities employed considerable numbers of indigenous musicians at their ceremonies, including during Corpus Christi. The Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of the cathedral employed a similar ensemble—four shawm-players and a *bajonero* (dulcian player)—during the years

1 Anonymous (*c.*1674–80), *Confraternities of Saint Rose and 'La Linda'*, Corpus Christi series (Cuzco, Museo del Arzobispo)

for which records survive (1644 to 1673).[14] This group of Indians was paid an annual salary of 126 *pesos* to provide music at the confraternity's weekly Thursday services, on those occasions when the Holy Sacrament was taken to the sick, and during the octave of Corpus Christi.[15]

However, the involvement of Andean musicians in the Corpus festivities was not limited to accompanying Hispanic confraternities in the procession through the centre of the city: as Carrió de la Vandera notes, the festivities were repeated within each Indian parish, and confraternities played a leading role. The indigenous inhabitants of the Andes took to the confraternity system with enthusiasm, and the records held by the Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco indicate that many indigenous parishes supported a dozen or more confraternities. Even in the early colonial period, the Indians threw themselves into the festive side of the religious celebrations organized by the confraternities, and this exuberance came to the attention of church authorities. The *Constituciones Sinodales* issued by Bishop Montalvo in Cuzco in 1591 included a warning to parish priests to clamp down on excessive drinking and unauthorized meetings by *cofrades*.[16] By the time of the next set of constitutions in 1601 the church was trying to limit not only the festive activities that confraternities promoted but also the number of confraternities themselves, although evidence suggests that it largely failed.[17] Music played a central part in the activities of these confraternities, as is evidenced by surviving confraternity constitutions, numerous confraternity account books, and contracts between musicians and brotherhoods. Within the city many of these confraternities were housed in the churches of the Indian parishes, while others were supported by the religious orders, in particular by the Jesuits and the Franciscans.

The most prominent confraternities during the Corpus festivities were those of the Holy Sacrament, though their musical activities extended well beyond this feast. The constitutions of the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in the parish of San Cristóbal specify that sung Masses should be celebrated on the following occasions:

Corpus Christi ['que en cada año se celebre la fiesta del Corpus con toda solemnidad y decencia de visperas y Missa cantada']

on every Thursday of the year

on the first Sunday of each month (the *misa de renovación*)

four for each *cofrade* who died (the priest was also required to go to the house of the dead *cofrade* and sing a response, a custom which often involved the parish musicians in Cuzco)

one on the *día de los finados* (Day of the Dead, or All Souls) and eight during the following days.[18]

Despite the claims of the scribe in 1762 that the confraternity was in a state of 'extreme poverty', it still managed to pay 39 *pesos* to the harpist, violinist and organist who officiated at the weekly Thursday Masses, as well as 2 *pesos* to the drummers and trumpeters who participated at Vespers and on the day of Corpus Christi, and a further 2 *pesos* to other unspecified 'musicians' who took part in the Corpus Vespers and procession. Similar payments were made annually until 1773, the year that the accounts end.

The Cofradías del Santísimo Sacramento were generally the most lavish in their expenditure (and the most detailed in their accounting), and therefore should not be taken as typical; their accounts do, however, give some insight into the 'upper limits' of parish confraternity music-making, and are particularly useful in reconstructing musical activities at Corpus. The accounts of the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of the parish of Hospital de los Naturales give intriguing glimpses of musical expenditure in the late 17th century. The fiesta of Corpus Christi might involve hiring drummers, trumpeters, singers, a harpist and shawms, and include fireworks. Sung Masses were also performed on Thursdays, the first Sunday of the month, and for dead *cofrades*; musicians are often noted as performing at the Masses for the Dead, while from 1684 to 1695 a harpist was paid a salary for attending the Thursday and Sunday Masses throughout the year, as were shawmists in 1691 and 1692. The impression that music was a regular occurrence in confraternity functions is strengthened by its purchase of a harp in 1687. The confraternity account books from other city parishes also reveal extensive musical activities. While the records of just one confraternity from each of the parishes of Belén and Santiago survive, these contain numerous payments to singers, *maestros cantores*,

organists, harpists, violinists, drummers, trumpeters and shawmists.[19] Although musical commitments varied between churches and even between years, the occasions on which musicians performed most frequently were:

Corpus Christi

Easter

the feast-day of the patron saint of the confraternity

the days of *aguinaldos* (offerings) and *finados* (the Dead)

the weekly Thursday Mass

the monthly Sunday Mass

at the funerals and memorial Masses of deceased *cofrades*

The variety of contexts in which confraternity musicians performed is further demonstrated by the accounts of the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Belén from the parish of Belén, which note annual payments in the 1780s and 1790s to the musicians who kept vigil at the altar of Nuestra Señora de Belén in the cathedral during the octave of Corpus. The parish church paid for music as part of its own Corpus fiesta during this period, ensuring that musical standards were maintained within the community as well as outside. Thus any account of music during the Corpus festivities in colonial Cuzco must take into consideration the activities of indigenous parish musicians who performed European-derived music, both sacred and secular, as well as a range of institutional patrons and performance contexts, including the cathedral, the central procession, and the churches and plazas of the eight indigenous parishes.

Corregidor Pérez: Hispanic musicians in the central procession

The second painting for detailed consideration centres on the Spanish magistrate, Corregidor General Alonso Pérez de Guzmán (illus.2). This depicts a triumphal arch and a temporary altar, to the left of which can be seen a harpist and some figures, both adults and children, whom I would identify as singers. They are gathered around the harpist; their facial expressions seem to suggest that they are singing; and one adult and one boy appear to be holding sheets of music, which might imply the performance of polyphony. All are Hispanic and dressed in ecclesiastical robes.

The only male Hispanic polyphonic ensembles in Cuzco during this period were the singers of the cathedral, including the *seises*, or choirboys, and a closely linked group maintained by the Seminary of San Antonio Abad, located one block behind the cathedral. *Seises* were supported by the cathedral and housed in the seminary throughout the colonial period; a full complement (six) was hired in 1552,[20] and boy singers were still in evidence in the first decade of the 19th century.[21] The *seises* were therefore a permanent feature of the city's musical structure, and their identification here is unproblematic. The identity of the adult singers, however, needs to be considered further.

In the earliest days of the colony Cuzco Cathedral established a music chapel which, as in other cities in Spain and the Indies, quickly grew to play the leading role in the urban soundscape and to participate in the transnational circulation of music and musicians. However, two key events in the early 17th century served to alter fundamentally the musical panorama of the city: the foundation of the Seminary of San Antonio Abad in 1605, and the division of the diocese of Cuzco into three parts in 1609, leading to a dramatic decline in revenues and consequent reductions in the cathedral musicians' salaries in 1610 and 1615.[22]

The seminary's constitution, drawn up in 1605, indicates the intention of its founder, Bishop Antonio de la Raya, that the *seminaristas* should play a significant part in the ceremonial life of the cathedral.[23] The musical duties of the students are not mentioned specifically; it was simply decreed that 'all will learn to sing'. According to Robert Stevenson, however, Bishop de la Raya was 'the first to set aside an endowment in a New World seminary specifically for the teaching of vocal and instrumental music', and students learned to sing both plainchant and polyphony.[24] The cultivation of music was thus one of the founder's principal aims, and San Antonio Abad took on a significant musical role within a few years of its foundation, at the precise time that the economic base of the cathedral *capilla de música* was seriously undermined. The salaried

2 Anonymous (*c.*1674–80), *Corregidor Pérez*, Corpus Christi series (Cuzco, Museo del Arzobispo)

cathedral singers were supplemented from the second decade of the 17th century onwards by students from the seminary who provided their services for free, as serving the cathedral was one of the duties that formed part of their vocational training. In 1625, 20 years after the seminary's foundation, the bishop wrote that its *colegiales* had been serving the cathedral for more than 14 years, attending Vespers, Salve and Mass every day, the Thursday Mass of the Holy Sacrament, and processing with the Holy Sacrament when it was taken out to the sick, singing psalms and polyphony, 'which is very edifying for the people'.[25] From the start, then, the seminary's musicians participated in cathedral functions and took the church's message out to the urban population to the accompaniment of chant and polyphony. They also had a explicit connection with ceremonies of the Holy Sacrament, which is worth noting when considering the question of musicians' participation at Corpus Christi.

This musical link between seminary and cathedral was not without precedent in the New World. The constitutions of the cathedral of La Plata (now Sucre in modern-day Bolivia), dating from 1597, include an instruction that the *maestro de capilla* was obliged to give daily lessons in polyphony to the *colegiales* of the local seminary; similarly, the *maestros de capilla* of the New World cathedrals of Caracas and Quito were given joint appointments in their respective seminaries, though there is no sign that their students performed in the cathedrals.[26] The case of colonial Tucumán, in modern-day Argentina, shows similarities with that of Cuzco: the city's seminary was the main centre of music education and provided singers for the cathedral.[27] But this is the only example that has so far come to light which mirrors the reciprocal arrangement that existed in Cuzco.[28] More research is needed in order to determine whether this was a common feature in the New World. However, there are indications that Cuzco was a unique case among Peruvian cities in the high musical profile of its seminary.[29]

The role of the *seminaristas* of San Antonio Abad in the musical life of the cathedral, already significant in the early 17th century, only increased with time. In 1648 the bishop wrote to Spain about the seminary and its students, beginning with the words: 'These *colegiales* serve the cathedral with great ostentation and solemn music, which is envied throughout the realm.'[30] This glowing view of the role of the seminary was shared by the cathedral chapter, who in 1658 wrote a letter to the king, in which is mentioned the seminary's 'assistance in the divine offices of this cathedral, in which it maintains two admirable musical choirs'.[31] Meanwhile, the part played by the *seminaristas* is described clearly in a report written in 1648 by the institution's rector, Don Juan de Cárdenas y Céspedes, which confirms many of the details mentioned by the bishop in 1625. The seminary had its own *capilla de música*, with more than 30 musicians and a *maestro de capilla*, who attended the cathedral with such skill and dedication that it was 'the best served and most distinguished in the whole realm of Peru', singing at the Thursday Masses of the Holy Sacrament and accompanying the Holy Sacrament on its forays out to the sick. Again, the edifying effect of the seminary musicians on the public and their link with ceremonies of the Holy Sacrament are highlighted.[32] We might not be surprised at the rector's praise of his own institution, but various witnesses were brought forward to confirm this description. One such witness, Don Pedro Berrio Manrrique, verified that 'more than 30 musicians sing in cathedral festivities and on solemn feasts, with great skill', and that they sang at the Thursday Masses and processions to the sick.[33]

Some 20 years later, in 1669, the rector wrote concerning the seminary's bid to become a university, arguing that *colegiales* could not attend classes at the rival Jesuit university without causing detriment to the smooth functioning of the cathedral, which, he stated, was the seminary's prime concern.[34] He claimed that the *colegiales* were too busy to attend outside classes, that the musical splendour of their processions to the sick was unrivalled, and that the seminary had more than 50 singers who served the cathedral, implying also that they sang in other churches.[35] Thus it is clear that the *capilla de música* of the seminary played an increasingly important role in the music performed within the cathedral, while continuing to serve as the 'mobile arm' of the cathedral's musical forces, singing in processions through the city and going forth to represent the cathedral at external functions.

The musical role of the seminary continued to expand in the 18th century. Bishop de la Nava, who died in 1714, was particularly devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and ordered that the rosary should be sung every Wednesday evening by the *seminaristas* as they processed through the central plazas.[36] They even began to supplant the cathedral singers within the cathedral itself. When Don Gaspar de la Cuba was appointed as dean in 1719 the ceremony was accompanied by the *colegiales* singing in the *coro alto* of the cathedral.[37] Joseph Antonio Santander described the ceremonies that took place in Cuzco in 1747 to mark the funeral of Philip V and the accession to the throne of Ferdinand VI: these included Vespers celebrated in the cathedral; in his florid yet vague description of the music at this event, Santander mentions only the exquisite harmony of the seminary musicians.[38] Ignacio de Castro, describing the events surrounding the official foundation of the Audiencia del Cuzco in 1788, refers to a Mass in the cathedral in which 'the music was grave and respectful, as is the custom in that magnificent temple, directed and performed by the students of the Seminary of San Antonio'.[39] By the mid-18th century there is no mention of cathedral musicians other than the seminarians; eye-witnesses seem to take it for granted that the music for grand occasions in the cathedral was provided by the seminary.

It is clear, therefore, that the *seminaristas* increasingly took on the role of providing music on important occasions; by the middle of the 17th century they constituted the premier music ensemble in the city in terms of size and prestige. As the seminary musicians frequently represented the cathedral outside the institution's walls and were particularly associated with processions of the Holy Sacrament, it is logical to identify the clerical singers in the canvas of Corregidor Pérez as members of the seminary. The evidence from the painting suggesting that the seminarians were performing polyphony is bolstered by the report of the bishop dating from 1625, which specifies that the *colegiales* sang polyphony during their processions to the sick. There are also a number of villancicos in the seminary music archive dedicated to Corpus or to the Holy Sacrament, which may have been performed during processions as well as during services in the cathedral.[40] Thus sacred polyphony, performed at temporary altars by the seminary singers, should feature in our account of music in the Corpus procession.

Hospital de los Naturales: a vision of the future

A third painting depicts the procession of the indigenous parish of Hospital de los Naturales, including a carriage in which three musicians are performing (illus.3). This is a particularly intriguing image, given that carriages did not appear in processions in Cuzco until 1733, more than 50 years after this painting was completed. Carolyn Dean argues that the carriages in this and the other paintings of Indian parishes were copied from a 17th-century Spanish festivity book by Juan Bautista Valda, published in Valencia in 1663, which Bishop Mollinedo had probably brought with him to Cuzco in 1673. She concludes: 'The five parochial canvases thus make a claim not only on the viewers' memory of Corpus Christi celebrations in which Inka *caciques* [leaders] paraded in antiquarian costume, but also on their imagination—to a conceivable future in which elaborate Spanish *carros* rumble in procession around Cuzco's double-plaza.'[41] It is significant, I would add, that the future participation of this indigenous parish in the Corpus celebrations is envisioned, at least in part, through markedly Hispanic cultural symbols.

In considering the significance of this curious image, it is important to note that most of the paintings in the Corpus series were probably sponsored by the individuals or groups who are their subjects; and not only were there a range of patrons, but also a number of artists were responsible for their production.[42] Artists in Cuzco, like musicians, generally belonged to the upper echelons of mid-colonial indigenous society, and their sponsors too are likely to have been well-born Andeans. The Corpus series therefore represents, in all probability, a variety of perspectives of the native élites on this central religious festival. Furthermore, as Dean notes: 'The canvases of the Corpus Christi series allowed various individuals and groups to create and advance their own visions of themselves and their roles in the festive life of Cuzco.'[43]

The Hospital canvas, with its prominently displayed symbol of Hispanic modernity—a Spanish

3 Anonymous (*c.*1674–80), *Hospital de los Naturales Parish*, Corpus Christi series (Cuzco, Museo del Arzobispo)

carriage complete with musicians of Hispanic appearance—depicts an imagined future scene that should be considered as constructing and projecting a particular self-image and a distinctive vision of colonial culture on the part of the painting's sponsors, presumably members of the indigenous parish of Hospital de los Naturales. How might we interpret this vision of native participation in Corpus? It bears little relation to the eye-witness reports and official regulations of members of the Hispanic élite with which this article began. The accounts of Hispanic observers focused on the more 'exotic' aspects of the Indian cultural displays, in particular the dances and costumed performances, and it was these aspects of indigenous participation that were regulated by municipal officials. The role assigned to the indigenous population by the Hispanic élite in the Corpus festivities was primarily to 'perform' their indigeneity and thereby act out the role of the defeated Other in the triumph of Christianity over native religion. There is no doubt that indigenous music was still widely heard in the Andes at this time: even a century later, Carrió de la Vandera wrote: 'The instruments of the Indian are the flutes and some stringed instruments, which they play softly, just as they do their small tambourines. Their song is gentle, although it always touches on the sad.'[44] Yet this music was elided by the indigenous artists of this painting, who preferred to foreground a more 'modern', Hispanic vision of colonial Andean culture, identifying the depicted native subjects with European music. The confraternity canvas also highlights the European as well as the Andean aspect of colonial music, through the depiction of European instruments and the linking of the Andean musicians to two primary religious and cultural symbols of the Hispanic colonial élite, the images of Saint Rose and 'La Linda'.

In both canvases, then, we see musicians playing European instruments; in neither case is musical culture imagined in terms of 'traditional' native display. The reason may be sought in Dean's assertion about the participation of Andeans in Cuzco's Corpus festivities: 'In performing alterity—usually through Andean costume, song and dance—they provided the necessary festive opponent whose presence affirmed the triumph.'[45] Native display was doubly important to the colonial élite: not only did 'traditional' indigenous culture mark out the Other to be vanquished, but also, 'Cuzco's colonial leaders had an interest in constructing remembrances of the Inkaic past because their prestige within the viceroyalty hinged on its historic glory',[46] hence the efforts of these leaders to promote 'folklorized' indigenous participation from the mid-16th century onwards. The performance of native music and dances in Corpus Christi not only evidenced successful evangelization, however, but also reproduced and legitimated the unequal power relations of colonial society,[47] and thus native music was inextricably linked to subordination.

These paintings, I would suggest, propose an Andean alternative to the Hispanic vision, in which conversion is not linked with submission: they envisage conformity to expectations of Christian devotion, yet also a refusal to perform difference through a display of 'exotic' music. To show evidence of successful conversion and devotion—for example, by sponsoring religious paintings or musical performance—was undoubtedly useful to the native élite in their dealings with colonial authorities, whereas it was less desirable to perpetuate unequal power relations through externalizing difference. These images thus provide a window on subtle attempts by the indigenous élite to resist the orchestration of the Spanish authorities, to step beyond the narrow Spanish definition of 'indigenous culture' which threatened containment within a folklorized past, and to construct a more fluid cultural identity.

The decision to underline pictorially the Hispanic elements of colonial Andean culture, both present and future, reveals a certain desire for equality through cultural assimilation, and a rejection of the subordinate status associated with cultural difference which lay at the heart of the Spanish colonial vision of Corpus in Cuzco. One assertion of these paintings would seem to be that Andean musicians were essential to the success of the festival, not in providing the signs of difference which marked out the Other as a festive opponent to be vanquished, but as a key element, even an equal partner, in the realization of the 'Hispanic' sound-world and the ritual performances of Hispanic confraternities. The familiarity with European music that is expressed in these works may also be intended to draw attention to the cultural flexibility, and therefore high social status, of their subjects. The prestige of the indigenous élite rested on its ability to draw upon the symbolic resources of both European and indigenous cultures. While the maintenance of certain traditional trappings of power was important to preserving authority within indigenous society, displaying selected signs of acculturation was equally important to success in the Hispanic world. Hispanicization could be a positive choice: 'European and Europeanized clothing and objects spoke to the privileged interculturality of native nobles and other wealthy Andeans.'[48] I would suggest that European music was another such sign of distinction among the native élite; it formed part of the educational programme in the Jesuit Colegio de San Borja, the school for the sons of native nobles, and my research has shown that the social status of leading indigenous parish musicians was often high.[49] Steve Stern writes that 'Natives who wore fine Hispanic clothes vividly expressed an aspiration to move beyond a condemned Indian past and merge into the upper strata of colonial society.'[50] Identification with European religious music, either professionally, as a sponsor of musical activities, or even through visual images in paintings such as the Corpus series, may have been another such display of 'privileged interculturality' on the part of aspirational native élites who sought to leave behind certain elements of their stigmatized Indian past, including, perhaps, native music, and assimilate with the colonial élite. Indeed, the implication of these paintings is that, in the context of Corpus Christi in mid-colonial Cuzco, difference was performed visually, for example through ceremonial dress and headwear, while assimilation was performed musically.

By focusing on the musical iconography of these paintings, then, we may be able to shed light on

identity construction by the upper strata of Andean society. The inclusion of musicians in the paintings of the Hospital de los Naturales and Saint Rose and 'La Linda' suggests that European music was significant to the self-image of their patrons. European music appears as a symbol of prestige, of religious devotion, of modernity and cultural flexibility, a symbolic element utilized by the native élite in the construction of 'a postconquest identity that was other than the homogeneous "Indian" of European manufacture'.[51] Whether 'traditional' music was seen as backward by some sectors of society is hard to determine, but these images seem to provide evidence that European-derived music was viewed positively by the native élite as an attribute of a forward-looking, culturally mobile identity.

I am very grateful to Carolyn Dean for generously providing the illustrations accompanying this article, and to the Leverhulme Trust for their support for my recent research.

1 Cosme Bueno, *Geografía del Perú Virreinal (siglo XVIII)* (Lima, 1951), p.95: 'Las fiestas se celebran con la mayor solemnidad y magnificencia, siendo la procesión del Corpus en el Cuzco una de las más vistosas y célebres de toda la cristiandad por el carro rico de plata, altares en las calles, arcos y las célebres y alegres danzas, en que los danzantes van vestidos de plata de martillo, y así los demás, siendo las Imágenes de los Santos, Patronos de las Parroquias, que salen en la procesión, en suntuosísimas andas de admirables y devotísimas hechuras.'

2 Concolorcorvo, *El Lazarillo: a guide for inexperienced travelers between Buenos Aires and Lima, 1773* (Bloomington, 1965), pp.264–5. 'Concolorcorvo' was the pseudonym adopted by Carrió de la Vandera, who was inspector of the postal route between Buenos Aires and Lima. *El Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* ('Guide for blind travellers') is a lively description of the author's extended journey across South America.

3 Ignacio de Castro, *Relación del Cuzco* [1795] (Lima, 1978), p.57.

4 C. Dean, *Inka bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, 1999).

5 R. Stevenson, 'Cuzco Cathedral: 1546–1750', *Inter-American music review*, iii/1 (1980), p.2.

6 G. de la Vega, *Comentarios reales* (Buenos Aires, 1964), p.139.

7 *Fundación Española del Cusco y Ordenanzas para su Gobierno*, ed. H. Urteaga and C. Romero (Lima, 1926), pp.200–201.

8 Diego de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas de la Gran Ciudad del Cuzco* [1749] (Lima, 1980), ii, p.41.

9 'Fiestas Incas en el Cuzco colonial', *Boletín del Archivo Departamental del Cuzco*, ii (1986), pp.42–7.

10 Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, ii, p.110.

11 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.82.

12 For indispensable, detailed studies of the history and content of these paintings, see Dean, *Inka bodies*, and Carolyn Dean, *Painted images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social conflict and cultural strategy in Viceregal Peru* (PhD thesis: UCLA, 1990). The majority of the paintings are currently housed in the Museum of Religious Art in Cuzco.

13 Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, ii, pp.99–101.

14 Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco (henceforth AAC), Cuentas de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento fundada en la Catedral del Cuzco y en San Francisco, 1644–73.

15 The entry for 1671–2 details the musicians' duties: 'Ytt. mas da por descargo ciento y veinte y seis pesos que pago a los quatro chirimias y el baxon por el salario que tienen señalados por seruir esta santa cofradia los Jueues del año y quando sale el santisimo sacram.to a los enfermos, y el dia de Corpus y su octaua'.

16 J. B. Lassegue-Moleres, 'Sínodos diocesanos del Cusco, 1591 y 1601', *Cuadernos para la historia de la evanglización en América latina*, ii (1987), p.54.

17 Lassegue-Moleres, 'Sínodos diocesanos', p.67.

18 AAC, Parroquia de San Cristóbal, Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, 1685–1773.

19 AAC, Parroquia de Belén, Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Belén, 1746–1838; Parroquia de Santiago, Fábrica, 1733–53 (actually contains the accounts of the Cofradía de la Purificación de Nuestra Señora, 1710–51); Parroquia de San Pedro, Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, 1681–1715; Parroquia de San Pedro, Libro de Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, 1715–82.

20 Stevenson, 'Cuzco Cathedral', p.2.

21 AAC, Libro de Fábrica de la Santa Iglesia Catedral del Cuzco, 1800–1814.

22 For details of these salary reductions, see Stevenson , 'Cuzco Cathedral', p.12, and Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, ii, pp.26–7.

23 Biblioteca Nacional (Lima), Ms.B25.

24 Stevenson, 'Cuzco Cathedral', p.10.

25 Archivo General de Indias, Seville (henceforth AGI), Lima, 305: 'a mas de catorçe años [. . .] acuden estos collegiales al seruiçio desta sancta Igl.a y su culto diuino a visperas salues y misa todos los dias por sus turnos y los Jueues de todo el año que se dize la missa del ssmo sacramento y quando sale a los enfermos van salmeando y cantando a canto de organo cossa que edifica mucho al pueblo'. This would date the start of the seminary's involvement in the cathedral's musical life to 1610–11, some five years after its foundation and the very time that the cathedral musicians' salaries were first cut.

26 J. C. Estenssoro, *Música, discurso y poder en el regimen colonial* (Master's thesis, Pontifícia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1990), p.212; R. Stevenson, 'Musical life in Caracas Cathedral to 1836', *Inter-American music review*, ii/2 (1978), p.37; and R. Stevenson, 'Quito Cathedral: four centuries', *Inter-American music review*, iii/1 (1980), pp.26–7. The *maestro de capilla*

Gutierre Fernández Hidalgo filled joint seminary-cathedral posts in Quito and subsequently La Plata in the late 16th century.

27 B. Illari, 'La música que, sin embargo, fue: La capilla musical del obispado del Tucumán (siglo XVII)', *Revista argentina de musicología*, i (1996), pp.26–7.

28 In Bogotá an attempt to persuade four to six *seminaristas* to sing the canonical hours every day in the cathedral in 1586 led to a strike in the city's seminary, so averse were the students to this notion (J. I. Perdomo Escobar, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Bogotá* (Bogotá, 1976), p.14). Illari states that there is no evidence that seminarians ever served as musicians in La Plata Cathedral; they assisted in ceremonies, but did not sing (Illari: personal communication).

29 H. Unanue, *Guía política, eclesiástica y militar del Virreynato del Perú, para el año de 1793* (Lima, 1985), p.249, states that in 1793 the seminary had 122 students, of whom 23 were dedicated to serving the cathedral and 12 to training as musicians. Unanue's descriptions of the seminaries of Lima, Arequipa, Huamanga and Trujillo make no mention of musical duties.

30 AGI, Lima, 312: 'Estos colegiales siruen a esta Yglessia Cathedral con grande ostentaçion y solemnidad de musica, que por esta parte es embidiada de todas las deste Reyno'.

31 AGI, Lima, 312: 'su [. . .] ayuda al culto Diuino desta Cathedral en q sustenta dos coros admirables de Musica y asiste a todos los ministerios de ella'. As early as 1621, the chapter had emphasized the cathedral's reliance on the seminary musicians: 'el Collegio Seminario [. . .] es quien sustenta el choro, y acude al seruicio de la Yglesia por no auer Capellanes ni otros ministros en ella'.

32 AGI, Lima, 333: 'tienen capilla de musica formada en el dho colegio con su maestro de capilla con mas de treynta musicos que continuamente se estan exerçitando en seruiçio desta Santa Ygleçia cathedral por lo qual es la mas bien seruido y de mayor lustre que ay en todo este reyno del piru a lo qual se junta el salir por deuoçion el dho colegio en comunidad a acompañar el santiss.o sacramento con su capilla de musica todas las veçes que se lleua a los enfermos con notable consuelo y edificassion de los fieles, y que ademas desto asisten todos los Juebes del año en la misma forma a la missa que en la dha cathedral se canta descubierto el santissimo [. . .]'.

33 AGI, Lima, 333: 'mas de treinta musicos cantan en las festiuidades de la yglecia catedral en las fiestas solemnes con grandisima destreça [. . .]'. The *colegiales* accompanied the Holy Sacrament 'siempre que sale a los enfermos sin faltar a esto a qualquiera ora del dia o de la noche lleuando unos las baras del palio y luçes y otros precediendo cantando', and 'todos los Juebes del año que en la catedral se dice una missa mui solemne con mucha musica y luces al santissimo sacram.to descubierto asisten a ella los dhos colegiales asi en el coro como en el altar y en la capilla m.r con muchas luçes'. The duties of the *ministriles* of the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of the cathedral, discussed above, were also focused on the Thursday Mass and the procession of the Holy Sacrament to the sick, suggesting that the confraternity *ministriles* and seminary singers joined forces on these occasions.

34 AGI, Lima, 340: 'sin haçer falta al seruicio de la Yglesia cathedral ques el principal ynstituto de su fundacion y porque el culto diuino a que acuden en ella deue ser preferido a otra qualquier funcion y ministerio'.

35 AGI, Lima, 340: 'tienen acompañando al santisimo sacramento con solemne musica de todos los cantores y demas colexiales quando se lleua a los enfermos pues no se tiene notiçia que en ciudad alguna se lleue el señor con tanto acompanamiento de solemnidad y musica como en esta [. . .] y son mas de cinquenta colejiales los cantores que sirben en la dha Yglesia y la administran en todas las desta ciudad con mucha solemnidad y pompa'. With more than 50 singers, this must have constituted one of the most formidable musical forces in the Hispanic world at this time.

36 Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, ii, p.208.

37 Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, ii, p.216.

38 Joseph Antonio Santander, *La Lealtad Satisfecha* (Lima, 1748), H1: 'Concluyose el oficio con tanta suptuosidad, como requeria lo soberano del objeto [. . .]; haciendo deleytable la feria pausa del canto, la harmonia canora conque el Real Seminario, Colegio de San Antonio Abad gorgeo sus puntos'.

39 Castro, *Relación del Cuzco*, p.88.

40 See S. Claro, 'Música dramática en el Cuzco durante el siglo XVIII y catálogo de manuscritos de música del Seminario de San Antonio Abad (Cuzco, Perú)', *Yearbook of the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research*, v (1969), pp.1–48.

41 Dean, *Inka bodies*, pp.84–5. This vision of the future was in fact realized: indigenous parish musicians performed in a carriage in a procession through the central squares in 1747, as part of the celebrations of the swearing-in of King Ferdinand VI. On Sunday 24 September there was a masked parade of the eight Indian parishes which finished with a group dressed in elaborate Inka attire and 'a carriage in which there were musicians with harps, guitars, violins and bandolas, who sang various songs to the accompaniment of the instruments ['cantaron varios tonos con la armonia de los instrumentos'] in front of the house of the [City] Council' (Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, ii, p.405).

42 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.77.

43 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.81.

44 Concolorcorvo, *El Lazarillo*, p.247.

45 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.15.

46 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.25.

47 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.39.

48 Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.169.

49 See G. Baker, 'Indigenous musicians in the urban *parroquias de indios* of colonial Cuzco, Peru', *Il saggiatore musicale*, x/1 (2002); and 'La vida musical de las doctrinas de indios del obispado del Cuzco', *Revista andina*, xxxvii (2003), pp.181–205.

50 Quoted in Dean, *Inka bodies*, p.254, n.8.

51 Dean, *Painted images*, p.356.

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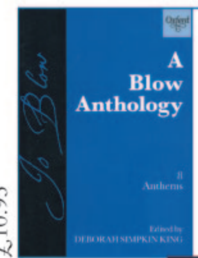

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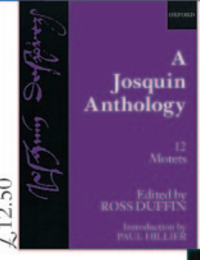

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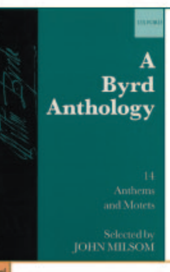

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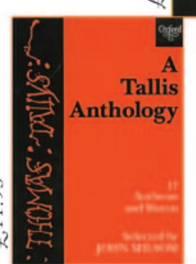

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Alejandro Vera Aguilera

Music in the monastery of La Merced, Santiago de Chile, in the colonial period

Historiography of colonial music in Chile

Several explanations have traditionally been put forward for the scarcity of information about music in Chile during the colonial period: Chile at that time did not have vice-regal status, and therefore its towns did not develop to the same degree as major cities in other areas of South America; in addition, numerous earthquakes throughout the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in the destruction of important edifices, especially of ecclesiastical buildings and their archives; moreover, frequent conflicts throughout the period hindered the development of the stability necessary to an artistic flowering.[1] However, these received views need, in my opinion, to take account of another factor equally important for our understanding of colonial music in Chile, and that is the very scarcity of in-depth studies in this field. This is all the more striking given that this country has a strong tradition of musical periodicals dating back to 1852, and that 50 years have passed since the first degree course to include musicology was established.[2]

The historiography of colonial music in Chile begins with Eugenio Pereira Salas's extraordinary study *Los orígenes del arte musical* of 1941, which remains the basic work of reference.[3] This eminent historian gathered together an important corpus of previously unknown material, mostly drawn from original documents. His research was continued by Samuel Claro Valdés, whose *Historia de la música en Chile* offered a synthesis of Pereira Salas's work, as well as a considerable amount of new data.[4] He also catalogued the music archive of Santiago Cathedral—a rich resource that largely remains to be studied[5]—and produced a biography of the composer José de Campderrós,[6] together with an edition of his Mass in G major.[7] More recently the main contributions have been those of Víctor Rondón, whose work on the music of the Jesuit missions has furthered new research through a previously unexplored field in Chilean music history;[8] also of importance is Guillermo Marchant's study of María Antonia de Palacios's *Libro sesto*, an interesting manuscript from the end of the colonial period.[9]

However, specific studies on even basic topics, such as musical activity in the monasteries or in public and private festivities, or the instruments available during the period, are lacking, so that the information we do have on colonial music in Chile still appears very incomplete, especially for the 17th century. This is confirmed by various statements in the existing bibliography, as, for example, in what Claro Valdés has to say about instruments and musical gatherings held from the beginning of the 18th century:

> Musical instruments were scarce in the early centuries of the colonial period. At the beginning of the 18th century Chilean ladies played the harpsichord, spinet, violin, castanets,

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tambourine, guitar and harp. The few available instruments were therefore heard and played in the context of ladies in their homes.[10]

Thus, it is not altogether surprising that experts in the field of 19th-century music have tended to look down on the musical life of earlier periods, as, for example, when Jorge Urrutia-Blondel contends that as far as music was concerned 'its real history must have begun recently, with only faltering earlier steps'.[11]

This article focuses on the musical life of the monastery of La Merced, one of the most important in Santiago during the colonial period, thus exploring one of the so far uncharted areas of Chilean music history.[12] Above all, I hope to show that musical activity was much richer—certainly less incomplete—than has been accepted up to now, making it all the more urgent for further research to expand current knowledge and enable us to reconstruct this part of the musical past.

The musical life of the monastery: instruments, choirbooks and major feasts

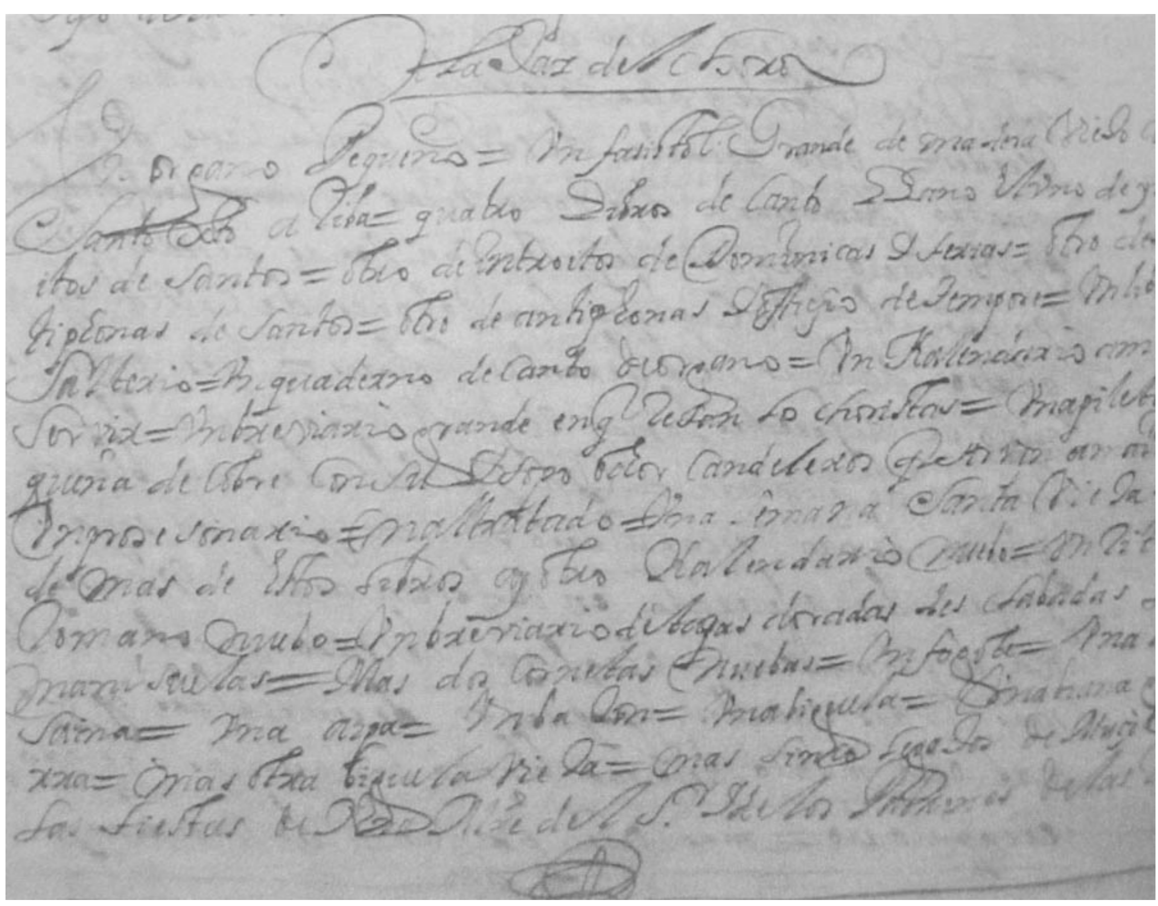
The little information hitherto gathered on music and the Order of Mercy in Chile can be found in Pereira Salas's study: in the 16th century fray Antonio Correa taught recorder (*flauta*) to the natives, and fray Antonio Sarmiento Rendón, in Nueva Imperial, was the first to celebrate the divine office with plainchant and polyphony. In the mid-18th century the Mercedarian friar Madux (about whom only his name is known) was chapelmaster at Santiago Cathedral. There is also some information on the confraternity of the Santa Veracruz, which in 1695 and 1697 paid various amounts to the drummer (*cajero*), cornet-player (*clarinero*), trumpeters and singers for the celebrations of the feast of the Cross.[13] However, the musical life of the monastery to which the confraternity was attached—the monastery of La Merced in Santiago—was completely unknown until now.[14] This is not surprising, given the little attention historical musicology has paid to the 'lesser' ecclesiastical institutions such as monasteries and convents. Only towards the end of the last century has this subject begun to be studied by scholars of Spanish music,[15] and only still more recently in the context of Hispanoamerican music.[16]

Research into monastic music of the 17th and 18th centuries has been limited by the assumption that the musical infrastructure would have been essentially precarious, lacking in good singers and with few instrumentalists.[17] This prejudice is being overturned in Spain and some Latin and South American countries thanks to the works already cited, but it continues to be held in Chile, where no work has been carried out on the monasteries and convents of the colonial period,[18] and where it is assumed that sacred music must have been almost exclusively the preserve of Santiago Cathedral.[19]

This view must be modified by the discovery of a document dated 1676 in the archive of the monastery of La Merced which shows that it owned the following instruments: 'a small organ . . . , two new cornetts, *fogote* [soprano curtal], *dulzaina* [treble shawm], harp, dulcian, vihuela, a good guitar, and another old vihuela' ('un órgano pequeño . . . dos cornetas nuevas, un fogote, una dulzaina, una arpa, un bajón, una vihuela, una buena guitarra, más otra vihuela vieja'). In addition, there was a book of polyphony, five bundles (*legajos*) of music for the feasts of the Virgin of La Merced, the Most Holy Sacrament (Corpus Christi) and the patron saints of the orders, together with four books of plainchant. All this was the responsibility of the vicar choral (*vicario de coro*) fray Domingo Neira (illus.1).[20]

This is not primarily an organological study, but it is interesting to note the presence of the dulcian (*bajón*), an instrument used, as in other colonial ecclesiastical institutions, to perform the bass in polyphony, in part because of the difficulty of finding bass singers in Latin and South America.[21] In fact, in 1725 Santiago Cathedral employed a dulcian player (*bajonero*).[22] The book of polyphony indicates that polyphonic performance was an established part of musical life at the monastery, and it is possible that the cornetts, *dulzaina* and *fogote*[23] doubled the upper voices, although they were also probably used in non-vocal ensembles since instrumental works continue to be discovered.[24] The inventory also confirms the presence of the cornett, so frequently found in European cathedrals in the Renaissance and Baroque periods.[25]

It is difficult to interpret the reference to the two vihuelas, but it would seem more likely that this refers to the bowed instrument (*vihuela de arco*), a member of the viol family, than the plucked vihuela



1 Santiago, Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Mercedaria de Chile, Libro I de Provincia, f.6*r*, Inventory of 18 Jan 1676

so favoured in the 16th century but supplanted by the guitar in the course of the 17th century.[26] The role of the harp in the accompaniment of sacred music is well known,[27] as is that of the guitar, which, with its associations with popular culture, was used to accompany villancicos.[28] In fact it is quite likely that the bundles of music for the various religious feasts cited in the inventory contained villancicos, since these were commonly performed at the feast of Corpus Christi and those of the saints, and were usually kept in separate, unbound parts. Moreover, among the documents relating to the confraternity of the Santa Veracruz are two sacred texts in the vernacular—a *romance* and a *décima*—that were probably used for this purpose at the end of the 17th century.[29] This instrumental grouping is not so very different from the mid-17th-century instrumental ensembles found elsewhere on the continent,[30] which suggests that Chile was not in fact so backward as far as musical developments were concerned.

The collection of instruments listed in the 1676 inventory was expanded two years later when fray Manuel de Toro Mazote, the Provincial of the Order, presented the monastery with a new harp. On the other hand, the 'small organ' was sent to Lima in about 1683 and then returned, possibly for repair or some other unknown reason.[31]

On 20 July 1687, probably as a result of seismic activity (there was a strong earthquake in Peru that year which would have affected Chile), 'the church [suffered] much damage in the part of the choir leading onto the courtyard, with two domes and the cupole collapsing'.[32] Although the choir was repaired in 1690, there is no mention of instruments or music

books in the inventory made the following year, suggesting that they may have been destroyed. In 1692 at least the organ ('with its stand') was repaired, and 'four old books' are cited among the choirbooks, so possibly the four books of plainchant survived the destruction. Also listed in that year are 'a parchment book of antiphons newly made', and 'another [book] also of parchment with the Office of the Dead and burials of members of the community'.[33]

In 1695 the situation was more promising, since a new organ had been brought from Lima, and some new books had been acquired:

> Six new missals . . . ; and two new books, an Epistler and a Gospeller; and eight small books of the Requiem and its canons; and four small books of new Masses of the saints of our Order . . . ; and a processional which is in the sacristy and *another book which the vicar choral uses to teach the brothers to sing* . . . And a large organ that has been newly brought from Lima, with its case and termination; and another small old organ, which is missing some pipes, with its stand. [my italics][34]

However, the incomplete nature of the inventories can be deceptive: in that of 1697 no harp is mentioned at the monastery, yet there clearly was one since on 28 January of that year, fray Domingo Neira, the vicar choral, was given 1 *peso* for strings.[35] The organist at that time was fray Tomás de Villanueva,[36] who had been received into the Order on 10 May 1685.[37]

Among the most solemn ceremonies in the monastery were the main Mass on feast days, and the Mass of Our Lady and Salve Regina on Saturdays, for during the pastoral visit of 1677 the Provincial ordered that on these, 'the busier' days, the members of the community should not go to hear nuns' confessions, because they were needed to serve in the choir. The 'Mass of Renewal' (*Misa de Renovación*), sung every Friday was also categorized 11 years later as 'one of the most solemn and ceremonious [feasts]', and in addition, in 1736 the procession for the dead held on Mondays was also singled out.[38] The friars who served in the choir were also needed during Holy Week, when they went out 'to sing the Passion in all the female convents'. In 1754 this was ordered to be limited to only two convents, although this restriction can only have been partially successful, since it had to be reiterated at the 1760 chapter.[39]

Be that as it may, the account books show that the major feasts of the year, and those which involved greater musical participation, were that of San Pedro Nolasco (founder of the Mercedarians), celebrated annually on 31 January, and that of the Nativity of the Virgin, held on 8 September. As regards that of San Pedro Nolasco, from the end of the 17th century, payments were made to the drummer (*cajero*), one or two trumpeters, the vicar choral (who was responsible for the music for the feast), and to the 'coetero' in charge of the fireworks.[40] On several occasions payment to singers (*cantores*) is also listed. These were probably usually the friars themselves, who would receive sums of money to 'cover their needs', but the 4 *reales* paid to 'Pancho el cantor' in January 1697 and January 1721 leaves no room for doubt as to the participation of lay singers in the choir. He may well have been a servant or slave of the monastery, as we shall see below.[41]

As regards instruments, on 11 April 1712 the blacksmith Parradas repaired an organ bar ('un palo del órgano') at the expense of Rosa de Ovalle, who owed the monastery money;[42] from that date, and for some years, fray Andrés Salinas held the position of organist.[43] The fact that in June 1713 a harpist was paid 40 *pesos* for the year and five months he had played 'in the church on feast days', confirms that both instruments were used in the realization of the continuo accompaniment. At that time there was also an organ-builder, fray Francisco Cuevas, who in September 1714 was paid 39 *pesos* and 6 *reales* to repair the monastery organ.[44] In the inventory for that year 'the complete, newly restored organ' ('órgano entero y nuevamente aliñado') is listed, together with two sets (*ruedas*) of bells.[45]

In 1717, when fray Agustín Venegas was vicar choral, the monastery had at least two harps (neither of which feature in the inventory), for on 28 January 20 *reales* were spent on restringing them for the feast of San Pedro Nolasco.[46] In January 1721 the monastery owned a *monacordio*, a term that then denoted a clavichord. (A harpsichord was referred to as *clave* or *clavicordio*.)[47] The reference, therefore, in September 1726 to 'al que toco el clave' would suggest that the monastery also owned a harpsichord.[48] This is perfectly possible, as a document found in the archive of the Augustinian monastery

in Santiago, dated as early as 1597, mentions a 'large harpsichord' ('clavicordio grande'),[49] which proves that the instrument reached Chile more than a century earlier than Pereira Salas stated.[50]

If the employment of outside musicians for the major feasts is taken into account, the picture is considerably enriched: on 5 September 1722 'the violinist Gregorio was paid a *peso* for strings'; in September 1726 payments to a violinist and a harpist are recorded; on 15 March 1727, for the Day of Thanksgiving, '4 *pesos* and 4 *reales* were paid to those who played the shawms'; and on 2 February 1730 the harpist and the *ravelista* (player of the rebec, an instrument mentioned only this once) were paid.[51]

By this time the musical activity of the monastery had been fully restored following the damage caused by the 1687 collapse. However, in 1730 the monastery of La Merced was hit by a new, and even more destructive natural disaster, described in the 1733 provincial visit:

After the damage caused by the earthquake of 8 July 1730 in which the church was entirely destroyed and everything within it was lost, the church we now have is more a subject for weeping than for inventorying, since it has been razed to the ground with all its valuables . . . thus, there is only the new church made from mud bricks.[52]

There is little information for the years immediately following the disaster. We know, at least, that in September 1730 2 *pesos* were spent on repairing the monastery's harp ('arpa del convento'), reflecting the importance of that instrument and the will, on the part of those in charge, to maintain a minimum of decorum in the music of the liturgy even in such difficult circumstances. In this spirit, too, was the effort made in January and September 1735 to hire instrumentalists for the feasts of San Pedro Nolasco and the Nativity of the Virgin.[53]

The absence of later inventories and account books makes it impossible for the moment to reconstruct how the monastery recovered from this new disaster, although it must have been a slow and expensive process. In 1757 a friar, again from Lima, began to build a new organ, and the teaching of plainchant and polyphony to the friars was also re-established as is clear from the following document dating from that year:

On the petition made by father fray Francisco María Luz, member of the province of Lima of our Royal Order, in which he asks to take on the teaching of plainchant and polyphony to the friars of this province, as he is, in fact, already doing; and also an organ, which cannot be made with 14 or 16,000 *pesos*, which this large monastery is saving for the direction and work on it, he should be granted the tributes which the province makes to the profession of the 12-year-old members of the community, namely six Masses by each priest in the province, this Holy *Difinitorio* responded that the petition was very proper and just and he was granted the said tributes . . . and the said father was thanked for his commitment and work and charged with its efficient continuation.[54]

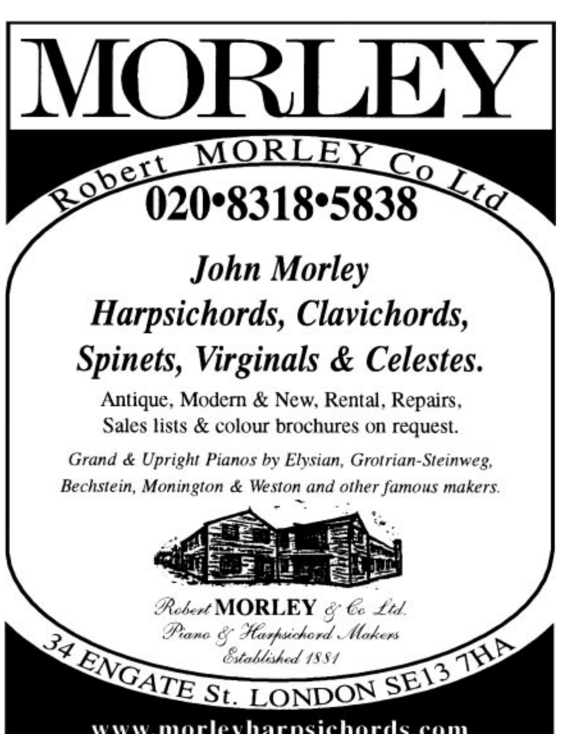
It is clear from this instance, and that of the organ in 1695, that close contact with the vice-regal capital Lima helped considerably to increase the musical possibilities of the monastery in Santiago. Fray Francisco María Luz continued as organ-builder—and possibly master of music—at the monastery for several years, since in 1772 he was given 500 *pesos* for materials for the organ.[55] However, the organist appears to have been fray Joseph Muñoz, who held that post in 1764 at the age of 22.[56]

Some years later, in August 1788, one Juan de Dios[57] was paid 6 *pesos* for repairing the organ, although we cannot be sure this was the same instrument, and on 1 October 1795 'all the flute pipes were taken down from the organ in order to tune it and add more pipes [*voces*]', evidence of the first attempt to adapt the organ to 19th-century requirements. In January of the following year, a trumpet stop (*registro de trompas*) was added to the organ, and among those involved with this work was 'father fray Diego'.[58] But these modifications to the organ were carried out over a considerable period of time, since on 19 November of that year, the head sacristan, fray Matías Selaya, who, as we shall see, had been vicar choral for some years, noted that 'the work on the trumpets and stops of the organ was finished', and he gave the following details of how much it had cost:

Carpenter. 15 *pesos* two *reales* to master Antonio and the official for the rollers [*molinetes*] and trackers [(*tiros*] and the support [*entablado*] of the back and planing the boards [*planchas*] 15.2

Blacksmith. Three *pesos* four *reales* to master Miranda for the iron and nails 3.4

Lead. 72 *libras* of lead at one *real* per *libra* and 16 *libras* of tin at two and a half per *libra* were bought from master Marín 14



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Tinsmith. Six *pesos* to master don Domingo Barrera for the tongues at one *real* each, which were 48 — 6

Three *pesos* to the said Barrera for making the grooves — 3

Six *pesos* four *reales* to the tinsmith for the soldering [*soldaduras*] and two *reales* of *peso* — 6.6

14 *reales* to Juan de Dios and six *reales* to Solís for the first smelting [*fundición*] of the sheet-metal [*planchas*] — 2.4

And half a rod [*vara*] of French cotton cloth [*ruan*] costing two and a half *reales* for pulling the lead — 2 1/2

For two thirds [of a rod] of cloth for the case, and one and three-quarters of a rod of woven cloth [*crea*], the cloth at 20 *reales* per rod and the *crea* at 5 *reales* per rod — 2.11/2

For making the trumpets and the stops to our most esteemed brother señor don Ignacio Randa, only for his holy and zealous devotion, and our provincial father gave an *arroba* of lead for this work

Six *pesos* for the purchase of 16 panels of larch at three *reales* per panel for the back of the organ, and two *pesos* for a cypress post — 8.[59]

As late as September 1797 Selaya noted:

> The four ranks mixture was finished, for which an upper wind-chest to let out the wind was costed, with the leaves of tin, the lead, tin, panels, cloth, pipework, etc. it cost 128 *pesos* six *reales*, according to the accounts that have been made, and this was very reasonable.[60]

However, the organ did not render the other instruments redundant; these continued to be important for the monastery, and were renewed: in 1783 the repair of a harp and a spinet was noted, as in 1784 were the masters who tuned the organ and clavichord (*manicordio*).[61] The reference to the spinet is particularly interesting as it reflects the high degree of exchange between musician-friars of the different orders in colonial Santiago: in June 1783 9 *pesos* were paid to 'a lay priest of Augustinian monastery for stringing and restoring a spinet so that brother fray Lorenzo Rubí might learn the organ for the benefit of the church.'[62] It would appear that Rubí did not complete his musical education, since in May 1788 4 *pesos* were paid to 'master Marcos for having played the organ at mass and night-time prayers',[63] and from November of that year until at least 1797 one 'fray Pastor' is described as monastery organist.[64]

There is also evidence for these years of the employment of musicians from outside the monastery: in July 1791 20 *reales* were paid to 'the violinist who

played for the novena'; in May 1799 the participation of organ, oboe (which appears for the first time here) and two violins is noted.[65] It should be pointed out, however, that the amounts actually paid to these musicians were higher than those that appear in the account books: in October 1795 the musicians were paid 20 *reales* for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, 'because the *terceros* only gave 50, and the musicians had 70'.[66] The term *terceros* refers to the members of the Third Order of the monastery, founded in 1743 and made up of the lay devout who wished to be involved with the institution and had their own acts, offices and rules.[67] Evidently the contribution of these lay members was important for the cultivation of music at the monastery—indeed, vital for its development—since, as the sacristan observed in 1802, the flautists (*flauteros*) and other musicians 'won't whistle if there's no money'.[68]

Another document concerning the Third Order's contribution is even more interesting in that it suggests, although for a later period, the involvement of slaves and servants in music-making at the monastery, a significant practice in other ecclesiastical institutions in South and Latin America:[69]

> The musicians were paid for the feast of Our Mother, because the Minister [the highest position in the Third Order] had given 25 *pesos* in advance to the negro Juaquín and he took these and Sisilio [a servant?] was spoken to about the music, and the father sacristan had to pay for all of it and the music alone cost 37 *pesos*, the 25 he gave for what had been paid to the negro plus the 12 paid to Sisilio.[70]

It can be seen that the musical life of the monastery of La Merced is of some interest in the colonial context, but this does not seem to have been exceptional in Santiago, given that a similar situation prevailed at the Augustinian and Franciscan monasteries, as I hope to show elsewhere. This paints a different picture from that portrayed by Geoffrey Baker of the failure of the monks in the monasteries of colonial Cuzco to be musically self-sufficient,[71] which might indicate a difference in the musical practice of these two cities. However, it might also be the case that the type of document consulted by Baker (preserved outside monastic archives) records in less detail the musical activity of the monks themselves in their own institutions. It seems unlikely, although not impossible, that there should have been more musical activity at ecclesiastical institutions in a 'peripheral' centre such as Santiago than in Cuzco. No doubt further research will elucidate this point.

