NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

Volume ix/2 (Autumn 2025)

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

INDEX

News & Events

The *NEMA Newsletter* is produced twice yearly, in the Spring and Autumn. Contributions are welcomed by the Editor, email fk240@cam.ac.uk. Copyright of all contributions remains with the authors, and all opinions expressed are those of the authors, not the Association.

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Interview with John Butt

Francis Knights

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

My parents were great music lovers and my father had the radio on whenever he was at home (the 'Third Programme', of course). He also played the piano every day, going through a cycle of Bach preludes and fugues, Mozart and Beethoven sonatas, and some rather ragged fragments of Chopin. My uncle (my mother's brother) had been an organist (he was briefly organist of the University Church in Oxford) and harpsichordist (Thomas Goff actually gave him an original Kirkman), but he soon went into a career as a pianist of jazz, pop and rock, eventually opening his own piano bar in the south of Spain. Uncle Tony was a prime model of outrageousness and, increasingly, foolishness (I am aware that I have inherited some of his qualities).

(all photos © Dunedin Consort, by kind permission)

I was always interested in the organ, having been taken regularly to church, and having been overwhelmed by a couple of Blue Peter documentaries on the instrument (I had a phobia for bellows, which somehow contributed to my fascination!). At eight I went to Solihull School, which had its own organ, and I became obsessed with learning the organ (my father taught me the basics of piano and I studied violin and viola at school); I finally got my wish when I was 11. A year or so later the remarkable teacher Colin Edmundson came to the school and it was he who pushed me through all the various Royal College of Organists exams and introduced me to the dreaded 'paper-work' (otherwise known as harmony and counterpoint). My organ studies were further developed with monthly study with Gillian Weir from about 15, and she remained my main teacher for the next eight years (with some input from Peter Hurford too, latterly). I had what could have been termed a misguided obsession with becoming the organ scholar at King's College, Cambridge; I was pre-elected at 16. Like most fulfilled wishes, the outcome was unexpected and not unremittingly pleasant, but it was probably these three years, working as the main organist and deputy director to Philip Ledger, that perhaps taught me more about musical performance, and particularly musical direction and rehearsal preparation, than anything else. Studying music at Cambridge was like inhabiting a parallel world to King's Chapel – Anglican favourites like Howells (or the 'exotic' Duruflé) were openly ridiculed and the faculty was dominated by unabashedly modernist composers.

Nevertheless, musicology came next on the tree of respectability, and I increasingly wished I had more time to study history and particularly historical performance. Given that the organ scholarship had taken up so much of my time, I didn't feel I had given enough time and effort to my degree, so the opportunity to remain at Cambridge as a research student was very welcome. I remain most grateful to King's College for having provided my funding for PhD study (my first degree had not been strong enough to get government funding). In a sense, King's helped ground me in both sides of my career, and, as I discovered later as a Fellow, the distinguished intellectual fellowship gave me an insight into culture and the history of ideas that I could hardly have gained in any comparable institution.

What types of keyboards have you used during your career, and which do you prefer?

The organ has always been my 'main' instrument, and I have always remained an advocate of the full range of organ styles (albeit with that typical snobbish preference for Bach and Messiaen - Franck, too, if time…). Although actual organ performing counts for barely 5% of my active career, I try and keep up a small repertory. Obviously, I have a great love of historical instruments, particularly those of north Europe and the idiosyncratic instruments of Bach's own environment (such as the experimental organs of Trost and the refined but often intractable ones of Silbermann). But I also love romantic instruments (often playing the Lewis organ in Glasgow's Kelvingrove museum) and the brilliant modern instruments that I heard in my earliest years (I was nearly three when the nearby organ at Coventry Cathedral was opened).

I have always been fascinated by the harpsichord (that uncle's influence again) and was desperate to embark on continuo practice. I gained some experience of this in the Birmingham area during my late teens (particularly in playing for the newly-founded Ex Cathedra). It was only when I moved to Berkeley in 1989 that I had regular access to harpsichords (I was also in charge of an extensive collection of historical organs). Californian builders, led by John Phillips, are among the best in the world, and I set about learning harpsichord repertoire (especially Bach, of course!). Nowadays, I give as many

harpsichord recitals as organ recitals. Bach's harpsichord repertoire is actually more difficult than the organ music, so I find learning and practising the harpsichord on a daily basis to be an excellent way of keeping myself as musically alert as increasing age and infirmity permit! For a while, particularly in Berkeley, I also started playing the clavichord, and this I found wonderfully challenging and fulfilling. I'm very much hoping to revisit this field in the future. Although I appreciate the breadth and versatility of the unfretted instrument, I find the fretted one a more useful challenge, and it arguably has a greater range of tone and projective power (on occasions even hitting a strident *piano*).

Tell us about your performing and recording career. Which recordings are you most proud of?

I began recording quite regularly while I was still a student at King's College, Cambridge, as accompanist and soloist in recordings of Gibbons, Handel and Fauré, and playing the full organ version of the Duruflé *Requiem*. After finishing the post of organ scholar, I continued to make a few records with various choirs I directed (e.g. St Catharine's College Choir, Cambridge and, later, UC Berkeley Chamber Chorus). But it was when I moved to Berkeley in 1989 that I started recording in earnest: I was the main continuo player and chorus director for the Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra, playing on many of Nicholas McGegan's early recordings, and I also did solo and continuo work for the American Bach Soloists. It was as organist of UC Berkeley (a post with no duties whatever!) that I began recording on organ. I also recorded my first three discs on harpsichord, and continued to do recordings on both instruments for Harmonia Mundi USA when I moved back to Cambridge in 1997. It's difficult to single out any of these early recordings: the recording of the Bach organ sonatas has remained in circulation for a very long time, and the one of Cabanilles remains one of my favourites. Perhaps my most ambitious was of Kuhnau's *Biblical Sonatas*, split between organ, harpsichord and clavichord. I'm also quite proud of the recording of Elgar's complete organ music, from King's College, Cambridge (2001), but virtually no one seems to know this!

My recording career as director of the Dunedin Consort began in 2006, with an attempted reconstruction of Handel's *Messiah* in its Dublin version. There have been around twenty recordings for Linn Records since, all of which I cherish for the remarkable musicianship of the singers and players with whom I've been lucky enough to work. It's difficult to single out specific recordings: the recording of Bach's Magnificat (as part of a reconstructed Lutheran Matins) is perhaps one of the most satisfying, with an excellent match of singers to music; the most recent one, of early Handel cantatas with Nardus Williams, is extraordinary – the strings are superb and Nardus shows herself to be one of the great Handel interpreters of our age, with a daring approach that I don't think has yet been sufficiently appreciated. Other singers who have really contributed to Dunedin's success include Nicholas Mulroy, Joanne Lunn and Matthew Brook, the latter two featuring in a Bach recording we made during lockdown (*Ich habe genug*).

What was the background to the creation of the Dunedin Consort?

The Dunedin Consort was created back in 1996 by two singers, Ben Parry and Susan Hamilton. They envisioned it as a core group of six singers, to be expanded as necessary, serving Scotland in particular as a sort of Voces 8 style group (there was nothing like this in Scotland at the time). They engaged instrumentalists when necessary, particularly for the many new commissions, but also for baroque repertory, which meant that the group began to be associated with historical performance. When Ben left Scotland in 2003 to become director of music at St Paul's School in London, the consort was left at quite a low ebb. I

began directing the bigger concerts from the end of 2003 and became joint artistic director with Susan Hamilton (she did an enormous amount of the administration and directed some of the smaller, vocal tours). Around 2010-12, the Consort was sufficiently robust to require a management team, and Alfonso Leal became our first manager and chief executive. Susan left us and I became musical director, under the chief executive, rather than sole artistic director. This model has served us very well, and we now have a managerial and administrative staff of about eight, which includes the direction of a substantial educational programme. We are obviously best known as a mixed consort for 17th and 18th century music, but we have also refreshed some of the early priorities of the group: newly-commissioned music (often to match specific pieces from history) and choral tours across Scotland.

Tell us about your teaching.

I have always taught whenever I have held university posts. This has included general courses in music history (I have taught centuries from the 17th to the 20th) and foundational courses such as historiography and criticism, and introductions to musicology for graduate students. At undergraduate level, I have done a few more specialist courses, such as in film music, performance practice, and approaches to Bach and Handel that integrate broader historical factors such as the impact of the Reformation and the increasing rationalisation of society. At Glasgow University, we have also had the tendency to contribute to each other's courses, so I have undertaken a number of smaller contributions in the philosophy of music and 19th and 20th century history, too.

Tell us about your publications. What has driven your research interests over the years?

My PhD research was a way of drawing my performance and historical interests together. It gave me a thorough grounding in musicological methods and source studies, involving study of original Bach manuscripts and study of early treatises and performance methods. This lay the grounding for my awareness of 'basic' musicology, but the resulting study of Bach's articulation marks (published in 1990) has actually formed much of the basis of my attitude towards performance practice ever since. This includes awareness of rhetorical education and the relationship between playing techniques and the composition and elaboration of the notated music. My interest in Bach was taken forward by a short study of the Mass in B Minor and then a study of education in Lutheran institutions from the 16th to late 18th centuries. This took the earlier articulation study further, particularly in relation to voice training techniques and the changing styles of education.