Finally, it should be noted that other smaller monasteries of the Order were also concerned, within their limitations, to maintain a certain level of music-making. In Mendoza (a town that since 1776 belonged to the vice-royalty of La Plata, but which continued to form part of the Mercedarian Province of Chile until the beginning of the 19th century) the monastery of La Merced had, from the end of the 18th century, an organ, clavichord and spinet, and occasional payments to a harpist and a violinist, probably from outside the monastery. On 14 April 1788 'six wire strings were purchased for a clavichord so that a servant might learn', and in September 1790 '26 *pesos* were paid to Father Castillo for teaching the organ to a servant', which underlines the important role of servants and slaves in the music-making of that monastery.[72] The situation was probably more precarious in a lesser monastery like that of St Michael (on the edge of Santiago), where in 1745 it was decreed that the master of the novices should teach plainchant as part of his job, and where 'a harp for the church' appears listed from 1756 onwards.[73] And in the *hacienda* of Huaquén in the first half of the 18th century, some choirbooks and a 'guitar used for playing in the church' belonged to the monastery of Santiago, which is significant given its rural location; in around 1741 the church was 'completely made of straw'.[74]

Vicars choral and music masters at the monastery

The vicar choral, a position equivalent to that of chapelmaster (*maestro de capilla*) (the term most commonly used in a cathedral context, but rarely found in the documentation of the orders),[75] was the person responsible for music at the monastery. His duties must have been considerable, to judge by the monastery's many musical possibilities, which might explain why in some years during the 18th century a second as well as a first vicar choral are mentioned. Above all, he had to prepare the music to be used in the daily liturgy and for the most important feasts, and to direct the singers and instrumentalists.

The choir, it should be noted here, appears to have included boy singers, as in the cathedrals, since in 1794 fray Bartolo Rivas asked that his three years of studying philosophy and four as a teacher, be approved, while highlighting the distinction of 'having served since he was a boy ['desde su tierna edad'] as a singer in the choir on a daily basis'.[76]

Another position related to music, though in a lesser capacity, was that of Master of the Novices (*Maestro de Novicios*), who, among his many duties, taught the novices to sing plainchant.[77] However, he was helped in this task by the vicar choral, as the acts reveal on two occasions,[78] and also by the organist, since in 1778 it was stipulated that 'the father vicar choral and father organist should twice a week go to the novitiate to teach the brothers plainchant at the most convenient times'.[79]

The earliest known vicar choral is fray Domingo Neira, who took his vows and entered the monastery on 30 July 1667.[80] Given that he was responsible for all the monastery's instruments (dulcian, vihuelas, *dulzainas*, etc.) and music books in 1676, he was probably an able musician. Neira became *Definidor* of the Province and died on 20 July 1711.[81]

In 1683 fray Francisco Vicencio, who had taken his vows on 23 January 1673, was vicar choral.[82] From his renunciation document (*renuncia*), preserved in the Archivo Nacional, we know that he was from Santiago, and son of Captain Francisco Vicencio Justiniano and Leonor Carrasco de Ortega. He renounced his worldly goods only 'at the end of his days', keeping them until then because of 'his need for books and studying'.[83] This is striking since it proves that the Mercedarians, unlike the other orders, were permitted to keep their personal possessions, among which there may have been musical items, after taking their vows.[84] On 11 January 1687 he renewed his vows, confessing that the first time he had been too young, but had taken them for fear of 'his father's violence'.[85] His name does not resurface in the documents as vicar choral; rather, that of fray Domingo Neira reappears in the last years of the 17th century.

In 1715 fray Agustín Venegas from 'the town of San Bartolomé de Chillán', who had taken his vows on 1 April 1699, took up the position.[86] The provincial chapters, which usually appointed the main positions in the monasteries, were held every three years, so we can assume that Venegas held the post for at least this period, although no further reference to him is found in the acts.

In January 1721, with regard to the feast of San Pedro Nolasco, Pedro Laisain is mentioned for the first time as being responsible for 'copying music for the monastery' ('pasar la música del convento'). This copyist must surely be the same as 'Pedro el Francés' ('Pedro the Frenchman') who was music master and responsible for 'teaching the choristers' ('enseñar a los coristas') between November 1721 and January 1723. He seems to have been the only person responsible for music in the monastery during this period, as no vicar choral is mentioned in the acts. Moreover, he was responsible for preparing (possibly composing, as we shall see) the music for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin in 1722, for which he received 40 *pesos* and 12 *reales*.[87]

It is clear that the hiring of lay musicians for these tasks was a fairly well-established practice: for the feast of San Pedro Nolasco in 1724 'the cathedral harpist was paid 10 *pesos* in silver because he played and copied music for the feast'.[88] And from January 1725 until October 1735 'master Santiago' is described on several occasions as responsible for preparing the music for the feasts of San Pedro Nolasco and the Nativity of the Virgin.[89] There can be no doubt that this 'maestro' and the harpist mentioned above were one and the same person, since Pereira Salas has documented that the cathedral harpist in 1731 was 'Maese Santiago', 'professor of the Santiaguina society'.[90] This proves the collaboration of cathedral musicians in monastic festivities, and there was probably nothing unusual in this.[91] In fact, in the final years of the 18th century the regular involvement of the cathedral *capilla* in the Feast of Our Lady of Mercy can be documented, paid for by the Third Order of the monastery.[92]

There are a number of reasons why it might be fair to assume that these 'maestros' not only 'prepared' music for these feasts—in the sense of organizing and directing the rehearsals— but also wrote it. The hiring of copyists and the purchase on 7 January 1730 of two reams of paper for the students 'and the music of Our [Founding] Father',[93] would imply that the music consisted of new pieces that were written for the occasion and prepared in good time.

The presence of master Santiago overlapped with several vicars choral: fray Joseph de la Cruz, who had taken his vows on 26 May 1715 and was from the valley of Aconcagua,[94] appears in the chapter of 1727, which was later annulled because of the conflict caused by the Provincial, fray Juan de Axpe.[95] In 1730 he was appointed commander (*comendador*) of the monastery of the Dulce Nombre de María de Concepción, and he was replaced by two vicars choral: fray Joseph Morales as first vicar and fray Joseph Vital de Mendoza, only 21 years old,[96] as second, who were to show the appropriate 'zeal and vigilance in attending the divine office'. The chapter was, however, annulled, and Vital's name does not appear in the new acts, suggesting that his appointment never took effect.[97] Indeed, in 1733 the abovementioned Morales became first vicar,[98] and fray Simón Ascarate, who took his vows on 14 February 1729, second vicar.[99]

However, in 1739 fray Joseph Vital was appointed as the only vicar choral, a post he held for much longer than his predecessors.[100] The 'natural son' (i.e. born out of wedlock) of Juan de Mendoza and María Turra, he took his vows on 30 January 1722 in the monastery of the Dulce Nombre de María de Concepción, his native town.[101] He is first mentioned as a singer in 1723, when he was given a breviary.[102] At the chapter of June 1745 he presented a petition to the *Definitorio* to enable him to take the habit, since his birth outside wedlock prevented him from doing so;[103] his plea was accepted and as a result he was elected *Definidor* of the Province on 10 March 1748, which shows that the vicar choral's position was by no means marginal within the monastery, and offered the opportunity to apply for more important posts. Vital de Mendoza also presented a petition for recognition of his '12 years of continual service as vicar choral', which would suggest that he held the post from 1736, although his appointment is not found in the chapter for that year. The *Definitorio* responded positively to this plea, with the condition that Vital ensured that fray Felipe Tovilla was in a position to take up the post of first vicar choral, with fray Simón Ascarate as second.[104]

Tovilla, who had taken his vows on 8 December 1736 and who in 1739 would have been about 20 years old, held the position for about six years at least, but in 1754 appears as the commander of the monastery in the town of Castro, in Chiloé, and in subsequent years dedicated himself to preaching at that monastery and at the Concepción. He died in 1771 in the monastery of San Bartolomé in Castro.[105]

Vital de Mendoza again appears as vicar choral in 1757, and he was probably assisted by fray Francisco María Luz, who in that year was responsible for teaching plainchant and polyphony to the members of the community. In 1760 Vital held the position of *Presentado* of the Order, with all the benefits accruing to that post. He died on 28 January 1763 in the monastery of Saint Catharina de Mendoza. Almost two years later, on 14 December 1764, fray Simón Ascarate died in the hospice at Rancagua.[106]

The death of these two vicars choral marked the end of a generation of friars in charge of music at the monastery in the second third of the 18th century. A further name appears in the chapter of 1763: fray Matías Selaya, then 24 years old, who would hold the position for several years, joined by fray Tomás de la Cotera as second vicar.[107] During his time as vicar choral Selaya was assisted by a number of different members of the community,[108] but he also had other responsibilities, since from 1767 he was Reader in Theology.[109] On 21 March 1772 he also achieved the rank of *Presentado*.[110]

Fray Francisco Ortiz, who was also *Definidor* of the Order, appears as first vicar choral in 1774, with fray Vicente Grandón as second. In that same chapter, Selaya successfully petitioned for retirement from the chair of theology, having taught theology for six years and 'having held the position of vicar choral for 16 years' (that is, for some three years before his appointment), and for presentation to the position of *Maestro del Número* of the Province. Fray Vicente Grandón petitioned in similar manner in 1783, obtaining retirement from the post of second vicar choral in which he had served for 14 years.[111]

Selaya, however, did not give up his musical duties until 1793, since he continued to receive payment for music for various feasts until that year. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that in September 1789 fray Diego Ximénez was paid 20 *pesos* for the music for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (possibly this was the same 'fray Diego' who

was involved with the restoration of the organ in January 1795).[112] This is interesting because Ximénez was not a Mercedarian but a Franciscan, and this confirms the musical links between the different orders in Santiago.[113]

But from 1794, when Selaya was made Head Sacristan, he must have been taken up with other tasks, for in late 1796, when a major restoration of the organ had been completed, he was warmly thanked by the Visitor for 'his vigilance, zeal, efficiency and devotion' as sacristan, which had resulted in a marked improvement in the running of the church and sacristy.[114] Selaya's case is another good example of the status a vicar choral might achieve within the Order; in 1803 he was promoted to Provincial, and died in May 1805 in the monastery at Rancagua.[115]

The colonial period draws to a close with an equally interesting musical figure. In a document dated 2 October 1804 fray Ramón Álvarez requested a report to the *Definitorio* (over whom Selaya himself had authority) from Madrid to confirm that since he had taken the habit:

> He had devoted himself with great effort to the learning of both the theory and practice of music, plainchant and polyphony, without having been appointed *maestro* of the community, carrying out his choir duties in this Great House for 14 years [since 1790], to the benefit and praise of the whole town of Santiago de Chile; as well as preaching several times from the pulpit of the same church . . .[116]

According to a brief manuscript biography dating from the 19th century and written by the chronicler Benjamín Rencoret, Álvarez was born in Mendoza towards 1770 and was a bass, while his brother, fray Ignacio, was a tenor. He states that both were famous in 'America and Europe', especially fray Ramón, whom he says he heard sing when he was old, 'and there was no one in Chile who could rival him'.[117] This musician's presence in Madrid remains to be studied, but it is clear that he was another musician-friar who obtained an important role

2 Anon, *Christmas in Greccio, Cuzco, c.1688* (Santiago de Chile, Museo Colonial de San Francisco)

within the Order, since on 5 August 1815 he was appointed Provincial.[118]

Further studies of other Santiago institutions are clearly necessary before this picture of music-making in the colonial period can be completed. However, on the basis of the material presented here, it seems likely that the famous 17th-century painting from the Franciscan monastery in Santiago, preserved at the Museo Colonial, depicting monks with assorted instruments (illus.2), reflects not only musical practice in Cuzco (from where it was sent to Santiago), but also in the larger monasteries of colonial Chile.[119]

Conclusions

I believe that the information summarized in this article shows that musical activity in colonial Chile was richer and more varied than has been suggested by the received view: contrary to the supposed scarcity of instruments in the 17th century, in 1676 the monastery of La Merced—an important ecclesiastical establishment in Santiago, although on the face of it much more modest than others in Latin and South America—owned an organ, dulcian, cornetts and *dulzaina*, vihuelas and other instruments; contrary to the monopoly over sacred music claimed for the cathedral, it is clear that the collection of instruments belonging to the monastery in the 18th century (clavichord, harpsichord, harp etc.) was as large, or larger, than that of the cathedral in 1725 and later; and, contrary to the supposed *ad hoc* nature of music for civic and religious festivities,[120] it is clear that in the 17th century the monastery possessed five bundles of music for major feasts, and on various occasions employed music copyists.[121]

Another important aspect is that of the musical ties between the monastery and its surroundings. In the second quarter of the 18th century the cathedral harpist maestro Santiago actively participated in the main festivities of the monastery of La Merced, and there is evidence to suggest that this may well have been an established practice at that time. Moreover, the connection with the vice-regal capital Lima enabled the monastery to restore its organ on at least two occasions, as well as bringing in a music master, fray Francisco María Luz, in the mid-18th century. In addition, the Mercedarians maintained close ties with the other orders, among them the Augustinians and Franciscans, as is shown by the musician from the Augustinian monastery who taught the spinet to a friar at La Merced, and the presence of the Franciscan Diego Ximénez in 1789. In other words, music at the monastery was not closed to external influences, which would allow it to adapt to change and innovations in each period.[122]

Finally, the document from the Augustinian monastery concerning the harpsichord proves that that instrument reached Chile as early as 1597, that is, almost a century earlier than stated by Pereira Salas, which emphasizes the basic premise outlined at the beginning of this study of the urgent need to carry out further research in order to revise the material already known about this fascinating period in Chilean music history.

Translated by Tess Knighton

This article is an expanded version of a paper published in the Revista musical chilena, *lviii (2004), and forms part of the research projects 'La música en Santiago de Chile en la época colonial' (Proyecto de Inicio DIPUC/346/2003) and 'Música, fe y evangelización en la Catedral y los conventos de La Merced y San Agustín de Santiago (siglos XVII a XIX)' (Proyecto no.03/2CIAF), of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. I am very grateful to Father Alfonso Morales Ramirez, historian and archivist of the monastery of La Merced, without whose help and advice this article could not have been written.*

I also wish to thank my colleagues Juan Pablo González, Carmen Peña and Víctor Rondón, as well as Guillermo Carrasco, archivist of the Augustinian monastery. The guidance of Alvaro Torrente has been, as always, important for the conclusion of this article.

1 See S. Claro Valdés, 'La música virreinal en el nuevo mundo', *Revista musical chilena*, xxiv (1970), pp.7–31, at p.26, and S. Claro Valdés and Jorge Urrutia-Blondel, *Historia de la música en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1973), pp.43–8.

2 On this topic, see J. P. González, 'Pasado y futuro de la formación musicológica en Chile', *Resonancias*, ix (2001), pp.13–18.

3 E. Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1941).

4 Claro Valdés and Urrutia-Blondel, *Historia de la música*.

5 S. Claro Valdés, *Catálogo del Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1974). According to the author, the music preserved there dates from after 1769. The catalogue does not present an

overall study of the musical life of the cathedral, although Claro Valdés has dealt with the 19th century elsewhere: see S. Claro Valdés, 'Música catedralicia en Santiago durante el siglo pasado', *Revista musical chilena*, xxxiii (1979), pp.7–36.

6 S. Claro Valdés, 'José de Campderrós (1742–1812): de mercader catalán a maestro de capilla en Santiago de Chile', *Anuario musical*, xxx (1977), pp.123–34.

7 S. Claro Valdés, *Antología de la música colonial en América del Sur* (Santiago de Chile, 1974).

8 See, among other studies and apart from his important unpublished thesis, V. Rondón, 'Música jesuita en Chile en los siglos XVII y XVIII: primera aproximación', *Revista musical chilena*, li (1997), pp.7–39, and V. Rondón, 'Nuevas perspectivas sobre música y teatro jesuítico en el espacio colegial a fines del siglo 19', *III Reunión Científica Festival Internacional Misiones de Chiquitos* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 2000), pp.37–63.

9 See, for example, G. Marchant, 'El Libro Sesto de Maria Antonia Palacios, *c.*1790: un manuscrito musical chileno', *Revista musical chilena*, liii (1999), pp.27–46. On this manuscript, see also L. Merino, 'Presencia de Joseph Haydn en Latinoamérica colonial y decimonónica: "Las Siete Ultimas Palabras de Cristo en la Cruz" y dos fuentes en Chile', *Revista musical chilena*, xxx (1976), pp.5–38.

10 S. Claro Valdés, 'Chile: época colonial', *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. E. Casares (Madrid, 1999–2002), iii, p.628.

11 Claro Valdés and Urrutia-Blondel, *Historia de la música en Chile*, p.83. Indeed, Pereira Salas gives the title 'The beginnings of art music' to the chapter that begins in 1819: see Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical*, p.75.

12 I hope to be able to follow this study with research in the Augustinian monastery.

13 Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical*, pp.12, 13, 21, 38, 58. See also P. Gazulla, *Los primeros mercedarios en Chile, 1535–1600* (Santiago de Chile, 1918), pp.34, 428, 430.

14 On the history of the Order in Chile and the monastery, see P. Alfonso Morales Ramírez, *Historia general de la Orden de la Merced en Chile (1535–1831)* (Santiago de Chile, 1983), pp.130–34.

15 See, among others, A. de Vicente, *La música en el monasterio de Santa Ana de Ávila (siglos xvi–xviii)* (Madrid, 1989); A. Baciero, *El órgano de cámara del convento de la Encarnación de Ávila* (Madrid, 1982); S. Myers, 'La música en San Francisco el Grande de Madrid: documentación para una aproximación histórica (1581–1936) (primera parte)', *Revista de musicología*, xxv/1 (2002), pp.89–128; and A. Vera, *Música vocal profana en el Madrid de Felipe IV: el "Libro de Tonos Humanos" (1656)* (Lleida, 2002).

I was able to consult the dissertation of Colleen Ruth Baade 'Music and music-making in female monasteries in seventeenth-century Castile (Spain)', Duke University (2002), only after this article had gone to press.

16 See V. Cadenas, 'Música, fiestas y ceremonias en el convento de la Inmaculada Concepción de Caracas (siglos xvii–xviii)', *Mujeres, negros y niños en la música y sociedad colonial iberoamericana*, ed. V. Rondón (Santa Cruz de Bolivia, 2002), pp.19–38; A. Tello, 'La capilla musical del Convento de la Santísima Trinidad de Puebla en los siglos xvii y xviii', *Mujeres, negros y niños*, ed. Rondón, pp.52–61; and especially the excellent study by G. Baker, 'Music in convents and monasteries of colonial Cuzco', *Latin American music review*, xxiv (2003), pp.1–41. Also relevant is the work of E. Godoy and E. Oropeza Torrejón entitled 'El Convento "Santa Mónica" de Potosí, Bolivia' available at www.galeon.com/santamonicapotosi.

17 For example, L. A. González Marín ('El órgano y el acompañamiento en la música española del Barroco', *Rolde*, xvi (1991), pp.45–52) refers to 'the small parish churches and monasteries that did not have a music chapel, where the organist was responsible for solemnifying the services'.

18 Pereira Salas makes this point (*Los orígenes del arte musical*, p.153). For the 19th century, see V. Rondón, 'Música y cotidianeidad en el Convento de la Recoleta Dominicana de Santiago de Chile en la primera mitad del siglo 19', *Revista musical chilena*, liii (1999), pp.47–74.

19 See Claro Valdés and Urrutia-Blondel, *Historia de la música en Chile*, p.60.

20 Santiago, Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Mercedaria de Chile (henceforth AM), Libro I de Provincia, f.6. The archive is currently being catalogued so I am unable to give shelfmarks.

21 The characteristics of colonial organs, generally small (as in the case of the monastery of La Merced), and lacking the bass register, should also be taken into consideration. See B. Illari, 'De los órganos misionales de Chiquitos y su relevancia para la práctica musical', *Resonancias*, iv (1999), pp.68–81. There is also a villancico by Alonso Torices (*Toca la flauta*) in which the bass part is marked 'for dulcian' ('bajo para bajón'), see Claro Valdés, *Antología de la música colonial*, pp.92–7. On the use of the dulcian in Spanish cathedrals, see J. López-Calo, *Historia de la música española*, iii: *Siglo xvii* (Madrid, 1988), pp.12ff.

22 Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical*, p.30. The demand for this instrument seems to have declined in the 18th century, as it is not found in the cathedral ensemble of 1736, nor that of 1782.

23 According to Illari, this instrument was probably a soprano curtal. It is used in a villancico by Roque Jacinto de Chavarría: see B. Illari, *Polychoral culture: cathedral music in La Plata (Bolivia), 1680–1730* (PhD diss., U. of Chicago, 2001), pp.782–831. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to consult his study.

24 For example, the 'copla de ministriles' recently discovered in Las Palmas Cathedral: see L. Siemens, 'Una obra para la copla de ministriles en la Catedral de Las Palmas de Nicolás Tavares de Olivera (ca.1614–1647)', *Revista de musicología*, xxv/1 (2002), pp.129–42.

25 See B. Kenyon de Pascual, 'Corneta', *Diccionario*, ed. Casares, iv, pp.13–15.

26 See L. Robledo, 'Vihuelas de arco y violones en la Corte de Felipe III', *Actas del congreso internacional 'España en la música de Occidente' (Salamanca, 1985)* (Madrid, 1987), pp.63–4. However, it should be pointed out that until the latter part of the 18th century the plucked vihuela continues to appear among family possessions. See, for example, the 'biguela grande con sus embutidos de concha de perla maltratada' in the 1768 inventory of the possessions of Francisco Javier Errázuriz: Santiago, Archivo Nacional (henceforth AN), Escribanos de Santiago, vol.777, f.76.

27 See López-Calo, *Historia de la música española*, pp.59ff.

28 Pereira, *Los orígines del arte musical*, p.27. On the polyphonic villancico, see A. Torrente, *The sacred villancico in early eighteenth-century Spain: the repertory of Salamanca Cathedral* (PhD diss., U. of Cambridge, 1997).

29 AN, Cabildo de Santiago, vol.39.

30 See L. Waisman, '"Sus voces no son tan puras como las nuestras": la ejecución de la música en las misiones', *Resonancias*, iv (1999), pp.50–57, at p.53. See also Illari, *Polychoral culture*, i, pp.82–3.

31 AM, Libro 1 de Provincia, ff.31*v*, 52*r*.

32 AM, Libro 1 de Provincia, f.74*r*. See also Morales Ramírez, *Historia general de la orden*, p.132.

33 AM, Libro 1 de Provincia, ff.88*v*–90*r*.

34 AM, Libro 1 de Provincia, ff.116*r*, 121*v*.

35 AM, Gastos, 1696–1699, unfoliated. The same occurred on 7 September 1698.

36 AM, Gastos, 1696–1699. On 2 June 1697 4 *reales* were paid to 'Fray Tomás, organista' for sugar, and on 6 September 1699 1 *peso* was paid to 'fray Tomás de Villanueva' for strings.

37 AM, Libro 2 de Profesiones.

38 AM, Libro I de Provincia, ff.25*v*, 108*r*, and Libro 2 de Provincia, f.158*r*.

39 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.156, 326.

40 Examples can be found in AM, Gastos (1696–1699), for 31 January 1697, and Gastos (1707–1736), ff.1*r*, 13*r*, 17*r*, 33*v*. 58*r* etc.

41 AM, Gastos (1696–1699), and Gastos (1707–1736), f.271*r*, if indeed it was the same person. This individual also sang during Lent 1718 in the church of San Miguel de la Compañía de Jesús: AN, Jesuitas, vol.105, f.37.

42 AM, Libro de Recibos (1707–1749), f.52*r*.

43 He was given money on various occasions for his clothing, habit, bed covers, etc.: AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.120*v*, 135*v*, 146*r*, 147*r*, 161*r*.

44 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.144*r*, 169*r*.

45 AM, Visitas (1714–1843), ff.4*v*–5*v*. This document is also cited by Pereira Salas, *Historia del arte en el reino de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1965), p.335.

46 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), f.202*v*.

47 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), f.259*r*. On the terminology of keyboard instruments in Spanish-speaking regions in the Baroque, see C. Bordas, 'Clave', *Diccionario*, ed. Casares, iii, pp.746–50. See also B. Kenyon de Pascual, '*Clavicordios* and clavichords in 16th-century Spain', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.611–30.

48 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), f.334*v*. See also the distinction made between harpsichord and clavichord, albeit in a later period, in Rondón, 'Música y cotidianeidad', p.64.

49 Archivo del Convento de San Agustín, Casa Grande (1595–1625), f.24*r*.

50 Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical*, p.28. He cites the *clave* that arrived on board the *Maurepas* in 1707, and, later, the harpsichord bought by Gabriel Cano de Aponte when he took up the position of governor.

51 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.279, 334*v*, 340*v*, 374*r*.

52 AM, Visitas (1714–1843), f.39*v*.

53 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.382*v*, 423*r*, 428*v*.

54 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.277.

55 AM, Salidas (1773–1855), f.20*v*. It should be noted that the date is not clear from the document, although it must be dated between 1769 and 1774, when fray Pedro Nolasco de Echevarría was Provincial. This monk is also listed as 'Father fray Francisco Marieluz, 58 years old, in Santiago de Chile' in a 1764 *nómina* from the Lima monastery: AM, 'Documentos mercedarios sobre Chile y América', unfoliated.

56 AM, Documentos históricos sobre Chile (s. XVI–XVIII), unfoliated.

57 His full name was Juan de Dios León, and he was also hired by the cathedral in 1792 to repair its organ: AN, Contaduría mayor, 1ª serie, vol.1059, f.75*r*.

58 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), ff.14*v*, 131*r*, 136*r*.

59 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), ff.150*v*–151*r*.

60 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), f.168*v*.

61 AM, Salidas (1773–1855), ff.43*v*, 44*v*, 45*r*, 46*r*.

62 AM, Salidas (1773–1855), f.42*r*.

63 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), f.12*r*.

64 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), ff.19*r*, 27*v*, 52*v*, 117*r*, 167*r*.

65 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), ff.62*v*,196*v*.

66 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), f.132*r*.

67 AM, Tercera Orden (1743–1783), ff.5ff.

68 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), f.235*r*.

69 See Cadenas, 'Música, fiestas y ceremonias', p.31.

70 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), f.169*r*, dated September 1797.

71 Baker, 'Music in convents and monasteries', pp.10–11.

72 AM, 'Libro de cuentas generales del convento de Mendoza (1786–1802)', unfoliated.

73 AM, Visitas (1714–1843), ff.64*r*, 76*v* (second foliation).

74 AM, 'Libro de administración de la Hacienda de Huaquén' (1706–1750), ff.10*r*, 13*r*, 19*r*, 22*v*, 29*r*.

75 The term *maestro de capilla* instead of vicar choral is used in AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.721, and Gastos (1788–1802), ff.120*v*, 137*r*.

76 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, ff.914*r*, 924*r*. This friar rose to no less a position than Provincial of the Order, see Morales Ramírez, *Historia general de la Orden*, pp.332–6.

77 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, f.71*r*, and Libro 3 de Provincia, p.42.

78 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.693, 721.

79 AM, Visitas (1714–1843), f.73*r*.

80 AM, Libro 2 de Profesiones, f.64*v*.

81 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, f.22*r*.

82 AM, Libro I de Provincia, f.52*r*, and Libro 2 de Profesiones, f.78*r*.

83 AN, Escribanos de Santiago, vol.338, f.21*r*.

84 Indeed, 'a copybook of musical notes' ('cuadernito de punto de solfa') is found in the *post-mortem* inventory of the possessions of fray Pablo de la Fuente drawn up on 2 October 1718 in the monastery at Córdoba: AM, Archivo del Convento Grande, vol.3, f.333*v*.

85 AM, Libro 2 de Profesiones, ff.111*v*–112*r*.

86 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, f.58*v*, and Libro 2 de Profesiones, f.143*v*.

87 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.268*r*, 269*r*, 278*v*, 279*r*, 284*r*.

88 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), f.298*r*.

89 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.315*v*, 323*v*, 328*r*, 334*v*, 338*r*, 345*v*, 360*r*, 423*r*, 428*v*.

90 Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical*, p.31.

91 There are other examples from the 19th century, as when José Antonio González and José Zapiola, both cathedral musicians, worked at the Dominican monastery of La Recoleta: see Rondón, 'Música y cotidianeidad', pp.63, 68.

92 See A. Vera Aguilera, 'La capilla musical de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile y sus vínculos con otras instituciones religiosas: nuevas perspectivas y fuentes musicales para su estudio (ca.1780-ca.1860)', *Resonancias*, xiv (2004).

93 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), f.372*r*.

94 AM, Libro 3 de Profesiones, f.42*v*.

95 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, f.115*v*.

96 In AM, 'Documentos históricos sobre Chile (s.xvi–xviii)', unfoliated, there is a list that specifies the monks' ages; all such references have been taken from this document.

97 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, ff.122*r*, 127*r*, 139*r*. Cruz died on 1 July 1751 (Libro 3 de Provincia, p.131).

98 He took his vows on 28 September 1720 and died on 5 April 1748: AM, Libro 3 de Profesiones, f.42*v*, and Libro 3 de Provincia, p.103.

99 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, f.150*r*, and Libro 3 de Profesiones, f.68*v*.

100 AM, Libro 2 de Provincia, f.168*r*.

101 AM, Libro 3 de Profesiones, f.77*v*.

102 AM, Gastos (1707–1736), ff.288*r*, 289*v*.

103 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.41.

104 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.71, 73, 82.

105 AM, Libro 3 de Profesiones, f.99*r*, and Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.146, 323, 374.

106 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.276, 324, 619.

107 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.590. Cotera took his vows on 28 November 1728 and died on 18 April 1768 in the monastery of San Miguel in Santiago: AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.649, and Libro 3 de Profesiones, f.93*r*.

108 For example, between 1766 and 1769 fray Francisco Ortiz was second vicar: AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.628, 677.

109 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.717. In 1769 he graduated after three years of theological studies.

110 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.741.

111 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, pp.380, 382–3, 486.

112 AM, Gastos (1788–1802), ff.4*v*, 31*r*, 86*v*.

113 On Ximénez's death at the beginning of the 19th century he left a violin to the Franciscan monastery. See Archivo de San Francisco, 'Libro de esta Santa Provincia de la Santísima Trinidad de Chile, f.263*v*. I am grateful to Father Roberto Iturriaga for making this archive accessible to me.

114 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, ff.924, 945, and Gastos (1788–1802), f.152*r*. This accounts book would appear to be in Selaya's hand during these years.

115 Morales Ramírez, *Historia general de la Orden*, p.306.

116 AM, Libro 3 de Provincia, p.980.

117 AM, Fr. Benjamín Rencoret, 'Biografías de religiosos mercedarios', p.158. Rencoret asserts that fray Ramón did not play any instruments, which does not necessarily mean that he was in charge of music-making at the monastery, as I had suggested in my article 'La música en Santiago de Chile'.

118 Morales Ramírez, *Historia general de la Orden*, p.328.

119 On the origin of this series of paintings belonging to the Franciscan monastery, see Pereira Salas, *Historia del arte*, pp.65–72. I wish to thank Víctor Rondón for drawing my attention to this painting.

120 Claro Valdés, 'La música virreinal', p.26, points this out, citing Pereira Salas.

121 Not to mention the many choirbooks (one of polyphony) listed in the inventories.

122 A further example here is the restoration of the organ at the end of the 18th century.

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Harpsichord after Giovanni Ferrini

1 Lorenzo Atlas and Vicente de Memije, *Aspecto symbolico del mundo hispanico* (1761) (London, British Library Maps Collection, K.Top.118.19; by permission of the British Library)

David Irving

Musical politics of empire: the *loa* in 18th-century Manila

In 1761 the Tagalog artist and engraver Lorenzo Atlas published in Manila an allegorical illustration to accompany a map of Spanish possessions and explorations, both of which had been prepared by the cartographer Vicente de Memije. Entitled *Aspecto symbolico del mundo hispanico*, the illustration presents the Spanish Empire in the figure of a beautiful lady, superimposed on a truncated and vertical world map (illus.1).[1] While at first glance she may appear to be the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, the universal patroness of Spain and the Indies, closer examination proves her to be the allegorical figure of Hispania. Her head is the Iberian peninsula, her flowing robe the Americas, the folds of her dress the Pacific galleon routes at different times of the year, and her feet the Philippine Islands. 'España' is emblazoned across the base of her crown and the regions of Spain inscribed above; her necklace bears a compass, and the equinoctial line is her staff, from which flies a standard of the Spanish coat-of-arms.[2]

While this creative representation exudes confidence in the solidarity and influential breadth of the empire in the mid-18th century, its production in Manila also firmly positions the Philippine archipelago as an integral part of this worldwide enterprise of trade and culture. At this time the wealth and physical size of the territories controlled by Spain were at their peak—before the independence of most Latin American colonies in the 19th century—and the progressive state of the empire was reflected in the intellectual and artistic endeavours of the citizens of Manila. Their cultural pursuits, within the framework of Hispanic tradition, were enriched greatly by the contribution of the many diverse cultures present in the city, in celebrations both sacred and secular. At the time the *Aspecto symbolico* was printed, however, only one year remained before the invasion and occupation of Manila by British forces (1762–4), a sudden interregnum that would have far-reaching consequences in the subsequent history of the Pacific region, with regard to the undermining of Iberian predominance, and especially to Anglo-Saxon exploration and colonization in the South Seas.[3] This was in any case the only successful invasion attempt by any foreign power during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines (1565–1898). With the restoration of Manila to Spain in the Treaty of Paris (10 February 1763; effected officially on 31 March 1764)[4] the city returned with renewed vigour to its former cultural activities, which would continue to be cultivated until the end of the Spanish regime—though the English contredanse was left as a legacy.[5]

Since its foundation by the *conquistador* Miguel López de Legazpi in 1571, the 'Very Noble and Ever Loyal'[6] city of Manila had grown quickly into an important trading entrepôt and thriving international community in the Orient. One of the richest cities of its size in the Spanish Empire, it was a base for the trade of Chinese silks, porcelain and textiles

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with America and Europe. The financial lifeline of the colony was maintained by the galleons travelling regularly between Manila and Acapulco, Mexico, along the routes illustrated in the *Aspecto symbólico*. 'Each galleon returning to Manila bore goods worth between one and four million pesos, … [which] represented a return on investments of 30 to 600 per cent for each legal Spanish resident, all of whom were automatically allotted a portion of the cargo space.'[7] The galleons also served a dual function: until the cessation of trans-Pacific trade in 1815 and the subsequent independence of Mexico in 1821, contact between the Spanish government and its representatives in the Philippines (the governor-general and the *Audiencia* of Manila) was maintained via Mexico and the galleons.[8] Their safe arrival in Manila (and Acapulco, for that matter) was a momentous occasion, for not only did the fortune of the city depend on them,[9] but these ships and their indomitable crew of 'Manila men' had to survive rough seas as well as the piratical incursions of rival European nations. Their chosen spiritual protectress was Nuestra Señora de Paz y Buen Viaje ('Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage'), later known simply as the Virgin of Antipolo; upon the departure and arrival of the galleons, her image was often fêted with music and processions: of which more later.

In terms of the social development of the fledgling Spanish colony, the galleons played a crucial role from the beginning of their regular crossings of the Pacific. They would occasionally bring a new governor to Manila, or convey important news such as the birth or death of royalty (see illus.2), the canonization or beatification of illustrious religious figures, or reports of military victories. Any of these events would give just cause for the enactment of public celebrations (joyful or otherwise), with ceremonies including music, drama, dancing and processions. Such festivities were often financed by the city government, for public reinforcement of the sovereignty and power of Spain was necessary in its farthest territories, due to the relative sizes of Spain and the area it ruled. All these circumstances contributed to the production of many types of theatrical and musical works which emphasized and encouraged loyalty to the motherland. One particular genre that could be utilized for this purpose was the *loa*. This act of homage could be spoken or sung in honour of such important personages as the monarch or governor, the Virgin Mary or prominent saints. For example, according to the eminent Spanish scholar Wenceslao Emilio Retana in his seminal work, *El teatro en Filipinas* (1909), from the beginning of the 17th century all governors-general of the Philippines were received with a *loa* performance upon their arrival in Manila.[10] This would require a theatrical setting in which an individual would recite from memory a poetic composition praising the recently arrived personage and pondering on his accomplishments, although these may never have been realized during his lifetime.[11]

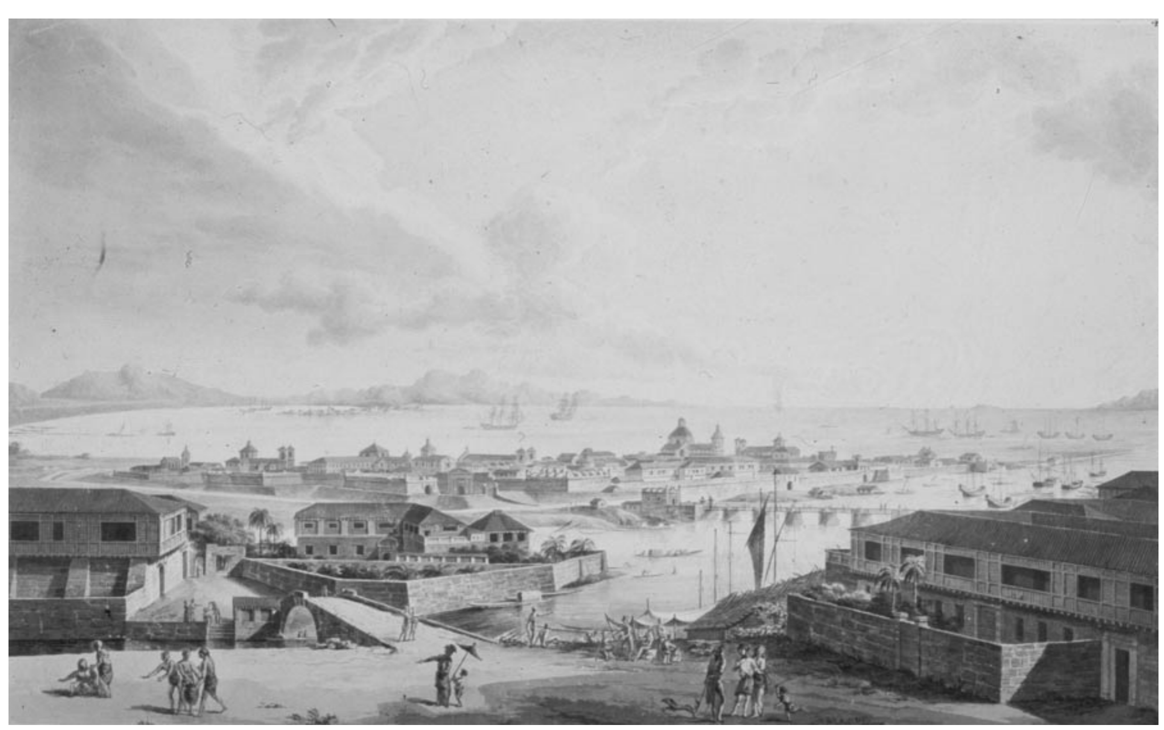
The *loa* was a genre that could be utilized by all citizens of Manila in expressing respect, in any language. Written in verse, the texts of *loas* could be

2 Depiction of the galleon San Joseph bearing the news of the death of Philip IV (1667), *Anales ecclesiasticos de Philipinas* (Manila, Archdiocesan Archives, i, f.197*v*) (Reproduced by permission of the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila)

simply declaimed, but in many cases they included musical interpolations or were set completely to music. While the texts were often published and circulated widely, few music scores have survived, as they were usually composed for a single occasion and not preserved. It thus can be difficult to determine whether or not music was included in a *loa*, unless there are explicit indications within the texts. In any case, the *loa* was most often part of larger festivities which always included music. According to González Marín, Spanish theatrical spectaculars in the 17th century, whether in public theatres, the court, or the street, were usually made up of a large work such as a *comedia*, *auto sacramental* or *zarzuela*, accompanied by shorter works, such as those which preceded (*loa*), those which were inserted in the interludes (*entremés*, *sainete*, *baile*), or those which closed the event (*fin de fiesta*, *mojiganga*, *sarao*).[12] These shorter works were similar in many respects to Renaissance *intermedi*, in their use of drama, song and dance.

The variable level of musical involvement within the *loa* has meant that this genre has not, until recently, been subject to detailed musicological study. While this article will provide a brief outline of the context, history and development of the genre, it will focus on the production of *loa* performances during the 18th century in Manila, the royal capital of the Philippine Islands (illus.3). The festivities in which these performances took place will be described to complement an examination of the musical involvement in select *loas* by Spanish and *mestizo* composers,[13] found in surviving 18th-century sources. Additionally, a preliminary chronological listing of *loas* performed in the Philippines from 1600 to 1800 will be provided below as table 1.

The Spanish noun *loa* comes from the verb *loar*, meaning 'to praise'. It has been translated variously as 'eulogy' or even as the Greek term 'dithyramb'. The latter is defined in the *Oxford English dictionary* as 'a Greek choric hymn, originally in honour of Dionysus or Bacchus, vehement and wild in character; a Bacchanalian song', 'a metrical composition having characteristics similar to this', or 'a speech or writing in vehement or inflated style'. Perhaps the



3 Fernando Brambila, *Vista de Manila y su bahía desde el arrabal* (1792) (Museo de América, Madrid)

most direct English equivalent, however, is the antiquated noun 'laud', meaning simply 'a hymn or ascription of praise'. Each of these definitions can be applied with justice to the genre; however, the original Spanish term will be maintained here for reasons of consistency.

According to Joseph A. Meredith, the earliest datable use of the word *loa* as the equivalent of a dramatic prologue was in a Corpus Christi play published in Spain in 1551.[14] For much of the second half of the 16th century, the *loa* remained the domain of sacred drama, with the function of praising someone or something.[15] At this time, the *introito*, an introductory scene which was sometimes didactic in character, was usually the fashion as a prologue in secular drama. Gradually the inclusion of laudatory and eulogistic content in the writing of prologues for secular drama, from the late 16th century onwards, caused the *introito* in many instances to be superseded by the *loa*. Meredith asserts, however, that while the two genres are related, and while both are synonymous for a prologue, the *loa* should not be considered to have grown from the *introito*, as they developed independently.[16]

In terms of its context in secular theatre, the Spanish *loa* was in many ways similar to the French operatic prologue, which usually praised the patron of the production. In this respect it could be a brief introduction to a much longer play or opera, and could include a number of different characters. The genre was versatile and could give new life to a work, as the same play could be performed on different occasions preceded by different *loas*, or conversely, the same *loa* could precede different plays.[17] The *loa* retained elements of the dithyramb in terms of classical and mythological allusions, which were generally given as a flattering allegory of the dedicatee. Designated characters were often allegorical or mythological figures, but those works with pagan elements were intended for performance outside of church. In the Spanish Indies, the *loa* gradually became a flexible genre, which could precede a formal play, welcome a visiting dignitary, or simply render homage at any time within the context of a larger event or festivity. Local languages and music traditions would come to play a significant role in the last form. By the 18th century this genre would be cultivated by all levels of society.

Parallel with practices in Spain, *loas* were abundant in Manila in the 17th century within the context of larger theatrical spectaculars. For example, a rare volume dating from 1677 describes the solemn festivities held in honour of the beatification of the saints Pius V, Diego de Bebaña and Margarita de Castello, and includes the full texts of six villancicos, sermons, *entremeses*, two *loas*, three plays and a *sarao*.[18] All these works were written in the Philippines by an anonymous Dominican, and were the first dramatic works to be printed there.[19] While the *loa* texts do not contain explicit musical directions, the plays have considerable musical involvement, and the unique *sarao* ('in the gypsy style, between eight men and women') includes directions for a *pavana* and a *gallarda*.[20] The *loas* have the traditional context here of preceding the plays as eulogistic prologues.

The most extravagant festivities in early 18th-century Manila were those held to celebrate the birth of Prince Luis Phelipe Fernando Joseph, the son and heir of the first Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V.[21] Surviving evidence shows that at least three distinct celebrations were held by various factions in the city. The most substantial were those spanning 10 to 18 December 1708 and 6 to 8 January 1709, which included Masses, military displays, and the performances of plays, entremeses, six villancicos and 12 *loas*. Two valuable printed accounts, published in Manila (1709) and Mexico (1710) respectively, have been conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España and provide the full texts of the *loas* and villancicos.[22] They also include tantalizing indications of the level of musical involvement in the festivities. The 1710 Mexican publication is more extensive, but does not mention the authors of the *loas*. The 1709 publication (see illus.4, 5), however, identifies the authors as the famous Augustinian and historian Gaspar de San Agustín (1650–1724), and the *mestizo* Augustinian Nicolás de San Pedro del Castillo (*d* 1715). Whether or not these authors also composed the music for these *loas* remains a mystery, but it is at least known that Gaspar de San Agustín was later described as the 'glory and honour of the [Augustinian] order, and illustrious

ornament of the Philippine Islands, for which this archipelago is renowned, not only for its poetic master, but also for its most happy Apollo'.[23]

On the first day of the novena, 10 December 1708, an extensive *loa* written by San Agustín was performed. This preceded the play *El mejor amigo, el Rey* by Agustín Moreto (1618–69) and included the characters Mercurio, Europa, Asia, Africa and América, but no musical involvement is explicit in the text.[24] On the following days there were runnings of bulls, Tagalog and Chinese celebrations, masquerades and fireworks.[25] The theatrical presentations resumed on the eighth day, with the play *Amor es más laberinto* by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, which itself has considerable musical involvement.[26] This was preceded by a *loa* newly composed for the occasion by Gaspar de San Agustín.[27] The characters are Hespaña, Yris and Regocijo (Rejoicing), whose verbose speeches include mythological, classical and historical references. The only indication of any musical involvement is the instruction to dance in the middle of the work. At the end of the *loa*, however, 'a dextrous choir of music introduced the play by singing a well-composed chorus'.[28]

The final day of the novena, 18 December 1708, was crowded with musical and dramatic performances. After a lengthy sermon by don Jerónimo de Herrera, the function began with a third *loa* by San Agustín, in which the characters are Vulgo, Belona and La Fama (see illus.4). Musical involvement is evident immediately, as the text begins with the instruction, 'Hacen dentro ruido como de fiesta, y mogiganga', applied to the opening chorus, which was presumably sung.[29]

> Vaia, vaia, vaia
> vaia de alegria
> y de Mogiganga,
> que el Nacimiento alegre
> del Principe de España
> convierte en regocijo
> las tristezas pasadas
> vaia, vaia, vaia, &c.

The speeches of the characters are later interpolated with a repeat of this chorus, and with 'warlike noise'.[30] At one stage La Fama enters to a clarion fanfare,[31] and once the *loa* is finished, the play is introduced with another chorus, as on the eighth day. This third play is *Los empeños de una casa*, another work by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Although no details of its performance in Manila are included in the descriptions of this festivity, Stevenson writes of the Mexican original that the 'one substantial musical interlude in *Los empeños* inhabits Act 2, lines 413–44, at which juncture five soloists and two *coros* argue the question, "Which is the harshest of love's pains?" '[32]

As the festivities moved on to the civic celebration of the birthday of the king and birth of the prince, premières were given of three works by Nicolás de San Pedro del Castillo, which contain a considerable level of musical involvement. [33] The first of these works is a *vejamen* (not strictly a *loa* as it lacks verbose eulogies, but similar in festive character) in which the characters Musica, Juno and two choirs of music sing (see illus.5).[34] The first half of the surviving text displays elaborate polychoral interchange between Musica, Juno, and up to four unspecified soloists; in the second half, Juno and Musica engage in a lively debate, with Juno singing verses in Spanish and Musica responding to each with a Bible verse in Latin. The two finally agree, singing, 'Buele Buele Buele/Por siglos y eternidades immensas.'[35] This spectacular work led to a procession with a 'carro Triumphal' entering the *plaza mayor* of the city (see illus.6), where the former performance presumably also took place. This car (float) approached the balconies of the palace, and an elaborate *loa* was performed in the presence of the governor. The author of this work is not specified in the record of the festivities, but Retana maintains that it was also the aforementioned San Pedro del Castillo.[36] In this work, entitled 'Loa que se represento en el carro triumphal al natalicio de nuestro Principe y Señor', are the characters Jupiter, Neptuno, Marte, and Vulcano, as well as 'Dos Choros de Mussica' [*sic*].[37] The final *loa* in these festivities[38] is properly attributed to San Pedro del Castillo, and the text contains considerably more detailed directions as to which sections are sung and which are spoken. Again, this work exhibits polychoral tendencies. The text also gives an idea of the staging, with descriptions such as 'Neptune appears with the Imperial Mantle; in his left hand is a trident, around which is wound a siren with his crown.'[39]

Perſonas.