During my later years in Berkeley and my four years spent back in Cambridge, I became involved with a completely different sort of writing (partly through the inspiration of my colleague at Berkeley, Richard Taruskin). This was the field of what might be called 'music criticism', and my resulting study, *Playing with History* (2002), was directed at the overriding question of why the historically-informed performance movement (HIP) had become so potent and popular (and whether it was likely to last). I took a very broad approach, first reviewing the cases made for and against historical performance since the 1950s, then covering conceptual issues such as the 'work concept' and the definitions of intentionality. Broader still is the discussion of modernism and postmodernism (set up in an overly binary way by Taruskin, I thought) and then the relation of HIP to other forms of postwar restoration culture. My conclusion, which I've adhered to ever since, is that HIP is an excellent attitude to most forms of music, specifically if it brings life to performance and engages the enthusiasms of musicians. This book was followed by a related study of Bach's passions (related because it engages macro-historical concepts such as 'modernity'), the

overall question being why these pieces have such an effect on later generations who do not necessarily share the specifics of Lutheran (or even Christian) theology. My overall thesis is that Bach, coming from a relatively traditional Lutheran background with very conservative beliefs, engaged, though his very compositional attitude, with aspects of modernity (defined in its broadest sense as relating to the period beginning with the Renaissance and Reformation). These included attitudes towards subjectivity (the way the individual is defined, both institutionally and in self-consciousness), time (God's time or progressive human time?), narrative techniques (e.g. the modern novel) and the embrace of the artificial to extend human achievement and expression. It's quite a difficult book, but many people have managed to find at least some sense in it.

Other writings have concentrated on the 'forgotten' aspect of HIP – the role of the audience, historical and contemporary – and also topics such as emotion and dance (involving the sense of embodiment that is so often ignored in classical music culture). But my most intensive work over the last fifteen years has been on something completely different (although there are several cross-currents here), the preparation of a book entitled: *Alfred Hitchcock: Between Pure Cinema and Absolute Music*. This (now entering its second draft) is about the ways in which Hitchcock based his art, in some striking ways, on music. While others have noticed this attitude, I propose that Hitchcock's model was the ideology of 'absolute music', which was prestigious in the 1920s. Along with several continental film makers, Hitchcock was desperate to show that the new art of film was equal to the other arts, and absolute music (particularly symphonic) provided the closest model. I am currently seeking a publisher for this…

What have been the differences working in early music in Britain and the US?

It's quite different. In the US there are still many with that 'first generation' attitude of seeing the HIP movement as transgressive and anti-establishment. Players tend to divide between those who are more-or-less self-taught (and self-researching) and those who have attended prestigious conservatoires with some sort of HIP offering, in the US and Europe. The established groups can be quite unionized and have very strict rules about rehearsals and procedure. The rehearsal process can be quite long, but the results can (sometimes) be really excellent.

The UK is poles apart from this: British (together with several from the US or Europe) players and singers have to perform in multiple groups if they are to make anything close to a decent living. HIP, along with much in classical music, is quite a precarious existence, but this makes the musicians often the quickest learners on earth. The rehearsal time can often be half that of the US (or many parts of Europe), and the performers can usually achieve excellent results. The danger is that these results can sometimes be routine and predictable. But with good musical leadership (not just from the conductor/director) the results can be spectacular. Because the performers are so adaptable they often learn about historical topics (both practical and theoretical) along the way and can be genuinely interested in the difference between different cultures of performance.

What advice would you give young performers and scholars wanting to enter the profession today?

Well, if you are a performer with excellent technical ability, it is possible to make part of your living from working with HIP groups (e.g. most of the freelance singers in London). In this way you pick up HIP practices (which – let's face it – are largely conditioned by a modern tradition of performing in a certain way), 'on the job'. There are plenty of performers who have no specific historical interest, but who are happy to give it a go (and symphonic players in the UK are much more open to HIP practices than hitherto). This might sound a little like capitulating to those who say that HIP is just a fad, one which will go the way of all previous fads. This is where the more specialist performers (some of whom are bona fide scholars) are so important, since they can often inflect the whole practice in various ways. Sadly, performance practice is becoming an ever-smaller part of university curricula (so the number of performance practice PhDs is definitely smaller than it was when I was a research student). The conservatoires are taking up some of the slack here, and they realise that HIP and its study can be a significant part of a 'portfolio career'.

In short, then, there are some reasonable opportunities for young performers and scholars, but to make a real difference you have to take the initiative. Given that our understanding of history changes on a daily basis (e.g. what seemed a trivial aspect of past practice might actually make quite a difference today; and what might have seemed an important aspect might only have been part of a broader aspect of practice that interests us now), I believe that HIP has the potential to renew itself in countless ways. There is definitely room for new ideas and practices.

The Clavicimbalum of Montreuil-Bellay

Nóra Szabó

The harpsichord of the late Middle Ages, the *clavicimbalum* or *clavisimbalum*, was a widely known and used keyboard instrument of its time. Although no examples have survived, there is abundant evidence of its popularity in manuscripts, account books, letters, poems and visual art. This latter source – iconography - is an important and well-studied field of research and instrument reconstruction, where every contribution, large or small, matters.

In this article, I present and analyse another beautiful representation of the clavicimbalum that has not yet been discussed. It appears among other instruments in a series of frescoes in the castle of Montreuil-Bellay in the Loire Valley (illus.1).

The frescoes, instruments and their iconographical programme in the chapel

The castle of Montreuil-Bellay dates back to the 11th century and long served military purposes. In the 1470s, during major renovations commissioned by Guillaume d'Harnoncourt and Yolande de Laval, two chapels were added, built one above the other in a 'stacked' manner. While the castle itself lacked ornaments and remained relatively plain, the the lower chapel - used as a private oratory - got entirely adorned with frescoes.