Vulgo. Belona. La Fama.

Hacen dentro ruido como de fieſta, y mogiganga.

Dent. Vaia, vaia, vaia
vaia de alegria
y de Mogiganga,
que el Nacimiento alegre
del Principe de Eſpaña
convierte en regocijo
las triſtezas paſadas
vaia, vaia, vaia, &c.

Sale el Vulgo.

Vulg. Vaia digo en hora buena
de maſcara, y mogiganga,
y diga quien es Callejas.
del Vulgo de Zalagarda.
Que el primero, como Xefe
yo de la vida barata
mi lealtad al Rey Philippo
moſtrare. pues no ſe hallan
en mi gremio mal contentos,
que en gerigonza de Eſpaña
es lo miſmo que traidores,
que en mi hallara mi Monarca
la lealtad de quatro zuelas,
y un amor de mas de marca.
Vailo, y brinco de contento,
y reſuene la algazara
mientras Berbie en Valencia
es el Diablo en Cantillana.
Vaia digo de contento:

Dentro ruido de guerra.

Dé. Guerra guerra alarma alarma
Pero que rumor es eſte.
Vul. De trompetas, y de caxas
en dia de regozijo?
ſin duda el Diablo baraja
la ſuerte, como hazer ſuelen
los picaros ala Taba.
ſin duda algunos golillas
de los q̃ vio Madrid marras
el cazonal al borotan;
pues para ſus eſperanças
es el Principe nacido
panadizo, uñero, y ſarna.
Que yo como ſoy el Vulgo
me hacen mejor conſonancia
vna gayta, ò ſea Gallega,
o ya ſea Zamorana.
Pero muſica de parches,
es de poſtemas y llagas
con q̃ al ay, ay, ay y el ſus
a Xpos las potras cantan,
y ſolo los boticarios
tienen con parches garancia.
Pues los clarines ſon buenos
para la Señora Fama,
y para quitar el ſueño
al romper de la mañana,
o romper de las cabezas,
de aquellos aquien agradan.
Yo ſoy vn pobre trompeta,
y ſolo ſe templar gaitas,
tamboriles y panderos,
ſonajas, pitos. y flautas,
y aſi vaya de contento:

Dentro vaya vaya vaya.

Vulg. Eſſo quiero yire ceibas
Dent.

4 Extract from fr. Gaspar de S. Agustín, OSA, *Loa al nacimiento del serenissimo Luis Fernando Principe de España en 18. de Diciembre, Vispera de los años del Señor Don Phelipe Quinto Rey de España* (*Leales demostraciones, amantes finezas, y festivas aclamaciones de la Novilissima Ciudad de Manila* … Manila: Imprenta de la Compañia de Jesus, 1709, f.55*r*)

VEXAMEN,
QVE SE DIO A LA NO-
BILISSIMA CIVDAD DE MA-
NILA, EN LAS FIESTAS
Reales, q̃ celebrò en el cumplimiento
de años de ſu Mageſtad, y Nacimi-
ento de Nueſtro Principe, y
Señor D. Luis Fernando,
que Dios guarde.

AL LLEGAR EL CARRO TRIVMPHAL A
deſcubrir las Caſsas de Cabildo por remate
de todas las Reales fieſtas, ſe le dio
eſte Vexamen, empezando aſsi
la Muſica.

Cantan.

Muſica. Ola, Ola, à de los Cielos
Ola, Ola, à de las Eſtrellas

Coro. 1. Quien es aquella,
que con plumas doradas
de vn Aguila buela.

Todos. Ola,

74

Todos. Ola, ola, à de los Cielos,
Ola, ola, a de las Eſtrellas.

1. Quien es aquella
que con alas de oro
Se remonta à la eſphera?

Todos. Ola, ola, a de los Cielos,
Ola, ola, a de las Eſtrellas

1. Quien es aquella,
que al Sol ſe remonta
ardiente, y ligera?

Todos. Ola, ola, a de los Cielos,
Ola, ola, a de las Eſtrellas.

1. Digame, digame el ayre,
2. Digalo, digalo la tierra,
3. El agua, y el fuego
4. Elementos, y eſpheras.

Todos. Ola, ola, a de los Cielos,
Ola, ola, a de las eſtrellas.

Coro. 1. Quien es aquella Ciudad
que oy illuſtrando la tierra
hecha vna Eſphera de luces
oy vuelve à la miſma Eſphera?

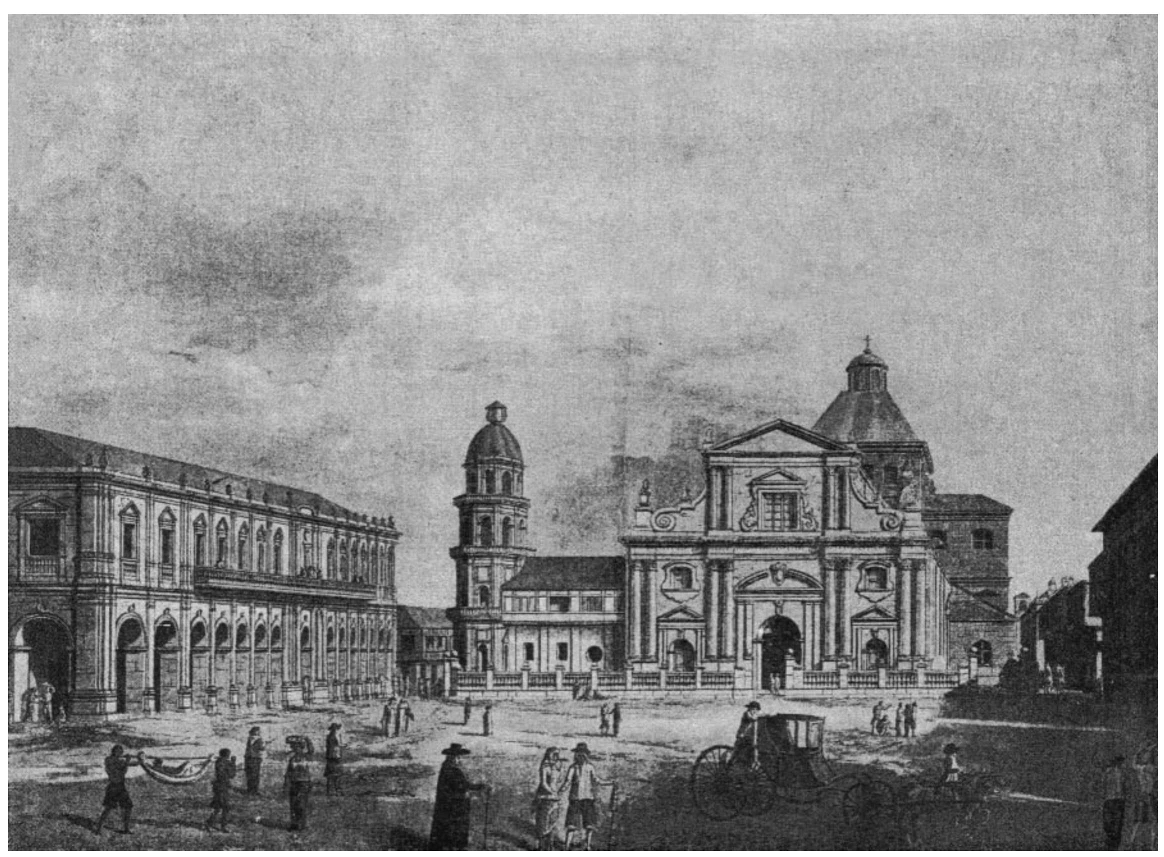
Coro. 2. Quien a de ſer ſino Manila,
que coronada por Reyna
Del Solio immortal en carros

De

5 Extract from fr. Nicolás de San Pedro del Castillo, OSA, *Vexamen, que se dio a la nobilissima ciudad de Manila, en las Fiestas Reales …* (*Leales demostraciones*, ff.73*v*–74*r*)

The Mexican publication by don Juan Ygnacio de Ochoa contains accounts of the nine panegyric expressions held from 6 to 8 January 1709, not only in honour of the birth of the prince, but also the 'joyful news of the triumphs and victories obtained' by the king. The festivities included large military displays directed by the *maestre de campo* don Thomas de Endaya, runnings of bulls, solemn Masses and Vespers, villancicos and *loas*. This book of 71 folios contains the full texts of the works performed, as well as detailed descriptions of the events and a sermon. As shown in table 1, seven *loas* are printed in different parts of the book; whether some of these belong together is unclear. Musica is a character in all except one *loa*, and alternating choirs are indicated in parts, as is the participation of clarions, fifes, drums and a 'multitude of instruments'.[40] This published account is arguably the most extensive of any royal festivity in 18th-century Manila, and detailed study may reveal much about the role of music and drama in such events.

The Jesuit polymath Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753), whose geographical, historiographical and juridical works are still renowned today, also contributed to the composition of *loas* in Manila in the first half of the 18th century. Although his single known work is a *certamen*, a term which usually refers to an artistic-literary competition in honour of an event, it can be defined as a *loa* due to its laudatory content and context. Entitled *No* [*h*]*ay*



6 Fernando Brambila, *Vista de la catedral i plaza de Manila* (1792) (Museo Naval, Madrid)

competencia en el cielo, this work was performed on 9 February 1729 during the festivities for the canonization of the Jesuit saints Estanislao de Kostka and Luis Gonzaga. With the main characters named Astrea, Italia and Polonia, it included 'music in three choirs with three *violones* and six violins'.[41] The surviving text shows that each of the three characters was assigned to a choir, and that the music probably had antiphonal and polychoral characteristics at various times. Some speeches of the main characters appear too long to have been set completely to music, but it is possible that those written in verse were set strophically. Although Murillo Velarde has not been specifically described as a musician or composer in Philippine chronicles, it would not be surprising if the music as well as the text emanated from his quill.

The publication containing the text of this work was cited in 1909 by Retana, who examined it in the extensive Philippine collection of the Madrid-based bibliophile Antonio Graiño.[42] Retana writes in his reference that included were 'two large folded sheets which contain handwritten music, as well as the corresponding lyrics'.[43] The Philippine collection of Antonio Graiño passed to the Biblioteca Nacional de España upon his death, but the volume is not currently located there. This publication was recently found in the National Library of the Philippines, but unfortunately the music manuscripts were not inside.[44] This particular copy does not have any markings of the name Graiño, however, in spite of Retana's insistence that the only copy in existence was possessed by this bibliophile. The only proof of previous ownership is an oval stamp bearing the inscription 'Biblioteca Filipina Emilio Velarde'. The binding is possibly from the early 20th century, and the page-count is ten less than was carefully enumerated by Retana, who made a detailed description of

Table 1 *Loas* **performed in Manila, 1600–1800**

Date	*Occasion*	*Author*	*Characters*	*Musical involvement*
5 Jul 1637	conquest of Mindanao by Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (Retana, p.36)	unknown		unknown
1665	transfer and solemn installation of the Virgin of Nuestra Señora de Guía to the Malate Church (Santos, i, p.199)	unknown	Gal., Ang. And Ynd. (probably Galán, Ángel and Yndia/s)	unspecified
23–5 Nov 1676	Dominican celebration of the Beatification of the saints Pius V, Diego de Bebaña and Margarita de Castello (*SF*, 63*r*–65*r*)	anon. Dominican author	Cuydado galan, Verdad dama, Divertimiento graciosso	unspecified
	the same (*SF*, 92*r*–94*r*)	anon. Dominican author	Imposible, Obediencia, Petrus currit	unspecified
10 Dec 1708	celebrations of the birth of Prince Luís Phelipe Fernando Joseph, son of Philip V, and the birthday of Philip V (*LD*, ff.17*r*–21*r*)	Gaspar de San Agustín	Mercurio, Europa, América, Asia, Africa	unspecified
17 Dec 1708	the same (*LD*, ff.27*v*–31*v*)	San Agustín	Hespaña, Yris, Regocijo	unspecified
18 Dec 1708	the same (*LD*, ff.54*v*–59*v*)	San Agustín	Vulgo, Belona, La Fama	instructions in the text: 'Hacen dentro ruido como de fiesta, y mogiganga' (f.55*r*); 'Sale la Fama con las llenas de ojos y con clarin' (f.57*r*); 'Empezose la comedia despues de la Loa con este tono, que tambien se canto en la primera comedia' (f.59*v*)
	the same (*LD*, ff.77*v*–83*v*)	probably Nicolás de San Pedro del Castillo	Jupiter, Neptuno, Marte, Vulcano, Dos Choros de Mussica [*sic*]	Dos Choros de Mussica [*sic*]
	the same (*LD*, ff.84*r*–87*r*)	San Pedro del Castillo	Neptuno, dos coros de Musica, Musica	dos coros de Musica
6–8 Jan 1709	birth of Prince Luis Phelipe Fernando Joseph and notice of Triumphs and Victories attained by Philip V (Ochoa, ff.13*v*–18*r*)	unknown	Musica, Juno, Religion	Singing (coros), fanfares
	the same (Ochoa, ff.18*v*–20*r*)	unknown	Musica, Marte	unspecified
	the same (Ochoa, ff.23*v*–25*v*)	unknown	Musica, Saturno viejo	unspecified

Table 1 Continued

Date	*Occasion*	*Author*	*Characters*	*Musical involvement*
	the same (Ochoa, ff.25*v*–28*v*)	unknown	Musica, Jupiter, Neptuno	Singing (coros)
	the same (Ochoa, ff.32*r*–36*r*)	unknown	Musica, Bellona	'clarines, y caxas, Pifanos, y otra multitud de instrumentos' (f.34*v*)
	the same (Ochoa, ff.41*r*–42*v*)	unknown	Saturno	unspecified
	the same (Ochoa, ff.44*v*–47*v*)	unknown	Musica, Venus	unspecified
9 Feb 1729	festivities in the Jesuit college for canonization of two Jesuit saints: Estanislao de Kostka, and Luis Gonzaga (*Sermones*, ff.12*r*–28*v*)	Pedro Murillo Velarde	Astrea, Italia, Polonia	musical interpolations between characters' speeches: 'en tres coros con tres violones y seis violines' (Retana, p.49). From an *octava* in the publication: 'El theatro en tres arcos dividido/formaba con tres puertas symetria,/en tres Musicos Coros repartido,/á los Jovenes tres correspondia.'
20 Feb 1748	festivities welcoming the Virgin of Antipolo after her voyage from Mexico	unknown		' . . . the Most Holy Virgin was fêted with elegant devotional *loas*, and with beautiful songs by smooth and gentle voices, accompanied by sweet tuneful instruments. The harmonious consonance of violins, harps, viols, flutes, and oboes was matched by the continuous explosions of fireworks, . . . interpolated by the joyful warlike harmonies of drums, horns and clarions' (Murillo Velarde, f.217*r*)
5 May 1750	festivities for the conversion of Sultan Rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimudin	unknown		' . . . choirs of music with *loas* especially for the occasion, and fantastic spectacles, together with dances and many inventions . . . ' (Arechederra, p.138; Retana, p.52)
Nov 1766	Feast of San Carlos	anon. *mestizo* authors		instrumental music and dancing
13 Nov 1790	proclamation and oaths [*jura*] of Carlos IV and María Luisa de Borbón (festivities lasting 3–21 Nov) (Retana, pp.56–7)	anon. Tagalog Authors		'El día 11, los tagalos tuvieron también su fiesta: declamaron loas "con el desembarazo, que acostumbran en semejantes fuciones". Y como no se habla de la cuarta comedia española, tal vez la fiesta de *loas* hecha por los tagalos constituyese la cuarta y última función de las que formaron entonces el programa del *Teatro Cómico*' (Retana, p.57)

Table 1 Continued

Date	*Occasion*	*Author*	*Characters*	*Musical involvement*
1800	entry of navy general don Ignacio María de Álava into Lipa (Batangas) (Retana, pp.47–8)	anon. Tagalog author(s)		See Retana, pp.47–8; Zúñiga, i, pp.60–61

Key
Arechederra = J. de Arechederra, 'Relacion de la entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimudin en esta Ciudad de Manila', *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, ed. W. E. Retana (Madrid, 1895–1905).
LD = *Leales demostraciones, amantes finezas, y festivas aclamaciones de la Novilissima Ciudad de Manila* (Manila, 1709).
Murillo Velarde = Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus* (Manila, 1749).
Ochoa = Don Juan Ygnacio de Ochoa, *Exprecion panegirica* (Mexico, [1710]).
Retana = W. E. Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas desde sus orígenes hasta 1898* (Madrid, 1909).
Santos = *Anales ecclesiasticos de Philipinas, 1574–1682*, ed. R. C. Santos, 2 vols. (Manila, 1994).
Sermones = Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Sermones, Certamen, y Relacion de la fiesta* (Manila, 1729).
SF = *Sagrada Fiesta*: *Tres Vezes Grande* (Manila, 1677).
Zuniga = J. M. de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, ó mis viajes por este país*, ed. W. E. Retana (Madrid, 1893).

the contents. Among the pages that should be there, according to Retana, is an anonymous engraving representing San Luis and San Estanislao standing in glory.[45] All these factors point to the possibility that several copies existed in the 20th century, with one containing music. Although the copy of Graiño may still exist in Madrid, searches in several libraries have not yet been fruitful. It is likely that, if not simply destroyed or lost, the Graiño volume and its accompanying manuscripts were sold or passed on to another bibliophile, possibly being singled out due to the unusual inclusion of music. Another sad, yet plausible, theory is that Graiño owned the copy now held in Manila, never marked it, and that ten pages and the music simply fell out and were lost.

If found, this source will provide an important manuscript example of music composed in the Philippines in the 18th century—and the only such example of music for a *loa*. What style this music may have had is unknown, although it is likely that it was Italianate in nature; the music of Corelli, for example, was known as far afield as Beijing, Calcutta and Mexico in the 18th century, and its influence probably also reached Manila. Due to the extensive damage suffered by Manila during 1945 (at a level second only to Warsaw),[46] most archives and libraries were destroyed along with almost all historic buildings in Intramuros, the ancient walled city centre. The few 18th-century sources that remain there include large-format *cantorales*, containing plainchant and part-music, in the church of San Agustín. The most significant pre-1800 music manuscript found so far is a late 17th-century collection of *letras*, *canciones* and *villancicos*, of which only the melody line is notated, from the Dominican Santuario de San Juan del Monte.[47]

Murillo Velarde is held in great esteem for his history of the Jesuit province in the Philippines, published in 1749, which covered the years 1616 to 1716 and was a continuation of the earlier Jesuit history *Labor evangelica* (1663) by Francisco Colín. This includes many references to music,[48] and in spite of the dates specified in the title, Murillo Velarde gives a detailed account of the festivities celebrated in 1748 in welcome of the Virgin of Antipolo after her voyage from Mexico. Beginning in Manila and progressing to the nearby town of Antipolo (where the image is enshrined today), they culminated in the performance of 'two serenatas, in which were sung Spanish and foreign compositions, old and modern; in which the best of the art was demonstrated in arias, recitatives, fugues, graves, and all other variety of genres, and some seasoned one-act farces with good taste'.[49] During the course of the celebrations, multiple *loas* were also performed. Unfortunately, details such as the language(s) in which they were performed, and whether they were recited or sung, were not

recorded in the following account.

Pasig, Pueblo de los mas numerosos de estas Islas, se esmerò en el festejo con tal fineza, como si fuera propria [*sic*] *la funcion. Adornaron las margenes del rio de arcos, de vanderas, de colgaduras, y de altares. Algunos de ellos estaban vistosamente dispuestos con Imagenes, luzes, y otras alhajas. En dos se detubo el acompañamiento, mientras festejaban à la Santisima Virgen con loas devotas, y elegantes, y con bellas canciones de vozes suaves, y apacibles, acompañadas de dulces acordes instrumentos. A la armoniosa consonancia de rabeles, harpas, violones, flautas, y obues* [*sic*], *correspondian los continuos disparos de varios artificios de polvora, interpolandose entre el horror de los unos, y la suavidad de los otros, las alegres guerreras consonancias de tambores, trompas, y clarines.*[50]

Pasig [in today's metropolitan Manila], the most populous town of these islands, went to great lengths in the festivity, [and] with such refinement, as if the event were its own. The river banks were adorned with arches, flags, fine hangings and altars. Some of these were brilliantly arranged with images, lights [candles] and other jewellery. The procession halted before two of these, as the Most Holy Virgin was fêted with elegant devotional *loas*, and with beautiful songs by smooth and gentle voices, accompanied by sweet tuneful instruments. The harmonious consonance of violins, harps, viols, flutes and oboes was matched by the continuous shots of the fireworks, the horror of one sound, and the smoothness of the other, interpolated by the joyful warlike harmonies of drums, horns and clarions.

Similarly, *loas* were also included in festivities held in the capital on 5 May 1750, to welcome Alimudin, Sultan of Jolo, immediately after his baptism in the nearby town of Paniqui. These are described with little detail, alas, in a *relación* written shortly after the event by Juan de Arechederra, a Dominican and the bishop of Nueva Segovia. Arechederra recounts the festivities of the natives, *mestizos* and Chinese, which included *mojigangas* performed 'con mill graciosidades', with the fantastical cars of the procession accompanied by 'choirs of music with *loas* especially for the occasion, and fantastic spectacles, together with dances and many inventions, which were at the time very pleasant, and very joyous'.[51]

From this account, and from those of Murillo Velarde, the transformation of the *loa* into a dual genre, which was either a theatrical prologue or a hymn of praise, can already be seen. Which form was employed depended on the event, the social group rendering homage, the identity of the recipient thereof, and the location of the festivities. The hymn-like *loa* was more likely to be performed in processions and spontaneous gatherings, or as an act of welcome. The theatrical *loa*, however, required patient preparation, and was usually given as a more formal presentation. They could be performed in Spanish or indigenous languages, or in a mixture of languages which sometimes included Latin. Both forms usually involved music, but there appear to have been few conventions governing its use, as the *loa* remained, in effect, a fairly 'free' genre.

From the second half of the 18th century come a number of descriptive accounts of *loas* performed in honour of various events, but so far none of their texts has emerged. It is unlikely that traditional *loas* as such were performed in honour of the British authorities during the years 1762–4, but musical life probably continued in the city nonetheless. Whilst several religious institutions were ransacked and their property put up to public auction, church ceremonies were otherwise allowed to continue, as the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion had been one of the conditions made by acting governor Archbishop Rojo del Río before he surrendered Manila on 6 October 1762.[52] Following the return of the city to Spain, civil events were also restored to their former lavishness. The Frenchman Guillaume Joseph Le Gentil de la Galaisière, who visited Manila while on his royally ordained voyage to make astronomical (and presumably also terrestrial) observations in the South Seas, described a performance of what could only be a *loa* during the celebrations for the feast of San Carlos, name-day of King Charles III, in 1766.

Le jour destiné pour les Mœtis, ils parurent dans deux chars assez beaux, pleins de Musiciens & de Déclamateurs; dans un de ces chars étoit un tableau représentant l'Infant & l'Infante; ce char s'approche du balcon, & un des Déclamateurs, après un compliment fort court, présenta le tableau au Gouverneur, & lui en fit présent au nom de ceux qui étoient dans le char, ensuite sortirent de ce char plusieurs danseurs, qui exécutèrent des danses & sauts singuliers à la façon du pays, au son de plusieurs instruments.

L'autre char portoit, au milieu, une espèce d'oiseau semblable au phénix, de bout & les ailes étendues. Le char arrivé devant le Gouverneur, le ventre du phénix s'ouvrit, il en sortit un harangueur qui parla pendant quelque temps; puis les danseurs descendirent du char & signalèrent leur zèle aussi-bien que ceux du premier char, par des danses aussi singulières que bizarres; il vint ensuite une baleine à laquelle on avoit en soin de faire le gosier assez large, pour qu'il pût sortir de son corps une douzaine environ de jeunes danseurs fort bien habillés, portant chacun une petite lanterne de papier en forme de tambour de basque; ils exécutèrent une petite danse que je trouvai fort sauvage, mais qui fut trouvée de très-bon goût, & qui fut généralement applaudie.[53]

On the day intended for the *mestizos*, they appeared on two quite beautiful floats, full of musicians and declaimers. On one of these floats was a painting representing the Infante and the Infanta [of Castile]. This float approached the balcony, and one of the declaimers, after a very short compliment, presented the painting to the Governor, on behalf of those who were on the float. Then many dancers came from this float and performed dances and jumps which were particularly in the style of the land, to the sound of many instruments.

In the middle of the other float was a type of bird which resembled a phoenix, standing with its wings spread. This float having arrived in front of the Governor, the breast of the phoenix opened, and out came a haranguer who spoke for a while; then the dancers came down from the float and showed their zeal as well as those from the first float, by dances which were as distinct as they were strange. There then came a whale whose throat was large enough for about a dozen very well-dressed young dancers to emerge from there, each carrying a little paper lantern in form of a Basque drum. They performed a little dance which I found very wild, but which was considered to be of very good taste, and which was generally applauded.

The 'haranguer' was evidently the performer of a *loa* in honour of the day, around which the instrumental music and dances were performed. This account by Le Gentil is highly significant in providing details of the elaborate staging of a *loa*, as little other evidence has survived to reveal the visual elements of performances. While *loa* texts themselves will sometimes indicate the props required by various characters, such as a trident for Neptune, so far only one iconographical representation of a *loa* performance in Manila has surfaced (illus.7). Dating from the 17th century, this consists of three small drawings, painted in colour, found on f.190 of the *Anales ecclesiasticos de Philipinas*, one of the principal sources of Philippine church history.[54] Within these annals is recorded the text of a *loa* performed in 1665 to honour 'the transfer and solemn installation of the Virgin of Nuestra Senora de Guía to the Malate Church as its Patroness'.[55] Above the title the three

7 Depiction of characters from a *loa* performed in 1665, *Anales ecclesiasticos de Philipinas* (Manila, Archdiocesan Archives, vol.1, f.190*r*) (Reproduced by permission of the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila)

characters *Gal.*, *Ang.* and *Ynd.* (probably Galán, Ángel and Yndia [Yndias]) are depicted with remarkable detail in their respective costumes.

The festivities surrounding the proclamation of Carlos IV as king, and the oaths [*jura*] of Carlos and his wife María Luisa de Borbón, were celebrated in Manila from 3 to 21 November 1790, during which time four plays were presented in the Teatro Cómico.[56] The fourth of these, on 13 November, included *loas* performed by the Tagalogs, according to Retana, although no details have yet been uncovered.[57] The Chinese population also added colour to the civic revelry, with 'Chinese lions spitting fire, and a serpent [dragon] 50 cubits long swallowing fire and dancing through the streets'.[58] They also performed a play in the suburb of Binondo, which began at 3 p.m. and lasted until 4 a.m.[59]

The last chronological piece of evidence concerning *loas* in the 18th century is an account of a performance in 1800 in Lipa, Batangas, not far from Manila. Written by the Augustinian Joaquín Martinez de Zúñiga, this testimony concerns the reception in Lipa of the visiting navy general Ignacio María de Álava. With great ethnographic detail, it presents fertile ground for the ethnomusicologist.

Se presenta el que ha de decir la loa en medio del teatro, bien vestido, como un caballero español: está sentado y recostado en una silla en ademán de que está durmiendo; detrás de las cortinas cantan los músicos una letra de un tono lúgubre en el idioma del país; el que está dormido despierta y empieza á dudar si ha oído alguna voz, ó será sueño lo que oía: se sienta otra vez, durmiendo, y se repite la letra en el mismo tono lúgubre; vuelve á despertarse, se levanta y hace nuevas reflexiones sobre la voz que ha oído. Esta escena se repite dos ó tres veces, hasta que se persuade de que la voz le dice que ha llegado un héroe y es preciso hacer su elogio. Entonces empieza á decir su loa con bastante propiedad, representando, como hacen los cómicos en el coliseo y echando una relación en el idioma del país en alabanza de aquel cuyo respeto se ha dispuesto la fiesta.

En esta loa celebraron las expediciones navales del General, los grados y títulos con que le había condecorado el Rey, y acabaron dándole las gracias y reconociendo el favor que les había hecho en pasar por su pueblo y visitarlos, siendo unos pobres infelices. Estaba esta loa en verso, compuesto muy retóricamente en estilo difuso, conforme al gusto asiático. No faltaban en ellas expediciones de Ulises, los viajes de Aristóteles y la desgraciada muerte de Plinio, y otros pasajes de historia antigua que les gusta mucho introducir en sus relaciones. … Creo que estas loas se las hicieron en tiempos antiguos los Padres.[60]

He presented what must be called a *loa* in the middle of the theatre, and was well dressed, like a Spanish gentleman. He was seated and lying back in a chair as if sleeping; behind the curtains the musicians sang a lugubrious song in the local manner. The sleeping man awoke and began to doubt whether he had heard any voice, or that he had dreamed what he heard. He sat down again, sleeping, and the same lugubrious song was repeated. He awoke again, arose and made new reflections on the voice he had heard. This scene was repeated two or three times, until he persuaded himself that the voice told him that a hero had arrived and it was necessary to make a eulogy. Thus he began to declaim his *loa* with great decorum, symbolically, as the actors do in the coliseum, and gave an account in his native language praising the one in whose honour the fiesta had been ordered.

This *loa* celebrated the naval expeditions of the General, the awards and titles with which the king had decorated him, and finished by giving him thanks and recognition of the favour which he had done in passing through this town and visiting them, they being poor wretches. This was a *loa* in verse, composed very rhetorically in a diffuse style, conforming to Asian taste. The verses did not fail to mention the expeditions of Ulysses, the voyages of Aristotle and the unfortunate death of Pliny, and other passages of ancient history which they like very much to introduce into their accounts. … I believe that the Fathers brought these *loas* here in early times.

Evidently, the *loa* gradually entered the realm of traditional practice in indigenous communities. Even today the genre is utilized in various fiestas throughout the Philippines, while similar forms of homage exist in practices such as the *Flores de Mayo*, the floral offerings to the Virgin Mary made every day in May, in which devotional hymns are sung between the mysteries of the rosary. Doreen Fernandez describes how certain elements of Spanish feasting set a standard for religious and secular celebration, and were reflected in native fiestas in derivative form.[61] Filipino *komedyas* on a feast day might start with a *loa* in honour of the patron saint, which may include references to the mayor, or the *hermano mayor*, or town personalities.[62] In a study of the modern-day *loa* in oral literature of the province of Samar, Minodora Magbutay claims that the derivative folkloric form 'is lyrical [and] deals with some elemental emotions of its singers and reciters. Complete in four verses or quatrains, [it] has a variety of rhyme schemes. … The *loa* is rich in imagery and when it is set to music, as it often is, it becomes a haunting and melancholic song. But the *loa* is not all tears. It also embodies humour, one that may be truly characteristic of the common people.'[63] She goes on to add that 'God, religious rites, biblical

figures [and] saints are not very popular *loa* figures. The Blessed Mother is more often mentioned than any other saint or figure of the Christian faith.'[64] The endurance of the genre in the indigenous populations of most countries colonized by Spain is a testament to its popularity and to the extent of cultural interaction between all parts of society in public celebration.

Recent studies have emphasized the role the civic and religious festivities in the Spanish Indies played in upholding the political authority of Spain in its farthest territories. Luís Merino and William John Summers have shown that 22.42 per cent of the total expenditure of the *Cabildo Secular* or municipal government of Manila from 1571 to 1800 was devoted to public spectacle, and the next largest proportion of 5.35 per cent spent on the reception of governors.[65] The extravagance of such events in the cosmopolitan and wealthy city of Manila did much to bring the diverse population together in celebratory acts which 'catalyzed the most important moments of public cultural intersection between the city's indigenous populations, Asian immigrant communities, and the Spanish colonists'.[66] The *loa*, of course, was the most explicit act of homage in the rich cultural spectrum of city fiestas. By publishing their texts, the authors and the organizations they represented hoped to curry favour with authority, thereby securing continued financial and social support. Although Retana wrote caustically that all Spanish poetry written in the Philippines was 'detestable, . . . especially [that] meant to honor [*loar*] authorities',[67] it was precisely these verses and their resultant musical settings which, within larger festivities, tickled the fancies of their dedicatees and over time raised Manila to the status of a 'Very Noble and Ever Loyal City'. Whether or not the published accounts of civic and religious festivities were read or discussed in detail back in Europe, the survival of several of them has nevertheless permitted a valuable window into the fascinating musical past of this historic city.

As in most cities of the Spanish Empire, the extent of collaboration between various social factions of Manila was most explicitly demonstrated in public festivities, both religious and secular. These were events that involved the entire social spectrum of the community, with sectors including the indigenous, immigrant, lay, religious, governmental and military, among others. The results of this collaboration, seen today in the form of slim volumes which contain only tantalizing hints of the full extent of this artistic extravagance, were only the end-product of what must have been extensive preparation and cultural development within the complex crucible of Manila. Although this study merely scratches the surface of the cultural history of this fascinating city, it is hoped that in some way it highlights the lacuna in current understanding of musical globalism, bringing to the fore new issues and subjects.

1 The full title of the engraving is *Aspecto symbolico del mundo hispanico, puntualmente arreglado al geografico, que a su glorioso catholico Rey Carlos Tercero el Magnanimo dedica y consagra D. Vicente de Memije. Con IX theses y XC proposiciones que acerca de el defiende presidiendo el R. P. Pasqual Fernandez, publico professor de mathematicas en la Universidad de Manila de la Compañia de Jesus año de 1761*. The original is housed in the British Library Maps Collection, K.Top.118.19.

2 C. Quirino, *Philippine cartography, 1320–1899* (Amsterdam, 2/1963), p.57.

3 Many of the charts, documents and maps looted from colleges and convents in Manila were taken to London and used in the planning of the 1770 voyage of exploration by Captain James Cook. Some remain today in the British Library, others are housed in King's College, London, and still others from the estate of Alexander Dalrymple were sold to the Lilly Library, University of Indiana. The British occupation of Manila was nevertheless one part of a chain of events which would eventually result in the Philippine independence movement in the 19th century and the Philippine Revolution beginning in 1896—a short-lived triumph, however, as the archipelago was annexed by the United States in 1898.

4 E. M. Alip, *Political and cultural history of the Philippines* (Manila, 1949), p.25.

5 'Les Anglois ont laissé à Manille beaucoup de contredanses fort bizarres; mais qui plaisent si fort que les Musiciens les font servir à l'église; après la *Collecte*, on est sûr de voir finir l'Office, dans toutes les églises, par une contredanse angloise, avec laquelle ils régalent & congédient les Spectateurs.' ('The English have left in Manila a lot of contredanses which are quite strange; but these are so very pleasing that the musicians make them serve for church; after the Collect, one is sure to see, in all the churches, the Office finished by an English

contredanse, with which they treat the spectators and dismiss them.') Guillaume Joseph Le Gentil de la Galaisière, *Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1779–1781), ii, pp.132–3.

6 M. J. Noone, *The islands saw it: the discovery and conquest of the Philippines, 1521–1581* (London, 1984), p.259.

7 W. J. Summers, 'Listening for historic Manila: music and rejoicing in an international city', *Budhi*, ii/1 (1998), p.205; H. de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768* (Cambridge, MA, 1961), pp.111ff.

8 The limits of Spanish and Portuguese control in the two hemispheres were defined by two longitudinal lines of demarcation established by the treaties of Tordesillas (1494) and Zaragoza (1529); they ran respectively through modern-day Brazil and between the Philippines and the Moluccas. Thus, all travel from Spain to the Philippines had to be westward, until the 19th century.

9 Summers, 'Listening for historic Manila', p.206.

10 W. E. Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas desde sus orígenes hasta 1898* (Madrid, 1909), p.37.

11 '… desde principios del siglo XVII á todo Gobernador general se le recibia con una *loa*, que es la menor cantidad de expresion teatral, pero teatral desde luego, pues que requería tablado y que un sujeto de ciertas dotes artísticas recitase de memoria una composición poética en alabanza del recién llegado, ponderando sus hazañas … aunque no hubiese realizado ninguna en los días de su vida.' Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, pp.37–8.

12 L. A. González Marín, *et al.*, 'Loa', *Diccionario de la música española y hispanoamericana*, ed. E. Casares Rodicio, J. López-Calo and I. F. de la Cuesta (Madrid, 1999–2001), vi, pp.970.

13 The term *mestizo* in the Spanish Empire referred to persons born of a union between a Spaniard and an indigene (or *indio*). In the Philippines there also existed the term *mestizo chino* or *mestizo sangley*, which referred to those born of a Chinese–*indio* union.

14 J. A. Meredith, *Introito and loa in the Spanish drama of the sixteenth century* (Philadelphia, 1928), p.103.

15 Meredith, *Introito and loa*, p.115.

16 Meredith, *Introito and loa*, p.115.

17 González Marín, 'Loa'.

18 *Sagrada Fiesta: Tres Vezes Grande: Que en el discurso de tres dias zelebro el Convento de Sancto Domingo de Manila, primera Casa de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de Filippinas: en la Beatificacion de los gloriossos Sanctos Pio Qunto, Diego de Bebaña, y Margarita de Castello* (Manila, 1677). Now held in the National Library of the Philippines; no.2020 in I. R. Medina, *Filipiniana materials in the National Library* (Quezon City, 1972).

19 Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, pp.38–40; W. E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas deducido de la colección que posee en Barcelona la Compañía General de Tabacos de dichas islas*, 3 vols. (Manila, 1964), i, pp.153–5.

20 'Sarao Agitanado entre ocho, Hombres y Mugeres.' *Sagrada Fiesta*, *67v–68v*.

21 His birth-date was 25 August 1707, but the news obviously took a little time to traverse two oceans. Luís succeeded to the Spanish throne on 9 February 1724, but died of smallpox on 31 August 1724. R. M. Stevenson, 'Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's musical rapports: a tercentenary remembrance', *Inter-American music review*, xv/1 (1996), p.18. Philip V had abdicated in favour of Luís, but resumed the throne after the death of his son.

22 *Leales demostraciones, amantes finezas, y festivas aclamaciones de la Novilissima Ciudad de Manila, con que agradecida a los Divinos beneficios expresa su fino amor en las nueve fiestas que celebrô, patente el Divino Rey de Reyes en el SS. Sacramento; y colocada en la capilla mayor desta S. Metropolitana Iglesia la Milagrosa Ymagen de Maria Santissima de Guia, en accion de gracias por el dichoso y Feliz Nacimiento de Nuestro Principe, y Señor natural D. Luis Phelipe Fernando Joseph, que Dios guarde, y las consagra a Magestad Catholica del Señor D. Phelipe Quinto Rey de las Españas* (Manila, 1709). Don Juan Ygnacio de Ochoa, *Exprecion panegirica, solemne demonstracion de las Festivas Reales, y Magestuosas pompas con que solemniçô el Maestre de Campo D. Thomas de Endaya, con su Sargento Mayor, Capitanes, y Real Tercio, dè estas Islas Philipinas. El feliz nacimiento de nuestro Principe, y Señor Don Luis Phelipe Fernando, (que Dios guarde) y las alegres noticias de los Triumphos, y victorias conseguidas por nuestro Grande Monarca, y Señor Philippo V. el Grande. Acuya Magestad el Capitan Juan Ignacio de Ochoa, vezino de la Ciudad de Manila, y professor de Mathematicas, sacrifica rendido quanto escriviò obediente* (Mexico, [1710]).

23 '… gloria y honor del orden [agustino] … e ilustre ornamento de las islas Filipinas, a quien reconoce este Archipiélago, no solo por maestro de la poesía, sino por su más feliz Apolo.' G. de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, 8 vols. (Madrid, 1913–31), vii, p.111. The Commissar and Prior of the Augustinian Convent in Manila, Gaspar de San Agustín, was also an historian who is still renowned for his seminal work *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698).

24 *Leales demostraciones*, ff.17*r*–21*r*.

25 Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.45.

26 Stevenson, 'Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's musical rapports', p.18.

27 *Leales demostraciones*, ff.27*v*–31*v*.

28 '… un diestro coro de Musica, que con acorde, y bien compuesto punto principio la comedia con este ingenioso tono.' *Leales demostraciones*, f.31*v*. The play concluded with 'a graceful *entremés* in the style of the land', which, according to Retana, indicates a type of Philippine theatre with unique characteristics. Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.45.

29 *Leales demostraciones*, f.55*r*.

30 '… ruido de guerra.' *Leales demostraciones*, f.55*r*.

31 *Leales demostraciones*, f.57*r*.

32 Stevenson, ‘Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s musical rapports’, p.18.

33 San Pedro del Castillo was, incidentally, born in Parañaque, Manila. The eminent Augustinian historian Gregorio de Santiago Vela wrote in the first decade of the 20th century that ‘Parece que se encuentra copia o el original de estas dos composiciones en el archivo de San Agustín de Manila.’ (‘It appears that a copy or the original of these two compositions [the *vejamen* and the second *loa*] are found in the archive of San Agustín of Manila.’) Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana*, vii, p.257. Whether these texts contained musical settings as well is unknown. Although most of the Augustinian archives were moved to Valladolid before World War II, this particular source appears to be missing.

34 *Leales demostraciones*, ff.73*v*–77*r*.

35 ‘Fly, fly, fly / for centuries and immense eternities.’ *Leales demostraciones*, f.77*r*.

36 Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico*, i, p.230.

37 *Leales demostraciones*, ff.77*v*–83*v*.

38 *Leales demostraciones*, ff.84*r*–87*r*.

39 ‘Aparecio Neptuno con Manto Imperial; y en la mano isquierda un Tridente, donde tenia enrroscada una sirena con su corona.’ *Leales demostraciones*, f.84*v*.

40 ‘… clarines, y caxas, Pifanos, y otra multitud de instrumentos.’ Ochoa, *Exprecion panegirica*, f.34*v*.

41 ‘Musica en tres coros con tres violones, y seis violines.’ Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Sermones, Certamen, y Relacion de la fiesta, con que solemnizo el Maximo Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de Manila la Canonizacion de los dos nuevos astros de la Iglesia, S. Estanislao de Kostka, y S. Luis Gonzaga* (Manila, 1729), f.12*r*. At this time and in this context, the term *violón* could refer to a bass viol or a cello.

42 Retana describes the book thus: ‘En 4.º Papel de arroz. Hojas: 19 s. n. + 69 (falta una, por lo menos)+ 1 s. n. ingerida + 2 para sendos grabados tirados a parte; con dos grandes plegadas que contienen música anotada a mano, así como la letra correspondiente.—Ejemplar, único conocido, en poder de D. Antonio Graiño, de Madrid.’ Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.49, n.62.

43 ‘ … dos grandes plegadas que contienen música anotada a mano, así como la letra correspondiente.’ Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.49, n.62.

44 No.2231 in Medina, *Filipiniana materials in the National Library*.

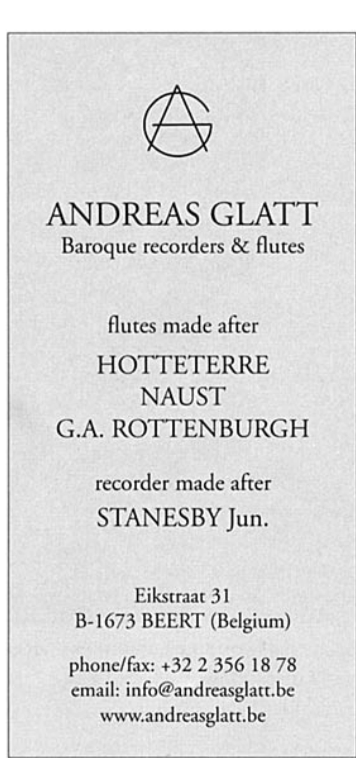
45 *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino: recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios y políticos y estudios bibliográficos*, ed. W. E. Retana, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1895–1905), v, p.490.

46 R. M. Zaragoza, *Old Manila*, Images of Asia (Singapore, 1990), p.13.

47 Summers, ‘Listening for historic Manila’, pp.218–19, 252–4.

48 See A. E. Lemmon, ‘Pedro Murillo y la música filipina’, *Heterofonia*, xiii/1 (1980).

49 ‘… dos serenatas, en que se cantaron tonadas de composicion



Española, y estrangera, antiguas, y modernas, en que se viò lo mejor del arte en arias, recitados, fugas, graves, y todo genero de variedad, y buen gusto con algunos saynetes sazonados.' Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus. Segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila, 1749), f.219*v*.

50 Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus*, f.217*r*.

51 '… Choros de Musica con Loas muy al intento, y espectaculos muy del caso, enlazando danzas y muchas imbenciones, que hazian al tiempo muy grato, y muy alegre.' J. de Arechederra, 'Relacion de la entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimudin en esta Ciudad de Manila', *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, ed. W. E. Retana (Madrid, 1895–1905), i, p.138.

52 Article II of the 'PROPOSALS *made to their Excellencies his Britannic Majesty's Commanders in Chief by Sea and Land, by his Excellency the Archbishop, Captain-General of the Phillippine* [*sic*] *Islands, the Royal Audience, and Commerce of* Manila', concerning the surrender of Manila to British forces, implored 'That the Catholic Apostolic, and Roman Religion, be preserved and maintained, in its free Exercise and Functions, by its Pastors and faithful Ministers.' Samuel Cornish and William Draper, *A Plain Narrative of the Reduction of Manila and the Phillippine* [*sic*] *Islands* (n.p., 1764), p.21. This request was granted by Cornish and Draper, although their response to a later article concerning continued religious instruction was: '[The friars] must not attempt to convert any of our Protestant Subjects to the Popish Faith.' (p.24).

53 Le Gentil de la Galaisière, *Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde*, ii, pp.125–6.

54 These rare annals are housed in the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila.

55 *Anales ecclesiasticos de Philipinas, 1574–1682*, ed. R. C. Santos, 2 vols. (Manila, 1994), i, p.199.

56 Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.56.

57 Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.57.

58 D. G. Fernandez, 'Pompas y solemnidades: church celebrations in Spanish Manila and the native theater', *Philippine studies*, xxxvi/4 (1988), pp.408–9.

59 Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, p.57.

60 J. M. de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, ó mis viajes por este país*, ed. W. E. Retana, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), i, pp.60–61; Retana, *Noticias históricobibliográficas de el teatro en Filipinas*, pp.47–8.

61 Fernandez, 'Pompas y solemnidades', p.424.

62 Fernandez, 'Pompas y solemnidades', p.424.

63 M. S. Magbutay, *An analytical study of the loa in the oral literature of Samar* (MA thesis, U. of Santo Tomás, 1970), pp.50–51.

64 Magbutay, *An analytical study of the loa*, p.83.

65 L. Merino, *The Cabildo Secular, or municipal government of Manila: social components, organization, economics*, trans. R. López (Iloilo, 1980), p.213; Summers, 'Listening for historic Manila', p.204.

66 Summers, 'Listening for historic Manila', p.205.

67 Fernandez, 'Pompas y solemnidades', p.417.

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Joyce Lindorff

Missionaries, keyboards and musical exchange in the Ming and Qing courts

The story of the harpsichord and clavichord in China springs from an unlikely cultural convergence during the 17th and 18th centuries. European and Chinese religious and political agendas set the stage for nearly a two-century heyday of Western keyboard instruments in China. From Father Matteo Ricci's first gift of a clavichord to the Ming emperor Wanli in 1601, to the death of Father Joseph-Marie Amiot in 1793, the clavichord and harpsichord were favourite instruments at the Chinese court in Beijing—at times a curiosity, at other times an important element in courtly musical life. European missionaries, eager to convert the Chinese to Christianity, found that the emperors attached great importance to the study and practice of cartography, astronomy, clocks, calendars—and therefore music, considered akin to calendar study. As a musical instrument, then, the clavichord or harpsichord was probably doubly intriguing: not only did it represent the Western style of music-making, it held inherent interest as an ingenious mechanical device.

In addition, certain political conditions and philosophical attitudes combined to provide a fertile backdrop for cultural exchange. The late Ming Dynasty (see table 1) was not strongly nationalistic, and as such was open to ideas from the outside. In contrast, the powerful Qing emperors Kangxi and Qianlong reasserted China's national identity, making the country less dependent on outside influences, but still receptive to foreign ideas, which it incorporated according to its own needs.[1]

Second, the giving of gifts served an important function in business transactions and personal relationships—as it still does today in Asia. The harpsichords and clavichords in China were mostly gifts from foreign delegations wishing to establish good relations with the emperor. This practice was not unique to China. From the first documented examples in the 13th century, keyboard instruments had been the gift of choice of European diplomats. During the 16th century clavichords, harpsichords and other keyboard instruments had been brought

Table 1 Chinese dynasties and emperors during the Western Baroque period

Emperor	*Reign*
Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)	
Wanli	1573–1620
Taichang	1620
Tianqi	1620–27
Chongzhen	1628–44
Qing (Manchu) Dynasty (1644–1911)	
Shunzhi	1644–61
Kangxi	1661–1722
Yongzheng	1722–35
Qianlong	1735–96

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to Ethiopia and India by the Portuguese, to Japan by the Jesuits, and to Russia and Turkey by English merchants.[2] Third, the Ming Chinese ideal of the amateur manifested itself in the form of the cultured official, a person well versed in a wide range of arts.[3] This coincided with the similarly broad educational and cultural values of the Jesuits. Finally, China was at its zenith as a world civilization. The educated classes enjoyed a high standard of living, and in the cultivation of the arts the Qing emperor Kangxi has often been compared with Louis XIV.[4]

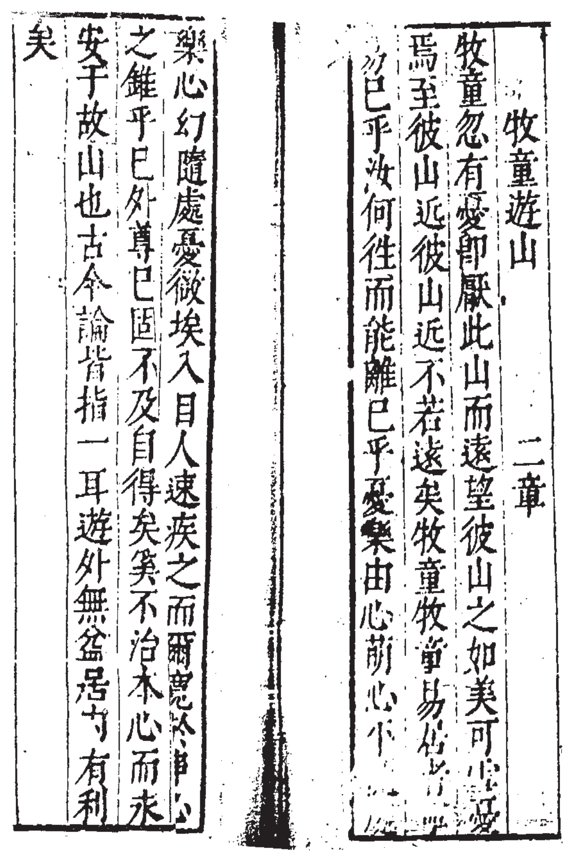
In his journal for 1598 Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) (illus.1; Chinese name: Li Madou) described his journey to Beijing, the purpose of which was to convince the emperor to allow the Jesuits to settle there.

1 Father Ricci and Zi Guolao (Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*... (Shanghai, 1932 and 1934; R/San Francisco, 1976))

Among the vast array of presents he transported from their base in Nanjing was a *manicordio*, or clavichord. The Jesuits did not receive the desired permission and so turned back, but not before showing the gifts to a Beijing magistrate. According to the journals, the sensation caused by the gifts, which also included clocks and religious statues, 'and especially about the clavichord, was not only exaggerated, it was almost ridiculous'.[5] On a second attempt in 1601, the same gifts were brought back again, and this time the emperor accepted them, granting the Jesuits' request. In the late Ming imperial government, the *guolao* were the most highly educated dignitaries, whose decisions regarding the affairs of the empire were submitted to the emperor for his approval. When Ricci was petitioning for permission for the Society of Jesus to settle in Beijing, he was warmly received by the *guolao*.

The presents were paraded across the city in a big display. Four eunuchs were sent by the emperor to learn to play the clavichord. Ricci had arranged in Nanjing for Lazzaro Cattaneo to instruct the priest Diego Pantoja in harpsichord repertory and tuning. Each of the eunuchs studied one piece in daily lessons given by Pantoja. After one month all the eunuchs had learned their music, and Ricci had composed his *Eight songs for a Western string instrument* (illus.2),[6] which were lyrics with moralistic themes, set to these same clavichord pieces. They became very popular, and were printed in both Italian and Chinese.

The clavichord presented by Ricci was originally called *xiqin* ('Western musical string instrument'). Subsequent Chinese writers used a variety of descriptive and colourful terms for the instrument, among them: *daxiyang qin* ('musical instrument from the Atlantic')[7], *ya qin* ('graceful instrument'), *fan qin* ('foreign instrument'), *tian qin* ('heavenly instrument'), *tie si qin* ('iron wire instrument'), *qishier qin* ('72-string instrument'), *shou qin* ('hand instrument'), *yang qin* ('foreign instrument'), and *dajian qin* ('big keyboard instrument').[8] In his letters Ricci writes that in 1605 Masses were sung to the accompaniment of the clavichord in their small church.[9] In 1606 the Beijing Mission was officially opened, and Chinese scholars recorded hearing and seeing the Western instruments there.


牧童遊山　二章
牧童忽有憂即厭此山而遠望彼山之如美可雪憂
焉至彼山近彼山近不若遠矣牧童牧童易居者
寧易己乎汝何往而能離己乎憂樂由心萌心平隨處
樂心幻隨處憂微埃入目人速疾之而爾寬於串心
之錐乎已外尊己固不及自得矣奚不治本心而永
安于故山也古今論皆指一耳遊外無益居內有利
矣

2 Matteo Ricci, Song. No.2 from ‘Xiqin quyi bazhang’ (*Eight songs for a Western string instrument*). The song exhorts a shepherd not to long for the distant fields, but to find peace within his heart

3 Johann Adam Schall von Bell (J.-B. Du Halde, *A description of . . . China*, ii (London, 1741) (by permission of Hong Kong University Library Rare Books Division)

In 1640 the emperor Congzhen charged the missionary and astronomer Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666)(illus.3) with the restoration of the famous clavichord given by Ricci, by then stored in the emperor’s treasure house. In addition, the emperor asked the priest for a Chinese translation of the inscriptions written on that instrument: ‘laudate in cymbalis benesonantibus’ (from Psalm 150) and ‘laudate nomen eius in choro; in tympano et psalterio psallant ei’ (from Psalm 149).[10] In this case, perhaps the intended interpretation of the first on this occasion would be ‘Praise the Lord upon a resounding cembalo’; the second as ‘Praise the Lord’s name in harmony; play for Him on the drum and psaltery’. Schall went several steps further. He returned the tuned, repaired clavichord with a psalm melody to practise, as well as a keyboard instruction book he had written out in Chinese (now unfortunately lost).

The emperor wanted Schall to build another clavichord just the same as the first. A Chinese artisan from Henan named Xu Fuyuan was commissioned to make the strings, which were referred to in Chinese as ‘silver silk’. But Xu died suddenly upon his arrival in Beijing, and the new clavichord was never constructed.[11]

In 1654 the historian Tan Qian went to Beijing to see Schall. He recorded his impressions of the articles brought by the Europeans in *Bei you Lu* (‘Record of the Northern Journey’). Among these items was a clavichord, apparently demonstrated for

him, along with a musical score:

The *qin* has iron wires. The casket-like box is five feet lengthwise and about nine inches high. A middle board divides it. Above the board are 45 strings arranged over a slant, left to right, and tied to small pins. There is another slant. Under this slant are hidden small protrusions, the same in number as the strings. On a lower level is a corresponding row of 45 keys. The hand presses them and the pitch sounds as in the score. An elegantly decorated book of high quality paper was on a stand. A carved quill was used to touch the ink and write from left to right—the Chinese can not recognize this writing.[12] (See illus.4.)

琴以鐵絲。琴匣縱五尺•衡一尺。高九寸。中板隔之•上列鐵絲四十五•斜繫於左右柱•又斜梁•梁下隱水籌。數如弦•綴板之下底。列雁柱四十五。手按之•音節如譜•

4 Tan Qian's detailed observation of the Beijing clavichord he saw in 1654 (*Bei you lu*, Beijing National Library MS)

In 1644 the emperor appointed Schall director of the bureau of astronomy for his accuracy in predicting an eclipse of the sun. Caught in the complex web of court politics, he was later accused of spying and sentenced to death, but because of his age was permitted to live out his life under house arrest. Christianity was at that time banned by the court.[13] After Schall's death in 1666 another priest, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688)—himself under house arrest—took over the astronomy work. By then Kangxi (illus.5) was emperor, and appointed Verbiest director of the astronomy bureau.

In the meantime Dutch visitors, including a harpsichordist and a trumpeter, brought over another harpsichord in 1656.[14] Kangxi was reported to have 'cymbals and spinets . . . in great numbers in all his palaces . . . a cymbal or a spinet in almost every apartment',[15] the result of many similar gifts of clavichords and harpsichords from European visitors to the Chinese court.

The prohibition on Christianity was not strict, as it allowed certified missionaries to continue their work. Moreover, Father Verbiest, in addition to his position as astronomer, served as the emperor's music teacher. Kangxi professed respect for the different philosophy of the missionaries, but did not agree with their views. He resented some of their own interpretations of Chinese philosophy, regarding them as ignorant, yet Kangxi believed in learning through experience, and so appreciated and fully utilized the presence of the foreigners in his court.

As Schall's and Verbiest's circumstances demonstrate (as well as Teodorico Pedrini's, as will be seen later), foreigners in the Chinese court walked a thin line between the roles of influential dignitary and political prisoner. The relationship between the priests and the emperors seems to have been one of mutual respect, but subject to the exacting intricacies of bureaucracy and protocol. Never inclined to accept Western ways wholeheartedly, Kangxi nevertheless supported the international exchange of ideas and knowledge—though partly to enhance his empire on his own terms. The emperor was mainly interested in absorbing and applying the Europeans' knowledge of astronomy, calendars, cartography and weaponry. Similarly, the priests, mainly Jesuits, were willing to serve the emperors and live as Chinese

5 Emperor Kangxi (Joachim Bouvet, *Histoire de l'empereur de la Chine* (The Hague, 1699; *R*/Tianjin, 1940)

intellectuals and officials in order to win trust and better carry out their purpose. The Jesuit attitude to accommodation as advocated by Ricci, particularly of Chinese ancestor worship and the Rites of Confucius, instigated the Rites Controversy,[16] a bitter polemic which greatly damaged the Christian missionary endeavour in China. The intricacies of this affair, which was not finally resolved until the papal ruling of 1939, is still the subject of intense scholarly debate. In spite of omnipresent frictions, the uneasy alliance between Kangxi and the Europeans forged a unique transcultural relationship.

Verbiest suggested that Kangxi appoint as the palace musician Father Tomás Pereira[17] (1645–1708), who arrived in 1673, for his knowledge of both Western and Chinese music. Verbiest wrote that in 1676 the emperor had invited Fathers Pereira and Claudio Filippo Grimaldi to perform for him on the harpsichord. Numerous other accounts mention that an organ as well as a harpsichord had been given to Kangxi by the two priests, and that they performed on both.[18] Although, according to Father Mattco Ripa, Kangxi had too often received undeserved praise for playing with only one finger,[19] the emperor demonstrated some Chinese songs. Pereira then wrote down these songs and was able to repeat them exactly after the first hearing. 'Kangxi could not believe his ears', and complimented the Western notational system Pereira had used. The priest was rewarded with a great quantity of fine silk for new robes.[20] As a result of Pereira's success, Kangxi ordered that a music academy be formed, and instruments studied and built according to the ancient descriptions. A four-volume book of traditional Chinese music theory resulted. Pereira's *The elements of music* formed the fifth volume of the *Lü Lü Zheng Yi*, and dealt with European music theory.[21]

The Chinese songs transcribed by Pereira very likely included *Pu an zou*, since Kangxi's courtier Gao Shiqi recorded that the emperor played this song on an 'iron thread musical instrument' with '112 threads'[22]—clearly a harpsichord with two sets of strings. *Pu an zou* ('Chant in the Buddhist temple') was originally a *guqin* solo, and in fact had only a one-line melody. Perhaps Father Ripa misunderstood this when he wrote his derogatory comment about Kangxi playing with only one finger!

But Kangxi was not always pleased with Western music. Several priests had formed an ensemble under Father Pereira, and one day they invited Kangxi to attend a performance. 'The concert began, and those priests who knew how played the clavecin, flute, bass viol, violin and bassoon. These instruments created so much discord that the emperor, after hearing the opening bars, put his hands to his ears, crying loudly, "Enough, enough . . . the truth is, I am not accustomed to out-of tune concerts." '[23]

Teodorico Pedrini[24] (1670–1746) (illus.6; Chinese name: De Lige) was a central figure in the history of

the harpsichord in China. After a tortuous nine-year odyssey, he finally arrived in Beijing in 1711, the first Lazarist to settle there. He succeeded Pereira as music master to the emperor and served the court until his death in 1746. Pedrini was received graciously by the emperor because of his ability to play many instruments, and especially to perform Chinese songs on the viol and harpsichord. The emperor auditioned him on the basis of his harpsichord playing and tuning.[25] Kangxi was so pleased with Pedrini's abilities that when first told Pedrini knew no Chinese language, the emperor replied that it was not important, since 'Cymbals are tuned with the hands, and not with the tongue'. Pedrini was installed in quarters near the emperor so as 'to tune the harpsichords, big and small, which the emperor possessed in great number and which he had received as presents'.[26]

6 Father Teodorico Pedrini (M. Beurdeley, *Peintres jésuites en Chine au XVIIIe siècle* (Arcueil, 1997), p.85)

Harpsichords were not only brought as gifts but also built in China. Another missionary, Father Louis Pernon, arrived in Beijing in 1698 and distinguished himself as a maker of harpsichords, spinets and other musical instruments for the emperor, as well as an accomplished player of both flute and violin.[27] He died only four years later. Perhaps Pedrini finished some of the instruments begun by Pernon. According to Father Ripa's journals and various letters and reports by Father Luigi Antonio Appiani,[28] Pedrini's knowledge of instrument building—organs, harpsichords and other musical instruments—made him a favourite at the Chinese court. As mentioned earlier, at Kangxi's request Pedrini taught the emperor's sons to play the Western keyboard, and also educated them in principles of Western music—Kangxi believed it was important not just to learn to play, but also to understand the theory of music. Pedrini also completed the Western theory portion of the *Lü Lü Zheng Yi*, begun by Pereira.

Pedrini often played the harpsichord for the emperor, and his efforts were rewarded, usually with food.[29] However, even he was brutally beaten on the emperor's orders, the latter having been convinced by the Jesuits that Pedrini had misrepresented him to the pope on the Rites issue. But it was actually the Jesuits who held him captive in their own prison under the most appalling conditions for almost two years.

Pedrini's 12 sonatas for violin and bass (illus.7)[30] are the only known original compositions left by a musician priest who lived in China during this period. They were possibly composed there during his long service, and might have served as instruction for his royal pupils, for performance by other missionaries, or as a presentation manuscript to Kangxi. The sonatas are modelled closely after Corelli's opus 5, which was published only one year before Pedrini left for China. It is necessary to speculate about the many questions that arise concerning the relationship with Corelli's work, since little is known at this time about Pedrini's life before 1700. He was in fact in Rome, studying toward his ordination, so it is fascinating to suppose that he might well have come into contact with Corelli personally, also that he might well have

known his sonatas from manuscript copies circulating before their publication.[31]

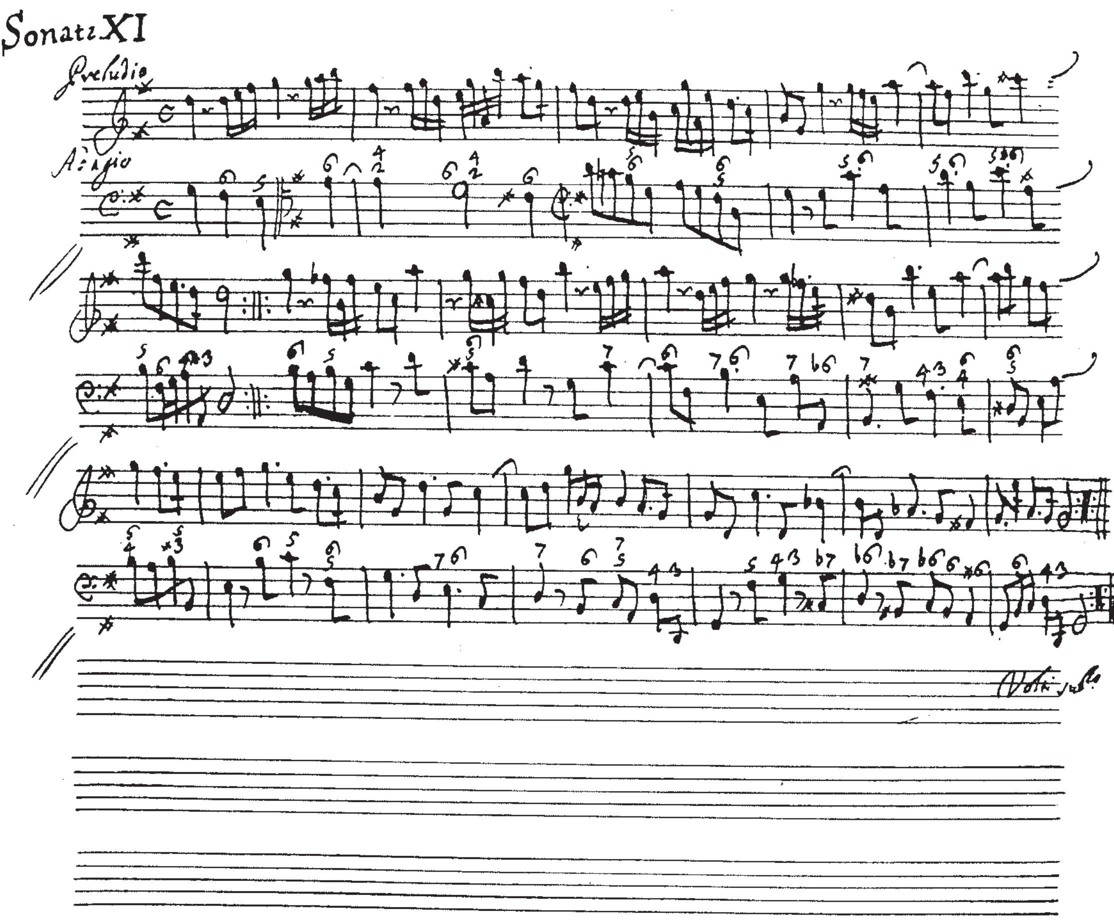
Pedrini's homage to Corelli follows the same format as opus 5. There are 12 sonatas, with similar movement indications of tempo and dance. Recognizable fragments of Corelli appear frequently, but there is ample evidence of Pedrini's individual style as well. The sonatas abound with eccentricities and quirky surprises. Also in the Beijing National Library are Corelli's opus 1–4; these were previously thought to have been brought to China by Pedrini, but it has since been determined that the volumes arrived at a later date.[32]

A succession of other musicianly priests accompanied and succeeded Pedrini in the Chinese court. In 1742 Father Jean Walter played the harpsichord for the emperor Qianlong. With Father Florian Joseph Bahr, he was asked to compose 18 pages of songs and music for the court. Soon after, however, the emperor lost interest; European music was suddenly and officially out of favour at the court.[33]

One of the last of the harpsichordists in China was Father Joseph-Marie Amiot (1718–1793). Invited by Kangxi, he spent 43 years in Beijing and died there in 1793. Amiot played the flute and the harpsichord. His *Mémoires de la musique des Chinois tant anciens que modernes* (Beijing, 1776) proved to be an important contribution to the understanding of Chinese music in Europe, and was widely read in France. In his preface Amiot describes his failed attempt to establish a rapport with Chinese musicians by playing them harpsichord and flute works of the great

Table 2 Chronology of specific references to the instruments in China

Date	*Event*
Ming period	
1601	Ricci brings a *manicordio* (clavichord) as a gift to the Emperor of China.
	Ricci writes *Eight songs for a Western string instrument* (clavichord).
	Four eunuchs each learn to play one of these pieces.
	Chinese Ming official Wang Linheng writes of hearing the pipe organ and clavichord played in Macao.
1605	Mass is sung in Beijing to the accompaniment of the clavichord.
1606	Jesuits open the Beijing Mission; Chinese scholars record seeing Western instruments.
1640	Schall discovers the clavichord presented by Ricci in the emperor's treasure house.
	Emperor Congzhen orders him to repair it and build another like it (but this instrument was never built).
	Schall prepares a clavichord instruction book, in Chinese (now lost).
Qing period	
1654	Historian Tan Qian visits Schall at the new Xuanwumen Church. He describes in detail a 'tian qing' ('heavenly musical instrument'—very possibly the clavichord brought by Ricci).
1656	Dutch envoys bring a harpsichord as a gift for the emperor.
1676	Grimaldi and Pereira give Kangxi a harpsichord.
	At Kangxi's request, Pereira writes out Chinese music in Western notation and plays it for him on the harpsichord.
*c.*1699	French Jesuits perform a quintet, which includes a clavecin; Kangxi finds the performance out of tune and orders them to stop playing.
1698–1702	Pernon is described as maker and tuner of clavecins and epinettes for the emperor.
1711	Pedrini arrives in Beijing, where he lives until his death in 1746. He is appointed imperial palace music teacher, to perform, teach the princes and tune the many harpsichords kept by the emperor in almost every room.
1776	Amiot describes playing French harpsichord and flute pieces for Chinese listeners.



7 Teodorico Pedrini, Sonata XI, opening (Beijing, Beitang Library, no.3397)

French masters. When asked their opinion of the Western music, they answered with the greatest politeness,

> Your music was not made for our ears, nor our ears for your music . . . so it is not surprising that its beauty cannot move us as does that of our own music . . . which goes from the ear to the heart, and from there to the very soul. This we understand and feel; but the music you play does not have this same effect on us. Our ancient music was entirely different . . . one simply listened and was overwhelmed.[34]

As these reactions attest, by this time Western music did not hold the same interest for the Chinese that it had during the Kangxi period. After almost two centuries, the era of the harpsichord had come to an end in China.

The story of the harpsichord and clavichord in China remains incomplete. More details are likely to emerge for several reasons. First, obstacles to intercultural communication have hardly disappeared over the centuries. The jurisdiction of the Beitang Library was in dispute for decades, and therefore its holdings were restricted and largely unavailable to scholars, foreign and Chinese alike. In recent years, through the efforts of the late Father Edward Malatesta, S.J., an international collaboration was initiated with the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco,[35] designed to alleviate some of these past research difficulties. Second, much documentation exists in both Chinese and a Western language, because many of the missionaries wrote accounts in Chinese, but sent these back to Europe translated into their native

7 *continued*

languages and Latin. It is therefore possible that some materials now presumed lost might in fact be found, in both China and Europe. Third, there is recent interest in this period of cultural interchange among music researchers in China. Past difficulties in procuring European materials in China (and Chinese materials in the West) have been alleviated through access to electronic mail and online bibliographic tools.

Future investigations of early Western keyboard instruments in China should explore organology and iconology. It would be instructive to speculate about what specific instruments might have been brought over, and the European building styles that might have influenced the instrument designs of Pernon, Pedrini and others in China. Research on the organs both brought to and built in China suggests a logical parallel study, for which more material exists. A closer look at court scrolls and paintings might yield images of Western keyboards. It is remotely possible that harpsichords and clavichords might still exist somewhere in China, although destruction by fire has been a fate shared by many historical wooden relics. Moreover, a history of civil wars and revolution during the 19th and 20th centuries proved catastrophic for many culturally important sites, both Chinese and Western. Furniture collections both in and outside mainland China could conceivably harbour surviving instruments. The harpsichord and clavichord in China inhabited a particular moment in time which faded away, not unlike the original 250-year original life of the instruments themselves. Further study of these early Western keyboards in Beijing might yield additional secrets from this distant outpost of Baroque music.

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1 A. H. Rowbotham, *Jesuits at the court of China* (New York, 1966), pp.103–4.

2 I. Woodfield, 'The keyboard recital in oriental diplomacy, 1520–1620', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, ccv (1990), pp.33–62. See Woodfield's account of Ricci's clavichord, pp.57–60.

3 J. R. Levenson, 'The amateur ideal in Ming and early Ch'ing society', *The China reader*, ed. F. Schurmann and O. Schell (New York, 1967), i, pp.80–88.

4 The *chinoiserie* style of harpsichord decoration might be traced to Kangxi's gift of 49 Chinese books to Louis XIV in 1697.

5 *China in the sixteenth century: the journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610*, trans. L. J. Gallagher (New York, 1953), p.320.

6 [*Matteo Ricci*:]*Xiqin quyi bazhang (Eight songs for a Western string instrument)*, ed. Li Zhizao, Tianxue chuhan (Early Writings on Christianity in China) (1626; Taipei, *R*/1965), i, pp.284–5.

7 Tao Yabing, *Researches on the historical materials of musical exchange between China and the Western world before 1919* [in Chinese] (diss., Central Conservatory of Music, 1992), p.29. Zhou Ziyu, author of the 1587 Ming encyclopedia, writing in 1614, referred to the European priests as the 'Atlantic scholars'.

8 Tao, *Researches*, p.22.

9 Tao, *Researches*, p.31.

10 Woodfield, 'The keyboard recital in oriental diplomacy', p.60.

11 Tao, *Researches*, p.35. See also R. Attwater, *Adam Schall: a Jesuit at the court of China, 1592–1666* (London, 1963), p.64.

12 Tan Qian, *Bei You Lu (Record of the Northern Journey, 1653–1656)* (ms. in Beijing Library, *R*/Zhonghua Shuju, n.d.), p.46.

13 Schall, along with Verbiest and others, was arrested in 1664, the target of a hostile and powerful anti-Christian Chinese leader, and accused of 'treachery, preaching an abominable religion, and teaching false astronomical methods' (Attwater, *Adam Schall*, p.146). Christianity was banished from China several times during the 17th century—from 1616 to 1629, and again in 1664, when the foreigners were accused of spying. Kangxi's edict of 1692 afforded the missionaries freedom to preach Christianity. As G. F. Hudson observes, '. . . a curious policy of semi-persecution was pursued by the Chinese government during the 18th century. A series of formidable edicts against Christianity were issued, and there were spectacular arrests and deportations of missionaries, and occasional outbursts of real persecution. . . . But all the time the Catholics were firmly established in Peking . . . The edicts were . . . intended more as deterrents against . . . the Church than as measures for its destruction.' (G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China: a survey of their relations from the earlliest times to 1800* (Boston, 1931), pp.307–8).

14 Tao, *Researches*, pp.45–6.

15 Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa during thirteen years' residence at the Court of Peking in the service of the Emperor of China*, ed. F. Prandi (New York, 1846; *R*/1979), p.75. The use of 'cymbal' for 'harpsichord' suggests a permutation of the Italian *cembalo* or Latin *clavicymbalum*, as in the inscription on Ricci's harpsichord.

16 For background discussion, see D.E. Mungello, 'An Introduction to the Chinese Rites Controversy', in *The Chinese Rites Controversy: its history and meaning*, ed. D.E. Mungello (Nettetal, 1994).

17 See J. Lindorff, 'Tomàs Pereira', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 19, p. 335; Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com.

18 L. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773* (Shanghai, 1932 and 1934, *R*/San Francisco, 1976), p.382. The same story is related (but dated 1679) in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, S.J., *Description géographique, historique, cronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (P. G. Le Mercier, 1735), iii. Facsimiles of relevant pages of Du Halde as well as documentation of Pereira's building of several organs for the Chinese court are included in J. Canhão, 'Father Tomás Pereira: a XVIIth century Portuguese musician in the Beijing court', *Review of culture* (English edition, published by the Instituto Cultural de Macau), no.4 (1988), pp.21–33. An English translation of the material is printed in F. Harrison, *Time, place and music: an anthology of ethnomusicological observation, c.1550 to c.1800* (Amsterdam, 1973), p.163.

19 Ripa, *Memoirs*, pp.75–6.

20 Pfister, *Notices*, p.382.

21 *Das Lü Lü Zheng Yi Xubian: ein Jesuitentraktat über die europäische Notation in China von 1713*, ed. G. Gild-Bohne (Göttingen, 1991).

22 Tao, *Researches*, p.65.

23 'Ricciana II', *Bulletin catholique de Pékin (1935)*, p.90.

24 See J. Lindorff, 'Teodorico Pedrini', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 19, pp.279–80; Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com.

25 In Chinese musical philosophy, tuning, and even individual pitches, held both acoustic and abstract meaning, as well as the power to transmit physical and spiritual qualities (*qi*). This helps to explain Kangxi's interest in tuning the harpsichords; tuned instruments signified an orderly empire. There was great interest in tuning systems. Zhu Zaiyu was the first to describe equal temperament in China in 1584; see K. Robinson, *A critical study*

of Chu Tsai-yü's contribution to the theory of equal temperament in Chinese music (Wiesbaden, 1980).

26 A. B. Duvigneau, 'Théodoric Pedrini: prêtre de la mission, protonotaire apostolique musicien à la cour impériale de Pékin', *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* (1937), pp.321–3. Duvigneau cites M. Ripa, *Storia della fondazione della Congregazione e del Collegio de' Cinesi* (Napoli, 1832), i, pp.371–4.

27 'Ricciana II', p.91. See also Pfister, *Notices*, p.517.

28 Vincentian archives, Collegio Leoniano, Rome.

29 Ripa, *Memoirs*, p.76.

30 'Sonate a violino solo col basso del Nepridi, Opus 3': Ms., Beijing National Library. Nepridi is an anagram of Pedrini. A modern edition is forthcoming from A-R Editions, ed. J. Lindorff. Five of the sonatas are performed on the compact disc, *Concert Baroque à la Cité interdite*, XVIII-21, Musique des Lumières, Astrée E8609, 1996.

31 Evidence of Pedrini's personal contact with Corelli and his patron, Cardinal Ottoboni, will be provided by P. Allsop and J. Lindorff in a forthcoming article in *Vincentian Heritage*.

32 Duvigneau, 'À propos de Théodoric Pedrini: une rectification', *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* (1937), pp.543–6.

33 'Ricciana II', p.92.

34 Ysia Tchen, *La musique chinoise en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1974), pp.44–5.

35 The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History maintains an extensive website dedicated to research on the history of Christianity in China at http://www.usfca.edu/ricci.

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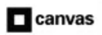

Robert E. Seletsky

New light on the old bow—2

The first part of this article appeared in the May 2004 issue.

Transitional bows and long bows

The long bow persisted until the end of the 18th century, overlapping with the transitional/classical bows that appear in increasing numbers by *c.*1770. Transitional bows have no set measurements; they are as various as the bows that preceded them. However, they are all designed to function in musically similar ways; they continue the logic of the long bow in further raising the head, creating so-called 'hatchet' or 'battle-axe' profiles, and, not infrequently, foreshortened and extremely high swan-bill heads; a considerable number of bows with this latter head shape are fluted as well (illus.11c). Interestingly, one occasionally encounters incurved high-headed transitional bows built with the old convex 'hump' near the head for added flexibility in that area. In transitional bows, the sticks were heated and systematically bent inward to add spring and resistance, and to counterbalance the extended hair-to-stick distance inherent in the new head designs. In 1791 Galeazzi mentions the use of *cambre* in the type of bow he recommends (clearly a transitional model; he acknowledges the wide variety of bows in use):

> I would want the bow either to be straight, or to be low at the frog and high at the point. This can be achieved by introducing a small amount of curve toward the point. A bow thus constructed has the same strength at the point as at the heel, which seems to me a very considerable advantage.[1]

Interestingly, high-headed *cambred* bows seem to have the opposite characteristic to Galeazzi's ideal: often his combination leads to glassiness in the upper part of the bow, while original lower-headed, largely un-*cambred* long bows are much more consistent from frog to point. It is almost certain that the original *cambre* applied to most transitional and early modern bows was far less pronounced than that which came into use later. Although, as indicated earlier, *cambre* can relax over time or can be deliberately augmented—most bows being subjected to the latter—it is impossible not to observe that in all 18th-century pictures of violinists with transitional bows, the sticks are straight, not incurved, at playing tension. Some are even slightly convex under tension, indicating that there was not even *cambre* deep enough for appropriate playing tension with the stick tightened only to appear straight (see illus.15 and 18). Typically, even today's period specialists consider bows with their modest *cambre* too flexible.

Pernambuco—a superior species of what makers now call 'brazilwood'—and, less often, ironwood—were generally used for these thicker concave sticks rather than snakewood: pernambuco because it is lighter, ironwood because it is less stiff. Many shortcomings of the materials could be circumvented by the inward *cambre*; pernambuco, previously used primarily to dye leather and as ships' ballast, was also far less expensive than snakewood. Many transitional models are shorter than the long bows, and are usually less weighty despite thicker graduations, owing to pernambuco's diminished density compared with snakewood; they frequently have narrower hair-widths, although as the century progressed, these bows were

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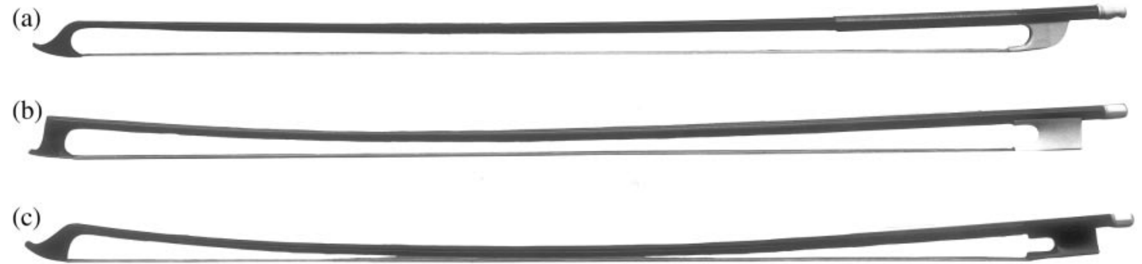
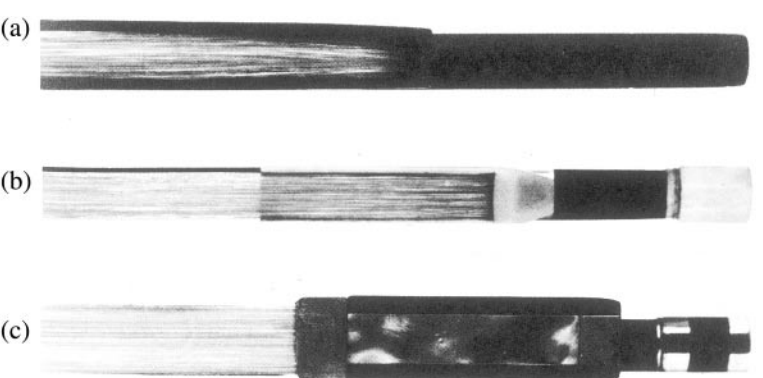


11 Three screw-frog transitional bow designs, *c.*1775–85: (a) battle-axe head, pernambuco stick, rounded (earlier) open-channel ivory frog and button; length 73.0 cm (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Hill Collection no.24); (b) late battle-axe/hatchet head, pernambuco stick, rectangular (later) ivory open-channel frog and button, stamped 'DODD', probably John Dodd, London; length 73.4 cm (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Hill Collection no.27); (c) modified 'swan-bill' head, fluted pernambuco stick, rectangular (later) open-channel ebony frog and ivory (or bone) button, attributed to 'Tourte L'; length 73.8 cm (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Hill Collection no.26). All bow lengths include button.



12 Hair attachments and widths: (a) clip-in (b) open-channel screw-frog (c) modern closed-channel screw-frog.

designed to be longer and heavier, with wider hair channels (illus.11, 12). The bounced bow-strokes in the music of Haydn, Mozart, the Mannheim school composers and others, seem to have been responsible for the introduction of the transitional bows, which performed these effects more naturally than the long bows. It was formerly suggested that *cantabile* playing was the catalyst, but it is the long bows that sink smoothly into the string, hence Le Blanc's 1740 remark about 'seamless bow-changes'.

Even at this stage, Tartini's name was associated with the bow's development, with the term 'Tartini bow' now inaccurately applied to the early transitional bow as it had been to the long bow a quarter of a century earlier. In December 1760, after a visit to Padua, the German writer Christoph Gottlieb von Murr described Tartini's new bow as resembling a 'soap-cutter's knife' (*Seifensiederdräthe*).[2] It is significant that in 1760, generally thought nowadays to be well into the period of transitional bow usage, Tartini's second bow, preserved in Trieste, with minimal transitional features—really a clip-in long bow with a somewhat heightened swan-bill head and a minimal amount of *cambre*—should be viewed with curiosity and surprise, indicating that transitional traits were not at all common. Indeed, a very photographic anonymous Italian portrait of Tartini in middle age shows him holding a convex pike-head long bow (illus.13), not the type of bow with which he is anecdotally associated, nor which is shown in

13 Tartini in mid-life with convex pike-head bow. Anonymous mid-18th-century Italian painting. (Museo degli Strumenti. Musicali, Milan, Italy. Credit: Roger-Viollet, Paris /www.bridgeman.co.uk)

the famous commemorative Calcinotto engraving of Tartini, *c*.1770. The head of the bow in the anonymous painting is identical with the head of his old long bow now in Trieste. Although the pegbox in the painting—the instrument's only visible part—obviously belongs to a viola d'amore, bows for *braccio* instruments were often used interchangeably.

Tartini's bows

As we have seen, the 'Tartini bow' is something of a puzzle and a recurring theme throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, its attributes different almost every time it is mentioned. While many of its alleged traits—greater length and head height, reeding, straight stick, or screw-frog[3]—were simply characteristics of the evolving bow and have nothing specifically to do with Tartini, there is one claim regarding his relationship to the bow that may be revealing: 'He had his bows cut from much lighter wood.'[4] It was stated earlier that fluting generally was applied to octagonal bow sticks. The upper two-thirds of Tartini's long bow preserved in Trieste are reportedly octagonal but not fluted, and the shank is round to accommodate the reserve for the clip-in frog. Unfluted octagonal bows were anomalous during the period of this bow's creation; an explanation might be that the maker had over-thinned the stick and realized that any attempt to round or flute it would produce a bow that was too weak. However, in revisiting a letter from the administrator of the Conservatorio di Musica 'G. Tartini' in Trieste I noticed an unusual statistic:[5] the bow is 71.5 cm long but weighs only 37.5 grams including a 5 gram boxwood clip-in frog (though excluding perhaps 3 grams of hair). Although one could certainly understand a maker's reluctance to round or flute a bow of such perplexing delicacy, it is unlikely that he would have erred so far from the usual weights of 45–55 grams.

The bow is constructed of 'legno santo rosso-marrone scuro' ('dark red-brown holy wood'), not the usual, much heavier snakewood, ironwood, or ebony of the period. The term 'holy wood' is encountered in period references to violin making, but has never definitively been identified. Period violin pegs have sometimes been described as having been made of 'holy wood', possibly a species of rosewood, so-named because it gives off the aroma of roses when cut; but none of its species are so light as to produce the weight of Tartini's bow. The Spanish refer to a particular South American tropical hardwood as 'holy wood'—*Palo Santo* or *Bulnesia sarmiento*, probably because of its singular perfumed aroma when cut.[6] It may be the same as South American 'perfume wood', which has been considered for bow-making (though I have never encountered it). If the report is accurate, Tartini's clip-in early transitional bow is also constructed of 'legno santo', and with the frog, its 71.4 cm length weighs a mere 40 grams. It is difficult to imagine bows over 71 cm long functioning at such diminished weights, particularly as Tartini's long bow has no *cambre* for added resilience, and the transitional bow has very little.

In his 'Rules for Bowing', Tartini advises that the violinist 'Always use the middle of the bow, never play near the point or heel',[7] an understandable recommendation coming from a violinist with such slight bows. According to Charles Burney, Tartini-school players were more 'remarkable for delicacy, expression and high finishing, than for spirit and variety'.[8] Tartini's support for constrained bow use is contrary to Geminiani's admonition that 'The best Performers are those who are least sparing of their Bow; and make Use of the whole of it, from the Point to that Part of it under, and even beyond the Fingers'[9] or the 'long, uninterrupted, soft, and flowing stroke' advocated by Leopold Mozart.[10] Indeed, the Mozarts, while apparently respecting Tartini—Leopold even reusing some of his material outright in his *Violinschule*—were never entirely satisfied with Tartini's pupils' small, constricted sound, and refer to it in a number of letters. On the cover of a letter to Lorenz Hagenauer dated 11 July 1763, Leopold writes of 'a certain' [Pietro] Nardini (1722–93), who plays with 'purity, evenness of tone and singing quality', adding, 'But he plays rather lightly.'[11] In a letter to Leopold dated 6 October 1777, W. A. Mozart makes a number of negative, though not ill-natured, remarks about the playing of Tartini's pupil Charles Albert Dupreille (1728–96): 'We first played Haydn's two quintets, but to my dismay I found I could hardly hear him.'[12] In another letter to his father dated 27 August 1778 Mozart says of Paul Rothfischer, a violinist in the service of the Princess of Nassau-Weilburg, that he 'plays well in his way (a little bit in the old-fashioned Tartini manner)'.[13]

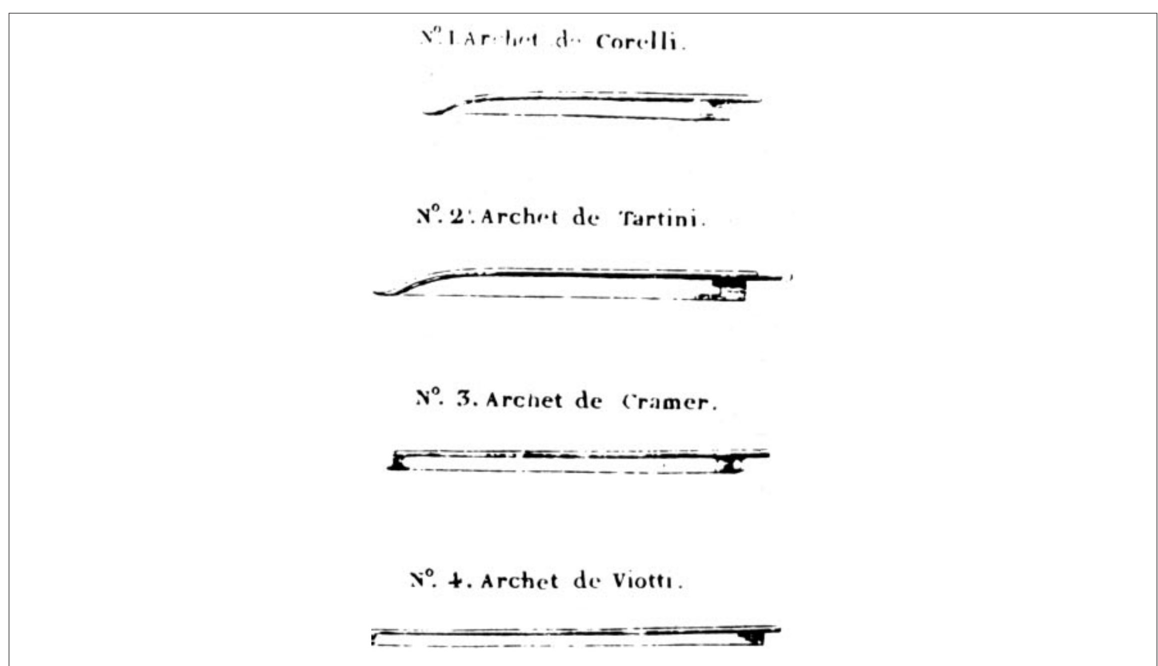
It seems, therefore, that Tartini not only taught his pupils to use little of the bow's length, but also little pressure. Tartini instructs that the bow 'should be held firmly between the thumb and forefinger, and lightly by the other fingers, in order to produce a strong, sustained tone'.[14] Tartini's concepts were certainly not universally accepted; Leopold's recommended bow grip disparages the Tartini method without naming him:

> The bow is taken in the right hand, at its lowest extremity, between the thumb and the middle joint of the index-finger, or even a little behind it … The little finger must lie at all times on the bow, and never be held freely away from the stick, for it contributes greatly to the control of the bow and therefore to the necessary strength and weakness, by means of pressing and relaxing. Both those who hold the bow with the first joint of the index finger and those who lift up their little finger, will find that the above-described method is far more apt to produce an honest and virile tone from the violin if they be not too stubbornly attached to another method to try this one.[15]

Clearly, Geminiani, the Mozarts and most other players who used bows of normal woods did not need to evolve rarefied bowing techniques of only qualified success. As no bows quite like his seem to have survived, Tartini may be an example of a teacher adapting his playing to irregular equipment and subsequently making a method of it for students with normal bows. Although it evidently held a certain fascination for listeners, it is not really surprising that Tartini's style died out; it is at odds with virtually every other method. The contrast between Tartini, who advocated a small, delicate tone using a fraction of a long bow with little pressure, and Corelli, who demanded a full tone using every millimetre of a short bow, is especially striking; it is very important to note their polar opposition because historians have often thrown them together, David Boyden even referring to the 'Corelli–Tartini bow'.[16] Writers' descriptions of a 'Tartini bow' then, appear to be the result of misplaced attempts at identifying various bows with a peculiar playing technique—in a sense, confusing cause and effect, hence the application of the term to several different bow types. They should properly have referred to 'Tartini *bowing*' instead. Although players adjusted their bow choices as dictated by time and taste, the only known genuine 'Tartini bows' were Tartini's.

Identifications and adaptations

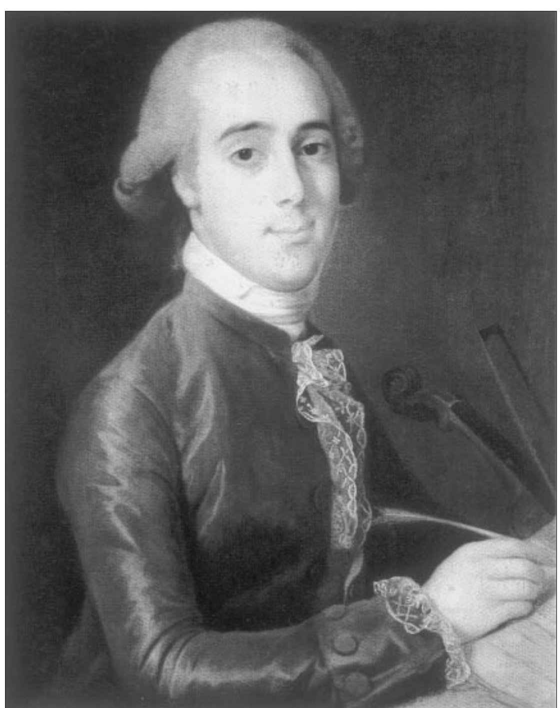
Clearly, bows were made throughout Europe, but extant bows of the 18th and 17th centuries—the latter very minimal in any case—seem to be English or French. As yet, experts have scant means of identifying the constructional features of early bows that may originate elsewhere. There are templates for clip-in frogs and heads from the Stradivari workshop now in the *Museo Stradivariano*, Cremona; the collection also houses a single actual ebony clip-in frog (item no.478) and a maple model of a low



14 The violin bow's evolution shown in Woldemar, *Grande Méthode* drawings, *c.*1798: (a) short: 'Corelli'; (b) long: 'Tartini'; (c) transitional: 'Cramer'; (d) modern: 'Viotti'. Compare these with the bows in part I, illus.8

swan-bill type bow head (item no.499). Although this material is not enough to draw any conclusions even about Stradivari's bows, there is one notable unusual feature of frog construction: the top edge that would meet the stick is as much as 1 cm longer than the hair channel edge, perhaps to yield that much more playing hair length, the reverse of what one sees on surviving frogs from all other sources; half of the Stradivari shop templates display this feature, as does the one surviving frog.[17] One hopes more objects that can be identified as Italian (or German) will come to light. The existence of largely English and French early bows may indicate that London and Paris were focal points of instrument-making and technology even early on, perhaps yielding better or more refined bows thought most worthy of preserving, and (as so many documents already show) that there was a lively export trade in bowed string instruments.

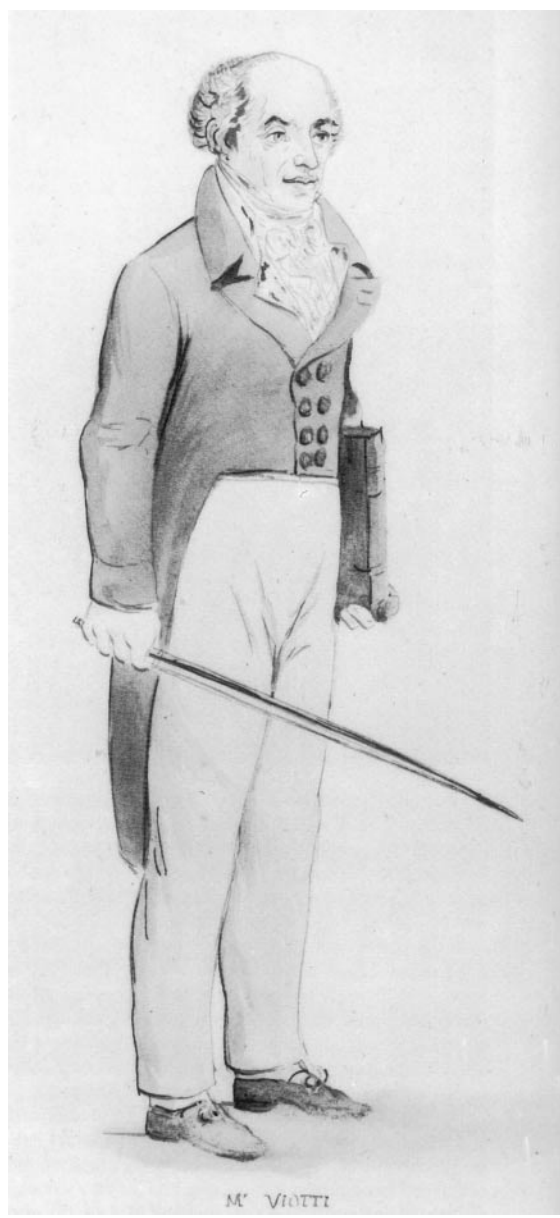
In the introductory chapter to his *Grand Méthode pour le violon* (Paris, 1798), Michel Woldemar (1750–1818) presents four rather accurately drawn illustrations that trace the history of the bow: short ('Corelli'), long ('Tartini'), transitional ('Cramer'), Tourte ('Viotti')—see illus.14.[18] Reputed to own bows of each type, Woldemar claimed that the transitional model associated with virtuoso Wilhelm Cramer (1745–99), active in London during the 1770s and 1780s, was 'adopted in his time by a majority of artists and amateurs'. When in 1801 Woldemar wrote the preface to a revised version of Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*, with a few more, but far less accurate—even caricatured—bow illustrations, he mentions Fränzl as well as Cramer in connection with this type of bow.[19] Like Cramer, virtuoso violinist Ignaz Fränzl (1736–1811) was a member of the Mannheim orchestra, whose playing was enthusiastically admired by W. A. Mozart.[20] In an anonymous painting of Pietro Nardini that must date from *c.*1770, the upper half of a 'Cramer'-style bow is seen. The head shape and even the ivory plate on the face of its battle-axe head can easily be distinguished; the stick looks convex, over-tightened perhaps to compensate for insufficient *cambre* (illus.15). The transitional bow of this type, with mirrored peak and throat on its battle-axe head and a delicate ivory



15 Pietro Nardini and 'Cramer'-style bow, *c.*1770 (Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala (Costa))

frog of typical French design similarly, and often ornately, hollowed at both ends—as in Woldemar's illustration, is one of many similar variations made by craftsmen in the two centres of mid- to late 18th-century bow-making: in Paris—Duchaine, Meauchand, and 'Tourte L.' among them;[21] in London—Edward, John and James Dodd, Thomas Tubbs, Thomas Smith and others. Although few bows of the period were stamped in comparison with those made in the 19th century—bow types identified by the names of famous players thought to have used them—as we see, the transitional bows are the first to bear a stamp more routinely, even if the stamps are as likely to identify the firm for which the maker worked, especially in Britain: 'Banks', 'Betts', 'Forster', 'Longman & Broderip', 'Norris & Barnes'. The bows shown in illus.8c, 11a and 11b would all have been considered 'Cramer' bows in the period, despite vastly different weights, lengths and characteristics; identifying whole genres of cosmetically related bows with individual performers is very misleading. Interestingly, a transitional bow of *c.*1770, attributed to 'Tourte L.', is yet another ascribed to Tartini's ownership; if he was indeed its owner, he acquired it at the end of his life.[22] And while G. B. Viotti (1755–1824) is widely, and perhaps accurately, regarded as the early champion of the new François Tourte bow, the model even referred to as a 'Viotti bow' by Woldemar and others, a post-1800 pen-and-wash drawing shows the celebrated violinist holding what seems to be a swan-bill-headed long bow (illus.16).[23]

For much of the 20th century, pre-transitional bows were thought to have been regarded as disposable accessories, long bows retained only when they were aesthetically pleasing. Such an assumption contradicts the conservative, even frugal, aesthetic of the 17th and 18th centuries. Even if ordinary bows *were* accessories provided with instruments at the time of purchase, as more and more long bows come to light, it seems that they were not considered to be disposable. While many long bows did survive because of visual artistic merit or precious materials, there is also a sizable extant body of unremarkable bows, many with clumsy period repairs, demonstrating that if a bow could conceivably be useful, it would be preserved. The period's repugnance for casual disposal thus *does* appear to extend to bows. Long bows, like violins, were very often refitted to accommodate changing musical requirements. Probably during the third quarter of the 18th century, clip-in frogs were replaced with screw-frogs, frequently in the French manner: the stick's clip-in frog-seating was filled with a flat ivory slip through which a mortise was cut into the stick; the eyelet of the frog would ride in this mortise, adjusted by an added screw-button, the end of the stick drilled out to accept it. The flat ivory plate was typically equipped with a metal stabilizing pin fitted into a small channel on the underside of the frog to keep it from swivelling. A well-known example is the elaborate pandurina-shaped ivory frog, almost certainly of French provenance, *c.*1775, on the well-known anonymous long bow, *c.*1740, in the collection of the University of California at Berkeley; once erroneously dated *c.*1700 and attributed to Antonio Stradivari, its fluted 71.1 cm stick (including the *c.*1775 decorative ivory screw-button), though formerly thought to be made of pernambuco, is probably constructed of unfigured snakewood.[24] Bows like this generally had their *cambre* increased, often in an imprecise manner, to enable the bounced strokes



16 G. B. Viotti apparently with a long bow after 1800; pen-and-wash drawing (© Copyright The British Museum)

natural to transitional bows. A few short bows survive with the modifications of augmented *cambre* and screw-frogs, but because total length cannot be modified, they ultimately did fall into disuse and were largely discarded late in the 18th century. The new small, differently weighted low frogs and added *cambre* on refitted long bows obscure their genuine intended musical traits, their responses, balances and playing hair lengths radically altered. Bows thus modified are not infrequently copied by uninformed contemporary makers and mistakenly presented to period-instrument performers as 'Baroque' bows.