Illus.1 The entrance of Montreuil-Bellay castle (photos: Nóra Szabó)

Its most captivating feature is the ceiling, formed by two vaulted bays whose ribs divide the surface into eight triangles, each split into two sections. Together, these sixteen panels create a grand angel concert surrounding the motet *Ave Regina Caelorum* by Walter Frye. The frescoes were probably painted around 1480, soon after the castle's renovation.

Even in the photo below (illus.2), it is visible that the frescoes on the walls appear in worse condition than the ceiling, likely because a secondary ceiling was added during the French Revolution to protect the vaults. The painter's identity remains uncertain. Most scholars attribute the work to Coppin Delft, who was active in the Loire Valley during the second half of the 15th century. As far as I know, this is only a hypothesis and it's not confirmed by definitive evidence, although it is theoretically possible, and all known dates of Coppin Delft's stay in France align.[1] While I like having complete solutions, I would not assume that there were no other Flemish or Flemish-inspired painters around the area, apart from this one artist, who is maybe only famous to us in the modern world.

Whoever the painter may have been, the work is undeniably beautiful and detailed, demonstrating the skill of a professional artist. Executed *a secco* on a two-layer coating of lime and sand, they combine lead white pigment, tin-leaf gilding (a common substitute for gold), and a shellac finish for protection.

Illus. 2 Montreuil-Bellay, oratory of Yolande de Laval

Let us take a closer look at the frescoes. Above the altar, the beginning of Frye's *Ave Regina Caelorum* is depicted in a three-voice version with quite precise musical notation. Beyond it, musician angels occupy individual vaults. It shows the painter's creativity, how each angel is posed differently, adapting gracefully to the fixed triangular spaces despite their instruments' varying sizes. They appear on a starry blue background, with alternating red and green wings. These small details give a general unity to the otherwise diverse and rather moving paintings.

In the first vault, following the motet, six angels play five instruments: the clavicimbalum, a lute opposite it, two facing shawms, a harp, and a portative organ (organetto). The second vault depicts percussion and string instruments: bells, triangle, cymbals, and a psaltery on the left – followed by a *tromba marina*, a sacbut, and two fiddles.

When looking at the placement of the instruments, it may seem confusing at first. However, after some thought and analysis, I observed not one, but two different kinds of logic in the symmetry of the ceiling – both working simultaneously and even supporting each other. In Figure 1 I attempt to visualise these symmetries.

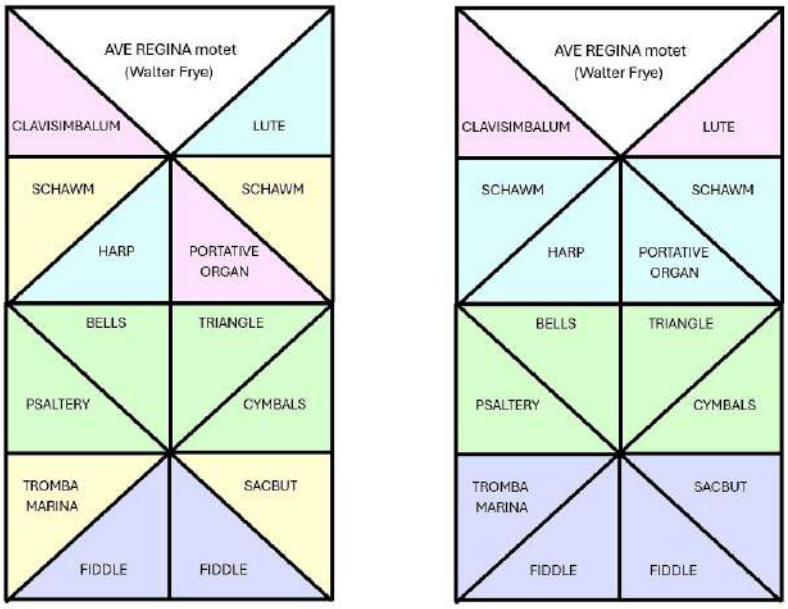

Figure 1 Structure and two different symmetries of the angel concert

The first categorization works from the point of the instruments' organological features. In the first vault, we can find keyboards (clavicimbalum and organetto), plucked strings (lute and harp) and loud wind instruments (two shawms). These instruments appear in pairs and oppose each other - creating an inner symmetry in the vault. Meanwhile, in the second vault, the instruments are grouped more together by category, depicted next to each other: starting with a section of percussion instruments (bells, triangle and cymbals). Taking a closer look at the psaltery next to them, the angel seems to use a stick for making sound, therefore it can fit in the category of percussion instruments, making these four angels one group. Below them, the two loud wind instruments (tromba marina and sackbut) get depicted in the exact same spot where the loud winds appeared in the first vault – connecting the two vaults through this feature. The two remaining trianglular spaces are reserved for another group: bowed string instruments, represented by the fiddles.