It has been common to believe in the near-impossibility of assigning reasonably accurate dates to early bows. On a certain level this may be true, as short and long clip-in bows were available simultaneously throughout most of the 18th century, overlapping with transitional types. However, one rather obvious piece of evidence that seems to have been overlooked is the method of frog attachment. As indicated here, screw-frogs riding on flat ivory plates were used to modernize clip-in bows; this frog design also seems to have been a customary early way of creating new screw-frog bows. One also sees other 18th-century methods, like a flat frog attachment with or without stabilizing pin directly mounted to the flattened underside of the stick, or a frog with a round underside fitted to the round shank of the stick—a rather unstable approach until J. B. Vuillaume (1798–1875) rethought it in the mid-19th century, using a round attachment of smaller diameter or slightly oval shape that yielded flat 'rails' on the edges of the stick to hold the frog securely in place. The most familiar attachment, used exclusively today, wherein the frog rides on three facets of a stick's octagonal shank, seems to have appeared later, *c.*1775. A bow with an original attachment of this type, no matter what the head design, whether fluted or not, was therefore made no earlier than the late 18th century. If the lower part of a bow is octagonal, even with an original French flat frog underside/ ivory plate/stabilizing pin configuration, a late date may also be indicated. Many bows that have 'earlier' features but were built with octagonal shanks and three-faceted frog attachments survive; typically they are longer than true early 18th-century bows, they can be noticeably *cambred*, with more massive pike/swan heads that have throats not infrequently perpendicular to the hair, and frogs with more modern rectangular shapes. Their existence demonstrates that players were unwilling to part entirely with the familiar, thus creating a market for bows that were hybrids of long-bow and transitional-bow technologies, presumably

so that players could negotiate both older and new music.[25] Further, it indicates again that modern makers need to be circumspect when choosing period bows upon which to model their copies if they are seeking to create genuine earlier-style bows. A famous painting of Gaetano Pugnani (1731–98) is usually assigned a date of *c.*1754 because the music visible in it is the first violin part of his Trio Sonatas, op.1, a Parisian publication of 1754. However, the shank of his bow shown clearly has a later, nearly rectangular screw-frog of dark wood (ebony?) with flat, round, or possibly even a faceted attachment mounted directly to the stick without an ivory plate: the hair terminates at the middle of the frog, not continuing around it as in a clip-in design. The button is of lathe-turned dark wood. Pugnani is dressed in the attire of the Turin court. He succeeded his late teacher Somis as leader of the court orchestra (and the Teatro Regio) in 1770,[26] so it seems logical to assume that the painting would commemorate that auspicious occasion, and thus have a date no earlier than 1770, consistent with the above chronology of screw-frog attachments. The music from his first set of trio sonatas may be open simply because it was his first published success, or, because the open page clearly reads 'Violino Primo', a status that he had attained at the Turin court in 1770 (illus.17).

Transitional terminus

The model of François Tourte (1747–1835), originating in the 1780s, is at 74.5 cm, 1–4 cm longer than most transitional bows. (Note that, for consistency, total lengths shown here include the movable button—about 1.5 cm—which luthiers sometimes omit from cited bow lengths.) Tourte's bow was the experiment that eventually became the standard, the first time a bow-maker's design served as a specific model for continuing generations of subsequent makers. Often with stronger graduations, sometimes more pronounced *cambre*, and a closed, sharply rectangular frog with a mother-of-pearl slide, and a silver or gold ferrule and heel-plate (illus.12c), the Tourte bow, at 57–60 grams, is heavier than most of its predecessors; the hatchet head is similar to contemporary models, but never with mirrored peak and throat. Although this type of bow ultimately eclipsed all previous designs, various 'transitional' bows were made well into the 19th century throughout Europe, notably in England by members of the Dodd and Tubbs families. Cost was often the motive for this variation: frogs with mother-of-pearl slides and ferrules of precious metals are more expensive to produce than plain open-channel ones. A lithograph of *c.*1820 by Karl Begas (1794–1854) clearly shows Nicolò Paganini (1782–1840) using a bow with an early transitional battle-axe head (illus.18), extremely similar to the head of Hill Collection no.24 in illus.11a.[27]

We are thus presented with a very different picture of the violin bow's history from *c.*1625 to 1800. The previously accepted idea was that players were continually dissatisfied with the bow, impatiently seeking changes. However, a thoughtful look at extant objects and sources, both written and iconographic, indicates instead the reluctance of players to part with familiar, well-functioning bows. The short bow, now generally relegated to the

17 Gaetano Pugnani in Turin court attire with screw-frog bow (1770 or later) (Royal College of Music, London)

18 Paganini playing bow with transitional battle-axe head, Karl Begas lithograph, *c.*1820 (note similarity with head of bow shown in illus.11a). (Haags Gemeentemuseum, Netherlands/www.bridgeman.co.uk)

performance of music from only the earliest years of the 17th century, loomed much larger in its day; it seems to have been players' preferred bow until *c.*1750. The long bow apparently began life as a specialty item, used first by some soloists, and generally accepted only when musical styles changed so radically that the short bow really seemed impractical. The late 18th-century period of transition appears now to have been relatively short, beginning somewhat tentatively around 1760. The idea of the high-headed, inward-*cambred* bow was an experiment that makers attempted, each in his own way, while at the same time producing the long bows that were very much in favour; the model of François Tourte was simply the most widely accepted result of this ubiquitous experimentation. Although Tourte's work is brilliant, its lasting success is doubtless partly the result of the nationalist consolidation of French arts and commerce after the Revolution that established the Conservatoire, as well as the position of Paris as perhaps the longest-lived artistic centre in Europe.

This paper is expanded from my article 'Bow c.1625–1800' published in New Grove II (2000), originally researched between 1995 and 1997. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Professor Neal Zaslaw of Cornell University, whose unpublished materials referring to the 'Tartini bow', assembled during the 1970s, were key in the genesis of my own researches. I tender my gratitude as well to luthier and organologist Ian Watchorn of Melbourne, Australia, for calling my attention to many period bows in European and Australian collections; to the fine period bow-maker and violinist Stephen A. Marvin of Toronto, Canada, for his encouragement and generous exchange of ideas and information; and to David L. Hawthorne of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a great bow-maker, for helpful citations and gratifying collaborations.

1 Francesco Galeazzi, *Elementi teoretico-pratici di musica con un saggio l'arte del suonare il violino analizzata, ed a dimostrabili principi ridotta* (Rome, 1791), pp.76–7, sec. 18, quoted in P. Walls, 'Mozart and the violin', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.18–20.

2 Quoted in E. L. Gerber, *Neues Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (1812–14), iv, col.372; cited in Neal Zaslaw's unpublished notes. Period pictures of soap-cutter's knives—large unwieldy objects—show that von Murr's analogy was either between the bow's and implement's head shapes or the resemblance of the bow's even hair-to-stick distance to the parallel edges of the soap-cutting device.

3 See n.12 in Part I.

4 H. Abele, *Die Violine, ihre Geschichte und ihr Bau* (Neuberg an der Donau, 1874), trans. J. Broadhouse as *The violin: its history and construction illustrated & described from many sources* (London, [1923]), pp.114–15. I chose this late version of the attribution at random, but the sentiment echoes throughout the late 18th and much of the 19th centuries.

5 The letter was written to Neal Zaslaw on 26 November 1969 by Dr Aldo Baldini (Capo dei Servizi di Segretaria, Amministrativi e Contabili).

6 See the website *www.patagonbird.com/generic.html?pid=12* : '*Palo santo*, or holy wood in Spanish, is a naturally perfumed wood, found only in the Argentine and Paraguayan Chaco. Green and amber in color, it emits a clean, fresh scent unlike any other wood. When polished, it gets a smooth glow that makes the wood look like the "cat's eye" stone. Indian people believed that a couple who wanted to get married, had to plant a *palo santo*. If the plant grew normally, it meant that they would have a happy marriage. The tree blooms in April and May.' Referring to a plant as 'holy' often seems related to its aromatic qualities: both the Italians and Thai refer to their native species of the herb basil as 'holy basil'. In the case of that herb and this tropical hardwood, there is clearly an association with the incense used in religious practices.

7 Giuseppe Tartini, *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il violino*, in *Traité des agréments de la musique*, ed. E.R. Jacobi (Celle & New York, 1961), p.57.

8 Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London, 2/1775; *R*/New York, 1969), p.175.

9 Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London, 1751; *R*/1951), p.2.

10 Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756); trans. E. Knocker (London, 1948), p.60.

11 *The letters of Mozart and his family*, trans. E. Anderson (London, 1938; 3/New York, 1985), p.24.

12 *The letters of Mozart and his family*, trans. Anderson, p.300.

13 *The letters of Mozart and his family*, trans. Anderson, p.607.

14 Tartini, *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il violino*.

15 Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, p.58.

16 D. D. Boyden, 'The violin bow in the 18th century', *Early music*, viii (1980), p.200.

17 Copies of photos from the *Museo Stradivariano*, Cremona collection were graciously shared with me by period bow-maker Stephen A. Marvin.

18 Revised second edition: Michel Woldemar, *Grand Méthode ou étude élémentaire pour le violon* (Paris, 2/1800).

19 Woldemar's table in the 1801 revision of Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* contains crudely drawn bows with inaccurate information, even asserting that Tartini's bow (grotesquely represented) was the one 'adopted by Locatelli'. Several tables of pre-Tourte bows appear in the 19th century, notably by Pierre Baillot in *L'art du violon* (Paris, 1834) and F-J. Fétis, in *Antoine Stradivari, luthier célèbre* (Paris, 1856). Less distorted than those in Woldemar's second chart, Baillot's representations attempt to characterize the various permutations of transitional bow as distinct objects, assigning further obscure 18th-century violinists to them; he misses the point that all transitional bows were simply different makers' versions of the same aesthetic. The genuinely repugnant caricatures in the chart by Fétis deliberately depict fictitious 'pre-Corelli' bows attributed to obscure musicians like Bassani and Kircher, whose names Fétis obviously used without the slightest idea of who they really were and when they lived. As irresponsible in these crude drawings, bows starting with 'Corelli' seem to have screw-frogs, the earlier ones *crémaillère* and clip-in. Following the first Woldemar chart, the obvious motivation was the prejudicial deprecation of all bows prior to Tourte as primitive and unmusical. Even though the first book on the bow, H. Saint-George, *The bow, its history, manufacture and use* (London, 1889), contains very accurate sketches (pp.25, 29) of the bows shown in illus.8a and b of part 1 of this article, the author finds it necessary to follow his description of illus.8b (Part I) as 'extremely elegant' with the phrase 'but useless as a bow'; ignorance and bias again won the day, as illus.8b (in my collection), with different but equal strengths as a genuine François Tourte bow, is no less brilliant a musical tool.

20 *The letters of Mozart and his family*, trans. Anderson, p.384: letter (W. A. to L. Mozart) of 22 November 1777. Fränzl joined the Mannheim orchestra in 1747, becoming its leader in 1774. 'When the court was transferred to Munich in 1778, Fränzl remained in Mannheim and was musical director of the *Nationaltheater* from 1790 to 1803': quoted from *The letters of Mozart and his family*, p.383, n.1. Cramer was in Mannheim from 1757 through 1772. He is only mentioned in passing by Leopold in a letter to his son on 9 February 1778: *The letters of Mozart and his family*, p.473.

21 'Tourte L.' was originally thought to be 'Louis Tourte'—'Tourte *père*', father of the famous François, but the current thinking is that 'L.' is Nicolas Léonard, François's older brother; their father was Nicolas Pierre, so the son distinguished himself from the elder Nicolas by using his middle initial in his stamp. These findings appear in B. Millant, *L'archet: les 'Tourte' et les archetiers français, 1750–1950*, 3 vols. (Paris, 2000), (text) i, pp.87–97.

22 The bow in question is shown in E. vander Straeten, *History of the violin* (London, 1933), i, opposite p.33. The bow has a ferrule, almost certainly a

later addition, with the word 'Tartini' gracefully engraved on it.

23 What is most interesting is the clearly late date, given the style of dress, for the depiction of a long bow.

24 The mania for Antonio Stradivari that was created by maker/dealers like Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume (1798–1875) and clever dealers to this day, has given rise to many absurd claims. There are at least two other bows that were attributed to Stradivari, regardless of the fact that bows were never stamped; the provenance of these bows is unknown, and there has never been a bow shown to be related to Stradivari or even his workshop. They can both be seen in W. Henry, Arthur F. and Alfred E. Hill, *Antonio Stradivari: his life and work* (London, 1902; *R*/New York, 1963), p.208. One of these inlaid, probably 19th-century, fantasy bows was acquired in the last decade by the Shrine to Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota, Item no.4882.

25 One such hybrid violin bow that has been popular as a model for modern makers is an English bow in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It was often assigned a date of *c*.1740, but the original three-faceted frog attachment, organic *cambre*, throat perpendicular to the hair, and late rectangular design of the original frog indicate a date no earlier than *c*.1780. Yet it still is used as a 'Baroque' bow by many misinformed violinists. See G. Thibault, J. Jenkins and J. Bran-Ricci, *Eighteenth century musical instruments: France and Britain* (London, 1973), catalogue no.38; called a 'pardessus de viole' there, obviously a randomly chosen description as that instrument was used virtually exclusively in France, and only much earlier in the 18th century. Another example of a late bow mistaken for an earlier one is Hill Collection no.20; an octagonal stick with its upper two-thirds fluted, and labelled 'bass viol bow *c*.1740–50', the apparent three-faceted frog attachment, smooth *cambre*, and throat perpendicular to the hair indicate that it cannot have been made before *c*.1775, by which date it would have to be a cello bow, the viol long gone.

26 B. Schwarz, 'Gaetano Pugnani', *New Grove I*.

27 Before drawing any conclusions about Paganini, no matter how exciting, it is important to look at the lithograph a bit more cautiously and analytically. Although the head of the bow is of an early transitional model, and the bow is tightened so that the hair is parallel with the apparently slender stick, it is also clear that the sharply rectangular frog is of a modern variety. Therefore, although the lithograph appears almost photographic, Begas seems to have combined elements that may not represent Paganini and his bow accurately. Violin expert Jaak (Liivoja-) Lorius comments in *The Strad*, xciii (1982), p.377, that Paganini was said to prefer his accustomed bows by Pierre Sirjean (1765–after 1820), even when offered more valuable bows by J. B. Vuillaume at no charge later in his life. Of the few identifiable Sirjean bows, all are of the Tourte variety, none with any transitional features.

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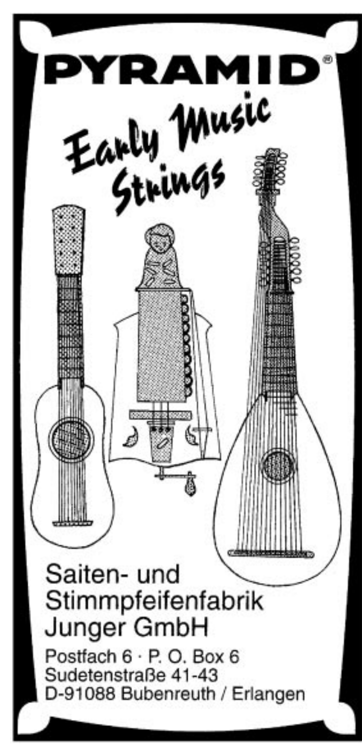

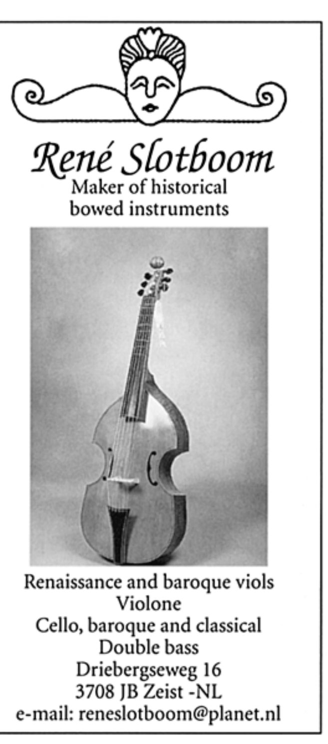

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1 François Boucher (attrib.), *The music lesson* (1749) (Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay; Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library/ www.bridgeman.co.uk)

Claudia Schweitzer

Madame Ravissa de Turin: a forgotten woman composer of the 18th century

'Madame Ravissa de Turin, Maîtresse de Clavecin et de Chant italien' is how the composer appears on the label of an edition of six sonatas for harpsichord published in Paris in 1778. One single copy of this print has come down to us, strangely enough in the private music collection of Kaiser Franz II of Austria. This collection had been long forgotten; only in 1933 was it rediscovered by the Austrian musicologist Ernst Fritz Schmid in the cupboards of the Steiermärkischer Musikverein. In 1936 the collection found its way to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, where it can be seen today.[1] Unfortunately the historical inventory, the 'Catalogo alter Musikalien', does not mention anything concerning the time or circumstances under which the sonatas happened to come into the Kaiser's possession.[2] At which point in her life and by whom could Madame Ravissa have come into contact with the Austrian court? Is it possible that she stayed in Vienna for a couple of months? Can we assume that the sonatas reached the Kaiser via a third party? At present these questions remain open.

There are still more questions concerning some sonatas I found in spring 2003 in the Bibliothèque National, Paris. Under the composer's label of 'Madame Vignola' we find a manuscript copy of three sonatas titled 'Trois Sonates pour le Forte-Piano avec Accompagnement du Violon ad libitum'.[3] This is a French copy.[4] According to a preliminary examination of paper and ink it dates back to a period between 1790 and 1810.[5] The manuscript, possibly a copy of a lost edition, originally belonged to the old stock of the Paris Conservatoire,[6] which was incorporated into the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in 1942. The title was added at a later date; the three sonatas however have a great deal in common with the six sonatas from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, though they were probably written later. Perhaps Madame Ravissa came to know the genre of keyboard sonatas during her stay in the French capital. But where were they written? In Paris? In Neuchâtel? In Lausanne? Perhaps for a certain pupil?

As a consequence of the economic and cultural development in the Age of Enlightenment, considerably more children and adults learned to play a musical instrument or took singing lessons. They took an interest in the fine arts and participated in cultural life. At the same time, a clear division between business and private life brought new restrictions for girls and women; for them, education was confined to what was required to become a perfect wife.[7] The ideal of a quiet and demure woman deemed that only certain chosen instruments, such as the keyboard or the harp, were becoming to play; singing was approved as well.[8] In contrast to the widely diversified education of boys, girls only had to be prepared for their role as housewife and mother. So, apart from learning all about housekeeping, they received a rather shallow education in the fine arts. Many examples show that the pupil's music was often (either in lessons or performances) accompanied by the teacher playing the violin or the flute (illus.1).

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The quality of the lessons depended a great deal on the parents' financial situation and their place of residence. Supposing a qualified teacher and a girl who was interested and eager to learn, the close bond with the family home offered excellent conditions for continuing studies and often led to astonishing results, as the numerous child prodigies show.[9] Many women had an extraordinary gift for playing the keyboard from their early years on—we need mention only Nannerl Mozart, Maria Theresia Paradis or Maria Brizzi Giorgi—and were very successful even in public concerts. Unfortunately, in most cases marriage brought the musical career to an end. Sometimes, however, girls, especially the daughters of artists or musicians, received a sound musical training which would prepare them to work as professional musicians. This must have been the case with Madame Ravissa.

But who was this woman composer? What was her complete name? What do we know of her biography? A few personal details were compiled by Julie Anne Sadie in *The New Grove dictionary of women composers*,[10] though some of these will have to be revised, as will be shown below. Detailed research into the life and work of Madame Ravissa led me to Turin, Paris, Neuchâtel and Lausanne, and brought to light the exciting biography of a brave and committed woman.[11]

Madame Ravissa was born in Turin, as can be seen from the label on the sonatas mentioned above. She was baptized Genovieffa Maria Bernadina Vignola, though unfortunately the entry in the baptismal record has been lost. Working back from the date of marriage and the age of 50 years given on her death certificate (though probably this was not an exact figure), we may assume that she was born between 1745 and 1750. After the examination of all relevant church registers of Turin,[12] it must be presumed that the relevant baptismal record is stored in the parish of San Marco (the register of which is unfortunately not available), one of the old parts of Turin.

The Vignola family of Turin appears not to have been numerous. Nevertheless Gioanni Vignola, the composer's father, was a man of some importance. He received an annual payment for working at the royal court. In the year 1750 we find him described as 'Pittore in miniatura';[13] in 1788 he has the title of an 'inspector aedificioram regi sardinia'.[14] Possibly he was related to the Neapolitan composer Guiseppe Vignola (1662–1712). Genovieffa's mother, Gioanna Battista Colombetta, died around the year 1780. Of Genovieffa's siblings, only her brother, Pietro Paolo Ludovico, survived childhood.[15]

No doubt the father's connection with the royal court made a musical education for his daughter possible. As the Piemont capital, Turin had been the political and religious centre of the dukes of Savoy, whose princes resided in the city. So, Turin was to develop into one of the biggest musical centres of Northern Italy, alongside Milan. And thanks to the close contact with France there was a continuing cultural exchange between Savoy and the French capital.

Musical life in Turin was diverse. The cathedral, seat of the archbishop, had its own orchestra, which was responsible for the music during the liturgy and at religious celebrations; in Genovieffa's time the director of music was Quirinio Gasparini, one of the outstanding figures of musical life of his day. There was also the court orchestra, one of the best in Central Europe, which played on secular occasions such as operas during carnival, ballets or concerts.[16] In the Teatro Reale operas of local composers were performed, as well as music by Hasse, Gluck, Johann Christian Bach, Holzbauer, Martin y Soler and others, sometimes written especially for the theatre (illus.2). Comic operas and concerts often took place in a smaller location, the Teatro Carignano, which is still used as a stage for the spoken word.

As far as we know, Genovieffa spent her life in the context of secular music. So we have reason to suppose her musical education to be secular as well. As mentioned above, girls and women of the 18th century had only a limited choice of musical instruments. Following the social rules, Genovieffa studied harpsichord and singing. On the search for possible teachers one can easily find a variety of names, because the lists of the Turin musicians are almost complete. There is, however, only little information concerning compositions, pupils or teaching methods, which makes it difficult to establish a particular musician as the young Genovieffa's teacher. In addition, we know only a few harpsichord compositions from Turin, a centre of violin music, so even a stylistic comparison is hardly possible.

2 Pietro Domenico Oliviero, *The Teatro Reale in Turin* (Turin, Museo Civico/Bridgeman Art Library/www.bridgeman.co.uk)

Turin was famous for its violinists, among them Gaetano Pugnani, Giovanna Battista Somis, Carlo Chiabrano and Giovanni Battista Viotti. Most of the musicians came from Turin families or from the neighbourhood of the city. Many were internationally known, and played for example at the Paris Concert Spirituel. Father and son Giay worked as directors of the royal orchestra from 1738 onward. From 1751 Carlo Guiseppe Pucci played the harpsichord at the royal court and the organ at the cathedral. The brothers Giambattista and Francesco Concone had to look after the royal harpsichords and the organ of the cathedral; in 1761 they built a harpsichord with three stops for the royal orchestra. To give a further example, Ignazio Celoniati who played the violin at the royal court from 1750, and from 1778 to 1781 was the impresario of the comic opera at the Teatro Carignano, composed a concerto for harpsichord, two violins and continuo in 1768, which was performed at least three times in Turin.[17]

This is the rich musical life in the middle of which Genovieffa grew up. Possibly her sonatas for harpsichord op.1 resulted from her lessons with one of the musicians mentioned above. In addition, her further education must have been very sound and thorough, aiming at a higher social rank, which is clearly shown by her success in associating with distinguished upper-class circles. She married on 14 August 1764.[18] Her husband was the 20-year-old Turin goldsmith Cristofaro Domenico Biaggio Ravizza (also: Ravissa; both spellings exist),[19] who, three years before (1761) had already come into his father's inheritance.[20] The marriage produced at least four children: Maria Francesca Margarite (born in 1768), Francesco Bernadino Maria (1770), Carlo Vittorio Maria (1774) and Maria Margarita Clotilda (1776).[21] Over the years the family got progressively deeper into financial troubles, until in 1777 their complete possessions were put up for auction.[22]

One year later (1778) we encounter Genovieffa Ravissa in Paris. She takes an active part in the musical life of the city. From this period we can derive the few details that form the starting point for research about her: on 25 March 1778 she sang two arias in the Concert Spirituel: 'Chi m'addita' by Antonio Sacchini and 'Voi ben sapete, oh Dei!' by Pasquale Anfossi.[23] The second aria was performed to the accompaniment of the violin, played by a certain 'Mr Chamberani'. Probably 'Mr Chamberani' was the Turin violinist Carlo Chiabrano,[24] who had friendly connections with the Ravissa family: in 1749 his sister-in-law Maria Chiabrano became godmother to Cristofaro Ravissa's niece Domenica Lucrecia Cattarina.[25]

From 1777 the Concert Spirituel, which had been founded in 1725 by Anne Danican Philidor, had a new director, Joseph Legros, who introduced some fundamental changes.[26] For one thing he engaged more foreign soloists ('les virtuoses les plus renommés de l'Europe viennent y briller tour à tour').[27] Moreover, he put more contemporary Italian and German music on the programmes, concertos by Anfossi, Cambini, Jommelli, Sacchini, Johann Christian Bach, Cannabich, Haydn and Sterkel, to mention just a few. Between 1770 and 1789, for example, six different works by Pasquale Anfossi (four Italian arias and two motets) were performed 29 times altogether.[28] Apart from solo concertos and symphonies, solo arias were very popular. Table 1 shows a list of performances of solo arias in concerts from the year 1778.[29] Even at a glance one can see the great popularity of Italian bravura arias. Further on we are very lucky that in spite of the sometimes incomplete information (missing title or composer's name) the data concerning Mme Ravissa is complete. This provides us with a wider knowledge of her repertory.

The two arias by Pasquale Anfossi and Antonio Sacchini did not yet belong to standard repertory in Paris at that time, because the French version of the corresponding opera *Il Gran Cidde* by Antonio Sacchini had not yet appeared.[30] Two days later (27 March 1778) Mme Ravissa's performance is indirectly mentioned again, for in the *Journal de Paris* we read that the arias are presented in a manuscript of Italian arias at the office of the *Journal de musique*.[31] The *Journal de musique*, which also was to publish Madame Ravissa's six sonatas for harpsichord, kindly allowed the two arias to be looked at and copied. In the same year the six harpsichord sonatas were published as *Six Sonates pour le Clavecin ou le Forte Piano par Mme Ravissa de Turin, Maîtresse de Clavecin et de Chant Italien, œuvre I*.[32] The house in

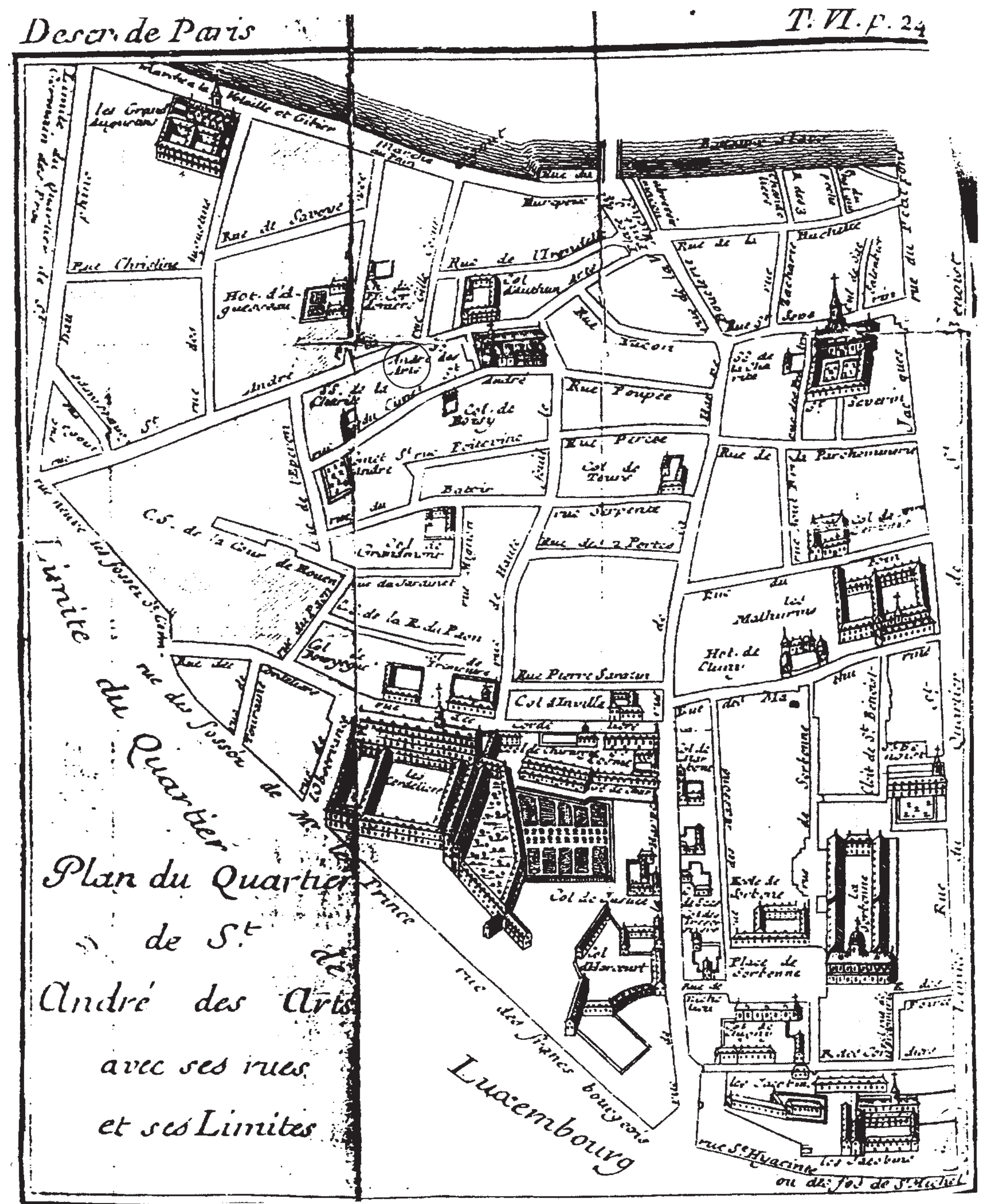
Table 1 Solo arias at the Concert Spirituel in 1778

Date	*Singer*	*Aria*
2 Feb	Mlle Davies	two 'Airs italien'
25 Mar	Mme Ravissa	Anfossi, 'Voi ben sapete' (with violin accompaniment)
	Mme Ravissa	Sacchini, 'Chi m'addita'
	Mlle Duchateau	Piccini, 'Air italien'
5 Apr	Mme Saint-Huberty	Gluck, 'Air italien'
10 Apr	Mme Hizelberg	Paisiello, 'Air italien'
	Mme Hizelberg	'Air italien'
12 Apr	Mlle Neufchatel	'Air italien'
13 Apr	Mme Hizelberg	Paisiello, 'Air italien'
14 Apr	Mlle Neufchatel	Sacchini, 'Air italien'
15 Apr	Mme Hizelberg	two 'Airs italien'
18 Apr	Mlle Duchateau	Piccini, 'Se il ciel mi divide'
19 Apr	Mlle Neufchatel	Sacchini, 'Air italien'
	Mme Hizelberg	'Air italien'
20 Apr		*no programme preserved*
21 Apr	Mme Hizelberg	[J. C.] Bach, 'Air italien'
24 Apr	Mme Hizelberg	'Air italien'
	Mlle Neufchatel	'Air italien'
26 Apr		*no programme preserved*
28 May	Mme Saint-Huberty	Gluck, 'Air italien'
7 Jun	Mlle Duchateau	Sarti, 'Rondeau italien'
	Mme Saint-Huberty	Jommelli, 'Air italien'
18 Jun	Mme Saint-Huberty	Jommelli, 'Air italien'
	Mme Saint-Huberty	Gluck, 'Air italien redemandé'
15 Aug		*no solo aria*
no exact date given		*no solo aria*
1 Nov	Mlle Duchateau	'Rondeau italien' by Sarti
	Mme Todi	Sacchini, 'Air de bravoure'
	Mme Todi	Piccini, 'Air de bravoure et scène d'Alessandro nelle Indie'
8 Dec	Mme Todi	Paisiello, 'Air italien'
	Mme Saint-Huberty	Gluck, 'Air italien'
	Mme Todi	Piccini, 'Se il ciel mi divide'
24 Dec	Mme Todi	'Air italien'
	Mme Todi	Maio, 'Air italien'
25 Dec	Mme Todi	Paisiello, 'Air italien'
	Mme Todi	Maio, 'Air italien'

which Mme Ravissa lived according to this edition (see below), can be visited in Paris now (illus.3).[33]

In newspapers and almanacs we find hints concerning her occupation as a teacher. Her sonatas are called 'brilliant'; her character, her respectability, her talents and her successful lessons are praised. In the *Almanach musical* of 1778 we read: 'Le caractere & l'honnêteté de Madame Ravissa, ses talents & le succès des leçons qu'elle donne depuis quelques mois dans cette Capitale, sont desirer à tous ceux qui la connoissent qu'il soit possible de l'y fixer.'[34]

Not later than the first half of 1780 Genovieffa and Cristofaro Ravissa returned to Turin. Cristofaro was in business again, in Turin as well as in Paris (from 1783 onwards).[35] Genovieffa, however, organized a concert in the Teatro Carignano,[36] and moved some time later without her husband to Neuchâtel, which is nowadays in French-speaking Switzerland, but



3 Map of the Quartier Saint-André des Arts, Paris, where Madame Ravissa stayed in 1778. *Description historique de la ville de Paris et de ses environs par M. Paganiol de la Force* (Paris, 1765), plate VI (Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris)

Certificat pour Dame Ravizza

Nous les Quatre Ministraux de la Ville de
Neuchatel en Suisse, certifions à tous ceux qu'il appartiendra
que par devant nous a comparu Dame Genevieve Ravizza
née Vignola de Turin, Maitresse de Clavecin & donnant
des leçons de chant demeurant depuis passé onze ans dans
cette Ville, laquelle nous a exposé que voulant se rendre de
à Madrid, elle nous supplioit très humblement de vouloir lui
accorder un Certificat de sa conduite ; Et comme témoignage
de vérité ne peut être refusé ; Nous déclarons & attestons
que durant tout le tems que laditte Dame Ravizza a
demeuré icy elle a exercé ses talens pour la musique avec
beaucoup de suffisance & à la satisfaction de tous ceux
qui ont profité de son Enseignement, C'est avec regret
qu'on la voit quitter cette Ville où elle étoit utile, & on
où l'on auroit souhaité qu'il lui eut convenu de rester
plus longtems ; à ces causes Nous la recommandons à
la protection de tous Chefs & Magistrats & à la
bienveillance des personnes de qui elle pourroit réclamer
les bons offices sous offre de réciproque en pareil cas.

En foi dequoy nous avons aux présentes signées
par le Secrétaire de notre Conseil fait apposer le
Sceau ord.re de nos armes ; Donné audit Neuchatel
en Suisse le Cinq.e May Mil Sept Cent quatre Vingt
Douze.

par ordonnance
Renaud

4 Certificate for Madame Ravissa (Archives de la Ville de Neuchâtel Registre de Certificats, Publications et Procurations (1792–1800), f.18).

which then belonged to Prussia. On 3 November 1780 she obtained a 'Tolérance d'Habitation' (residence permit) on the condition of teaching at least 20 lessons a month.[37] She also paid taxes in Neuchâtel up to 1790. Lists of inhabitants' names and addresses call her a 'Maîtresse de Musique' and a 'Maîtresse de Chant'.[38] During the season 1781/2 she was engaged as harpsichordist in the orchestra of the 'Société de la Salle de Musique'.[39] This entry not only clearly depicts her as the sole professional woman musician to be found in the Société's register, it also informs us of the unusual fact for this period that a woman was engaged by an orchestra not as a virtuoso singer but as a keyboard player. Apart from her extensive and successful teaching activity (again, it was quite unusual that a woman in the years before 1800 could earn her living in such a way) this employment as a harpsichordist may count as the most remarkable point of Mme Ravissa's musical career.

A second stay in Paris can be dated from her years in Neuchâtel. In *Tablettes de renommé des musiciens, auteurs, compositeurs, virtuoses, amateurs et maîtres de musique vocale et instrumentale*, published in Paris in 1785,[40] we read in the section concerning the best-known composers, virtuosos, amateurs and teachers of the harpsichord: 'Compositeurs, virtuoses, amateurs et maîtres d'instruments à cordes et à clavier: Clavecin & Forte-Piano, quelques-uns des plus connues sont: … Ravissa (Madame), excellente Maîtresse pour le Clavecin, la vocale & le goût du chant. Rue de la Harpe.'

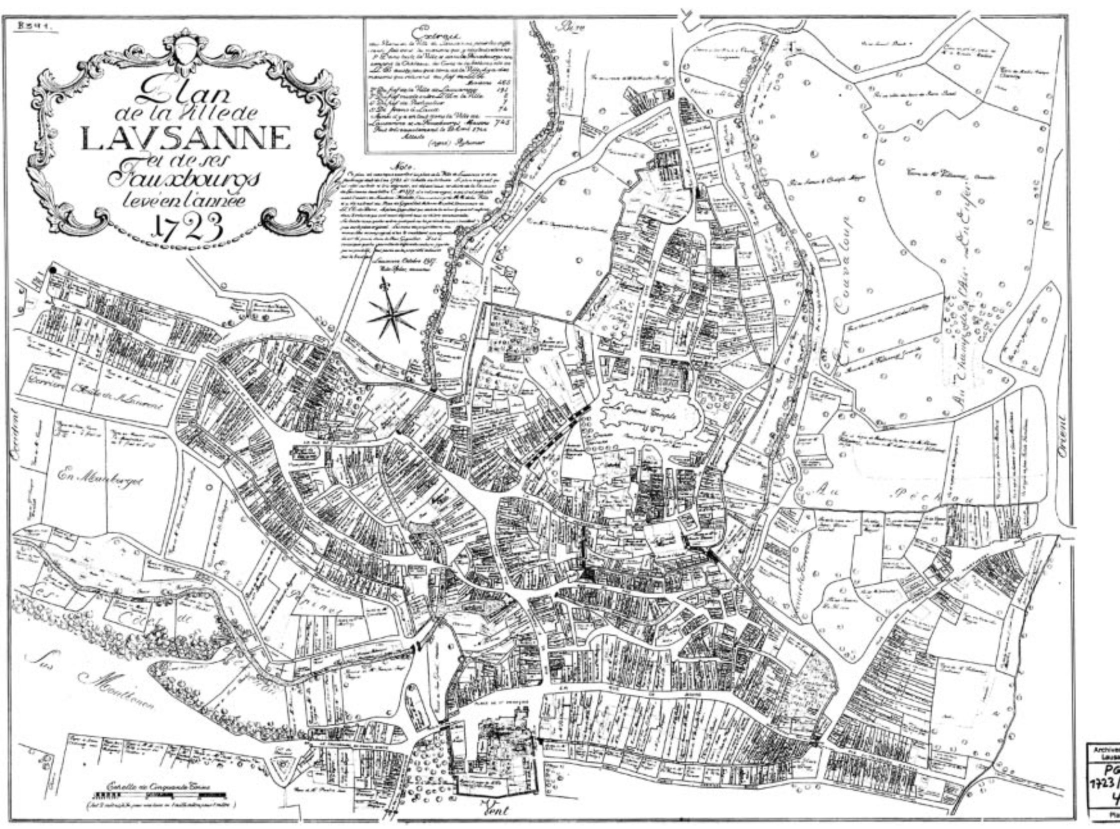
When she left Neuchâtel in 1792 she received an excellent letter of farewell and recommendation from the four governing ministers of the town, which emphasizes especially her teaching ability (illus.4):

Certificat pour Dame Ravizza: Nous les Quatre Ministraux de la Ville de Neuchâtel en Suisse, certifions à tous ceux qu'ils appartiendra que par devant nous a comparu Dame Geneviève Ravizza née Vignola de Turin, maîtresse de clavecin et donnant des leçons de chant, demeurant depuis passé onze ans dans cette ville, laquelle nous a exposé que voulant se rendre à Madrid, elle nous suppliait très humblement de vouloir lui accorder un certificat de sa conduite; et comme témoignage de vérité ne peut être refusé, nous déclarons et attestons que durant tout le temps que ladite Dame Ravizza a demeuré ici elle a exercé ses talents pour la musique avec beaucoup de suffisance et à la satisfaction de tous ceux qui ont profité de son enseignement, c'est avec regret qu'on la voit quitter cette ville où elle était utile et où l'on aurait souhaité qu'il lui eut convenu de rester plus longtemps; à ces causes nous la recommandons à la protection de tous chefs et magistrats et à la bienveillance des personnes de qui elle pourrait réclamer les bons offices sous offre de réciprocité en pareil cas. En foi de quoi nous avons aux présentes signées par le secrétaire de notre Conseil fait apposer le sceau ordonné de nos armes; Donné audit Neuchâtel en Suisse le cinq mai mil sept cent quatre vingt-douze. [41]

Certificate for Madame Ravissa: We, the four governing ministers of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, certify to whom it may concern, that Madame Geneviève Ravissa, née Vignola from Turin, teacher of the harpsichord, who has also been giving singing lessons, has appeared before us. She has lived here for eleven years and has informed us that she would like to move to Madrid. Very humbly she asked us to issue a certificate of good conduct for her; and because the attestation of the truth must not be refused, we declare and attest that the said Madame Ravissa during all the time she spent here has practised her musical talents extensively and to the satisfaction of all who profited from her instruction. It is with regret that we see her leave the town where she has been so useful and where all wished that she had preferred to stay longer. For these reasons we commend her to the protection of all those responsible and to the municipal authorities as well as to the goodwill of those who she may consult with a corresponding offer in order to find a new position. We, the undersigned, have had affixed the seal of our coat of arms to the document by the secretary of our council. Presented to the said on 5 May 1792 in Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Although Genovieffa Ravissa had expressed her desire to travel to Madrid, by the end of 1792 she had moved to Lausanne (illus.5). At once she resumed her intensive teaching activity. We find interesting comments in the 'Journal d'Angletine',[42] as the diary of Angletine Charrière de Sevérys is called (illus.6). The Charrière de Sevérys family was one of the most important of Lausanne. For one thing the diary refers to lessons that Angletine took with Genovieffa Ravissa in 1795 and from 1800 to 1802. (Unfortunately it is not clearly stated whether Angletine studied singing or harpsichord or both.) Furthermore it tells about social contacts such as shared dinners or mutual visits, as well as several concerts that Genovieffa Ravissa performed in the drawing rooms of aristocratic houses. The composer died on 20 February 1807 in Lausanne, where she was buried on 22 February in the graveyard of Saint-Laurent.[43]

Translated by Kerstin Hartge



5 Map of Lausanne (after 1723). *Plan general de Lausanne* (Archives de la Ville de Lausanne, PG 1723/1917)

Mad: de Nassau

Jeud 2

Mr de la Pottrie & Mr. Barrizza sont venus le soir essayer de la Musique avec W.

Vend: 3.

Eu Mad: Barrizza le soir

Samed: 4.

passé la Soirée Seuls.

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6 'Journal d'Angletine' (Archives Cantonales Vaudoises, entries of 2 and 3 January 1800, P Charrière Ci 33)

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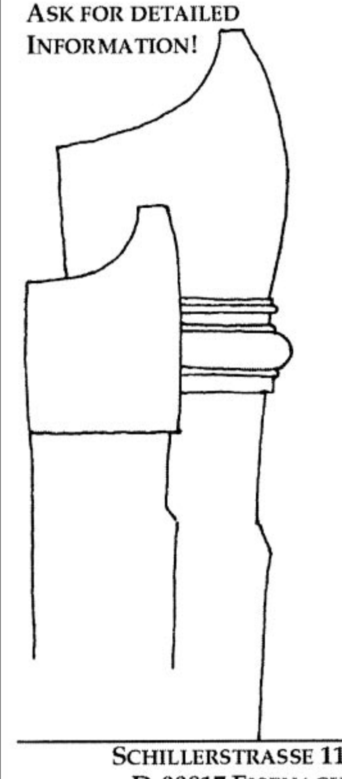

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1 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms.27.349. The rediscovery of the collection is described in detail in E. F. Schmid, 'Die Privatmusikaliensammlung des Kaisers Franz II und ihre Wiederentdeckung in Graz im Jahre 1933', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, XXV (1970), pp.596–9. An edition of the sonatas has recently been published as Madame Ravissa de Turin, *Six sonatas pour le clavecin, op.1*, ed. C. Schweitzer (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 2004), and a recording has been released by Musicaphon (M568565, *issued* 2004).

2 I owe this piece of information to Inge Birkin-Feichtinger, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

3 Paris, Bibliothèque National, Ms.D.11743. New edition in preparation.

4 I am obliged to Théodora Psychouyou for her information concerning the manuscript.

5 Unfortunately the lack of a watermark hinders the classification.

6 Stamp and binding clearly show the library of the Conservatoire as the origin of the manuscript.

7 More detailed information about the background and the history of this change can be found in F. Hoffmann: *Instrument und Körper: die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt, 1991).

8 The striving for naturalness in the Age of Enlightenment objected to the castrato voice. Therefore women singers had become indispensable and it was no problem for women to choose singing as a profession.

9 Compare the reports about the highly developed culture of amateurs in the second half of the 18th century, discussed in e.g. P. Schleuning, *Das 18. Jahrhundert: der Bürger erhebt sich* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1984).

10 *The New Grove dictionary of women composers*, ed. J. A. Sadie and R. Samuel (London, 1994), p.385.

11 Many thanks go to the Maecenia Foundation of Frankfurt am Main for their support of the project 'Madame Ravissa de Turin', 2002–3. A research stay in Paris in February 2003 was generously supported by a scholarship from the German Historical Institute in Paris.

12 By kind permission of Mons. Giacomo Maria Martinacci, Curia Metropolitana di Torino.

13 A. Baudi di Vesme, *L'arte in Piemonte dal* XVI *al* XVIII *secolo*, iii (Turin, 1968), p.1094. According to the Fondi Patenti, Controllo Finanze dell'Archivio di Stato di Torino, he received annual payments for works: for example, on the Real Casa and the Stupinigi hunting lodge.

14 Registres des baptêmes de Cressier, 1755–1803, p.103, Archives de l'Etat de Neuchâtel (AEN), baptism of Frédérique-Elise Ravissa, 27 Apr 1788.

15 The details refer to Gioanni Vignola's testament of 1784, Insinuazione Torino 1784, Libro 8, p.98f, Archivio di Stato di Torino (AST).

16 See M.-T. Bouquet, *Musique et musiciennes à Turin de 1648 à 1775* (Turin, 1968).

17 'Concerto per Cembalo, Violin 2 e Basso, Composte in Torino da Sig. re Ignazio Celoniat di sua Maesta il Re de Sardegna', Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. Ms.3380.

18 Archivio Arcivescovile di Torino (AAT), Registri degli Atti di Matrimonio della Parrocchia Metropolitana 1764.

19 Born 12 Jan 1744, AAT, Registri degli Atti di Battesimo della Parrocchia Metropolitana 1744.

20 AST, Insinuazione Torino 1764, Libro 3, p.1470ff., Connenzione trà Teresa e Cristofaro, Madre e figlio Ravizza.

21 ATT, Registri degli Atti di Battesimo della Parrocchia Metropolitana: 1768; 1770, Cura di S. Tomaso; 1774; and 1776, respectively.

22 AST, Insinuazione Torino 1777, Libro 5, pp.149ff, Vendita mobili di Cristoffaro Ravizza.

23 *Journal de Paris*, 22 Mar 1778, p.322; 25 Mar 1778, p.335; 27 Mar 1778, p.343; *Mercure de France*, April 1778, p.163.

24 Carlo Giuseppe Valentino Chiabrano (*b* Turin, 12 Feb 1723);

I owe this piece of information to Prof. Alberto Basso.

25 ATT, Registri degli Atti di Battesimo della Parrocchia Metropolitana 1749.

26 See C. Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel, 1725–1790* (Paris, 1975) and R. Angermüller, *W. A. Mozarts musikalische Umwelt in Paris (1778): eine Dokumentation* (Munich, 1982), pp.lxiv.

27 Mémoires secrets, t. X, 8, April 1777; see Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, p.165.

28 Statistics according to Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, p.175.

29 See Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp.308–10.

30 The aria 'Chi m'addita la spoglia' comes from Antonio Sacchini's opera *Il Gran Cidde*, after the libretto by Gioacchino Pizzi; the first (Italian) version was staged in carnival 1769 in Rome; the second version was performed in the first season at the King's Theatre, London, in 1773; the third (French) version finally followed in 1783 in Paris, entitled *Chimène, ou Le Cid*.

31 *Journal de Paris*, 27 Mar 1778, p.343.

32 RISM A I, R469.

33 The house is situated directly at the junction of the Gît-le-Cœur and the Rue St-André des Arts.

34 *Almanach musical* (Paris, 1778), p.77.

35 See various contracts in AST, Insinuazione Torino, and Paris, Centre Histoire des Archives Nationales, Minutier central des notaires de Paris MC/ET/XXX/478–9.

36 AST, Divisione Segretaria generale, Sezione Storica dell'Archivio, Inventario degli Atti dell'Archivio Comunale dal 1111 al 1848 N° 5502; the completed contract of this concert bears her personal signature.

37 Archives de la Ville de Neuchâtel (AVN), Manuel du Conseil général de Ville, N 26 (1779–84), séance du 8 novembre 1780.

38 AVN, Livre & rôle de tous les habitants reçu par le Conseil de Ville, commencé en 1772 (1772–85).

39 Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Registre de la Direction de la Salle de Musique 1776, Ms.A 703.

40 *Tablettes de renommé des musiciens, auteurs, compositeurs, virtuoses, amateurs et maîtres de musique vocale et instrumentale, les plus connus en chaque genre pour servir à l'Almanach Dauphin* (Paris, 1785).

41 AVN, Registre de Certificats, Publications et Procurations (1792–1800), f.18, Certificat pour Dame Ravizza.

42 Archives Cantonales Vaudoises (ACV), 'Journal d'Angltine' (1795–1802), P Charrière Ci 33.

43 ACV, Registre des décès à Lausanne (1803–15), Eb 71/49.

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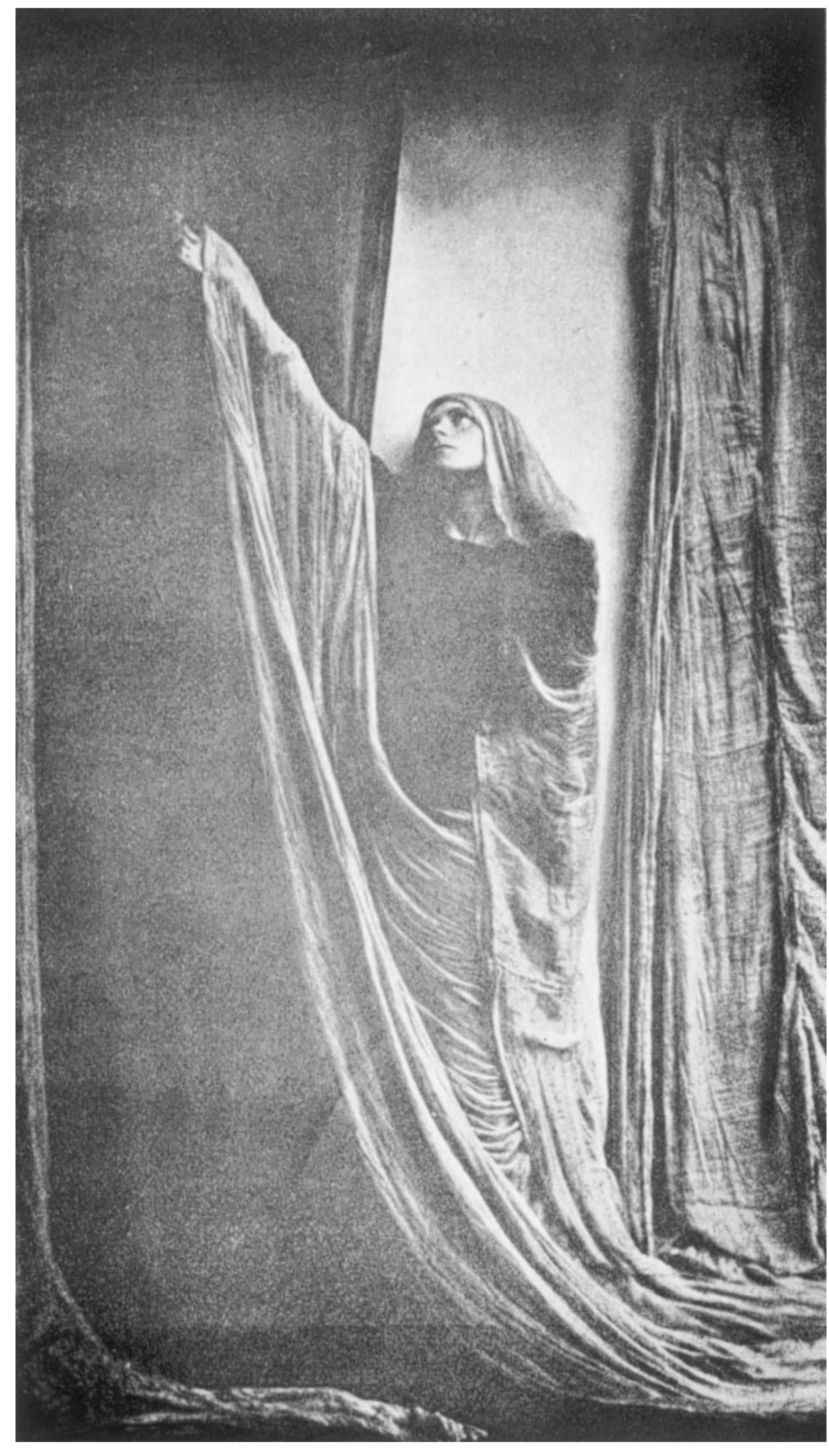

1 The realisation of Edward Gordon Craig's design, 'A mourner', for *Dido and Aeneas*, Act 3, scene 3, from *Dido and Aeneas* programme (London, 1901) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 17405 d.21) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

Michael Burden

Purcell's operas on Craig's stage: the productions of the Purcell Operatic Society

The performing history of Nahum Tate's and Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* before the 20th century suggests that approaches to its staging were erratic at best; it was inserted as masques in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* in 1700 and 1704,[1] it had been presented in concert by the Academy of Ancient Music in 1774 and 1787,[2] and it was performed in a church hall in the east end of London, in an area with so dubious a reputation that the critic George Bernard Shaw armed himself with a pistol when attending the performance.[3] A focal point for the revival of interest in Purcell's music was provided by the bicentenary of Purcell's death in 1895, and among those performances it inspired was that of *Dido and Aeneas*, conducted by Charles Villiers Stanford in November 1895 at Sir Henry Irving's Lyceum. As well a young Ralph Vaughan Williams, those involved included the actor and aspiring stage designer, Edward Gordon Craig.[4] The work immediately impressed him, and he was later to claim that this revival was responsible for it being 'at once accepted as a masterpiece' in modern times.[5] Shortly after the 1895 performances Craig developed his own project to stage the opera, and the result was one of the most memorable productions in its performing history; indeed, some of his often-reproduced images have coloured many people's perceptions of the opera ever since. More importantly, his approach advanced the idea of an entire production in the hands of one designer, a relatively modern focus we now take for granted.