The second logic in the placement of instruments can be seen by considering the sound and function of each one during this period. Using this approach, the ceiling can be divided into four even levels. Let us analyse this from the bottom to the top. The lowest section, consisting of the fiddles, tromba marina and sackbut, creates a generally low, sustained, drone-like soundscape. It almost feels like the foundation of the whole 'sound' of the painted ceiling. Above them lies the above-mentioned rhythm section with bells, cymbals, triangle and psaltery. This group, in addition to rhythm, adds echoes, harmonics and sparkling overtones to the angel orchestra.

On the next level, the instruments become more melodic: the portative organ, harp and shawms. These instruments also produce sustained sounds, like the fiddles and winds below, but their overall sound is higher and more melodic. They can play one or perhaps two voices (in the case of the harp and portative organ) when accompanying polyphony but are generally associated with monophonic or instrumental consort repertoire. Finally, at the top, surrounding the motet, the lute and the clavicimbalum occupy the most prominent place. These two instruments are the only ones on the ceiling capable of faithfully intabulating polyphonic songs on their own.

I wonder if this placement may reflect a musical practice of this period and region: showing the 'best' instruments for accompanying polyphony the closest to the motet itself. For me, this is evidence of a clear differentiation between instruments, their abilities and their roles. All are valuable, but their functions differ. The sackbut, for instance, could never serve the function of the lute, and vice versa. This observation proves some points in the usage of the clavicimbalum as well, as it is considered one of the best instruments for accompanying polyphony. With its keyboard and extended range, it is suited to playing as many voices as needed. Its versatility allows it to perform solo or accompany any kind of monophonic song, just as the harp, psaltery or lute can. However, because it has a keyboard, the clavicimbalum is the best instrument for playing virtuosic and multi-voiced compositions – something most other instruments of the period could not achieve.

The clavicimbalum

What struck me most when I first saw this clavicimbalum was its prominence within the composition (illus.3). Entering the chapel through the narrow corridor, it is one of the first elements to catch the eye. From the entrance, only the frontal part of the ceiling is visible – the motet and the two angels facing the viewer: one with a clavicimbalum, the other with a lute. As one steps further in, the other angels and details appear, yet the clavicimbalum stands out for its placement and golden colour, which sparkles slightly when viewed from the right angle.

Naturally, my noticing it first may be personal – perhaps inevitable for a keyboard player. Still, I maintain that the clavicimbalum occupies a particularly important position.

Let us take a closer look at the clavicimbalista angel's triangle. The golden ornaments framing it were likely retouched during renovation, while the painting remained mostly untouched, explaining its fainter colours. The angel is playing in a kneeling position, slightly leaning over his (or her) instrument. The flowing drapery of the cloak fills the acute triangle's frame. The clavicimbalum is pointing towards the sharpest edge of the acute triangle.

Illus.3 The clavicimbalum of Montreuil-Bellay

The instrument is covered in tin-leaf gilding, imitating gold. This technique, while visually striking, creates challenges in showing organological details. There are still several noteworthy features that stand out: especially the length of the instrument. In most depictions, clavicimbala appear relatively short, with the soundboard often not longer than the frontal mechanical section. While proportions are often only a matter of spacing and artistic compromises, not all can be dismissed as such.

Indeed, the most reliable depictions show similar compact instruments: the sculptures in Manchester and Minden Cathedral, or the famous monkey playing the *clavicimbalum* in BnF Français, MS 331, f.145v. Although performing animals might appear questionable, the instrument is very well depicted. A similar, well-discussed construction appears in a Book of Hours from Tours, Morgan Library & Museum, MS 834, l.25r.

When reconstructing the clavicimbalum using Arnaut de Zwolle's guidelines[2] and iconographic proportions, these smaller instruments suggest a higher pitch – around a fourth or fifth up from A440[3] – or perhaps a 4' instrument. Most modern reconstructions follow this logic. Yet the clavicimbalum of Montreuil-Bellay supports the idea of varied sizes and transpositions. Its length would allow a lower pitch with the desired low notes of Zwolle's description, and perhaps even more.

Instead of relying too heavily on Zwolle's treatise, it is worth taking a fresh look at the variety of forms shown in iconography. While his is the only surviving description, it should not be treated as a prototype.

Studies of extinct medieval and Renaissance organs reveal similar diversity: instruments differed in pitch and size across towns.[4] As Arnold Schlick wrote in 1511, organs must suit the choir's range, since 'people sing higher or lower in one place than in another, according as they have small or great voices'.[5] If large instruments were so individualised, smaller, portable ones – like the *clavicimbalum* – must have been at least as varied, tailored to each player's needs and the builder's craftsmanship.

The clavicimbalum of Montreuil-Bellay looks elegant and neat. The sides of its casework seem relatively shallow, giving it a slender figure. Its sides do not terminate in a pointed end such as clavicytheria tend to have, but it is cut off, like most clavicimbala depictions show. In practice, this allows more space for bass notes and makes them less nasal. I find this idea fitting to the evolving sound world of the early Renaissance.

The case's two cheekpieces terminate in simple but refined ornaments, marking the keyboard's placement. Under the angel's hand, faint lines suggest keys, though irregularly drawn. A clear line painted parallel to the keyboard marks something like a frontboard, closing up the front of the clavicimbalum. It is plausible that a jack rail was once painted or highlighted here, as one of the faded lines in the gilding runs parallel to the keyboard – although it could have happened completely by accident.

So, to conclude, what does this painting tell us about the clavicimbalum? First, it confirms that it was known and used in the region. The painter must have seen one – and seen it played – to depict it so convincingly. It would not otherwise have been chosen for such a prominent position in this intimate space. Second, that clavicimbala were not standardized instruments: with or without Zwolle's treatise, builders created them in many shapes and sizes. I am sure, that the mechanisms also varied from place to place – from builder to builder. Just as today!

Notes

[1] Jourdain Dupeyrat, canon of Saint-Martin of Tours had made an agreement with Coppin Delft in 1482, commissioning the decoration of a chapel of the church. It is known that the painter was active and carried out works in Anjou and Touraine between 1456 and 1488, with extended stays in the Loire-Valley.

[2] Treatise of Henry Arnaut de Zwolle, explaining the construction of a clavicimbalum: MS Paris, BN, MS. Lat. 7295, c.1438-1446.

[3] An explanation of these transpositions with tension-tables can be found in Carl Rennoldson, *The Clavisimbalum from the Manuscript of Henri Arnaut de Zwolle, c.1440* (2013), pp.7-8, www.harpsi.com.

[4] A century later, when Praetorius refers back to the 'ancient' times and their keyboard instruments trying to fit with other solo instruments, he writes: *In the first place, it must be known that the pitch, both of organs and other musical instruments, varies greatly. Since the ancients were not accustomed to play in concerts with all kinds of [wind] instruments at the same time [.....] Hence when the organs, positives, clavicymbals, and other wind instruments do not stand in the same pitch with each other, the musician is much plagued* (Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Vol. II, 1619, p.14).

[5] Arnold Schlick, *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (1511), Chapter II.

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Formal portraits of British musicians before the Civil War

Francis Knights

Introduction

Formal portraits, both as a record of social status and as a archive of family history, were made first for monarchs and the aristocracy, but eventually found a role documenting religious, civic, academic and other worthies.[1] From about 1500 in Britain, half- or full-length portraits of bishops, mayors, doctors, lawyers, guildsmen and others adorned town halls, colleges, livery halls, the Inns of Court and bishops' palaces, providing a visual and documentary record of significant figures in the life of an institution. Individuals also began to commission portraits of themselves, sometimes at dated moments of importance in their lives, such as a graduation, and these begin to include those working in crafts such as music. The thirty years from about 1585 saw a fashion for professional musicians to take the Oxford or Cambridge BMus (a non-resident degree, awarded for successful completion of a compositional exercise), and the names of graduates included many composers still familiar today: Nathaniel Giles, John Bull, John Mundy, Thomas Morley, John Dowland, Giles Farnaby, Francis Pilkington, Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Tomkins, Richard Dering, Martin Peerson and John Amner (Oxford) and William Blitheman, Edward Johnson, Orlando Gibbons, Michael East, Thomas Ravenscroft and Robert Ramsey (Cambridge), some of whom also proceeded to the DMus.[2] Given that this period exactly coincided with the flourishing of music printing in England, it is surprising to realize that we only know what two of these – Bull and Gibbons – looked like. Many more paintings may once have existed, and it is instructive to look at surviving examples of such formal portraits to see what messages they may contain.[3] The group of works considered here are single-figure academic or formal portraits of musicians in Britain before the Civil War.

Formal portraiture

Early modern academic portraits – in the literal sense of painted portraits of scholars, rather than in the modern sense of portraits painted by Academicians – have been somewhat neglected by most art historians, as a class of works offering relatively little aesthetic or historical reward as actual paintings;[4] Byron's damning judgement on the Cambridge scholars of his period – 'Dull as the pictures, which adorn their halls' – seems to be widely shared:

> *The Sons of* Science *these, who, thus repaid,*
> *Linger in ease in Granta's sluggish shade;*
> *Where on Cam's sedgy banks, supine, they lie,*
> *Unknown, unhonour'd live—unwept for die:*
> *Dull as the pictures, which adorn their halls,*
> *They think all learning fix'd within their walls*[5]

By his time, there was a plague of stiff formal portraits of older men in dark clothing, academic 'worthies', a tradition that continued right into the 20th century. Clive Bell described the painters of the 18th century as, 'for the most part, upholsterers to the nobility and gentry … many are kept constantly busy delineating for the respect of future generations his lordship, or her ladyship's family'.[6] However restricted in content and quality (rarely painted by the leading artists of the day, and sometimes 'artisanal and vernacular')[7] as most 'university' paintings are, they still encapsulate a class of sitter who wished or consented to be memorialized, and show the ways in which academic dress was used to confer formal status, in paint as in life. Why these paintings were made, by whom, of whom and for whom, are interesting considerations for this category of works. Their survival, often within the original associated institution, also forms a remarkable continuous visual narrative of scholarship that was part of a historical record retrospectively validating the intellectual reputation of a 'community of scholars'. Even today, portrait displays of former students and Fellows in Cambridge and Oxford colleges continue such a tradition, with Milton juxtaposed with Darwin, or Wolsey with Gibbon.