Despite Craig's claims of early enthusiasm, the inspiration for his own work on *Dido* seems to have begun with the conductor Martin Fallas Shaw who wanted to give a concert performance of the opera. Craig was later to claim that without Fallas Shaw he would never have thought of Purcell in this context,[6] but it was certainly he who persuaded the conductor to work on a fully staged production.[7] To achieve this end, they founded the Purcell Operatic Society in 1899, 'with the initial purpose of reviving the works of Purcell, Orne [Arne], Handel, Gluch [Gluck], etc.', announcing that 'no pains will be spared to make these performances complete in every way'.[8] Their move was picked up by both the general and musical press, but while the former welcomed the idea in an uncritical, almost disinterested, fashion, the attitude of the latter was a different matter. J. F. Runciman in the *Saturday review* had this to say about the Society:

> The editor of the 'British Weekly' has the agreeable habit of 'discovering' celebrities—after they have become celebrities; and it is not for the rest of the world to lag behind. And accordingly the Purcell Operatic Society was formed. It was formed last year, I think, and it proposed to give the works of the great forgotten composers as they were meant to be given. I do not know of one of the gentlemen who constitute this society; I read their prospectus with the greatest care and perfect impartiality; and I found it nearly blameless and wholly

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ridiculous. The Purcell Operatic Society proposed to give the operas of (besides some other quite well-known composers) Purcell, Handel, and, if you please, Arne—Arne who had his day of fame, and, not having a touch of genius, is now deservedly forgotten. To such a scheme no serious attention could be given. People who cannot distinguish between the greatness of a Purcell or a Handel and the smallness of an Arne have no right to meddle at all in musical matters.[9]

Although many commentators today would not perhaps differ in their assessments of a Purcell and Handel v. Arne match, Runciman does not comment on the fact that Craig and Shaw were clearly interested in English opera and drama, and, furthermore, that the repertory they were advocating was an historical one.

The aim of this article is not to examine Craig's production techniques—other studies have already contributed significantly to our understanding of these[10]—but instead to chronicle the repertory of the Purcell Opera Society, the critical reaction to the productions, and the role Purcell's operas played in the development of Craig's ideas. As the list opposite shows, Purcell's music dominated the society's short life. Craig's production of *Dido and Aeneas* had three performances in the first season, as advertised in the first announcement. The following year *Dido* was given five more performances as part of a triple bill on 26 March 1901, together with a new production, *The Masque of Love*, a piece that used the music from Purcell's 'dramatick opera' *Dioclesian*. In 1902 *Dido* was dropped from the repertory, and replaced by a production of Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, in a double bill with a revival of *The Masque of Love*; it was during this run at the unlucky Great Queen Street Theatre that the company went bankrupt, and the preparations for a patriotic masque, *Harvest Home*, were halted.

Dido and Aeneas

The opening production of *Dido and Aeneas* came at a crucial time for Craig. In 1900 he was an inexperienced stage designer, and he had to apply himself 'to the difficult task of teaching myself how to design all sorts of things on paper, so as to design for the stage', and from '1895, until 1900 I kept at it until on May 17, 1900, the first real results [being] seen in the production of *Dido and Æneas* at Hampstead.'[11] The son of the actress Ellen Terry and of the architect and designer E. W. Godwin, Craig had been 'put onto the stage' by his mother at 16, and until the mid-1890s performed with the Lyceum Theatre Company under Henry Irving. But by 1895 he had become dissatisfied with his own performances as an actor, and would retire from the stage two years later.[12]

It was not only his own performances as an actor that dissatisfied him; he had also fallen out of sympathy with the production style of Irving's company. Around 1890 he had begun, for pleasure only, to draw historical costumes and accessories such as hats and gloves; he also produced one or two stage designs.[13] Craig gradually branched out on his own, albeit in a small way, and in December 1893 staged his first theatrical production. He did not, however, design the costumes, and the whole was, by his own admission, heavily influenced by the Lyceum style.[14] In 'The artists of the theatres of the future', which appeared in his volume *On the art of the theatre* in 1911, he wrote:

The play of Henry IV [as I knew it at the Lyceum] consisted to my mind of one excellent part, Prince Hal, and thirty or forty other characters that trotted round this part. There was the usual table with chairs around it on the right side. There at the back was the usual door, and I thought it rather unique and daring at the time to place this door a little bit off straight. There was a window with the latches and the bolts and the curtains ruffled up to look as if they had been used for some time and outside the glimpses of English landscape. There were great flagons; and, of course, on the curtain rising there was to be a great cluster and fluster of 'scurvy-knaves', who ran in and out, and a noise of jovial drinkers in the next room.[15]

Purcell Operatic Society productions

All the productions listed were designed by Edward Gordon Craig and conducted by Martin Fallas Shaw.

Production	Dates / venue
Dido and Aeneas	17, 18, 19 May 1900 Hampstead Conservatoire
Dido and Aeneas *The Masque of Love* *Nance Oldfield*	26, 27, 28, 30 March 1901* Coronet Theatre
The Masque of Love *Acis and Galatea*	10 March 1902† Great Queen Street Theatre
Harvest Home, a masque	Preparations begin, July 1902 Not performed

Company folds

*Matinee on 30 March as well.

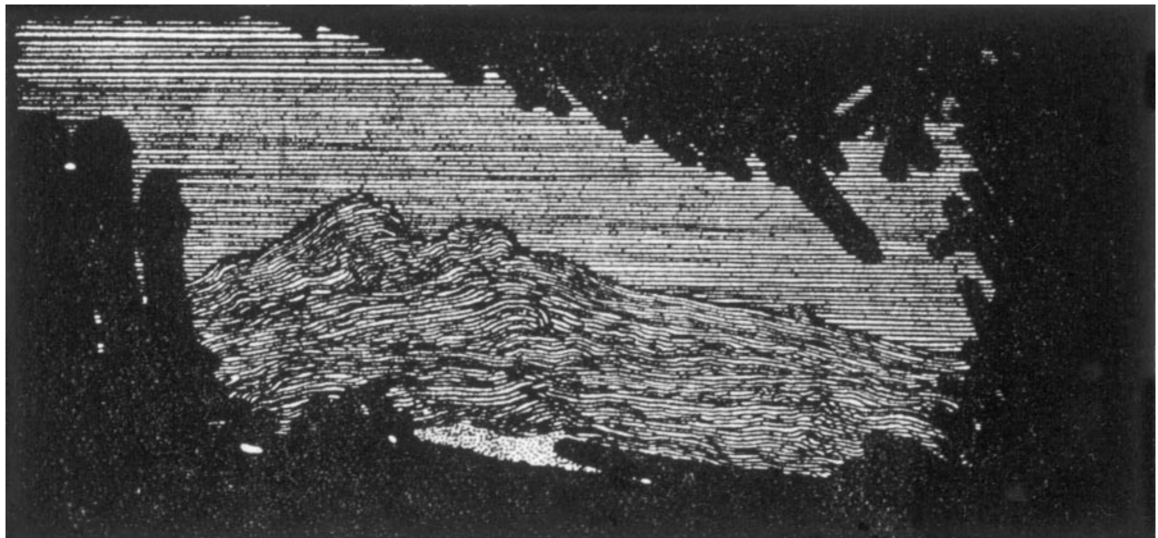
†Six nights plus a matinee; see *The stage*, 18 March 1901, p.4.

Craig's dissatisfaction was later summed up by W. B. Yeats, who in a later essay entitled 'At Stratford-on-Avon' in his volume *Ideas of good and evil*, commented: 'Naturalistic scene-painting is not an art, but a trade, because it is, at best, an attempt to copy the more obvious effects of nature by the methods of the ordinary landscape-painter, and by his methods made coarse and summary.'[16] For Craig this approach had clearly become insupportable. Further, the practical influence of the artist and portraitist Hubert von Herkomer had begun to suggest new ways of approaching a production, including von Herkomer's dictum that pictorial brilliancy is best achieved by an economy of light, not a surfeit, a dictum which Craig translated into 'The aim should not be to reproduce nature, but to suggest.'[17]

The target of Craig's first attack was the scenery, and so dramatic a result did he achieve that W. B. Yeats cited it as a model in the essayist's own appeal for a totally integrated approach to all aspects of production in which decorative scene-painting 'would be a new and legitimate art appealing to a taste formed by itself and copying but itself':[18]

> Mr Gordon Craig used scenery of this [non-specific] kind at the Purcell Society performance the other day, and despite some marring of his effects by the half-round shape of the [Coronet] theatre, it was the first beautiful scenery our stage has seen. He created an ideal country where everything was possible, even speaking in verse, or speaking in music, or the expression of the whole life in a dance … [Had Mr Benson's scenery at Stratford] been as simple as Mr Gordon Craig's purple back cloth that made Dido and Æneas seem wandering on the edge of eternity, he would have found nothing absurd in pitching the tents of Richard and Richmond side by side.[19]

By using the 'simple' back cloth, Craig removed from *Dido and Aeneas* the constriction of Tate's original scenes—'The Palace', 'The Cave', 'The Grove', 'The Ships'—a proceeding that was central to Craig's interpretation. He was able to transform Tate's palace into an 'arbor', the cave into an underwater scene (in a 'long, low waste of dunes to which had drifted all the wreckage of the world'), and the grove into a forest in 'moonshine'. The ships become 'the departure', with new scene changes to 'under the ground' and 'death', for the witches and Dido's lament respectively.[20] Craig then played on contrasts between these scenes, swinging from the overtly theatrical to the deliberate understatement as the different types of set employed suggest. For example, Craig's small wood engraving for the 1901 programme shows the set for Act 2, scene 1 of the 1900 premiere (illus.2). Initially, the long, rectangular shape of the illustration appears to be a nicety of



2 'The Witches' Cave. Wreckage. Size and shape of the scene as at Hampstead 1900.' This wood engraving makes clear the novel rectangular shape of the stage, and the unusual set design which places the audience in the cavern with the witches. (Michael Burden) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

the wood engraver's art, but Craig's commentary in the autobiographical fragment *Index to the story of my days* suggests otherwise:

We had no proper theatre. The place we chose to adapt as a stage was to be the large platform of the Hampstead Conservatoire, which later became the Embassy Theatre . . . . Raised about four feet from the floor of the hall, it stretched from wall to wall—and behind this long stage rose tier after tier of platforms, as in most well-constructed concert-halls of that time—1900. On this front platform I erected a long proscenium, built of eight immensely tall scaffolding-poles—and from 4A to 4B I threw eight or more scaffolding-poles, forming a deep frame, thus, of a rather unusual shape as prosceniums went in those days. I did not set out to force it into any unusual proportions—the proportions of the platform as I found them told me what I had to do.[21]

The engraving also suggests that Craig used the set 'inside out'; the distant view is, in fact, the landscape beyond. The stage—and therefore the hall and the audience—is under the water with the witches, making the spectators complicit in their plotting. Another set of the same size and shape appears as the background in one of the small motto engravings elsewhere in the same programme. Here, a stylized view of the orchestra (with, presumably, Martin Fallas Shaw conducting), shows the stage with a barren, rocky outcrop (illus.3). In design, the costumes such as those shown in illustrations 1, 4 and 5 also represented the stark, understated side of the opera, and they have appealed to later, more Spartan, theatrical tastes.[22] The juxtaposition of this austerity, with the heavy theatricality of the witches' scene provided the contrast that Craig used to reflect the emotions he was attempting to superimpose onto the different scenes.

Craig also made much use of theatrical symbols. Aeneas's followers carried red and gilt cornucopias at one point, and an olive branch and an anchor at others, while the women of Dido's court were entwined with paper roses. Craig's comment on this type of theatricality was that he took 'particular care to be entirely incorrect in all matters of detail',[23] but this irritated one critic, Mabel Cox, into writing in *The artist* for 1901 that:

[This] is the sort of thing that may occasionally be said gracefully, but which in print is simply fatuous. There is no earthly reason why Mr Craig should be correct to detail, even supposing him to be in possession of the detail with which to be correct.[24]

3 *The Masque of Love*, with the orchestra in the foreground. Edward Gordon Craig, *Dido and Aeneas* programme (London, 1901) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 17405 d.21) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

By interpreting Craig literally, Cox may have missed the point. Craig's large paper roses, for example, *were* incorrect, but not because there were no outsized paper roses in ancient Carthage; they were deliberately outsized, in their very nature becoming a theatrical, symbolic statement.[25]

The triumph of the production was the lighting. Following von Herkomer's ideas, the audience saw suggestions of figures and action; the effect was made possible in the first instance by the rig, which consisted of 'Lights from above placed on a "bridge" ', and no footlights:

The footlights being absent, and the illuminations coming from above, there was flung down upon Dido's face a gentle light, which made tragic darks hover below the finely wrought

and massive brows, casting a mysterious gloom about the eye-pits, and holding the lower part of the features in shadow that swept into the blackness of her robes, as she uttered the exquisite death-song …[26]

A stage without footlights is today no novelty, and the possibilities do not seem unusual, but to reduce the floor light in this way gave Craig a greater freedom in the creation of the black shadows that were his hallmark at this time. It ensured, for example, that what the audience saw was not a representation of witches, but a group of moving shadows thrown into relief against the backdrop, a scene in which:

The witches' clothing can hardly be described, a seething mass of black forms was all that could be seen, owing to too great a darkness of the stage. Here and there a horrible mask, or a corpse-like face caught the eye with telling effect. These masks are the most appallingly gruesome things; they are a nightmare, the embodiment of horrid emotions.[27]

And over the 'seething mass' 'against a background of moonlight, the Sorceress stands high above her sea-devils, who crawl about her feet, and float and rise and fall, like clouds of raggy seaweed that flap against the rocks at the incoming of a treacherous tide, as she evilly plots the destruction of lovers.'[28] (illus.5) These comments—by Cox and Macfall—emphasize that Craig approached the opera through vision and movement, rather than through music; indeed, his first notes on the production detailed particular gestures and chorus groupings, and included the tilt of the spears required for the word 'destiny' in Act 1,

4 Craig's design, 'A spirit', for *Dido and Aeneas*, Act 1, scene 2, from *Dido and Aeneas* programme (London, 1901) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 17405 d.21) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

5 The Sorceress. A wood engraving of Craig's design, found by the critics to be wholly successful. (Michael Burden) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

the position of the heads of the players, and the swirl of cloaks.[29] However, Purcell's score suffered; Craig's production notes suggest that Shaw added 'drums' (possibly timpani, and probably side drums as well) and 'souped up' the score in other places as well, very much, in fact, in the manner feared by Runciman.[30]

The reviews were generally favourable, although sadly the musical press generally did not do much more than print inanities; the notice that appeared in the *Musical times* was typical:

The rendering of the beautiful music, under the conductorship of Mr Martin Fallas Shaw, afforded evidence of careful preparation. The band numbered about twenty, including several ladies, and there were over thirty choralists, each department proving satisfactory.[31]

The critic so far missed the point of the staging as to describe it as having an 'elaborate picturesqueness', and confined himself to the not greatly penetrating remark that 'The performance presented many points of difference from that of the pupils of the Royal College of Music at the Lyceum Theatre on November 20, 1895.'[32] It was left to the sober weeklies and monthlies to produce thoughtful and critical considerations, although the critic of the *Daily graphic*, reviewing the revival in 1901, went so far as to present some cogent comments on the opera itself:

Purcell's music, it must frankly be said, is not for all markets. It requires the antiquarian habit of mind. That given, it is interesting and sometimes beautiful. 'Dido and Aeneas' is an early work, written when the composer was hardly out of his teens, and far the inferior to much that he subsequently produced. The libretto is hopeless balderdash, and, until the last scene, entirely denuded of dramatic interest. Purcell's music is a curious mixture of childishness and genius. The famous 'Death-Song' is a masterpiece of pathetic expression … but a great deal of the music of 'Dido' merely expresses the composer's inability to express anything at all. 'Dioclesian', which was written ten years after 'Dido', is a far maturer work. Here we have Purcell at the zenith of his powers; here he has ideas and knows how to use them. The music of the Masque is a delight from first to last.[33]

This is a view unlikely to be widely expressed today, but one which we ought, perhaps, to consider seriously, and not to dismiss on the grounds that the author simply did not know better. Although he appears to have been familiar with Dido's lament, the critic was coming fresh to both works, and seems to have been free of the sentimental baggage with which modern critics and audiences are encumbered when seeing *Dido* on stage.

The Masque of Love (and *Dido* revived)

Encouraged by the critical reception of their work—or, perhaps more accurately, not discouraged by these lukewarm reviews—Craig and Shaw prepared to revive it in the following season. This time, however, it was double-billed with a staging of the Act 5 masque from Purcell's *Dioclesian* under the new title of *The Masque of Love*. Aware that the audience figures were not all they might be, they also added a revival of Charles Reade's *Nance Oldfield*, with Ellen Terry in the title-role, one of her most popular parts, but the addition not only inappropriately lengthened the programme, but skewed its overall shape:

The performance was far too long—amateur performances always are—and the waits between the scenes were portentous. There was no particular reason for reviving 'Nance Oldfield', [and] the connection with Purcell is not obvious.[34]

Craig and Shaw had been rumbled—they admitted privately that *Nance Oldfield* was only revived as a crude method of selling seats[35]—and the resultant evening was so long that, by the time *The Masque of Love* was performed, most of the audience had left. Craig took heed of the practical problems that contributed to this disaster, and the initial idea for his famous screens as a set-changing device seems to date from this incident.[36]

The revival of *Dido and Aeneas* gave Craig the opportunity to rethink a number of aspects of the staging, and his production score contains a page entitled 'Notes for the second production. 1901'.[37] He retains the general idea of the coloured, non-specific backdrop, but has introduced a different colour for each act:

Grey

steps leading into orchestra Act I & III. Corned (?) with queen Act 1.

A new *light indigo* cloth for (?) Act I. See Drawing

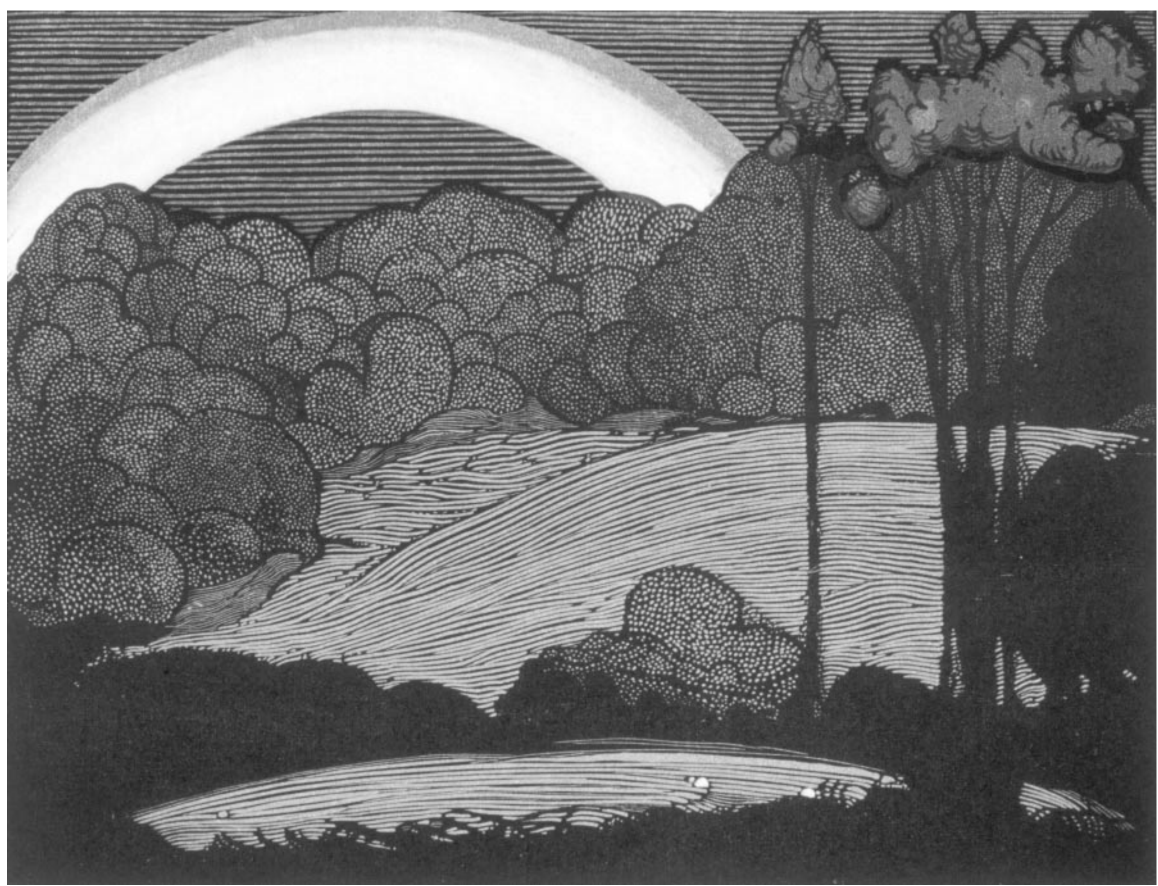
or pink

A new *yellow*? cloth for Act III. Scene I (swill at top)

A different floor for Act I Scene II & Act II.

The trellis & throne to join somehow. Act I

trellis[38]



6 The Grove scene from *Dido and Aeneas*, shifted from daylight to moonlight. A later coloured wood engraving by Craig. *The Studio*, xxxiii, no.102 (1901), p.147 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Per 17006 c.29) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

The most dramatic addition was the creation of a new backdrop for the hunting scene. Craig's notes—headed 'Alterations for stage etc.'—suggest the following:

Act II to be far more mysterious. more moonlight.

The trees to be painted thus [] woodcutting scheme

Here & there a *silver* streak: painted in lustre.

A fountain. transparent. light moving.

Birds. Fauns.[39]

As noted, this is the Grove scene, shifted by Craig from daylight to moonlight, and requiring a lower light-level than it had in 1900; this scene was the subject of a hand-tinted sheet for *The studio* in 1901 (illus.6). However, much of the production was unchanged.[40]

The second piece on the programme, *The Masque of Love*, was thought by Craig to be the best thing he had ever done on stage.[41] Here, the masque of Cupid and Bacchus from *Dioclesian*, an extended theatrical extravaganza conjured up by *The Prophetess* for the entertainment of the emperor, was given a new, rather curious, interpretation, with extra action and incidents:

The Scene is a hall in a mansion. Cupid sends forth children to fetch masks, by which we are to understand that they are playing at being Gods and Goddesses—Flora, Comus, and the rest. Three groups representing Blood, Riches, and Poverty, enter at different points; their wrists are bound, and they are dragged in, in typification of the stern mastery of Love. Their fetters are loosened. The rod of captivity becomes a maypole of merriment, whereon a solemn movement follows—'Hear, mighty Love!' At the conclusion of this

chorus, we hear outside a rustling and the sound of feet, which create mingled fear and expectation. Bacchanals enter, and the maskers flee like startled fawns. A hymn to Bacchus follows, with lively movement of hands and bodies, and an interweaving dance. While the eyes are fed, the measure of a bright country dance enchants the ear, the masque closing with the usual procession.[42]

Said Craig of the set of *The Masque of Love*:

… I had only three large cloths (back and two sides), one large floorcloth and one cut cloth in front, and all these were painted in a uniform grey, flat tone.[43]

Again, the dramatic interest in the performances was provided entirely by lighting effects, and again the theatrical critics raved. However, one of the notable features of the press criticism on this occasion was the authors' willingness to engage with the performance of Purcell's music:

The band was not strong enough and the piano sounded strangely modern. It would not have been difficult to secure the service of a harpsichord, which would have been more in keeping with Purcell's music.[44]

The decision to use a piano instead of a harpsichord had already attracted some scathing comments in the press.

Purcell meant his music to be played on the harpsichord: Mr Shaw comes along and finds that the piano—of which Purcell never dreamt—or harpsichord 'seems altogether out of keeping with the rest of the production', and so rescores his music for him! The mental state of these people is hard to understand. One can understand the men, like old Burney, who amend the 'faults' in the older music: but it simply takes away one's breath to find men who propose to play the old music as the composers meant it to be played and yet alter it.[45]

Here Runciman was ahead of his time in casting aside Burney as a guide to Purcell's music; it took other commentators rather longer. Rather optimistically, Craig issued a prospectus offering 'to perform The Masque of Love in large Country houses or Gardens';[46] he also included the following announcement in the version of *The Masque of Love* printed in about 1904:

Messrs. Gordon Craig and Martin Shaw wish to make known that they have prepared and are willing to give performances of Purcell's *Masque of Love*.[47]

There is no indication that either of these gambits encouraged any performances at all.

Acis and Galatea

For what was to be the final production of the Purcell Operatic Society, Craig and Shaw abandoned Purcell, and collaborated on a production of Handel's *Acis and Galatea*. Craig began preparations for the production almost as soon as the performances of *The Masque of Love* were over.[48] This production had the same neutral backdrop as *Dido and Aeneas*, although it was used to much greater effect.[49] The masque offers nothing but a generalized sylvan landscape as a context for the action, and Craig did not have to contend with a contextual image as powerful as Carthage, and with specific scenes such as 'The Ships' or 'The Cavern'. Nevertheless, Craig's solution was innovative. The 1902 programme book shows that the work was divided into four scenes; the original first act was scene 1, while the second was divided into three parts.[50] Entitled 'The White Tent', 'The Shadow', 'The Giant', and 'The Grey Tent', the symmetry of the design was no accident. The two tents represented Galatea's feelings; white in the first scene when she was happy and in love, grey in the last scene when she is in mourning for that lost love. The main events of the masque are represented by the two intervening scenes, 'The Shadow' and 'The Giant'. The Shadow represents the approach of the monster Polyphemus who comes to kill Acis, and The Giant, Polyphemus's arrival. Max Beerbohm, attending the performance as a drama critic, wrote of it:

… the simplicity of that pale, one-coloured background, rising sheer beyond our range of vision, uninterrupted by 'flies' or ceiling; the fluttering grace of those many-ribanded costumes, so simple, yet so various—every one of them a true invention; the cunning distribution and commingling of the figures and colours; the cunning adjustment of shadows over light, making of Polyphemus in 'Acis and Galatea' a real giant—the one and only real and impressive giant ever seen on any stage …[51]

As in *The Masque of Love*, the main interest was provided by lighting effects, in particular the giant, which was, in fact, a figure moving backwards and forwards across an electric lamp behind the scenes.

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The synthesis Craig achieved in *Acis and Galatea* was greater than that of either of the earlier productions:

> … you feel the actual sensation of a pastoral scene, of country joy, of the spring and the open air, as no trickle of water in a trough, no sheaves of real corn among painted tress, no imitation of a flushed sky on canvas, could trick you into feeling it.[52]

The production itself does not appear to have run as smoothly as it might have done. Haldane Macfall, complaining to Craig of the lack of interval music and therefore audience concentration, wrote:

> Of course, I quite allow that your brawling behind the curtain was wholly delightful, but whilst vibrant with suppressed emotional intensity it was not in the picture. You very nearly got an encore once, all the same. It was when you told the carpenter that he was ruddier than the cherry and a vegetarian and his feet smelt—or words to that effect.[53]

Musically, too, the production again ran foul of the critics:

> The business of any one who in this age wants to give us Handel's music as Handel intended it to be given is surely to get rid of Mozart; Mozart is not Handel: to give Handel's music as changed by Mozart is not to give Handel's music as Handel intended it to be given. It is a pity to have to expound the obvious in this fashion, but it is absolutely necessary.[54]

Sadly, the hoped-for run of *Acis and Galatea* did not materialize. They were unable to raise the £500 or so required to keep the show open, and it closed after six performances.

Harvest Home, a masque

While *Acis* was being produced, Craig was already working on a never-to-be realized production of a masque entitled *Harvest Home*. Apparently inspired by reading William Hone's *Ancient mysteries*, Craig was attracted by the idea of strolling players and the theatrical rituals surrounding the harvest. Although commentators have suggested that he took the mystery plays as his model, the structure of *Harvest Home* as outlined in a published prospectus owes much to the mummers' plays in which stock characters play out the rituals of harvest and renewal. Indeed, Hone himself defines mystery plays as 'dramatic representa-tions of religious subjects', and limits the use of the term 'morality' to those dramas which have the personification of vices or virtues with intent to present a particular moral or religious principle.[55] The characters that attracted Craig were the Morris dancers, hobby-horses and musicians, who danced what were clearly pagan rituals associated with fertility, plenty and the seasons. The score, which consisted of a number of folksongs, also included two by Purcell.

Regardless of the wisdom of attempting to sell something so arcane to local yokels, the complexity of the operation for such a slight result left the project dead in the water. As his sister pointed out with finality, 'the harvest doesn't go on all through the summer you know, and you'd never be able to afford the transport for thirty or forty people all over the country for three quarters of an hour's work!'[56] It was, in any case, a fairly absurd fantasy, with nothing of Craig's much vaunted theatrical practicality in evidence, and the demise of the POS meant that this gloriously unworkable project went no further.[57]

Pluses and Minuses

Clearly, neither Craig nor Shaw was fit to administer an opera company. In the *Index to the story of my days*, we find the following description of their approach:

> We hadn't a penny—that was the least of the bothers.[58]
>
> We hadn't a theatre—that was nothing insurmountable.
>
> We had no company of actor-singers and couldn't engage one because that would require a capital of several thousand pounds …
>
> We spent in all £379 2s 1d and took about £377.[59]

For *The Masque of Love* and *Dido* performances at the Coronet Theatre, the figures were £534 6*s* 8*d* expended, and £533 6*s* 4*d* taken at the box office,[60] while *Acis and Galatea* made similar losses. An appeal to the streetwise Ellen Terry brought a stinging response:

> I send cheques to pay *half* the amount of five *pressing* bills you tell me about—'*Old* Bills' you say!! Why, I have been paying your 'old bills' these ten years!—I sh^{d} not send this but that I fear *just as you* want to make a public appearance with the '*Acis*' at the Coronet you will be disgraced publicly by having the whole thing stopped by your creditors—meanwhile you are running up bills every day by speculating in a theatrical enterprise with *no means*—Do you call this anything but dishonest? You have strength and talents and opportunities, and you must *finish* this *bill paying* by yourself … you say in your letters 'these pin pricks worry me'—Good Lord! … *Pin Pricks*!! my patience is fast going.[61]

In fact, as Martin Shaw later remembered, the Purcell Operatic Society expired in a 'blaze of glory',[62] while Edward Craig records that, when *Acis and Galatea* was being staged:

> … the broker's men were in the theatre on the last night, and to make sure that nothing of value was taken away they even searched the bags of the chorus as they left.[63]

As Craig himself said, this was not 'exactly business',[64] and it was clear that all the efforts had gone into putting on the shows;

> We were very seriously at *WORK* and far too unconcerned about people. Next year we did take a little trouble to collect a few of the friends and celebrities: that was at the Coronet Theatre. But even then we really were very unconcerned about everyone. All we thought of was the work. It was the same in 1902, when we produced *Acis and Galatea*. It was only a good deal later that Publicity struck as being something to consider more carefully.[65]

The last word belonged to William Rothenstein who recorded that, although these productions were 'very fine', they were seen by few people.[66]

Yet it is clear that their influence extended way beyond Craig's immediate circle. The designs for *The Masque of Love* and *Acis and Galatea*, for example, attracted much attention from abroad, and in 1903 Craig received an invitation from Count Kessler, a patron of the arts associated with the Court at Weimar, to design and produce a play at the Grand Ducal Theatre.[67] He accepted, stipulating that he should have 'absolute power … over *play, actors & actresses*, scenery costume & every detail in the production';[68] although the project did not ultimately materialize, it led to an invitation from Otto Brahm to come and work in Berlin. Craig went, but he and the literal but control-minded Brahm—'I see no door handle or lock; You cannot have a door without a handle'[69]—did not hit it off, and the collaboration collapsed. Control, of course, was also an issue for Craig. In writing to the paper concerning one of the Berlin projects which came to grief—some designs for Hugo von Hofmannsthal's version of Thomas Otway's *Venice preserved* for the Frier Bühre—he wrote:

> A scene-design is not finished when the drawings and the model are handed over, but only when the artist who designed the scene lights it himself and directs the movements of the figures and groups appearing on the stage, which only too often spoil the picture.[70]

There is little doubt that had Craig been less desirous to control everything at all times—and in a way which was unknown in most theatres during this period—he would have had a long and fruitful career in the theatre. Sadly, he continued to mistake 'co-operation' for 'compromise', and repeatedly squandered opportunities offered to him; that he did it knowingly— 'the Grand Dook [Kessler] will see me to 'ell before 'ell give me full powers … there would be mutterings of resignation & Weimar's actors would all leave in a body for Berlin'[71]—makes it all the more frustrating.

His stage designs, though, became particularly well known on the Continent through exhibitions of his drawings and prints. The most important of these was probably the first major one, that in Berlin at Friedman und Uber in 1904, but by the end of 1905 his work had been seen in Düsseldorf, Cologne, Dresden, Munich, London and Vienna;[72] other exhibitions followed. Although the exhibitions contained a number of English landscapes, portraits and illustrations, the bulk of the material consisted of stage designs, ideas for the early productions, and for his series of masques. Craig's idea of *Gesamkunstwerk*, although somewhat different from that of Wagner, was expounded upon by Kessler in the introduction to the Berlin catalogue:

> Craig declares categorically that he looks to the theatre of the coming century to play an entirely new role. He does not despise the dramatist, but he protests against the manner in which all theatre people—managers, actors, designers—rely on the dramatist. He wishes to restore the theatre as an independent art. He has clearly recognized what conditions are required for the pure theatrical art that so many people wish for, and he seems to combine them in his own person. The *Gesamtkunstwerk* that Wagner thought to forward on the basis of music and poetry will soon, perhaps, be re-created by Craig or under his influence, from painting, drama and gesture.[73]

Craig has been correctly hailed as one whose designs and theories have influenced and inspired 20th-century theatre, but sadly for Great Britain, as William Rothenstein wrote to Max Beerbohm, 'I know you to have both admiration & affection for this dynamic personality who explodes everywhere except upon the English stage.'[74]

It remains unclear how much Craig's designs for the Purcell Operatic Society represent his real

thoughts at that time, and how much the necessity for economy determined the principle which then determined the style. One of the most spectacular and memorable features of the *Dido* designs—and one on which contemporary critics commented again and again—was the blue curtain, the non-specific scenic effect which rolled down to represent the sea in the sailors' chorus at the opening of Act 3. But Craig, writing in *Towards a new theatre*, says of this curtain and its context:

When I presented the opera in 1900, with my friend Martin Shaw, I had only a plain blue back-ground which has become dreadfully popular since then … a colour scheme, [and] very little movement. This very little movement is a characteristic of the English temperament, and, being incomprehensible to other nations, is avoided by Germans, Russians and French.[75]

He had 'only' a plain curtain, suggesting that the much admired simplicity was, to a certain extent, a matter of budgetary constraint. Indeed, despite having scored such a success with a simple, single colour-drop, the notes for the 1901 revival tell us that he wanted to elaborate on this idea, using 'A new *light indigo* cloth for Act I' and 'A new yellow (or pink) cloth for Act II. Scene I.'[76]

These last remarks are in danger of selling Craig short, for his most productive period in the theatre in fact occurred after 1907, long after the Purcell Operatic Society was defunct. It should also be remembered that Craig was not just a designer, but a practitioner, and had a firm grasp of technical aspects of the theatre; as Ellen Terry remarked: 'When I worked with him I found him far from unpractical; it was the modern theatre that was unpractical when he was in it.'[77] Why precisely the opera of *Dido and Aeneas* should have caught Craig's attention is necessarily unclear. However, Innes has speculated that his satisfaction with *The Masque of Love* resulted from its removal from *Dioclesian*, which freed it from story and situation. The resulting series of 'choral songs' gave Craig the opportunity to invent a scenario.[78] This was a process that was in any case made easier because Purcell's score was 'old music', and little known; perhaps it was this antiquarian aspect that gave Craig the freedom he would have been denied had he come to a newer work with a modern performing history. And having caught Craig's imagination, the designer returned to the opera at least twice in his career; he produced a new design for the sailors' scene which he included in his 1913 volume *Towards a new theatre* (illus.7),[79] and as late as 1930 was proposing *Dido and Aeneas* to Count Kessler as a possible project for his new press.[80] It is not an original statement to say that Craig's influence on the theatre of the 20th century was profound, but what is often overlooked is that it was Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* that was first the inspiration, and then the vehicle for such thoughts and developments; 'after practice, the theory'.[81]

7 Craig's 1906 view of 'Come away fellow sailors, come away', *Dido and Aeneas*, Act 3, scene 1 Edward Gordon Craig, *Towards a new theatre* (London, 1913), plate facing p.57 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 3852.c.1) (© Reproduced by permission of The Edward Gordon Craig Estate)

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This article is a version of paper given at the Royal Musical Association's Purcell Conference at the Barbican Centre in November 1995. I have to thank those present for many helpful comments, including those of the late Arthur Jacobs, and to John Milsom who read a later draft. It is part of a larger study on the performance history of Purcell's operas.

1 For the best account of these performances, see '*Dido and Aeneas* with *The Loves of Dido and Aeneas* in *Measure for Measure*', ed. I. Cholij, in *Henry Purcell's operas: the complete texts*, ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 2000), pp.95–169.

2 For a discussion of the performances of the Academy of Ancient Music and the relationship of the surviving sources of the opera, see E. T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's 'Dido and Aeneas'* (Oxford, 1987), pp.124–47. For the place of Purcell's music in the concerts of Ancient Music, see also W. Weber, *The rise of musical classics in eighteenth-century England: a study in canon, ritual and ideology* (Oxford, 1992), pp.143ff.

3 [George Bernard Shaw], *Shaw's music: the complete musical criticism in three volumes*, ed. D. H. Laurence (London, 1981), i, pp.558–60.

4 In fact, M. F. Shaw had been a pupil of Stanford's at the Royal College of Music; see E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days* (London, 1957), p.222. Throughout these notes all references to Edward Gordon Craig will be given as 'E. G. Craig', while those to his son and biographer Edward Craig will be given as 'Edward Craig'.

5 J. A. Fuller Maitland, 'Foreword' to [Nahum Tate], *Dido and Aeneas, an opera*, ill. E. G. Craig (London, 1901).

6 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.210.

7 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, pp.226–7.

8 E. G. Craig, *The page*, ii/4 (1899), 'Announcements'. The text went on: 'THE PURCELL OPERATIC SOCIETY is limited to 250 Members, and the annual subscription is One Guinea, entitling members to three seats. 300 seats will be reserved for members at each performance, and will be allotted in order of application.'

9 J. F. R[unciman], 'Musical dilettantes', *Saturday review*, xciii/2 (1902), p.233.

10 See, for example, C. Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Cambridge, 1983), and D. Bablet, *The theatre of E. G. Craig*, trans. D. Woodward (London, 1966).

11 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.167.

12 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, pp.190–1. E. G. Craig seems to have had little opinion of himself as an actor, but the painfully honest Ellen Terry had nothing but regrets on the retirement of such a promising talent; see E. Terry, *The story of my life* ([London, 1922], rep. 1982), p.209.

13 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, pp.149, 167.

14 Bablet, *The theatre of E. G. Craig*, p.36.

15 E. G. Craig, 'The artists of the theatres of the future', *On the art of the theatre* (London, 1911), p.28.

16 W. B. Yeats, 'At Stratford-upon-Avon', *Ideas of good and evil* (London, 1903), p.149.

17 For a claim that Craig never properly acknowledged his debt to von Herkomer, see Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig*, p.33.

18 Yeats, 'At Stratford-upon-Avon', pp.150, 152.

19 Yeats, 'At Stratford-upon-Avon', p.150. This discussion refers not to the original performances in Hampstead, but to the revival at the Coronet Theatre; however, although some changes were made in the production as the discussion later in the article illustrates, Craig's 'reforms' remained.

20 Note that E. G. Craig's production clearly unites what are now generally considered to be Acts 1 and 2 scene i into a single act. Although labelled a 'spirit' in Craig's programme, the costume shown in illus.4 is clearly for an Enchantresses' costume; the 'spirit' (the 'false' Mercury) of the Grove Scene cannot have been in Act 1.

21 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.228.

22 The Enchantresses' costume in illus.4 does suggest that the reality may well have different, and that Craig's accented sparseness of the costumes was undermined by their amateur realization—Craig tells us that 'The costumes were made by the chorus and their families—every one of them'; see E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.229.

23 E. G. Craig, 'Foreword' to [Nahum Tate], *Dido and Aeneas, an opera*, ill. E. G. Craig (London, 1900).

24 Mabel Cox, 'Dress', *The artist*, xxviii/7 (1901), p.131.

25 'Another descent into the ridiculous occurs in a certain scene where Dido's maidens appear wound about with purple paper roses. Why Mr Craig should have permitted this piece of theatrical commonplace it is difficult to imagine; the paper roses are quite unsuggestive, they are not wanted for colour, and they by no means add grace to the form.' Cox, 'Dress', p.132.

26 H. Macfall, 'Some thoughts on the art of Gordon Craig with particular reference to stage craft', *The studio*, xxiii, no.102 (1901), p.256.

27 Cox, 'Dress', p.132.

28 Macfall, 'Some thoughts on the art of Gordon Craig', p.255.

29 For a full transcription of these notes and plans, see Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig*, pp.35ff. In preparation for the production Craig had Shaw move the chorus around while they were singing, so that they would be less reluctant to follow his directions in stage rehearsals. [E. G. Craig], *Gordon Craig on movement and dance*, ed. A. Rood (London, 1977), pp.xi–xii.

30 Runciman, 'Musical dilettantes', p.233.

31 Anon., 'Purcell Operatic Society: "Dido and Æneas"', *Musical times*, xli (1900), p.399.

32 Anon., 'Purcell Operatic Society: "Dido and Æneas"', p.399.

33 Anon., 'Purcell at Notting Hill Gate', *Daily graphic*, xlv/3514 (27 March 1901), p.14.

34 Anon., 'Coronet Theatre', *The Times*, no. 36, 413 (27 March 1901), p. 8.

35 E. G. Craig and M. F. Shaw were, curiously, not deterred by the inappropriateness of crowd-pullers or by such reviews. When they were preparing *Acis and Galatea* and a revival of *The Masque of Love*, they appear to have also tried to use Lilly Langtry in the same way; see Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, p.147.

36 Bablet, *The theatre of E.G. Craig*, p.40, cites Craig's manuscript, 'A note for a book of one's memoirs' (1904), p.15, shown to him by Craig. The aim was to use the screens to create different acting spaces, the character of which would be changed by moving the screens during stage action, and by a developing lighting plot. The highly sophisticated results of these ideas are detailed in Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig*, pp.139ff.

37 This production score is part of the 'Craig Collection' consisting of books, papers and designs sold by Craig in 1957 to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and now housed in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (F-Pa).

38 F-Pa; manuscript notes on inserted page between p.iv and p.1 in Craig's copy of the opera; Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. W. H. Cummings (London, [1888]).

39 F-Pa; manuscript notes on inserted page between p.iv and p.1 in Craig's copy of the opera.

40 Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig*, p.43.

41 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.235.

42 [Nahum Tate and Thomas Betterton], *Dido and Aeneas and The Masque of Love*, ill. E. G. Craig (London, 1901), 'The masque'. At least some of these 'incidents' were unplanned, and not without humour; Shaw records that in performance 'the children upset the infant Bacchus in his car and while the unlucky babe (where was the L.C.C.?) hung perilously downward, howling, his attendants shrilly disputed the question of who was to blame for his ungodlike position'; M. F. Shaw, *Up to now* (London, 1929), p.28.

43 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.238.

44 Anon., 'Purcell at Notting Hill Gate', p.14.

45 Runciman, 'Musical dilettantes', p.233.

46 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.246.

47 E. G. Craig, *The Masque of Love* (London, [c.1904]), 'Announcement'.

48 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.239.

49 In particular, see Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig*, esp. pp.50–69.

50 [John Gay and others, and Thomas Betterton], *Souvenir. Acis and Galatea. Masque of Love. As produced at the Great Queen Street Theatre, March 10th, 1902, by Martin Shaw and Gordon Craig*, ill. E. G. Craig ([London], [1902]).

51 M. Beerbohm, 'Mr Craig's experiment', *Saturday review*, 5 April 1902, reprinted in *Around theatres* (London, 1953), p.201; the article itself is critical of the English artistic establishment, asking 'But who in London wants "to hear or tell some new thing" in any art?'

52 A. Symons, 'A new art of the stage', *Studies in seven arts* (London, 1906), pp.353–4. Symons went on: 'The imagination has been caught; a suggestion has been given which strikes straight to the "nerve of delight"; and be sure those nerves, that imagination will do the rest, better, more effectually, than the deliberate assent of the eyes to an imitation of natural appearances.'

53 Letter from Macfall to E. G. Craig, 13 March 1902; quoted in Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, pp.153–4.

54 Runciman, 'Musical dilettantes', p.233.

55 W. Hone, *Ancient mysteries described, especially the English miracle plays, founded on apocryphal New Testament story, extant among the unpublished manuscripts in the British Museum; including notices of Ecclesiastical shows, the festivals of fools and asses, the English boy bishop, the descent into hell, the Lord Mayor's show, the Guildhall giants, the Christmas carols, etc.* (London, 1823), p.227.

56 Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, p.167. Another example of Craig's administrative innocence in matters of touring was a suggestion for fundraising which included transporting all the chorus to various universities on Saturdays and giving performances of *The Masque of Love* on the railway station platforms 'using a plain backcloth and the platform made to look mysterious some way or another', a proposal which threatened to cost more money than it would make.

57 Little appears to be known of the music of this piece, but the title suggests that it may well have been inspired by, or used music from, Purcell's *King Arthur*.

58 This is also noted in Shaw, *Up to now*, p.30; writing in 1929, Shaw says that 'Craig and I had absolutely no backing.'

59 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.226.

60 These figures are taken from E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days* (see note above), but Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, p.137, suggests that the POS had £300 'left over' after the Coronet performances.

61 Ellen Terry to E. G. Craig, quoted in Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, p.149. Such a response indicates not only the realities of actor-management, but Terry's own situation; she was partially blind by this time, aged 55 and overworked. Nevertheless she was to risk (and lose) money on E. G. Craig's productions of Ibsen's *Vikings* and *Much Ado About Nothing* at a time when she could ill-afford it. Performing in *Vikings* involved her giving up a fee of £12,000 to go to America; see Terry, *Life*, p. 208.

62 Shaw, *Up to now*, p.30. Shaw was more than grateful that Ellen Terry had come to the rescue, given that it was largely his enterprise. He notes that not only had the creditors been kind, but the 'Electric Light Company

read the meter *ritenuto e diminuendo* for the first time in history.'

63 Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, p.154.

64 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.240.

65 E. G. Craig, *Index to the story of my days*, p.231.

66 William Rothenstein, *Men and memories* (London, 1932), ii, p.53. Nevertheless, the opposite assumption should not be made. As Edward Craig points out, 'The suggestion, at a later date, that the work went unrecognized is nonsense; they could not have hoped for better notices'; Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig: the story of his life*, p.135.

67 As a compliment to the Count, Craig sent him copies of the illustrated programmes of *Dido and Aeneas*, *The Masque of Love* and *Acis and Galatea*; see letter 5 October 1903, in [E. G. Craig], *The correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*, ed. L. M. Newman (London, 1995), p.17.

68 Letter from E. G. Craig to William Rothenstein, quoted in Rothenstein, *Men and memories*, p.55. This appears to be the 'condition' under which Craig had stipulated early in their negotiations that he was prepared to work. See letter from Craig to Kessler, 30 September 1903, in *The correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*, p.17.

69 Brahm as quoted by E. G. Craig, in *Towards a new theatre* (London, 1913), pp.29–31.

70 English translation of the original German translation possibly by Count Kessler; see Bablet, *The theatre of E. G. Craig*, p.72.

71 Letter from Craig to Rothenstein, quoted in Rothenstein, *Men and memories*, p.55.

72 Bablet, *The theatre of Edward Gordon Craig*, p.75.

73 H. Kessler, 'Edward Gordon Craig's Enterürfe für Theater-Dekorationen und Kostüme', *Katalog über verscheid. Entwürfe für Scene und Kostüme für das Theater und einige Zeichnungen englischer Landscenen von E. G. Craig* (Berlin, 1904), translation Bablet, *The theatre of Edward Gordon Craig*, p.74.

74 *Max and Will*, ed. M. M. Lago and K. Beckson (London, 1975), pp.114–15.

75 E. G. Craig, *Towards a new theatre*, p.57.

76 F-Pa; manuscript notes opposite p.4.

77 Terry, *Life*, p.209.

78 Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig*, p.50.

79 E. G. Craig, *Towards a new theatre*, opposite p.57.

80 Letters dated 10 and 12 March 1930; *The correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*, pp.284–5. Although the project would come to nothing in the political and financial difficulties of the early 1930s, *The Fairy Queen* was chosen, with M. F. Shaw advising on the music and the libretto.

81 The motto of his magazine, *The mask*. This was not an idle maxim; Symons ('A new art', p.360) also commented that Craig 'having begun by creating a new art of stage on the actual boards of the theatre, has followed up his practical demonstration by a book of theory, in which he explains what he has done, telling us also what he hopes to do.'