The reasons for commissioning an academic portrait were similar to those of any gentleman or patron of the period. While unmarried scholars did not have the same precise justification as Titian, who Vasari reports in 1541 painted a self-portrait 'in order to leave behind some remembrance of himself to his sons',[8] such memorialization for an academic was also a way – as was publishing books or music – of leaving behind 'some remembrance of himself'. Without the certainty of perpetual family descendants to cherish a visual record of this kind, an institution itself could take on that role, in an environment that was actually safer and more permanent (in the sense of material custodianship) than ownership by family descendants. John Donne pointed out that there is also a reverse process, where a man's sons could also be considered a physical reproduction of himself: in his poem 'Elegy on the L[ord] C[hancellor]' he writes, 'His children are his pictures'.[9] The idea of a picture or image as a fixable memory is found elsewhere in the poetry of the period, as in the verse '*Of* Phillida' included in the pastoral collection *England's Helicon*: 'Ah *Phillida*, would God thy picture faire, I could as lightly blot out of my brest',[10] in Andrew Marvell's *The Gallery* or Sonnet 39 from Samuel Daniel's *Delia* of 1592: 'take this picture which I here present thee … This may remaine thy lasting monument, Which happily posteritie may cherrish. These colours with thy fading are not spent, These may remain when thou and I shal perrish. If they remaine, then thou shalt live thereby, They will remaine, and so thou canst not die'.

While the academic portrait conveyed both intellectual and social status, some of the Cambridge Puritans like Robert Browne (c.1550-1633) felt that the public display of such garb was a manifestation of worldly vanity, where preachers showed 'their university degrees, and how well they become their hoods, or their scarlet gowns, and what standing in Cambridge'.[11] Nevertheless, a growing tradition of portraits of scholars resonated with portraits of other high-status class persons, from royalty to senior clergy to civic worthies, with the very existence of such displayed works making some claim as to the importance of the sitter, as they still do.

Academic dress and clothing

Academic dress seems to have been less formalized before the 18th century,[12] and identification of precise degree or status from paintings is complicated by the fact that hoods

are rarely visible. In addition, dark gowns were common Tudor outerwear for men above a certain social status, rather than just academic dress: the *supertunica* itself was a 'loose, closed, ankle-length overtunic common to all graduates and undergraduates in medieval English universities';[13] one archival document from the 16th century picturesquely calls it a 'studiying frocke'.[14] The aim was partly uniformity: Michaelhouse, Cambridge (founded 1324) began with a Master and six Fellows, who were to have 'a common table and a uniform habit in so far as possible'; these statutes were the model for Corpus Christi (1352) where a 'common livery' was expected.[15] Abuses crept in, and Dr John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, wrote to Archbishop Laud in 1636 to inform him that 'others all that are undergraduates, wear the new fashioned gowns of any colour whatever, blue or green or red or mixed, without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves'.[16] During the Commonwealth, abolition of academic dress nearly occurred, in Oxford at least.[17] The state also took an interest in clothing being appropriate to social status, as in the (ineffective) sumptuary laws of the 1530s and 50s.[18]

Headwear also became regulated, with undergraduates permitted to have caps from 1549, and the 'square' (*pileus scholasticus*) cap allowed for senior members in 1570.[19] Hoods were to be worn by members of the universities at specific times and events (Canon 17, 1604): 'All masters and fellows of colleges or halls, and all the scholars and students in either of the universities, shall, in their churches and chapels, upon all Sundays, holydays, and their eves, at the time of Divine Service, wear surplices, according to the order of the Church of England: and such as are graduates shall agreeably wear with their surplices such hoods as do severally appertain unto their degrees'.[20] The intention of uniformity was loosening by the 17th century, and a 1635 manuscript relating to the Laudian Code at Oxford University lists no fewer than 18 categories of dress, from choristers up to 'The Nobilitie', grouped by academic status, university role and social standing.[21] This was satirized at the end of the 18th century by Trinity College student John Skinner:

> *Such nice distinctions one perceives*
> *In cuts of gowns, and hoods, and sleeves*
> *Marking degrees, or style, or station*
> *Of members free or on foundation ...*[22]