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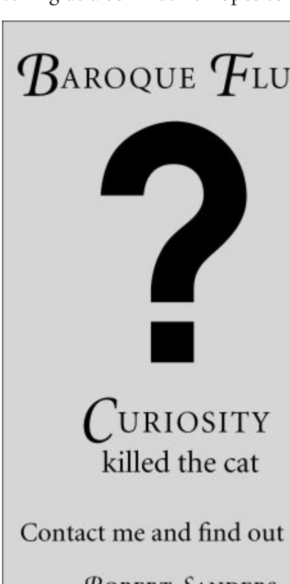

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Nicholas Kenyon

The historical imagination

Peter Walls, *History, imagination and the performance of music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), £40/$70

Peter Walls's book is a sober, well-considered and beautifully written contribution to a debate that over the last decade has become excessively tortured. It attempts to make a simple case for something that has become so laden with problems and burdened with guilt that few dare say they believe in it anymore: the worth of thorough and detailed historical study as an agent and catalyst in the process of producing imaginative musical performances. (Everyone would, of course, now deny that they ever held the extreme positions attributed to them; what Richard Taruskin and others vigorously rejected was the claim of privilege made by those who undertook this process over those who didn't.)

Walls is a violinist, and the most rewarding parts of this book demonstrate anew what riches and insights can be gained from exploring the treatises and information that are available to the player. He is fascinating on Corelli, Laurenti, Cosimi, Veracini and Geminiani, and there is much stimulating discussion of partbooks and continuo forces. In later repertory there is a riveting illustration of Dessauer's 1903 edition of the Mendelssohn Violin Concerto (with its precise instructions about vibrato and rubato), and Walls touches on portamento in recordings of Mahler's Fourth Symphony, with some interesting extracts from interviews between William Malloch and New York Philharmonic players (which I have not seen in print before, though they have been available on disc). Although this preliminary discussion is likely to be supplemented by Robert Philip's important new book *Performing music in the age of recording*, it is the beginning of what promises to be a major debate about the impact of broadcasting and recording on the performance styles of our time.

All this is written with a light touch and a clarity that speaks to the non-specialist. Walls is also a conductor, and one of the most diverting sections of the book is an account of the première in New Zealand of a contemporary opera, which certainly puts the whole idea of the composer's firm intentions in a new light. This, and the ensuing account of the trials that Bizet's *Carmen* underwent in production, are good common sense and very realistic. Why doesn't this pragmatic approach also apply to his more strait-laced attempts to suggest that 'performers who wish to claim (or even to imply) fidelity to the composer's intentions surely have some responsibility to take account of the original instrumental specifications' (p.144)? It's odd he doesn't see the conflict here. In objecting to John Butt's justification (in a programme note—we have to watch what we write in the most throwaway forms these days) for Andras Schiff's playing Bach concertos on the piano, Walls doesn't engage with whether the performance could actually work or not, only whether a scholar was misleading the public as to what Bach intended.

This is over-restrictive in a post-modern age of performance where all sorts of not-precisely-correct approaches can offer their own revelations. Contrasting his experience of a Shakespeare production at the Globe (historical, good) and one by Cheek by Jowl (modern, bad), Walls doesn't acknowledge that with different performances it could so easily have been the other way round. Yet an obvious measure of the greatness of both Shakespeare's words and Bach's music is their ability to sustain an astonishingly wide freedom of interpretation while remaining firmly connected to their creators. So naturally I bristle when Walls writes in a footnote that 'performing such works [as the B minor Mass] in venues as large as the Albert Hall involves at least a tacit acknowledgement that no serious attempt is bring made to re-enter Bach's sound world' (p.51). It is naïve to make this an all-or-nothing issue: any sensitive performer, as Walls is, must struggle with issues of positively beneficial compromise in the search for communication, so the music can speak to modern audiences in today's venues.

The slight earnestness of Walls's approach comes, I guess, from his desire to reconcile a polarized world. He is dismissive of the 'playground stone-throwing' of some innocent remarks by Roger Norrington (p.8), and describes John Eliot Gardiner's rhetoric as 'perversely misleading' (p.6). Elsewhere Gardiner is said to show 'what could fairly be described as paranoid hysteria' about the 'Bach chorus' arguments of Rifkin and Parrott (p.47). 'Shallow metaphors have taken the place of reasoned arguments': true, but there was a great deal of childishness

on both sides. It is admirable that Walls stresses the variety and breadth of interpretations that the period-instrument movement now produces; he is rightly irritated at attempts to brand any Beethoven symphony recording as 'normative' (though on p.158 Taruskin is brought in evidence against Norrington's recording of Beethoven's Seventh, when the recording of that symphony had not yet appeared, and Taruskin was actually reviewing Beethoven's Second and Eighth Symphonies). The consequences of these new freedoms for the way we absorb, internalize and re-create historical information are a fruitful subject for the next decade of research.

What has surely happened over the last fascinating decade is that the insights of the historical approach have gradually infiltrated mainstream performance, mainly through the agency of those who have worked within the period-instrument movement, but more remarkably absorbed by those who never have. (In that process, both the rapidly evolving styles exchanged via recordings and broadcasts, and the way that seismic alterations in public taste have been reflected, remain to be studied.) What started as a violent opposition to current tradition, engendering contempt on both sides, has ended up subtly changing and revitalizing for the better the tradition we had all along. Not a bad outcome, surely! And for readers of this journal, it is surely worth also noting that this book shows, from its first mild objection to an editorial adverb on p.1 through to the extensive footnotes, the huge influence of *Early music* over 30 years in chronicling, discussing and evaluating the process. Walls's book provides a calm and considered account of recent controversies, and is hopefully a harbinger of an integrated mainstream, where historical information can finally be accepted as indispensable—not the only route, but one of many routes towards an inspiring performance.

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Early chant

Western plainchant in the first millennium: studies in the medieval liturgy and its music, ed. Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas and Timothy Striplin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), £59.95

The first millennium has long been a blind spot for devotees of early music, if only because it is hard to sustain enthusiasm for music intimately tied to a liturgy and set of beliefs that seem to most not only foreign, but peculiarly resistant to translation. Attempts to establish points of reference also soon run into difficulty since so much of the music history of this era can only be inferred on the basis of at best partial evidence. The writings of James McKinnon, culminating in his *The Advent Project* (2000)—a bold new account of the creation of the Roman Mass Proper, published in the year after his death—is exceptional in providing a lucid guide to the development of liturgy and music in the first millennium. This latest volume, the bulk of which is the outcome of a symposium held in McKinnon's honour in January 1999, is intended to acknowledge and continue his work.

Where *The Advent Project* offered an overview conceived and by necessity executed largely in isolation, this volume consists of essays by 18 leading chant scholars devoted to separate strands of music of the Latin West before *c.*AD 1000. Despite the diversity of subject matter and approach, there is a broad thematic unity to the

volume: the first six chapters are dedicated to the liturgy and its development, the next six to problems of notation and transmission, and the final six to interpretation and performance. The consistently high standard of writing makes it hard to single out contributions; what stands out from the volume are essays in which subtly differing readings of similar or overlapping material are offered. The papers by Joseph Dyer and Peter Jeffrey on the 'psalmodic movement' of the 4th century, by David G. Hughes, László Dobszay and Edward Nowacki on chronological layers and chant style, and by Nancy van Deusen, Calvin M. Bower and Theodore Karp on the sequence, make for particularly profitable reading in combination.

As befits the status of the contributors, the overall tone of the volume is distinctly *wissenschaftlich*. This is, in one sense, wholly understandable—scholarly rigour must be practised and seen to be practised—but it does demand that a reader bring a wealth of previous knowledge to individual articles. As an index of the range of reference required, the cumulative bibliography covers some 35 pages, and is longer than almost all the individual articles. An instructive comparison may again be made with *The Advent Project*, in which McKinnon encompassed two centuries of chant scholarship by exploring a single, clearly stated thesis. In turn, however, the level of detail offered in this volume understandably lies beyond that addressed by McKinnon. Indeed, one of the overriding concerns here is to probe those ambiguities and lacunae in the historical record that he did not have time to tackle.

Is this collection therefore a sign of a return to patient archaeological sifting in attempts to comprehend music of the first millennium? Not entirely. First, even if debates inevitably remain, the terrain is becoming more familiar, or at least distinctions between the unknown and the unknowable are becoming clearer. Second, Richard Crocker in his final essay and accompanying CD hints at an alternative way of understanding music of the first millennium. Crocker turns to performance as a mode of providing musical readings that are not final, but hypotheses that can be tested against notation: as he says, 'I have no conclusion in the form of a general description or final determination; my determinations are purely ad hoc, contextual, pragmatic, and I present them only in the form of a performance.' A bold conclusion indeed, and one that may ultimately lead to the deepest understanding of music of the first millennium.

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Elizabeth Eva Leach

Ciconia in transition

Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), €66

This new collection of essays—most derived from papers given at a conference in Liège in 1998—takes as its central theme a composer whose received biography changed markedly during the second half of the 20th century. The documentary evidence still leaves a number of puzzling loose ends, explored further here in Philippe Vendrix's opening essay and in David Fallows's paper on Ciconia's late songs. Fallows admits to being nervous that his theory that the Ciconia so fully documented in Suzanne Clerx-Lejeune's 1960 monograph was in fact a father and son of the same name, especially as there are individuals called Johannes Ciconia documented in Liège both before and after either of these two individuals can have been alive. Between them, Fallows's essay on Ciconia's 'late' songs (actually, as he points out, those of the early maturity of a composer who seems to have died in his early 40s), and Vendrix's contribution involve thorough reconsideration of the biographical and historical problems thrown up by the composer.

As a figure who straddles the historiographically messy join between the 14th and 15th centuries, and in particular because he is one of the first northerners to make his compositional and singing career predominantly in Italy, Ciconia is indeed seen as the transitional figure of the book's subtitle. A number of essays map his transition from France to Italy, and from the 14th to the 15th century onto a stylistic musical change from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Of course, at a conference (and in a book) devoted to a single individual, it is *de rigueur* to make claims for that subject's special status, which then justifies the fact of the conference (and book) itself. What emerges clearly from these essays, therefore, is a picture of a man talented as a composer and probably also as a singer and teacher. However, it is less clear that the need to emphasize this should involve seeing him as the originator of certain key traits, particularly when, as in some of the essays, these are associated with the Renaissance or humanism in a broad and ungrounded way. Many of the chief traits thus promoted are those which may easily be associated with Guillaume de Machaut, over half a century earlier: the responsive relations between music and text, and also between musico-poetic text and the author as a self-conscious artist.

Like all essay collections that result from conferences, the methods and quality of insight afforded by each contributor, especially on matters of musical or musico-poetic interpretation or analysis, are decidedly variable. However, such variety is designed to ensure that every reader will find at least some of the volume's many analytical approaches to his or her taste. In her innovative essay on the text-music design of Ciconia's motets, Jane Alden addresses the sensual and perceptible aspects of word-setting by focusing on the sonic qualities of verbal text, especially in terms of vowels, voice-exchange and text pacing. Citing an over-emphasis on the mathematical in analysing medieval music, Annette Keutziger-Herr focuses instead on the affective nature of *Con lagrime*. Although difficult to follow in some details because of insufficient reference to bar numbers and imprecise terminology, her argument is that this lament for the executed Francesco Carrara Il Novello is not an expression of grief for its ostensible subject—for whom neither composer nor poet (Leonardo Guistinian) had political sympathies—but an exploration of music's ability to express grief *per se*. Galliano Ciliberti's discussion of the poetic theme of Ciconia's *Sus un' fontayne* cites a number of contemporary French and Italian songs whose poems mention fountains or Narcissus (although Machaut's important and surely relevant treatment in his motet 7 is curiously omitted), displaying the fountain as a multivalent symbol in the late-medieval period. Ciliberti reads the poem as being addressed to a woman that the narrator longs to hear singing. While this reading is possible, the two other discussions of this song in the volume take the citation within this virelai of three ballades by Philippus de Caserta to mean that the voice the narrator desires is that of a man, a poet-composer-singer, namely Philippus himself. Drawing on material explored further in their own recent studies, Yolanda Plumley views the citations of *Sus un' fontayne* as a celebration of Philippus de Caserta as himself a 'master of citation', and Anne Stone treats the song in the context of other fascinating late-medieval musical pieces that manufacture and project a specific kind of compositional voice, often dependent on notational, visual cues.

Margaret Bent's discussion of the counterpoint that underlies the musical surface of Ciconia's motets builds on her current exploration of counterpoint's 'grammatical' function. Specifically, she reads Ciconia's practice against the contrapuntal theory of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis. Although there is no evidence of direct contact between

Ciconia and Prosdocimus, both moved in similar circles in Padua in the same years of the early 15th century; it seems unlikely that they would not have had some contact. Bent's detailed and precise analysis of two of the motets proposes a deep concord between theory and practice that has far-reaching implications. Pedro Memelsdorff's theoretical excursus within his analysis of the three surviving copies of Ciconia's *Ligiadra donna* similarly shows a fit between theory and practice, but seems on the face of it to contradict Bent's conclusions about the place of dissonance in counterpoint. However, this difference lies in the meaning of the word 'counterpoint'. The usage of Bent and Memelsdorff varies in a manner detailed by Prosdocimus himself. In a passage discussed on pp.70–71, Prosdocimus points out that 'contrapunctus' can loosely signify the composed, rhythmic, florid surface of a song, with many notes against each tenor note; or, more strictly, it can mean the consonant, arhythmic, note-against-note abstraction that lies beneath. Bent (like Prosdocimus) goes on to discuss the latter; Memelsdorff analyses the former, with special reference to the two surviving contratenor parts for *Ligiadra donna*, one anonymous and the other by Matteo da Perugia. Memelsdorff convincingly diagnoses Matteo's contratenor as the more consonant of the two at its actual sounding surface level with respect to the overall three-part texture. The other contratenor creates a number of dissonances, especially in parallel movement with the cantus part. However, these dissonances are a product of the surface rhythmic and melodic presentation from which an arhythmic note-against-note abstraction may easily be deduced. They are thus not *contrapuntal* irregularities in Prosdocimus's (or Bent's) sense, but a particular acerbic musical style and dissonance treatment, which was clearly not to the taste of Matteo. Bent may turn out to be right that the abstracted backgrounds of strict counterpoint may chronicle stylistic change at a deep compositional level, but Memelsdorff is also right that the different patterning of dissonance at the minim level in the finished song more perceptibly indicates musical taste and perhaps also stylistic change. Despite the apparent dissonance between the claims of Bent and Memelsdorff, they are thus complementary studies.

Ciconia's own theoretical writings have suffered from being seen as speculative texts that have disappointingly little relevance to his activities as a composer; here they are treated instead on their own terms. Stefano Mengozzi looks at what is new in the *Nova musica*, which he considers to be found in its rejection of the dual note naming system of the followers of Guido of Arezzo in favour of giving every pitch of the gamut a letter of its own as a true reflection of the importance of octave equivalence. Like Margaret Bent, Jan Herlinger inductively considers relations between Ciconia and Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, here through a direct comparison of their theoretical outlooks. Herlinger neatly argues that Prosdocimus's refutation of Marchetto—first made in the year after Ciconia's death and by his own testimony at the urging of Ciconia's successor as cantor at Padua cathedral—can be read as a covert refutation of Ciconia's own theoretical teaching.

This volume contains many interesting and stimulating observations. In several cases, authors are implicitly in dialogue, and more cross-referencing between the papers would have been desirable. The value of the index is severely limited because certain individuals are named using various forms in different essays (and even within the same essay in some cases), yet only one of these forms is indexed. The most acute problems are for Philippus de Caserta, who is Philippottus, Filippo, Philippoctus, Philippot, de or da Caserta and Marchetto (-us or -o and one or two Ts). The references to these individuals in the essays of Stone, Ciliberti, and Herlinger (who do not use the spelling that happens to be used in the index) are omitted from the index. The inclusion of facsimile pages and musical examples makes for an attractive book, but copy-editing needed more care. Obvious errors lie uncorrected (in a footnote on p.149 the anonymous *En remirant vo douce portraiture* is listed as being adjacent to Philippus's ballade with the same incipit in the Reina codex, but on the next page the main text correctly states that it is transmitted only in the Cambrai fragments), and a whole closing paragraph of text is printed twice in the editor's own contribution. Such glitches aside, this is a thought-provoking collection about fascinating and historically significant music.

Stephen Rice

Golden Age polyphony

Cristina Urchueguía*, **Die mehrstimmige Messe im 'goldenen Jahrhundert': Überlieferung und Repertoirebildung in Quellen aus Spanien und Portugal (ca. 1490–1630)**,* Würzburger musik-historische Beiträge, xxv (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2003), €68

Spanish and Portuguese Renaissance music is a pleasingly active field of research at present, with scholars from both those countries working alongside a mainly Anglophone contingent of foreigners on an immense quantity of

material that is still relatively little in the public eye. To date, this area has attracted rather less attention from German musicology; Cristina Urchueguía's book is welcome, therefore, not only for the significant quantity of new information it brings, but also in offering a fresh perspective on Iberian sources. The volume, based on her doctoral thesis, examines the patterns of transmission of Mass music in and through the Iberian peninsula from the reign of the Catholic Monarchs until the early 17th century. At the outset (p.5) an important caveat is announced: a descriptive catalogue of the sources in question underpins this work, prepared by the same author but not yet available. (It is due for publication this autumn in the *Répertoire internationale des sources musicales* (*RISM*), series B, vol.xv.) Although the book under review contains much detailed information on the sources, the true extent of Urchueguía's contribution to the subject will not become clear until the catalogue appears; it is already evident, however, that the two volumes will represent a substantial advance on previous scholarship.

The book contains three main chapters. The first introduces the cultural and historical framework for the transmission of Mass music in what is termed 'der iberische Raum'—a broadly conceived area including New World colonies as well as present-day Spain and Portugal; the discussion also extends to some sources prepared elsewhere in Europe. Inclusion of manuscripts and printed editions not actually created on the peninsula accurately reflects the situation in which Iberian musicians found themselves during most of the 16th century: even those such as Francisco Guerrero who were domestically based throughout their careers preferred to publish abroad, since the printing industry in Spain and Portugal seems largely to have been inadequate to their purposes. Indeed, Urchueguía stresses the significance of foreign influences on musical practice in general, and makes an extended critique of Higini Anglès's argument that (notwithstanding the almost complete lack of extant sources) 15th-century Spain had been a vital musical centre. Historiography seems almost to have come full circle here: by emphasizing local traditions at the expense of imported culture, Anglès, Felipe Pedrell and other Spanish musicologists of the early 20th century were reacting against the disdain for Iberian music-making expressed by 19th-century northern Europeans such as François-Auguste Gevaert and Edmond vander Straeten. Urchueguía's account is a convincing one, allowing some measure of synthesis between the domestic and the external in her overview of liturgical and political developments at the beginning of the 16th century (pp.33–48).

The meat of the book is found in the two large chapters dealing respectively with the sources and the music they contain. As far as source studies go, Urchueguía adopts an unusual approach. Rather than focus on a single scribal or printed source, she takes a broad view over approximately 450 sources. Of course, she can discuss only a few of these at length, and for this purpose seven manuscripts are selected as exemplifying the most important trends in dissemination. It is slightly to be regretted that these include the already much-discussed Segovia Cathedral, Ms.s.s., Tarazona Cathedral, Ms.2/3 and Toledo Cathedral, Ms.16, since awareness of other Iberian sources is sufficiently limited at present that one would wish for more commentary from so well-informed an author. Nonetheless, the picture would be incomplete without the aforementioned manuscripts, and Urchueguía makes useful points about their codicology, scribes and function. She also draws attention to some lesser known sources, such as Madrid, Library of Don Bartolomé March Servera, Ms.R.6832, in which, intriguingly, works of Morales are assembled in a manner akin to a modern collected edition, for instance with parody Masses alongside their models.

A strikingly specific claim is the identification of the year 1542 as the point at which Iberian manuscript copying took on a new organization and purpose, as the chapter of Toledo cathedral began to commission *libros de facistol*—manuscripts in the large choirbook format that would characterize peninsular sources until well into the 18th century. Since another collection of great importance, that of the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra (Portugal), is of similar vintage, it is useful to make this distinction between pre- and post-1542 sources. As Urchueguía observes, though, her classification of the earlier, smaller manuscripts is something of a catch-all: the association of the largely Spanish secular repertory of Seville Cathedral, Ms.7–1–28 with the foreign-dominated and multi-layered Segovia Cathedral, Ms.s.s. owes more to their shared distinction from the *libros de facistol* than to any inherent similarity between the two. In examining these sources together, the author makes clear the stylistic divide between an indigenous tradition represented by very simple Mass movements on the one hand, and the northern-influenced and greatly more complex cyclic repertory on the other. At least in the first half of the century, it would seem that the latter was the preserve of a few experts, whereas the smaller and more informal sources were probably copied for private purposes by musicians who were less exalted than the staff of the major cathedrals. Here some reference to contemporary theorists might have been illuminating: Juan Bermudo,

for instance, alludes several times in his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555) to the technical difficulty of Franco-Flemish polyphony.

The third chapter focuses on individual pieces of music, in order to determine as far as possible the exemplars for some of the more important manuscripts. Rather surprisingly at first, Urchueguía concentrates on works from the earlier end of her timeframe. The decision is justified (p.159) on the grounds that later copyists progressively lost interest in international repertory other than the music of Palestrina, whereas the author can show the dependence of the earlier Toledo sources on editions by Petrucci and his contemporaries, as well as constructing stemmas for several of the northern Masses on which she concentrates. The chapter therefore deals largely with famous works by 15th-century northerners such as Busnoys, Ockeghem, Isaac, Obrecht, and of course Josquin, rather than those of local or less celebrated figures. Only in the last 20 pages do we reach the music of a Spanish composer, Juan de Anchieta. Clearly the dissemination of the international repertory is more varied than that of later imports or domestic works, and the material presented here is of great interest. One result of this approach, however, is that the book does not entirely bridge the divide between national schools of study that I mentioned earlier. No author has addressed the history of sacred music in Spain and Portugal with detailed reference to both native and foreign elements since Robert Stevenson in the early 1960s, and it is much to be desired that this gap be filled. Such an undertaking, however, would require a far larger volume than a doctoral project such as the present one; and by including so many sources, Urchueguía prepares the ground for future research to proceed in a more inclusive manner.

As already noted, a full understanding of the argument developed in this study is heavily dependent on the forthcoming catalogue: in using this volume on its own, I have often wished that it included a list of contents for the manuscripts discussed in detail, particularly given the limited accessibility of some previous work on Iberian sources (and, in certain cases, its inaccuracy). Even the sigla used will be fully explained only in the accompanying *RISM* volume: this is a significant handicap with regard to those sources not included in the *Census-catalogue of manuscript sources of polyphonic music, 1400–1550*. This book, then, is immediately recommended to those who either have some knowledge already of the manuscripts in question or have access to a research library to fill in the gaps. Once the *RISM* catalogue is available, the two together will undoubtedly prove of immense value both to professional scholars and to those with a more general interest in exploring the immense and still little-cultivated field of Iberian polyphony.

Graham Dixon

The vernacular oratorio

Christian Speck, *Das italienische Oratorium, 1625–1665: Musik und Dichtung,* Speculum Musicae, ix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), €115.

This volume comes as rather a surprise to musicologists, accustomed to seeing their discipline at the centre of the universe of knowledge. It would seem axiomatic that a book about the oratorio should be divided by composers or, failing that, by periods of the liturgical year or religious institutions. By contrast Speck's book concentrates on the vernacular oratorio, and leads us to examine the genre using an alternative prism, namely the librettists who created the poetic texts. The subtitle, 'Musik und Dichtung', provides some hint of the methodology, though one might be forgiven for thinking that 'Dichtung und Musik' would have been more appropriate. This potential reversal of emphasis is not proposed because of the balance of the content in Speck's volume, but it is an inevitable function of the subject matter. Once the subject is approached from the literary perspective, one realizes not only how much the oratorio is a poetic as well as a musical genre, but also just how fragmentary our knowledge of the music actually is. Libretto after libretto is listed in this exhaustive volume, but so many of them lack the music with which they would originally have been experienced: only a fraction of the almost 200 librettos included here can still be associated with their original music. The composers of a third of the works he lists remain anonymous, so we must content ourselves with the small number of surviving works by figures such as Bicilli, Caprioli, Carissimi, della Valle, Foggia, Marazzoli, Mazzocchi and Luigi Rossi. Speck has certainly done us a service, not only by his painstaking work of cataloguing, but also in drawing our attention to what a partial view of the genre musicologists inevitably must have. Added to the final catalogue is a list of incipits that might prove helpful to future generations.

This type of work should deservedly earn its author *Habilitation* in the German university system, and one can only trust that Tübingen chose to award it with all

appropriate honours. It is slightly more questionable whether it makes appropriate reading from cover to cover. The surviving oratorio texts are treated in immense detail, and for each a considerable amount of material about poetic structure, context and subject matter is provided. There is also an impressive amount of material from archives and contemporary sources about the early performance and the performers involved. As a reader, though, what I really lacked was an overall picture of how religious life was lived in 17th-century Rome, what was the significance of the works performed, and how they fitted into the spirituality of the day. The chief division of the volume concerns the first and second generation of librettists; the first is characterized by Balducci, Ciampoli, Benigni and Vittori, and the second from 1650 by Buti and Baldini. Only in the final concluding chapter is some attempt made to draw together this vast array of information and offer an overview. For instance, it is interesting to note that there is a typology of five different subject areas: Old Testament, New Testament, hagiography, *oratorio ideali* and historical. Despite the statistical data on the different types (p.428), there is little attempt to say why these different types of oratorio emerge; given the period, it is difficult to ascribe it solely to taste, rather than external factors of liturgical practice and church history. Likewise, it is easy to say (p.435) that an oratorio text is longer than a cantata text and shorter than an opera text, but more difficult to explain the expectations aroused by the genre that led to its particular characteristics.

Some general factors do emerge. The enlightened patronage of Pope Urban VIII was clearly a great impetus to the arts in general, and oratorio was not overlooked. Indeed he surrounded himself with a group of intellectuals, many of Florentine origin, among whom our librettists can be numbered. A number of the early oratorios can be associated with a Christmas performance in the presence of the pope, and one can imagine that the narrative was well suited to a quasi-dramatic treatment. Also associated with the papal throne were oratorios written to underline the religious aspects of contemporary life, such as the canonization of Elizabeth of Portugal in 1625, or Ciampoli's flattering *Il cantico delle benedizioni*, in which the wicked rule of Nebuchadnezzar is contrasted with Urban himself, who was the living embodiment of God. Given what we have always learnt about St Filippo Neri's gift for communication across social strata and the genesis of the Oratorian movement in Rome, there seems to be little of artless simplicity in what we read in this volume. It may be too naïve to imagine that the early ethos of the movement was continued by later generations; nonetheless it would be useful to understand quite how this development occurred. Speaking from the standpoint of someone strongly interested in the Latin oratorio, it would have been good to compare the vernacular genre to its Latin counterpart, at least to provide another perspective from which to understand the Italian form. The picture Speck presents is appropriately complex: Rome was clearly the cradle of this new genre in the early Baroque, and many institutions played a role even in the early stages of its creation—not just the followers of St Filippo Neri, as simplistic histories have suggested. In its turn, Rome gave the oratorio to the rest of Italy through the sister congregations of the Oratorian order.

Leaving aside such issues, this is an extremely well-researched work, which anyone working on 17th-century Rome would be grateful to consult. However, one should not imagine that this makes for very satisfying reading in book form. We have here a highly embellished catalogue, an essential work of reference, which nonetheless casts the Italian oratorio in a different light. Where less intrepid writers have ignored the works for which music has not survived, Speck has provided a comprehensive listing with all the lacunae. In so doing, he offers us a tantalizing glimpse of a genre, most of whose music we shall probably never be able to hear.

John Milsom

A Tallis Scholars' retrospective

Peter Phillips, *What we really do* (London: Musical Times Publications, 2003), £16.99

This engaging book tells the story of the Tallis Scholars, and Peter Phillips's 30-year quest for perfectly performed polyphony. Its aims are modest: to document how the Tallis Scholars came into being; to explain why the ensemble sounds the way it does; to chart the group's survival and commercial success over three decades, partly as a concert-giving group, partly as the sole artists featured on that plucky little recording label, Gimell Records; and to give a flavour of what it means and feels like to be a day-by-day Tallis Scholar, whether as a singer in the group, or as Peter Phillips himself.

Embedded within this narrative are plenty of statements about Phillips's philosophy as a performer. In

essence, nothing has changed since he first expressed his views in the April 1978 issue of *Early music*. There he wrote: 'We often know exactly when and where [early choral] music was sung, but we do not know so precisely what it sounded like, nor is it possible to find out. Authenticity in a literal sense cannot be the aim of choral music enthusiasts. We can, however, guess at the type of sound produced by 16th-century choirs, and the evidence suggests that imitation of them would be highly undesirable' (p.195). In the new book, Phillips constantly re-emphasizes that viewpoint, arguing that his decisions as a performer have always been led by personal taste, not by musicological argument. To him, the Tallis Scholars cannot be regarded as an early-music ensemble at all, since its sound-world is an entirely modern invention, formulated with the aim of performing early music exactly as he wants to hear it.

What, then, has guided his taste? Empiricism and pragmatism are only a part of it. Phillips also openly acknowledges his debt to the Clerkes of Oxenford, the amateur choir invented and directed by David Wulstan, whose golden age (the 1970s) coincided with Phillips's undergraduate days at Oxford University. The Clerkes left few recordings behind them, but the memory of their concerts lingers in Phillips's mind—'flawless, like a gem, . . . [with] their astonishing sense of line, sung with a perfect legato and excellent tuning'—and he admits to have been 'trying to recapture the sound of the Clerkes ever since I started to worship them and their music-making' (p.143). For that reason, some have argued that the Tallis Scholars must in the end be reckoned to fall 'within the pale of the so-called "authenticity movement" ' (Richard Taruskin), since their model, the Clerkes, more openly aspired to historical verisimilitude, in a bid to evoke the sound-world of the 'great English Sixteenth-Century Choir'.

I wonder, though, how far even the Clerkes of Oxenford aimed to step along that particular path. True, David Wulstan's advocacy of a high performing pitch was grounded on his interpretation of historical evidence; his choice of choir-size drew on documented facts; and his preferred building for performing with the Clerkes was a small, resonant chapel or church. (Interestingly, in all of those 'authenticist' respects Peter Phillips has gone his own way. The Tallis Scholars sings at whatever pitch best suits the group, almost always with two voices to the polyphonic line, and nowadays, for economic reasons, more often in large concert halls than in small churches.) Other key aspects of the Clerkes' sound, however, were never claimed to be 'period practice': for instance, the foregrounding of the polyphony over any expressive or rhetorical engagement with the words; the preference for extreme metrical regularity; the elimination of vibrato; the elimination, too, of dynamic change, both within single notes (I can still hear Wulstan in rehearsal exhorting his singers not to 'bulge') and in the projection of whole melodic lines; above all, a refusal to tangle with the very area of performance practice in which the supply of available evidence could truly have allowed some degree of historical reconstruction—period pronunciation (which Wulstan viewed as an 'irritation', one that created barriers between the performer and the listener). In all of these matters, Wulstan was guided more by his taste than by his scholarship. Arguably it is these features, not high pitch or choir size, that subsequently became the hallmarks of the Tallis Scholars.

Some readers will regret Peter Phillips's decision not to use his new book to respond more directly to his critics—or indeed even to acknowledge the fact that some of his decisions as a performer have led to serious and sustained debate in the musicological press. For instance, his vague discussion of 'mathematical complexity' in the closing Agnus Dei of Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* (p.122) makes no mention of a thoughtful article in this very journal (*EM*, xix (1991), pp.261–8) in which, in the course of responding to Phillips's recording of that work,

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Richard Sherr tries to get to grips with the true 'mathematics' of the piece—which is to say, relative tempo under different mensurations, and the reason why Phillips's interpretation cannot represent what Josquin himself had in mind. But then, as a free-thinking, 'non-early-music' performer, Phillips has no need for interaction with the musicologists. He has the right to do exactly as he likes, in isolation from the world of research and academic scholarship. And there are plenty of people who warmly applaud him for taking that stance.

Noel O'Regan

Routes of the Roman oratorio

Percorsi dell'oratorio romano. Da 'historia sacra' a melodramma spirituale. Atti della giornata di studi (Viterbo 11 settembre 1999), ed. Saverio Franchi (Rome: Istituto di bibliografia musicale, 2002), €30

This book contains the proceedings of a conference held in Viterbo in September 1999, to coincide with the town's 25th Baroque festival, at which first modern performances of two oratorios were given: Francesco Foggia's *Victoria Passionis Christi* and Antonio Caldara's *Santa Francesca Romana*. The book's editor, Saverio Franchi, organized both the conference and the two performances that inspired its theme of the Roman oratorio in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The eight essays (seven in Italian and one in French) range from generic studies through bibliographic catalogues to studies of individual composers. Issues of definition loom large, not surprisingly, since the question of what exactly constituted an oratorio in the 17th century has long been debated. The book's title speaks of the development (literally 'routes') of the genre from the narrative sacred history of the 17th century to the sacred melodrama, without narrative, of the early 18th; these two types were broadly represented by the two works performed in Viterbo.

Taking his cue from the first of these, Foggia's Latin compilation-Passion of *c.*1665, Ala Botti Caselli begins the book with a comprehensive survey of Roman Passion-related genres which he calls 'paraphrases and meditations on the Passion'. Of 28 surviving examples between 1520 and 1689 (eight in Latin and the rest in Italian), the music for only 13 survives. They range from liturgical settings through dialogues to oratorios in both Latin and Italian. Caselli takes into account their performance circumstances, whether aristocratic—public or private—or for a more general audience. Those in Latin, perhaps not surprisingly, remained closer to the Gospel text and may have been performed at the aristocratic oratory of SS. Crocefisso; the Italian-texted dialogues and oratorios were used by other confraternities such as S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, or in the private chapels of families such as the Borghese.

A number of these essays show that aristocratic patronage was crucial to the Roman oratorio, which could have an important role to play in noble aggrandizement. Saverio Franchi's own essay looks at the patronage of Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli, under whose aegis Caldara's *Santa Francesca Romana* was first performed in his Palazzo Bonelli in 1710, two years after Handel's *La resurrezione* was given in the same palace. Building on the work of Ursula Kirkendale and others, Franchi develops an annotated list of no fewer than 71 oratorio performances for which Ruspoli patronage is securely known or can be hypothesized. After sponsoring oratorio performances on Lenten Fridays in SS. Crocefisso until 1702, Ruspoli started his own Lenten Sunday series in 1718, with occasional Easter and Christmas oratorios as well. Franchi links Ruspoli's extravagant patronage to his refounding of the Ruspoli family after its direct line became extinct. A favourite subject was Moses, whose renewal of the Jewish race mirrored his own renewal of the Ruspoli family. Another was the Roman-Viterbese Saint Francesca Romana, who had founded the convent of Tor di Specchi of which his aunt was prioress. Eventually Ruspoli was to commission two oratorios to celebrate the beatification of a member of his own family, the Blessed Giacinta Marescotti, in 1727. Franchi also looks at Ruspoli's links with the Arcadian poets of the day.

Arnaldo Morelli continues to focus on aristocratic patronage by considering the oratorio output of Bernardo Pasquini, a gentleman-composer who for more than 50 years was part of the household of the Borghese family. Morelli lists 19 known 'oratorios' by Pasquini (some have been given other labels over the years) together with his estimation of their composition dates (between 1671 and 1695). Following their Roman premières many were performed in cities such as Modena, Ferrara, Florence and Vienna. Morelli stresses that, like Pasquini's other music, these were composed exclusively for the Borghese or for families connected with them, even when performed in venues such as the oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova.

The venue most closely associated with aristocratic sponsorship of oratorio performances during Lent was the

oratory of SS. Crocefisso. A composer who cut his teeth there in the late 1690s was Quirino Colombani from Correggio near Modena, who also moved in the circle of Prince Ruspoli. Giancarlo Rostirolla reviews the documentary evidence for his life and provides a catalogue of his surviving works, which include 15 oratorios. Writing solidly in the style of the day, Columbani's prowess as a cellist is reflected in some concertante writing for that instrument in his oratorios.

Another venue for oratorio performances with aristocratic overtones was the Roman Collegio Clementino, a seminary which recruited largely from the nobility. To celebrate the feast of the Assumption each year, the students held an Accademia in honour of the Blessed Virgin at which a musical item was performed. Stefano Lorenzetti's article charts these performances from 1666 to 1763 and talks about the taxonomic difficulties in categorising what was performed. Up to 1720 the archives refer either to a 'cantata' or simply to 'musica'; thereafter the word 'oratorio' occurs with increasing frequency. In 1703, the earliest year for which the identity of the composer is known, Alessandro Scarlatti provided the music which was described as both a 'Cantata per l'Assunzione della Beatissima Vergine' and an 'oratorio in musica, *Il trionfo di Maria Vergine*'. Lorenzetti stresses the fact that an oratorio performance was not just simply about words and music: it included lighting and a stage set (the *apparato*), and above all encompassed an ideology. Paying homage to the large number of visiting cardinals and prelates was an important consideration and, for the audiences of the time, functional characteristics would have seemed more significant than formal ones.

At the centre of the book Mauro Sarnelli provides a theoretical underpinning of much of the discussion about form and genre, concentrating on the libretto as a literary entity. He uses Arcangelo Spagna's 1706 *Discorso intorno a gl'oratorii* as a starting point, printing here for the first time an appendix to this discussion added to a later edition of Spagna's own oratorio librettos. Sarnelli charts the move from librettos which resembled parables with idealized characters, such as Penitence or Charity, to those in which real biblical or historical characters exemplified these virtues. He relates this to the Metastasian reform of opera librettos and sees Spagna's own *Comico del Cielo nella Conversione di S. Genesio* as marking the transition. Genesio, the comic actor whose parodies of Christian belief before Diocletian led paradoxically to his conversion to Christianity and subsequent martyrdom, represents an appropriate metaphor for the transformation of oratorio librettos from the representational to the real. Oscar Mischiati, recently sadly deceased, contributes a short article on this same transformation, comparing Spagna's effects on oratorio librettos with that of Erdmann Neumeister on the cantata in the time of J. S. Bach.

The survival of Foggia's *Victoria Passionis Christi* only in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyons occasioned Pierre Guillot's survey of the role of Italian music and musicians in that city. Centrist tendencies in France have tended to ignore the contribution of Lyons, which had close ties with Italy and especially with Florence. Manuscript copies of up to 20 Italian oratories survive in Lyons: ten are by Carissimi—an important source which has often been overlooked—while other composers represented as well as Foggia are Alessandro Melani, Alessandro Scarlatti and Giovanni Bononcini. Guillot speculates on why these should be found in Lyons: there is no real evidence for oratorio performances, even at the Jesuit college, and so the series may have been put together by a private collector.

This collection of eight essays shows a unity of purpose not often seen in congress reports of this kind. This is undoubtedly the result of their focus on the two oratorio performances and the work of the editor, Saverio Franchi. The book is well presented; its copious footnotes give a wealth of information. It is clear that the whole story of the Roman oratorio still remains to be told, but these essays take us a good part of the way, and point out the road ahead. Cumulatively, their most important insights are the flexibility of genre-designations; the importance of aristocratic patronage in its various manifestations; and the gradual transition in treatment from scriptural narrative, through personified representation of virtues, to sacred melodrama with real characterization.

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Roger Bowers

Fayrfax at the Chapel Royal

Robert Fayrfax, ***O bone Iesu,*** ed. Roger Bray, Early English Church Music, xliii (London: Stainer & Bell for The British Academy, 2002), £47.50

In the vibrant liturgical life of early 16th-century Catholic England, nothing was more natural than that a feast newly elevated to prominence by evolving devotional priorities should stimulate the employers of professional church musicians to cause the observance of its day to be distinguished with performances of polyphonic settings of suitably imposing character. Thus contemporary intensification of devotion to the figure of Jesus as intercessor led to widespread introduction of the observance every Friday of both a polyphonic votive Mass 'of the Name of Jesus', and also of an evening antiphon; further, a Mass of festal proportions was appropriate for High Mass on the two 'new' feasts of Jesus—the Transfiguration and the Holy Name (6 and 7 August)—with also a Magnificat with which to mark first Vespers on their eves.

The role of the Chapel Royal as cynosure of devotional practice necessarily involved its composers in the supply of music for such occasions, and from the hand of Robert Fayrfax there survives a votive antiphon on the text *O bone Iesu*, and, derived from it and each so titled in at least one source, a Magnificat and a Mass. The works are unified by features such as their particular five-voice scoring and use of the uncommon F5 lattice of clefs ('low clefs'), as well as by much cross-quotation of musical material. Given the prevailing scarcity of music yet composed for so recently aggrandized a devotion it is not surprising that Fayrfax's compositions, especially the Mass, were eagerly copied for performance elsewhere. Indeed, there survive of the Mass no fewer than six pre-Reformation manuscript sources, and such a degree of popularity renders the whole complex of three compositions a subject eminently suitable for issue as a unit in the series Early English Church Music (EECM), as an inaugural contribution to a complete new edition of Fayrfax's works now projected.

The music bears all the characteristics of cool detachment exhibited by much of Fayrfax's Mass composition—a true indicator of the solemnity and introspective earnestness of the piety which prevailed at the court of that 'Winter King', Henry VII. It is not music that goes out of its way to solicit applause. In contrast to the finest of his votive antiphons, these pieces produce few instantly memorable passages, and Fayrfax's eschewal of the exuberant rhythmic virtuosity cultivated by most of his older contemporaries creates a number of exposed moments at which the progress of the harmonic rhythm appears to stumble or all but halt. It took Taverner and his generation to put the fun back into the Mass; Fayrfax's informing virtues, especially the uncluttered clarity of his harmony, were those primarily of the earnestly worthy, and it is his solid craftsmanship that excites admiration and yields satisfaction.

This edition is the second produced in accordance with the new look adopted by EECM for music of the pre-Reformation period, and very welcome it is. Gone is the 'aggregate' edition; gone are the bar-lines, the modern time-signatures, the halved or quartered note-values. The notes and rests are printed in a font representing one of the manuscript designs contemporary with the music; this is black void with black full coloration, incorporating stylized diamond outlines for the heads of all notes smaller than a breve. Some necessary concessions appear: ligated notes are broken into their component units (bracketed in the usual way), and certain coloration figures require an *ossia* realization. 'Altered' semibreves in O-mensuration are denoted by a wedge; commonly this is reinforced by reproduction of the arabic number 2 by which contemporary singers, as much in need of such assistance as their modern successors, were warned of this notational resort.

The parts are aligned and presented in score. The composer's choice of temporal generation is conveyed by reproduction of the original mensuration signatures; the progress of the tactus so established is indicated by small ticks hanging down from each staff. Particularly meticulous accuracy has been adopted for vertical alignment through the score, so rectifying one of the many shortcomings of the old Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae edition which this now replaces. The music is 'untransposed'; hereby, the composer's practice in deployment of *musica recta* and *ficta* is evident without obstruction, though the resultant realization of overall compass, *D–c″*, necessitates copying a 4th or 5th higher for performance.

These approaches yield many virtues. In particular, users (not least individual singers) can perceive on the page itself, clearly and without obstruction, all sorts of musical ingredients hitherto obscured: the shape and

contour of the constituent vocal lines and their interacting flow; rhythmic patterning uncompromised by tendentious beaming; the prevailing progress and 'tread' of the tactus—an essential step if ever such notational features as proportional mensurations are to be properly understood; and the precise manner in which the tactus is momentarily suppressed by blackened notation. The publisher's designers have produced a page with a clean and spacious look that soon becomes a pleasure to use, conveying a text of apparently the greatest accuracy. So cunning is the layout that only twice is a note left hanging over a page-turn.

In one respect only has EECM shrunk from following up the logic of its own convictions, a point which in this particular music happens to be especially conspicuous. The long-standing convention whereby original clefs are simply edited into their modern forms, as if they were directly equivalent, has been not updated but preserved. Retaining the original clefs of this music (C2, C4, C5, F4, F5) would indeed have posed for most modern users problems of reading sufficiently great substantially to compromise the usability of the edition. However, the edition's use of analogue modern clefs (G2, octave-G2, F4, F4, F4), is equally infelicitous, for it is susceptible to just the same charges as were levelled against those other features of traditional editing now so happily discarded. It too intrudes resonances and presuppositions—in this case, of sounding pitch—that are entirely inappropriate and potentially misleading. A solution can be suggested, effective albeit rather contrived. Resort to clefs of G2 and F4 not in their modern shape but in facsimile of 16th-century notation, supplemented by the invention of a clef of C applied to the third space (to convey the transposed treble clef), would effectively adopt modern clefs for ease of reading, while sending a visual signal that both concords with the original notation, and is capable of reminding the user that the latter contained no ingredient whatever that was conceived to notify actual level of sounding pitch (then a matter not of notation at all, but of prescriptive convention).

The editorial principles adopted are very straightforward. For the Mass, the editor has chosen as prime source the least well known of the six, that now in the Universitätsbibliothek, Jena. This resort is wholly rational; although not quite perfect, it is the sole manuscript to survive from Fayrfax's own lifetime, and may well have had a Chapel Royal source as its exemplar. The variant readings of the remaining sources are listed exhaustively in a separate commentary, using an algebraic presentation not immune from over-abbreviation but at least rendered legible by generous spacing. This will satisfy the scholars; meanwhile substantive variants of rhythm or pitch are also noted just where they are most needed by directors and performers, at the foot of the relevant page of music. This permits ready substitution of any alternative reading which (e.g. Magnificat, bars 85–6) a user might find preferable. The Magnificat is printed from the Lambeth Choirbook, the sole source in which it is preserved complete; of the antiphon only one voice remains, here resourcefully edited in full with such passages as can be completed from corresponding sections of the Mass. Of its 208 perfections, some 93 can be thus restored.

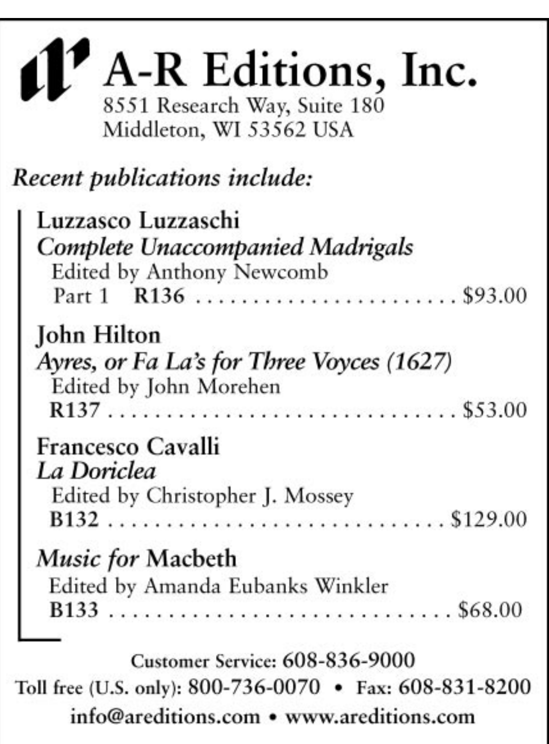
The Jena manuscript contains, as well as the Mass, just one more item. Of this, the beginning is now missing; it is anonymous, and in only four parts (SATB). Its inclusion in the present volume as an appendix seems puzzling; certainly the creator of the Jena manuscript believed it to be associable with the Mass, but it appears to have no organic connection with Fayrfax's cycle. It is presented in the edition under the title 'Resurrexio Christi', the opening words of the surviving portion. Apart from the incidental appearance within its text of the commonplace words 'O bone Iesu', I can see only one point of commonality. A momentary and barely conspicuous figure picked out by treble and bass together at three points in the course of the Mass, at diverse pitches and durations (Gloria, bars 92–5; Credo, bars 230–2; Agnus, bars 203–5), may be found also at bars 110–13 of 'Resurrexio Christi'. Nevertheless, this figure seems rather too slight and commonplace to countervail against the obvious divergences in musical character, vocal scoring, ranges and clefs. Its composer may or may not be Fayrfax; I cannot tell (nor can the editor). Bray is right to withhold approval for suggestions made elsewhere that it may be an 'elevation motet'; such a category was unknown in England. Rather, it seems certain to be a votive antiphon for use in honour of Jesus. Its inclusion in the edition may have been a late and hasty decision; the performing ranges of the voices are overlooked, and the commentary omits to give its text, despite the manifest need for supply of the full words of 'Anima Christi', the prayer from the Book of Hours from which the text of 'Resurrexio Christi' is said to have been derived.

The editorial notes are generally serviceable and helpful. However, it would have been useful for the editor clearly to have stated his policy on the realization of *musica recta* and *ficta*. Extreme restraint has been applied in the diagnosis and recognition of instances in which the progress and character of the music is believed to suggest

the prescription of such modification of intervals, especially at cadences. I do not doubt that this very experienced editor has excellent reasons for doing so, and a methodical explanation of those reasons both would have much to teach to others, and could do much to pre-empt the over-enthusiastic and injudicious addition of unauthorized editorial accidentals in performance.

Directors may find the suggestions for size of ensemble contained in the notes on performance (p.xiv) of only limited assistance, for the data drawn from the choirs of St Paul's Cathedral and Arundel College do not appear particularly relevant. The evidence available for the provenance of the Lambeth Choirbook, a source of both Mass and Magnificat, points all but conclusively not to the collegiate church of Arundel but to a totally different organization, the household chapel of the Earl of Arundel; the manuscript account-roll on the back of which the Lambeth scribe also worked (entering the bass part of a Ludford antiphon) relates to properties which belonged not among the endowments of the college but among the estates of the earldom, so that the place in which he would have encountered this archive was not the college but the earl's household. Meanwhile, there is no particular reason to believe that the cycle ever belonged within the repertory of the choir of St Paul's Cathedral; consultation of its records offers no substantiation for suggestions that the Mass was written between 1507 and 1514 specifically for the use of the Fraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus established in a chapel of the cathedral. Rather, there seems to be no good reason for judging that the cycle was written for anyone other than Fayrfax's employer, the Chapel Royal.

This is an edition much to be welcomed, and the publication of its successors is keenly awaited.



Graham Sadler

French schoolgirls and young ladies

Esther: tragédie de Jean Racine, intermèdes de Jean-Baptiste Moreau, ed. Anne Piéjus (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2003), €15
Nicolas Siret, Pièces de clavecin, ed. Denis Herlin (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2001), €14

In the somewhat chequered history of school opera, the late 1680s stand out as an exceptionally fertile period.

Anglophones will doubtless think first of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, performed at Josias Priest's school in Chelsea in the spring of 1689 (though it may already have been given at court: see *EM*, xx (1992), pp.372–90). But already in France during the preceding two years, no fewer than three school operas had appeared, all destined for more august institutions. First came Charpentier's *Celse martyr* (1687, music now lost) and *David et Jonathas* (1688), both five-act *tragédies en musique* for the Jesuit Collège Louis-le-Grand, the most prestigious boys' school in France. Then in January 1689 the young ladies of the Maison Royale Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr presented Racine's tragedy *Esther* with *intermèdes* by Jean-Baptiste Moreau (1656–1733), in the presence of Louis XIV himself.

Unlike Josias Priest's, the French schools preferred sacred subject matter, this being less likely to engender impure thoughts in young minds. Racine's choice of the Old Testament story of Esther was ideal, presenting the schoolgirl performers and their audiences with a model of female courage and resolve. Esther, the Israelite queen of the Persian king Ahasuerus (Xerxes I), risks death in order to persuade him to revoke a decree permitting the massacre of the Jews. Racine's plot, which stays fairly close to the Biblical narrative, includes enough drama to maintain the audience's interest without over-stretching the juvenile actresses' abilities.

According to one observer the Saint-Cyr *demoiselles* 'could not read a note of music', and thus an all-sung music drama was out of the question. Rather, *Esther* builds on a tradition in which the spoken play is interspersed with musical *intermèdes*, in this case involving a minimum of three solo singers, two-part female chorus and chamber ensemble. It may seem strange that Racine, one of the finest of all French playwrights, should have collaborated with a composer whose track record was, to say the least, undistinguished. Still, Moreau provided a quantity of attractive music which, although sometimes indebted to Lully, is by no means devoid of character. Particularly appealing is the long *intermède* accompanying Esther's banquet, where the music, designed to soften Ahasuerus's heart as the queen prepares to expose Haman's scheming, includes some pleasingly unexpected modulations and turns of phrase. For my taste, Moreau overuses a texture in which the lower voice of the two-part choruses is doubled an octave below by the continuo, but the extent to which this is perceived as a defect will depend very much on how one scores and realizes the continuo.

Not surprisingly in view of Racine's stature, the literary text of *Esther* has been well served by modern editors. The music has fared much less well. None of the three previous editions published since the composer's death (the last as long ago as 1902) is satisfactory by modern standards. The present volume is thus doubly welcome. As well as being the first reliable critical edition of the music, it is the first to present Racine's complete text within the context of Moreau's score. Thus anyone who wishes to re-create *Esther* with its original music now has all the necessary material within one volume.

The editor, Anne Piéjus, who is also author of the definitive study of this repertory (*Le Théâtre des Demoiselles: tragédie et musique à Saint-Cyr à la fin du Grand Siècle* (Paris, 2000)), supplies an admirably full preface. The edition itself is generally sound and pleasingly laid out. There are a few minor flaws: occasionally the underlay is poorly aligned (e.g. p.53, bar 22) or inaccurate (e.g. p.52, bar 8), while a few errors have slipped through (*basse continue* p.19, bars 271–2: cf. 283–4). But I applaud the use of discreet footnotes in the score giving variants and related information. Likewise, in a critical edition designed more for specialists than amateurs, I like the generally 'hands-off' approach where missing instrumental labelling and continuo figures are concerned (the bass is almost entirely unfigured), though this may be thought by some to be a limitation.

My one more serious reservation concerns the English translation of the preface. It is not so much the unidiomatic, over-literal character that disturbs me but rather the fact that the wording appears not to have been checked by anyone with specialist knowledge. The resulting ambiguities and imprecision are a small blemish on what is otherwise a distinguished and handsome production.

By contrast, Davitt Moroney's translation of the preface to Denis Herlin's edition of Nicolas Siret's keyboard music is a model of how these things should be done—lucid, perceptive, a joy to read. In modern times Siret's music has fared even less well than Moreau's. Until now neither of his books of harpsichord music has appeared in a modern edition, critical or otherwise, though both have been reissued in facsimile.

Moroney's own recording, *Nicolas Siret: Complete harpsichord works* (Accord 205 332 MU 752, issued 1998), reveals the wealth of worthwhile music they include. Siret's output is generally considered old-fashioned for its period (the first two decades of the 18th century) but is none the worse for that. The second book, where the sense of musical direction is more secure, strikes me as the stronger, but there is much to enjoy throughout this volume.

Denis Herlin's edition includes Siret's entire surviving output—the two harpsichord collections plus a short

organ fugue by 'Mr Siret' (this last may admittedly be by his father, Louis). Herlin provides an excellent preface, including the most complete account to date of Siret's biography and a convincing demonstration that the undated first volume must have appeared between 1707 and 1711. The music is clearly presented, with no awkward page turns. The edition follows the system in use in Siret's day whereby an accidental applies only to a single note or its immediate repetition(s). To clarify this system, a certain number of editorial cancels appear in small type. This works well in practice, to the extent that the editor seems not always to have considered a cancel necessary (e.g. p.31, bar 18). Such reliance on the player's common sense also applies to places where a so-called 'redundant' accidental is strictly required (e.g. p.31, bar 13) but has not been added. Understandable though this is, such cases should ideally be reported in the critical commentary.

To judge from his first book, Siret had the young female market in mind, since the preface assumes that the pieces will primarily be played by 'écolières'. (Did these include the *demoiselles* of Saint-Cyr?) Nowadays, thanks to Herlin's first-rate edition, this graceful, elegant but technically manageable music is readily available to a far broader musical constituency.

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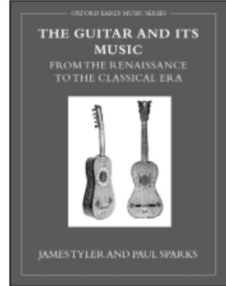

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Howard Schott

The world of François Couperin

To bring all the more than 200 harpsichord pieces of Couperin to vivid life on recordings is no mean task, certainly not one to be undertaken in haste. The ten compact discs comprising **François Couperin: L'œuvre pour clavecin** (Solstice SOCD 210/9), featuring French harpsichordist Noëlle Spieth and a half-dozen assisting musicians, embody a labour of many years. The first CD was recorded in 1990. Two years later a second followed. Another seven years elapsed before the next two. Finally, a pair of sessions each yielding three discs completed the series in 2003. It is now a half-century and more since Ruggero Gerlin bravely ventured on such a project, playing on a *clavecin Pleyel* in the tradition of his mentor, Wanda Landowska. Subsequent complete recordings have invariably used antique and reproduction instruments such as have now banished the revival harpsichord from the public performance of music of earlier times. In the present instance, one notable antique harpsichord from the collection of Kenneth Gilbert is heard on the last three CDs. Listed in the latest edition of the Boalch *catalogue raisonné* under the name of Joseph Joannes Couchet, it seems actually to stem from the Blanchet workshop (Couperin's choice) and to have been rebuilt later by their successor, Pascal Taskin. The remaining seven CDs were recorded on a variety of fine reproduction instruments by Emile Jobin, J. F. Chaudeurge, Anthony Sidey and Frédéric Bal, all claiming French tonal ancestry. Each is tuned in an unequal temperament designed to provide the maximum number of pure 3rds in the tonalities of the particular pieces. Pitch ranges between $a'=392$ and 415, both in common use in France in the age of Couperin.

To render justice to the harpsichord music of François Couperin is no simple task. The fact that indications of tempo and affect are given to guide the player does offer support that is not found very often, say, in the keyboard music of Bach. But what do these words mean? Their import may be somewhat other than would first appear. *Galamment* and *Gaillardement*, for instance, are not necessarily to be understood in this context quite as the dictionary would have us believe. Even a native speaker, like Mlle Spieth, needs often to research what such terms really meant to musicians in Couperin's day. The note-picture is as richly ornamented as the fine furniture and decorative objects of the period. While Couperin in his first book of pieces, published in 1713, gave standard formulaic transcriptions of most, but not all, of the *agréments* he used, the myriad possibilities of interpretation were perforce left to the player to work out. The profusion of ornaments often gave rise to rhythmical complexities of extreme difficulty. Fitting them all together in a piece like the *Tendresses bachiques* movement in the 4th *ordre*, for example, is no mean feat, but one perhaps less daunting to today's musicians who have grown up on Bartók and Stravinsky. The essential quality of each piece, what is meant by the term *caractère*, may sometimes be discoverable from the title. As is well known, many of them are musical portraits of Couperin's contemporaries. Scholars like Georges Beck, Wilfrid Mellers, Philippe Beaussant, Derek Connon and Jane Clark have dispelled the mysteries of many of these titles. But sometimes one must find these sophisticated explications equally puzzling. We are told, for instance, that *Sœur Monique* (18th *ordre*), marked *tendrement sans lenteur*, is a parody piece referring to 'mean girls of easy virtue'. To these ears the music suggests rather utter innocence. Could it have not just as easily been a musical portrait of a gentle nun?

Noëlle Spieth performs the music with stylistic authority, speaking the music, so to say, like her native language. Her rhythm is firm and, yet, flexible. Above all, she knows when to let the music breathe and it does so frequently. While Couperin's pieces are not contrapuntal, the inner parts often give rhythmical life and harmonic colour to a simple melodic line. Spieth gives these supporting players their full due in the drama of the piece. Subtle rubato is often in play and she freely adopts Couperin's *suspension*, a slightly delayed melodic note over a strictly correct accompaniment, even where not demanded expressly in the notation. Registrations are simple, with very infrequent manual changes for dynamic contrast. All the instruments heard offer a buff stop but none is ever engaged. The *peau de buffle* soft register of the Taskin harpsichord is also eschewed as it would be quite anachronistic in this music. Spieth has the requisite virtuoso panache for those rare furious moments like the *désordre et déroute* wild finale to the *Fastes de la grande et anciénne Mxnxstrxndxsx* (11th *ordre*). Her playing renders the listener quite breathless. In pieces of a gentler cast she plays with great feeling but without undue sentimentality,

respecting the limits of emotional restraint, *maîtrise*, literally self-mastery of the feelings.

Although they are labelled *L'œuvre pour clavecin*, in fact besides the solo harpsichord of Mlle Spieth, these recordings also offer performances by additional instrumentalists: a second harpsichordist, Zdenka Ostadalova, violinist Hélène Houzel, flautist Charles Zebley, Ariane Maurette and Caroline Howald playing violas da gamba, and cellist David Simpson. The second harpsichord, absolutely required by the Allemande of the 9th *ordre*, with two fully written-out parts, is suggested by the composer as an alternative addition in other pieces like the *Musettes de Choisi* and *Taverny* (15th *ordre*) and *La Létiville* in the 16th. The flute, modelled after an instrument by Hotteterre, sings sweetly as the amorous nightingale in the avian 14th *ordre*, following Couperin's suggestion, first solo, then with harpsichord. It is also featured in a reprise of *La Juillet* from the same *ordre*, first heard in versions for two harpsichords and finally for six instruments. *Les Bagatelles* (10th *ordre*) is presented first as a harpsichord solo, then by a pair of viols. To cap it all, the entire 16th *ordre* is presented a second time in a tasteful and faithful arrangement for instrument, taking its cue from Couperin's own preface to his *Concerts royaux*, giving an account of the circumstances in which Couperin's music was often performed, particularly at the court of Louis XIV, where the composer was regularly joined by instrumentalists playing as a chamber ensemble.

The CDs are accompanied by a booklet printed in French and English with programme notes on the music by Philippe Beaussant, information about the performers and their instruments, plus essays on François Couperin and the dance (Spieth), harpsichord temperament (David Simpson), and Couperin's fingerings (Spieth). The makers and tenders of the various harpsichords give summary descriptions of the reproduction instruments. Philippe Frétigné offers a more detailed one of the Taskin with Blanchet keyboards, a Couchet rose and other bits of wood of Flemish provenance. Eighteenth-century French harpsichord makers were unashamed about passing off their wares as rebuilt Ruckers and Couchet instruments, which fetched higher prices than new ones. Any part of an old Flemish soundboard or a rose that could be salvaged, even from a virginal or spinet, would be incorporated in a French two-manual harpsichord with all its refinements.

In sum, this ten-disc set merits praise on several counts. The playing is of a uniformly high order and always solidly grounded in terms of contemporary practice. One feels certain that Couperin would have approved. The booklet also deserves special mention because it offers the listener guidance on a number of highly relevant points. For instance, ears accustomed to equal-tempered tuning, the modern standard, may find earlier irregular temperaments like those on the recordings somewhat pungent in keys like the F♯ minor, known to French lutenists as *le ton de la chevre* (26th *ordre*) or even the highly coloured C minor of the 3rd *ordre*. It is important to recognize that key coloration was a part of the musical aesthetic of the time. Today the intervals and resulting harmonies in every tonality sound exactly like those of every other. How much of a contribution to enjoyment and understanding is made by the association of particular pieces with the names and careers of long-dead personages, now obscure except to specialized historians, is a debatable question. For those to whom such historical details are important, Philippe Beaussant's notes will amply suffice. Finally, perfection eludes us all. One cannot but wish that a sturdier box to hold the 10 CDs and the booklet might have been provided.

David Kidger

Willaert and Gabrieli secular music

The breadth of Adrian Willaert's secular music is startling. He was an important composer of chansons, madrigals, villanelle and ricercars, and there can be little doubt that much of his reputation rested on Venetian printed collections of these secular genres from the 1540s and 1550s. **Adrian Willaert: Madrigali, chansons, villanelle** (Ricercar 151145, *rec* 1994) is an excellent introduction to Willaert's secular music. Under the direction of Philippe Malfeyt, the ensemble Romanesque and soprano Katelijne Van Laethem give performances that are almost always outstanding in every respect. This is the best single record or CD of secular music by Willaert. Ms Van Laethem gives excellent performances, with sensitive instrumental accompaniment. One also needs to hear this music performed without instruments to get a complete picture, but nevertheless this CD is a good place to start. It also includes arrangements of some of Willaert's most popular works of the time—a crucial and neglected aspect of the importance of Willaert's secular music in the mid-16th century.

Collections of Willaert's *canzone villanesche alla napolitana* were published by Scotto and by Gardane in 1544,

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with new collections and reprints appearing in 1545, 1548 and 1553. Clearly this was some of Willaert's most popular music of the 1540s and 1550s. This popularity carries over into modern recordings, with works such as *O bene mio* and especially *Vecchie letrose* often being included in recorded anthologies of secular music. **Adrian Willaert: Le Villanesche** (Stradivarius Dulcimer STR 33311, *rec* 1993), performed by Collegio Vocale e Strumentale Euterpe directed by Antonio Negri, is the most complete collection of recordings of Willaert's *villanesche* currently available. This CD forms part of a series of recordings of music by Willaert on the Stradivarius label, projected to include the complete works. The performances vary in terms of the forces employed; generally where instruments are used, they double existing vocal lines. The performers' obvious familiarity with the idiom of these works is clear; the strength is that the poetic rhythm of the text itself is allowed to come through. The recordings of some of the most famous *villanesche* are particularly successful (especially *O bene mio*, *Zoia zentil* and *Vecchie letrose*).

Several prints of Willaert's music appeared in Venice in 1536, but perhaps the most famous single musical collection from that year featuring Willaert does not contain music by Willaert himself, but his intabulations of 22 madrigals from the *libro primo* (1533) of Philippe Verdelot. Most of these arrangements are recorded on **Adrian Willaert: Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto (1536)** (Stradivarius Dulcimer STR 33325, *rec* 1994), in performances by the ensemble Il Desiderio directed by Massimo Lonardi. This includes a second version of a number of the madrigals, in which an instrument takes the place of the voice, and in which the performer has realized an embellished version of the vocal line.

The CD **Le siècle du Titien** (Astrée 8847, *rec* 2001), performed by Ensemble Doulce Mémoire under the direction of Denis Raisin-Dadre, contains an anthology of various vocal works with Italian texts ranging from pieces by Cara and Tromboncino, to Vicentino and Willaert. From the point of view of Willaert, the highlight is certainly *Liete e pensose* from the *Musica nova* collection of 1559. Very few recordings of the motets or madrigals from this collection are available, so this CD is particularly valuable. The performance uses a mixed consort of voices and instruments. Some embellishments are added by the performers, but this does not detract from the recording. This CD contains two other *canzone villanesche* by Willaert, his *Cingari simo* and *Sempre mi ride sta*.

Two famous recorded anthologies of music from Renaissance Naples also include excellent performances of *canzone villanesche* by Willaert. **La Dolce Vita** (EMI CDC 7 54191 2, *rec* 1990), performed by the King's Singers and Tragicomedia, includes Willaert's *O dolce vita mia* and *Vecchie letrose*, while **Music of the Renaissance in Naples** (EMI CDC 7 49008 2, *rec* 1983), performed by Hespèrion XXI under the direction of Jordi Savall, also includes *Vecchie letrose.* A wider context for Willaert's work in this genre can be heard in **Canzoni villanesche alla Napolitana** (Accent ACC 94107D, *rec* 1994), performed by Ensemble Daedalus. As well as Willaert's popular *A quand'a quand haveva una vicina*, this CD also includes examples by Perissone Cambio, Baldassare Donato and Orlando di Lasso.

Perhaps the most neglected area of Willaert's music today is his instrumental music. Willaert was one of the most important composers of instrumental *ricercari*. The collection *Musica nova accommodata per canta et sonar sopra organi* (Venice, 1540), contains three four-voice works, while the collection *Fantasi, Recercari Contrapunti a tre voci di M. Adriano & de altri Autori* (Venice, 1551) contains 12 three-voice works. They are often described as the instrumental counterpart to the imitative motet; however, we should keep in mind that these works are instrumentally conceived, and not merely motets adapted for instrumental performance. Two recordings on the Tactus label provide different interpretations of the *ricercari* from the *Musica nova* collection (not to be confused with the more famous *Musica nova* collection of motets and madrigals by Willaert, published in 1559). The first of these, **Musica nova** (Tactus 54001, *rec* 1995), features the organist Liuwe Tamminga, while in the second, **Musica nova** (Tactus 54002, *rec* 1996), the *ricercari* are performed by Consort Veneto, a consort of recorders, directed by Giovanni Taffano.

Andrea Gabrieli was perhaps the most important figure of the generation of Venetian composers following Willaert. He probably took up a permanent position as organist of San Marco in 1566, a post he held until his death in 1585; his time as organist closely parallels the appointment of Gioseffo Zarlino as *maestro di cappella* of San Marco. Andrea Gabrieli's madrigals show the influence of Willaert, as well as that of Lassus (especially in his *greghesche* and *giustiniane*). **Andrea Gabrieli—the madrigal in Venice: politics, dialogues and pastorales** (Chandos Chaconne 0697, *rec* 2002), by I Fagiolini and The English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, directed by Robert Hollingworth, provides an excellent selection of Gabrieli's madrigals. This disc shows the breadth of his secular settings, from Petrarch to anonymous pastoral texts, and

demonstrates that Gabrieli was a key figure in Venetian madrigal composition in the 1560s and 1570s. The account of the performances of music sung during masked processions during Carnival in 1572 in Venice, described in the fine introductory essay by Robert Hollingworth, suggests that Andrea Gabrieli's madrigals were part of the entertainment. The realizations are varied: some madrigals sung *a cappella* (for example Gabrieli's tribute to Willaert, *I'vo piangendo i miei passati tempo*); others add cornetts and sackbuts to the consort, with spectacular results. The performance of *Asia felice hor ben posso chiamarmi*, part of the 1572 Carnival entertainment, is particularly effective.

Fabrice Fitch

Briefly noted

The latest CD from the Hilliard Ensemble is not exactly uncharted territory (they have tackled Machaut on CD before), but it is a long time since they ventured this early. And it is quite a programme. **Guillaume de Machaut: Motets** (ECM New Series 1823, *rec* 2001) presents a selection of 18 motets (newly edited by Nicky Losseff) in performances of considerable sensitivity. The addition of a second countertenor, David Gould, allows the ensemble to range more widely than they might otherwise have done (he and David James combine in magical fashion the four-voice *Veni creator spiritus*); and the variety of Machaut's motets hardly needs rehearsing. The Hilliard Ensemble's sound imparts a familiar *trait d'union* to all these pieces, but the feeling of a concept carried through, of a rounded recital with its own aura, pervades the album. The general demeanour is gently lyrical, in contrast to the more 'bolshy' approach of (say) Gothic Voices; but the grain of the voices is more palpably present than is sometimes the case with them in later repertories. This may be the result of Machaut's idiom, which forces the Hilliard Ensemble to confront dissonances and angular lines head-on. My only real reservation concerns the words, which could have been articulated more clearly. At all events, the result is characterful, and I look forward to observing how it grows with repeated listening. The four-voice works that conclude the disc are especially memorable.

Following on from John Milsom's review of music of the Josquin generation in the February issue of *EM*, we can take note of a recent crop of Obrecht recordings that herald an even richer harvest for 2005, when we celebrate the quincentenary of his death. Two of these feature a Mass that was among the first of his to appear on LP, and whose peculiarities occasioned not one but two recordings in the late 1960s and early 70s. More recently Birgit Lodes has presented a strong case for identifying the cycle on *Sub tuum presidium* with the '*Ambts Regina celi*' for which the composer was rewarded by Maximilian I at Innsbruck in 1503. Although the *Regina celi* plainchant is only one of several used in this piece, it is the most famous of them, and it is placed rather conspicuously in the very last section of the work, the third Agnus Dei, as though crowning the entire sonic edifice (bearing in mind that by that point the work has progressed, movement by movement, from three voices at the start to seven). Whatever the case, a CD recording of this marvellous work was long overdue, and the two new recordings are nicely contrasted. On **Jacob Obrecht: Missa Sub tuum presidium** (Gaudeamus CD GAU 341, *rec* 2003), the Clerks' Group post a return to form in a rich programme that also includes some of the best-known motets (*Factor orbis, Salve crux, Beata es, Maria*) in very fine performances, and others whose first recording this is (as far as I am aware), *Mille quingentis* (best known as a source of biographical information on the composer) and the three-voice *Salve regina*. This last is the greatest single surprise of the disc, a long-spun setting lasting over 12 minutes and very inventive—note spinning, undoubtedly, but of a very high order. The Mass itself unfolds rather languidly, so that the plainchant that gives the cycle its name (and which recurs in each movement) seems to recede into the distance as the textural density increases. By the time the *Regina celi* appears, we are faced with something like a wall of sound (albeit a tranquil one, always assuming that walls can be tranquil). I would take issue with Edward Wickham's choice of tempo every now and then, but the execution is impressive. With the vocal group Ars Nova on **Jacob Obrecht: Church music** (Ars Nova VANCD 02, *rec* 1997–8), Paul Hillier comes closer to my own ideas of how the Mass ought to unfold; this was no doubt shaped by hearing those very first recordings (particularly the one by Cappella Lipsiensis under Dietrich Knothe on Archiv 198406, *rec* 1966). In his conception, tempos are taken more strictly, with a greater stress on the work's proportional structure. But Hillier's choir is unable to sustain the speeds he sets, which tends to defeat their purpose: the vocal athleticism required is at times just out of its reach. It is a great pity, since the choir's sound is plastic and clear. The rest of the recital is taken up with Marian motets. Here the divide between the two ensembles seems greater

still (though barring *Beata es, Maria* there is no duplication); but I did enjoy the *Magnificat*, whether or not it is by Obrecht. (It appears in the New Obrecht Edition, but with the proviso that Adam Rener is the more likely composer.) It is a direct and uncomplicated work, refreshingly naïve at times, but infectiously effective.

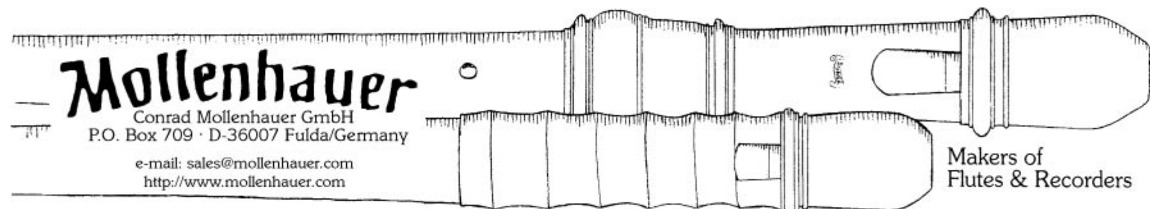
Two other Masses, neither of them previously available, come from the A:N:S Chorus on **Jacob Obrecht: Missa de Sancto Donatiano, Missa Sicut spina rosam** (Hungaroton Classic, HCD 32912, *rec* 2003). Both acknowledge the influence of Ockeghem in ways ranging from actual quotation to modal illusion. *Sicut spina rosam* is a Phrygian work in the mould of *Missa My-my*, and seems to me the more accomplished of the two cycles. Ultimately neither work has the impact of the works of Obrecht's maturity; they tend to support the case, made by Rob Wegman in his biography of the composer (*Born for the Muses: the Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), that Obrecht undertook considerable experimentation before finding an idiom that may be regarded as truly personal. Given the restlessness of spirit that such a picture suggests, it is poignant to surmise what further transformations he might have undergone had his career not been cut short comparatively early. Admittedly *Sub tuum presidium* is a one-off; but so is *Maria zart*, which may also be a late work. This suggests that the experimentation might well have continued into even stranger areas, the difference with the early works being a far clearer sense of purpose. While A:N:S: Chorus does not have the polish of the more established ensembles considered above, theirs are more than serviceable interpretations, with an undeniable enthusiasm that covers a few rough edges. In any case this recording, and the availability of these Masses on disc, seems to me indispensable to whosoever wishes to ponder the question of Obrecht's development.

Fifteenth-century secular music is represented on two fine recordings from smaller labels. The earlier half of the century forms the basis of **Alta Musica: Ciconia, Dufay, Wolkenstein** (Carpe Diem 16260, *rec* 1999). The ensemble Alta Musica, as its name suggests, places the emphasis on winds: most of the repertory contained on this shortish CD is performed by a trio of shawm and two bombardes. A few stringed instruments and percussion (used very selectively) add variety, and Maria Köpcke lends her voice in a few cases. A combination of astute programming, verve and elegance make this a very attractive recital: ornamentation is sparing, but that is not to say that these musicians play safe. Ciconia's *Doctorum principem* and *Una panthera* (especially the former) sound altogether convincing on just winds; one could easily be persuaded that the fanfare-like sequences were devised specifically for them. It would be easy to let this recording slip past (it may not be easy to get hold of it), but just the first few tracks would convince you not to pass it up. Just as skilful and involving in a completely different register is **Le jardin de plaisance** (Raumklang RK 2301, *rec* 2001–2) from the ensemble La Morra. Here vocalists (specifically Rosa Dominguez and Raphaël Boulay) feature more prominently, and the repertory draws on the middle and later part of the century. The approach to the *formes fixes* involves a minimum of messing around, and the selection of songs is of as high an order as the performances. My favourite recording of Ockeghem's *D'ung aultre amer* used to be (and may still be) Margaret Philpot's with the Mediaeval Ensemble of London, but Dominguez too is seductive, and the quality of the instrumental support is noticeably higher. I would want to own the disc just to hear her in Busnoys's *A vous sans autre* and *Ja que lui ne s'i attende* (how astonishing is it, once again, that there is still no single CD anthology devoted to his songs!); Boulay is equally impressive in Du Fay's *Par le regart* and Delahaye's *Mort, j'appelle de ta rigueur*. Instrumental 'covers' are not left out, though: there are no fewer than three settings of *Tout a part moy* (including one each from Tinctoris and Agricola), and the delightfully named Viva Biancaluna Biffi's diminutions on Binchois' *Je ne vis oncques* are as extravagant melodically as they are restrained in performance. It may seem fastidious to list the programme to this degree of detail, but to hear these pieces performed so elegantly is to be reminded why one fell in love with this music; and there are times when such a reminder is timely.

The next recording takes us into the next century (with a bit of a jolt, admittedly). The Chapelle du Roi's **Music for Charles V** (Signum SIGCD 019) takes up a now well-rehearsed topic of early music programming. Recitals built round a specific ruler are nothing new, and Charles himself has had this sort of treatment before. Here the theme is sacred, and the centrepiece, Morales's five-voice *Missa L'homme armé*, would surely have resonated with the emperor. It is a remarkably sweet-sounding piece, given its programme, and has little in the way of the display that characterizes the tradition of Mass-settings on the tune in the 15th and early 16th centuries, as if Josquin *et al.* were already sufficiently far removed in time for composers to dispense with the burden of those fierce displays of contrapuntal ingenuity. Alistair Dixon and his singers present a clean and efficient reading, nicely

matching the work's prevalently gentle tone. They might have taken the music more determinedly by the scruff of the neck, and perhaps this recording will persuade other ensembles to take it on; but the catalogue is hardly deluged with Morales's music, and it can speak for itself eloquently enough. From the available recordings one gains an impression of considerable variety and resourcefulness, so there is reason enough to be grateful for this new offering. The remainder of the disc is taken up with motets having a more or less clear association with Charles. In matters of interpretation, these are a decidedly mixed bag, and sound like filler: the tone of the sopranos in Josquin's *Ave Maria* (the best performance among these motets) struck me as nicely acidulated, but may not be to everyone's taste; when the texture is less than pellucid (as in Gombert's *Qui collis Ausoniam*) the sense of purpose may flag, and the opening of Morales's *Jubilate Deo* could have done with another take. I could go on, but never mind: the Mass is worth hearing even if you're not an avid collector of *L'homme armé* settings.

The final recordings considered here also have princely, royal, even imperial connections. The court of Kromeríz is famous for its heyday in the 17th century, when Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn assembled an impressive cast of composers, many of which are represented on Les Saqueboutier's **Musique à la cour de Kromeríz** (Ambroisie, AMB 9948, *rec* 2003). The most flamboyant is Pavel Josef Vejvanovsky, whose ear-catching works have already earned him anthologies in the past. Here he appears alongside Schmeltzer, Weckmann and Fux (but no Biber) in what is essentially a chamber programme emphasizing the playful interaction of mixed groups of soloists. The seemingly endless (but endlessly enchanting) chains of rising 3rds in Weckmann's *Sonata I a quatro* stay in the mind's ear. There are brasher moments, too, such as Vejvanovsky's *Sonata Venatoria*, or Schmeltzer's *Balletto a Cavallo*. For the most part these performances have all the polish the music demands, and occasional slight deviations do little to blunt one's sense of enjoyment. On the same label the appropriately named Baroque orchestra Zefiro, directed by Alfredo Bernardini, offers something a little different from the inevitable coupling of Handel's *Water Music* and *Music for the Royal Fireworks*. **Handel/ Telemann: Water Music/Wassermusik** (Ambroisie AMB 9946, *rec* 2003) presents stylish live readings (made at the Lufthansa Festival of Baroque Music in London) of the Handel, whose movements are speculatively reordered; as to the Telemann, it functions admirably as a less familiar foil. Telemann's character-pieces prompt the musicians to engage in the occasional spot of horse-play (if that's not mixing metaphors), as in the Harlequinade *Der scherzende Tritonus*, where the beat is pulled about with wanton abandon and remarkable unanimity. Telemann's Suite bisects Handel's complete music; when dealing with such a well-known work it's instructive just how telling such a change of perspective can be.



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Julie Anne Sadie

Charpentier and his World, Birmingham Conservatoire, 2–4 April 2004

Charpentier is at last having his day, 300 years after his death. In spite of the greater refinement and craft of his music, he appears, early in his career, to have acquiesced in the unassailable fact of Lully's greater royal preferment. With the exception of a few airs and the score of his 1693 opera, *Médée*, none of his music was published during his lifetime, so deferring a popular assessment of his achievements until access to his surviving manuscripts, via facsimiles and recordings, could be gained. However, his eventual emergence from the silent darkness to which French music of the *ancien régime* in general was exiled in favour of German and Italian Baroque music was—even allowing for history to repeat itself—longer ago than most imagine.

In his keynote speech to the audience of 'Charpentier and his World' H. Wiley Hitchcock took us on a fascinating tour of the landmarks of Charpentier's journey to just acclaim, which began a little over a century ago. Although each has earlier 20th-century antecedents, Hitchcock's own invaluable *catalogue raisonné* (1982) and Catherine Cessac's admirable life-and-works (1988), together with the monumental publication by Sophie Minkoff of Charpentier's complete works in facsimile (begun in 1990 and scheduled to be completed this year) and the flowering of superb recordings made since the 1980s by William Christie and others, have ensured that Charpentier's music would eventually win our affection and approbation. And let us not forget the impact of James R. Anthony's heroic survey, *French Baroque music* (1974), and the role it has played in Charpentier's belated integration into the accepted history of European music.

The conference at the Birmingham Conservatoire organized by Britain's leading *Charpentienne*, Shirley Thompson, welcomed the contributions of a wide spectrum of scholars, mainly from Europe, North America and Australia. Most grappled with the music itself and issues relating to the autograph manuscripts; included among them were the Lully scholars Herbert Schneider and Lois Rosow, and the noted Rameau authority—and mentor to many of the younger scholars taking part—Graham Sadler. On this occasion it was left to others, Benjamin Pintiaux and John Powell in particular, to proffer observations and comparisons involving Lully and Charpentier, while Peter Roennfeldt described rival events at court in 1683 for which Charpentier and Lalande composed music at the instigation of their patrons, Mme de Guise and Mme de Montespan.

The *Charpentiens*, led by Hitchcock and Cessac, more than held their own in distinguished company, offering here and there fresh insights into Charpentier's character. Thompson revealed new attributions discovered in a Brussels manuscript collection, significant among them a drinking song, *Mettons bas notre frac*, in which three Capuchin monks offer a debauched salute to their Father Superior. Jane Gosine was persuasive in her thoughtful examination of the highly sensual imagery and vivid musical depiction in Charpentier's *petit motets*: for at least some of us, Charpentier's musical rhetorical figures for yearning, sighing, caressing, languishing and fainting were a revelation. Of course, no Charpentier gathering would have been complete without the participation of the redoubtable Patricia Ranum—whose penetrating and tenacious research on Charpentier's patrons (especially Mlle and Mme de Guise) and paper types has contributed so much to our knowledge and understanding of his career—and we were not disappointed.

It would have been surprising, too, if performance practice had not provided a competing theme at the conference. Catherine Cessac drew our attention to the preludes and instrumental movements Charpentier added on revising several of his works. David Ponsford argued his conviction that the *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues* (H513) may have begun life as an organ mass. Théodora Psychoyou drew our attention to the symmetrical vocal textures of the five six-part *grands motets* Charpentier is known to have composed for Mlle de Guise's singers, contrasting them with the post-1688 versions arranged for the Jesuits. The conference concluded on a light note as delegates attempted to sing in French-accented Latin under the guidance of Jeffrey Skidmore.

We and the Brummies were treated to two concerts, both stylish and assured. The first centenary tribute was given by singers and players from the Conservatoire's Early Music Programme under Rung-Jou Liou, and took place at St Paul's Church in the Jewellery Quarter. Thanks to the editorial efforts of Thompson and Sadler, Anthea Smith and Adrian Powney, we were able for the first time to hear three recent discoveries—a new version of *Qu'il est*

doux (H460), a keyboard arrangement of the overture to Charpentier's *David et Jonathas* copied by Charles Babell in 1702, and an instrumental trio which was found in Brussels and represents a variant of the one found not long ago at Versailles—as well as rarities by Charpentier's contemporaries, Du Mont, Lully and Marais. The second concert, featuring Te Deums and other sacred choral music by Charpentier and Purcell, was given by the Ex Cathedra Choir, Soloists & Baroque Orchestra under Skidmore at the Birmingham Oratory.

Juliet Carey

Le ballet de la nuit

Louis XIV and dance: an examination of Waddesdon's source for *Le ballet de la nuit*, 6th Annual Dance Symposium, 21 April 2004, Waddesdon Manor and New College, Oxford

This conference, organized by Michael Burden and Jennifer Thorp, focused on one of the most remarkable entertainments devised for the young Louis XIV and his court. Papers explored the political, literary and musical contexts of the *Ballet de la nuit*, elucidating its role within the broader cultural history of performance and spectacle.

The day began with a display of objects relating to music and dance from the collections at Waddesdon Manor, in which the *Ballet royal de la nuict … dansé par Sa Majesté le 23 Février 1653*, took pride of place. The volume includes 139 leaves of vividly coloured designs for costumes and, uniquely, backdrops. Other items included manuscript records of *Les plaisirs de l'isle enchantée …* (1764/5) and *Les grandes nuits de sceaux* (1715), 18th-century musical scores and albums of theatrical costume designs. From Ferdinand de Rothschild's collection of *ancien régime* ephemera came trade cards for musical instrument makers and operatic souvenirs. A silk and ivory *musette* represented the intriguing group of 17th- and 18th-century musical instruments at Waddesdon. Hope was expressed that delegates would return to these little-known collections.

Philippa Glanville cast further light on the musical aspect of Rothschild collections with an overview of the role of music in the life of the family, including friendship with Rossini and acquisitions ranging from court *masques* to images of fairground acrobats. She hoped that further research would clarify the cultural contexts of the Rothschild collections of musical instruments, whose nature does not fit neatly into the collecting traditions of the *Schatskammer*, or Cabinet of Curiosities.

Turning to the *Ballet de la nuit* itself, David Parrott proposed a persuasive reading of this and other entertainments from the early years of Louis XIV's personal rule. He located the creation of a distinctively French *masque*-form in Mazarin's political and cultural strategy. Unlike the traditional reading of the *Ballet* as a celebration of a newly stable monarchy, Parrott emphasized that the challenges to Mazarin's political authority continued even after the Frondes. He suggested that the new court ballets were designed to create a myth of continuity and to strengthen the king's still-fragile faction by reassuring it that Mazarin was only the executive of royal will. Parrott showed how shadow and confusion do not exist in the *Ballet* in the past tense, but lurk right at the heart of the piece.

For Elizabeth Woodrough, darkness was central to the *Ballet de la nuit*, and in her reading of it the hours of darkness took on a specifically chronological cast. Her literary analysis of the themes of time and light focused on the neglected *libretto* of Isaac Benserade, and illuminated the relationship between the words, music and temporal structure. She argued that through such nocturnal entertainments the court integrated and refined the afternoon literary culture of the Paris *salons*. She considered the nature and experience of the audience and the role of the printed *livret*, which, fascinatingly, was often read by the group in silence before the performance.

Catherine Massip and Lionel Sawkins (with Luke Green on the harpsichord) conjured up the music that followed that silence. They discussed the various extant sources and the problems associated with incomplete scores often written down long after the event. Massip's musical archaeology allowed her to partially reconstruct the aural drama of the *Ballet*, its formal rhythms and vocal groupings. She considered the implications of stage-performance: the machinery of three chariots fighting with the voices of their three singing passengers; the meaningful clarity of the single voice that praised the king arriving with the dawn. Massip gave prominence to Jean de Cambefort, trying to find his place in a new court. Sawkins discussed the role of André Danican Philidor in the *Ballet*'s musical survival, and emphasized how the myth-making copying project, designed to preserve the music of Louis XIV's early years, began just too late for this work. Its glorification of Lully as an innovator obscured the earlier models with which he worked.

1 Isaac de Benserade, *Le Ballet Royal de la nuict . . . dansé par Sa Majesté le 23 février 1653*, 1653. Design for a stage set. *Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust)*. Photograph: Mike Fear.

Jennifer Thorp's elegant paper discussed the choreography of the *Ballet*. The names of dancers survive, but not what or how they might have danced. Thorp used *livrets*, costume designs and 17th-century descriptions of dance to confront this tantalizing *lacuna*. She considered how movement differentiated the aristocratic and professional performers, and addressed issues of gender, age and *decorum* in a work whose numerous characters included shopkeepers, gods and amputees. Thorp offered evidence of how costume and props were used, and spoke about how character might have been expressed visually. The only disappointment was that Thorp's scholarly rigour prevented her from giving what could only have been speculative versions of the dance-demonstrations for which she is celebrated.

Marc-Antoine Charpentier

Meslanges autographes

Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Paris, Ms Rés. Vm[1] 259.
Publiés sous la direction de H. Wiley Hitchcock.
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Paris, Minkoff France, 1990-2004.

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FÜR MUSIK TROSSINGEN

Beethoven's tied-note notation

Jonathan Del Mar's article 'Once again: reflections on Beethoven's tied-note notation' (*EM*, xxxii/1 (Feb 2004), pp.7–25) addresses a problem that has occupied me as a pianist for many years, and I have considered on several occasions writing about it. But I am simply a performing musician lacking the necessary *Sitzfleisch* to go through all of Beethoven's chamber and orchestra scores to find a sufficient number of examples to have something decisive to say on the matter. I was therefore delighted at Del Mar's article, offering an astounding array of examples, many of which I had not thought of, including some from Brahms and Sibelius!

Paul Badura-Skoda's much earlier article on this subject ('A tie is a tie is a tie', *EM*, xvi/1 (Feb 1988), pp.84–8) had put forth the notion, expressed clearly in the title, that in spite of Beethoven's 4–3 fingerings on certain tied notes in piano music, and despite Czerny's admonitions that these second notes should be sounded, Beethoven meant for them to be played without repetition, as 'normal' tied notes. I believe that the opposite is true: the fingering 4–3 (only in piano music, incidentally) shows clearly that the notes are to be repeated, presumably at a softer dynamic level. The question to be asked is not *how* to execute them properly but rather *what* Beethoven may have wished to express by such a peculiar notation. And can such an expressive device, whatever it may be, be present in string music as well, albeit with no tell-tale fingering?

My interpretation of two of the passages mentioned in both articles (Opus 110/iii (the infamous repeated As) and Opus 111/ii, from the fourth variation, with the pulsating chordal double-quaver rhythm) is that Beethoven is concentrating a familiar musical gesture to its bare essence; these are *Appoggiaturas Without Dissonance, on a Single Note or Single Chord*. To my knowledge this interpretation has not been put forth by anyone else.

Now it seems clear that by the time Beethoven reaches these late works he is thinking in terms of certain kinds of musical expressions that simply cannot be easily rendered by conventional notation. As a public performer he had been first and foremost a pianist, and much of his pianistic activity was always as an improviser. In such an activity the emotional and even physical experiences of the improviser (i.e. caressing the keyboard, thrashing about, tentatively trying certain chords, etc.) become themselves an important part of the musical message. (We are referring here to *Freies Fantasieren*, not the improvising of fugues or waltzes.) In Beethoven's middle and especially late works this improvisatory aspect plays an increasingly important role in the musical message, and the physical gestures become more and more original and unusual. The player becomes lost, frightened, does something funny, even ridiculous; something might burst in and take the player rather by surprise, etc. In the present passage one is clearly lost, shown not merely harmonically by the remote keys, but by the very musical fabric as well.

Is conventional notation up to expressing such a process? I would like to consider the entire passage in Opus 110/iii in which these famous repeated tied As occur. Are the quaver rhythms in bar 3 of ex.1 simply twice as fast as the crotchets in bar 2? I play them a bit faster than written; I feel a certain unease as I move into A♭ minor. If this slightly uneasy moving forward is what Beethoven wanted (of course it may not be), there was no way to notate it; *accel.* would have been far too strong for my modest increase in speed and may have actually suggested a different, even opposite psychological reading than the one I perceive.

Is the *Andante* quite a bit faster than the *Adagio* or just a little bit faster? Are we moving towards the light here, or to something even darker than before? I would state emphatically that it is simply not possible to consider *any* of these questions of execution without some deeper insight into the musical rhetoric.

Then we arrive at the famous tied As at bar 5. Two-note slurs are often referred to in the 18th century as *Seufzer* (sighs) and I believe that what we have in the present case, in a highly original form, are just such sighing figures, albeit on a *single* note, rather than the normal dissonance–consonance two-note figure. The 4–3 fingering shows not only that the 2nd note should be repeated, but should presumably be a bit softer than the first. I do not believe, as suggested by many, that the fact that the initial *a″* in bar 5 is a dotted quaver shows that all the double-As are weak-beat to strong-beat. Important for Beethoven seems simply that this first note be of *irregular length*. The third pair of double-As with the first note again dotted looks still more irregular. The hairpins under the entire passage probably show light acceleration–deceleration. I would not play the demisemiquaver double-As twice as fast as the semiquaver ones, nor the quavers at the end of the bar twice as slowly, and I certainly would not play them evenly. I do not count how many of these double-As I

Ex.1 Piano Sonata in A♭ op.110/iii, bars 1–5

Ex.2 Piano Sonata in A♭ op.110/iii, bars 132–9

play; on occasion I might play a few extra. It is true that Beethoven has taken great pains to notate this bar, yet virtually everything here suggests the *freest possible* execution. To approach it by counting exact rhythms and then deriving an execution from such a perspective would be, I believe, the very opposite of what Beethoven has hoped to elicit by his notation.

Later in the same movement a similar effect, through quite different means (i.e. the reduction of musical content to near zero to achieve a maximum of rhetorical impact) is achieved at bars 130–35, with the incessant G major chords in the lower range of the instrument (see ex.2).

In the fourth variation from Opus 111/ii (Del Mar's ex.49) I believe a similar repeated sighing effect is called

for; there must be some audible pulse on each third semiquaver, *whether there is a change of notes or not*. But here a quite different reasoning comes into play: the one thing that can be said about *all* the variations in this movement up to this point is that each is based on a single, obsessive rhythm that *never* varies throughout the entire variation (later in the movement there will be a gradual breakdown into freer passages). Without some light, almost imperceptible repetition of some of the notes in the 'static' double chords (as opposed to dissonance-to-consonance double chords) this variation sounds very peculiar and seems to have no rhyme nor reason to its rhythmic structure:

Duh, duh, duh, duh, duh-um, duh, duh, duh-um, duh, duh, duh, duh, duh-um, duh-um, duh-um, duh, duh, duh, duh, duh-um duh-um duh-um.

I would once again put forth the notion that these are *Seufzer*, sighing figures, some of which change harmony but most of which do not—here are not single-note sighs, as in our last example, but chordal ones. Badura-Skoda says he has never heard any pianist execute this passage with light repetitions on the third beats, but Tom Beghin in the Claves Beethoven Sonata series (Claves Records, *The complete Beethoven keyboard sonatas (including the three Bonn sonatas)*, Tom Beghin, Malcolm Bilson, David Breitman, Ursula Dütschler, Zvi Meniker, Bart van Oort, Andrew Willis; on nine period pianos, release date September 1997) certainly does, and they match the dissonance–consonance ones easily. From a mechanical point of view such repetitions can be easily executed on either a Viennese or English (i.e. modern) action, but on a well-regulated and voiced Viennese piano of the period the 'sliding' is just barely audible: a true 'sigh'.

These readings are my personal interpretations. No student of mine is required to accept them, much less any reader of this letter. But *whatever* is going on in all such passages, considerations of Execution should *not* be put ahead of Intuition into expressive content; this is what Beethoven seems to demand of us, and it is worthy of the highest kind of interpretive art.

Malcolm Bilson
Ithaca, New York

Musical instruments of the Bible

I would like to reply to a very few points in Professor Wulstan's somewhat vituperative review of my book on *Musical instruments of the Bible* (*EM*, xxxii/2 (May 2004), pp.322–6). I'm not happy with some aspects of the transliteration system either, but the publishers insist on Chicago style, and that is Chicago style. It has at least a somewhat closer resemblance to the pronunciation used in Ivrit (modern Hebrew) and to that used in the majority of synagogues today (certainly in most of those to which I have belonged in London, Oxford and Israel) than to the antiquated Germanic version preferred by Professor Wulstan. Nobody who uses Hebrew today for speech or worship equates *vav* with *waw*, unless of course they are from those countries where *w* is pronounced as *v*—that usage derives from the great German scholars of the 19th century and survives only in grammars such as that of Professor Weingreen.

I was, as my title suggests, discussing the musical instruments of the Bible. Neither the Qumran texts, not even the War Scroll (which is not biblical), nor later exegetical material makes any difference to those instruments. Nor is it relevant whether it was really Jeremiah who wrote Lamentations—the full title of that book (in the Authorised Version, which as he knows, was my base English text) is The Lamentations of Jeremiah. I have an old-fashioned preference of allowing titles to stand, whether or not they are 'exploded' by modern scholarship.

Professor Wulstan is, of course, entitled to dismiss the work of the Massoretes and the resulting Massoretic text if he wishes to do so. The majority of Jews would prefer to accept that text, along with its accepted and recognized literals. (There are places where we are instructed to read a different letter from that written, where it is accepted that a scribe made a slip in a text that nevertheless remains sacred and, on paper or parchment, unchangeable.) Equally, the Roman Catholic Church has an accepted Latin text, just as there is an accepted Septuagint text. These three, together with, by my choice, the Authorised Version, rather than other and more linguistically correct English translations, constitute The Bible, and that was the subject of my book.

I apologize for omitting k^{c}*lēy* from the index, but Professor Wulstan will find *clēi* in the text, and if he would look at both text and index he will find both *keren* and *qeren* at the relevant points. I apologize to my publishers for UK English 'skilfully'; I was enjoined to use American spellings.

One final point, Lake Kinneret does in fact get mentioned (p.15) and I make the point there that I would repeat here: whether seen from the ground, from the air, or on a map, it bears no resemblance to any known or postulated shape of *kinnor*.

Jeremy Montagu
Oxford

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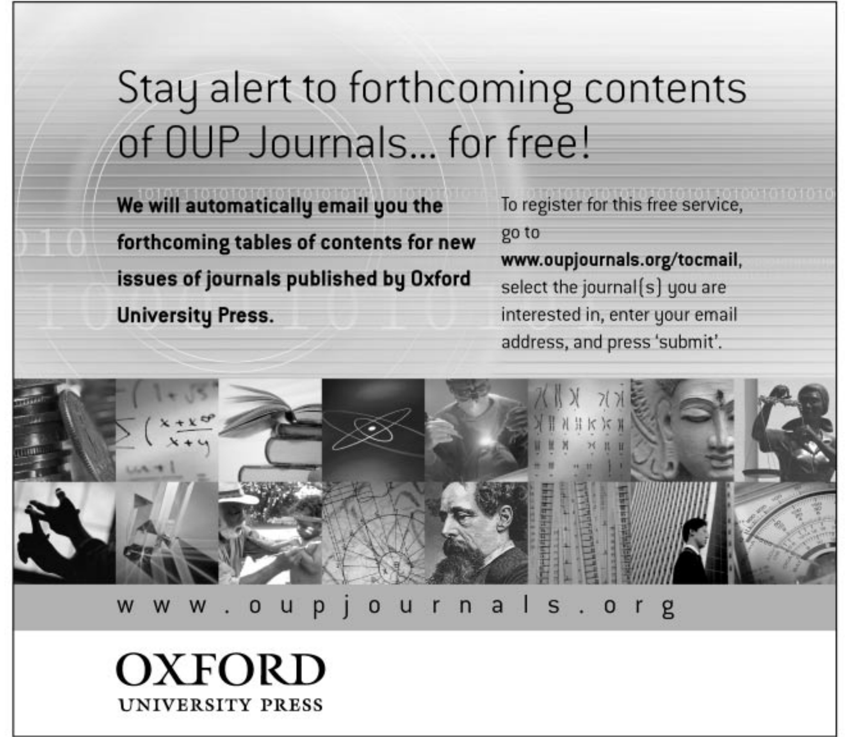

Advertisers' index

Associations
Early Music America 479
NEMA, National Early Music Association (UK) 475

Competitions
International Early Music Network Young Artists' Competition 440
Premio Bonporti 492

Concerts
London, South Bank Early Music Weekend 441

Courses
Bremen, Hochschule für Künste Baroque opera workshop 451
Casa de Mateus International Music Courses 354
Coaraze (France), Lo Gai Saber 475
Longy School of Music 461
Tillburg, Fontys Conservatorium 451
Trossingen, Staatliche Hochschule für Musik 440
University of South Dakota 439

Exhibitions
Greenwich International Festival of Early Music 473

Festivals
Antwerp, Flanders Festival 414
Berliner Tage für Alte Musik 2004 455
Boston Early Music Festival and Exhibition 383
Brighton Early Music Festival, UK 422
Casa de Mateus 354
FIMTE International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music 455
Greenwich International Festival of Early Music 473
Herne, Tage Alter Musik 479
Hungary, Haydn at Esterháza 470
Innsbrucker Festwochen der Alten Musik 427
Radovljica Festival (Slovenia) 455
Utrecht, Holland Early Music Festival 441

Instrument makers
Bizzi Clavicembali IBC
Blezinger, Stefan *recorders* 438
Bridgewood and Neitzert *string instruments* 467
Chinnery, Tony *early keyboard instruments* 383
de Winne, Jan *Baroque and classical flutes* 439
Deegan, Robert *harpsichords* 382
Ducornet, Marc, Atelier *harpsichords* IFC
Glatt, Andreas *recorders, flutes* 401
Goble, Robert & Son *harpsichords* 458
Küng *recorders* 401
McNulty, Paul *fortepianos* 401
Mollenhauer, Conrad GmbH *flutes, recorders* 483
Monk, Christopher, Instruments *cornetts, serpents, oboes* 426
Morley, Robert & Co. *keyboard instruments* 374
Moulder A. Eric *curtals, dulcians etc.* 470
Polak, Simon *flutes* 402
Ross, Leslie *bassoons* 460
Sanders, Robert, *baroque flutes* 458
Schneider, Philipp *historical pianos* 470
Slotboom René *bowed instruments* 426
Wenner, Martin *flutes* 425

Instruments for sale
Baltzer, Moritz *violone* 470

Miscellaneous
Bridgewood and Neitzert *strings* 467
Musicians Benevolent Fund 356
Pyramid Strings *historical strings* 426
Russell Collection, University of Edinburgh 470
Trossingen, Staatliche Hochschule für Musik *appointments* 488
Vogel, Marc *tuning sets* 439

Music Shops
Early Keyboard Agency 356
Early Music Shop OBC
Jacks, Pipes & Hammers 451
Lindum Records 374

Publishers
A-R Editions 473
Ashgate 404
Bärenreiter 494
Coleccíon Patrimonia Musical Español vi
Éditions Minkoff 488
Fuzeau, J. M. 404
Oxford University Press iii, 368, 476, 484, 492
Scala Aretina 458

Recordings
Mobbs Keyboard Collection 470
Qualiton 451
Signum v

Symposium
Utrecht, STIMU 492

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