The painters

Although the great majority of early British portraits provide no artist's name,[23] general identification of those involved in the profession comes from a variety of other sources. Styles can be generic, which makes the assessment of works or groups of works by actual painters difficult.[24] Like many crafts, it was regulated (usually by a guild of some kind): in the Painter-Stainers' Company, 'Nobody was permitted to paint unless an apprenticeship of seven years with a painter had been served, except for "gentlemen" pursuing the art as "recreation or private pleasure": it is noteworthy that interest in painting as a pleasurable activity for amateurs had grown to the point where such an exception was necessary'.[25] The subject of 'painting' not only included figure representation on board or canvas, but heraldic imagery, signage and domestic decoration (such as musical instruments like the virginal). Painters might also supplement their work with other activities; in Essex between 1560-90, six of the eight painters leaving Wills also owned farmland. They may have been quite numerous, with perhaps ten in Tudor Chester (which had a population of around 6,000) alone.[26] From the City of London in the later 16th century, more than two hundred names are known.[27] However,

not many were rich: 'Of those artists who had their wills proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury - where the threshold for inclusion was an estate valued at the respectable amount of over five pounds - only 39 men describe themselves as "painters" or "painter-stainers" over the whole period 1500-1620. All but two of these were based in London and, judging from their names alone, several appear to have been foreign immigrants'.[28]

The Tudors generally preferred overseas talent, according to Sir Thomas Elyot (1531): 'englisshmen be inferiors to all other people, and be constrayned, if we wyll haue any thinge well paynted, kerued, or embrawdred, to abandone our owne countraymen and resorte unto straungers'.[29] Following from Henry VIII's patronage of artists like Hans Holbein the Younger (c.1497-1543), from the early part of the 17th century there was a significant influx of painters from Holland, including Paul van Somer (c.1576-1622), Daniel Mytens (c1590-1647) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641).[30] Local resentment naturally followed, and Henry Peacham noted in 1612 that 'I am sory that our courtiers and great personages must seeke farre and neere for some Dutchman or Italian to draw their pictures, and invent their devises, our Englishmen being held for *Vaunients*'.[31]

Edward Town has identified a number of early British artists who were either themselves graduates, or that can be categorized as 'university painters' in terms of their known activity in terms of location or payments, including graduate George Cottington (fl.1620)[32] and artists Brian Diamond (1587-1662), Richard Lyne (1542-1601) and Robert Peake (c.1551-1619);[33] all of these were London-based. The nature of such 'academic' work was as occasional individual commissions supplementary to their main roles; for example, Peake officially painted numerous royals, earning a substantial £13 6*s.* 8*d.*[34] for a full-length portrait of Charles I marking his visit to Cambridge University in 1613: the University proper was more likely to want such high-status hangings than those of mere scholars, who were nearly all resident in the colleges in any case.[35]

There was a continuous supply of academics who might wish to have their qualifications, appointments or promotions marked in paint, and the founding of nearly a dozen new Cambridge and Oxford colleges in the 16th century provided not only new offices for academics but created institutions who wanted to establish their own history quickly (sometimes even fictitiously backdating it to a predecessor institution).

Prices are rarely mentioned unless appearing in surviving royal or other accounts, but there appears to have been a range lying between the top professional court painters (as with Robert Peake, above) and those jobbing artists who also undertook other painted designs, such as pub signs. The fact that Thomas Whythorne (see below), not apparently a wealthy or particularly successful musician, was able to commission a series of paintings, suggests some of this work was relatively affordable.[36]

Symbolic (or real) objects sometimes feature in academic paintings, books being the most common (see William Heather, below); as these are usually shown closed, the binding rather than the content is visible, and (for pre-Reformation representations, at least) these might be assumed to be a religious text rather than a scholarly work. Objects common in the wider world were clocks, gloves or scrolls; while the presence of text (often in Latin) in university pictures could identify the status, office and date as well as the name of the sitter.[37] This form of institutional memorialization as a recorded material object is interesting, as it presupposes

that – unlike a family portrait – the identity of the sitter may well be lost in a few generations. In the early 17th century, Francis Little of Christ's Hospital recommended having such visual records of forebears, so 'that their memories may yet more lively remain and longer continue' (1627).[38] It is worth noting that some portraits were protected or hidden by shutters or curtains, meaning that they might have been made visible actively rather than passively, and possibly only to certain persons, or at certain times. Records of payments for repairs or 'refreshings' (for example, St John's College, Oxford in 1583-84) hints that some displayed works received hard usage at the hands of unruly students.[39]

The Oxford Music School collection

The Oxford collection, begun in the 1620s, includes three of the paintings below; it was for many years the only specific collection of images of musicians in Britain. At the Restoration funds were obtained to re-stock the Music School, and as well as instruments (organ, violins, theorbo), music (Balthazar, Brewer, Coprario, Jenkins, Lawes and both the Gibbons), music stands and other furniture, £10 was spent on paintings of musicians.[40] The collection of paintings was further augmented in the 1770s by Hayes, who 'Often went to London and purchased pictures'.[41] The pictures in the Music School collection, then at the Bodleian Library, were even part of the Victorian tourist trail, and the striking John Bull portrait below is specifically noted in 1871: 'There are several fine portraits on the walls of men who have made themselves eminent in the musical world, including that of Dr. John Bull, one of the reputed composers of the "National Anthem." This portrait is dated 1589'.[42]

Paintings of musicians

Thomas Whythorne

The Elizabethan musician and autobiographer Thomas Whythorne (1528-96) offers a specific case of idea of memorialization mentioned above, describing his commissioning of a number of portraits during his life as a kind of 'mirror of time', to see how he was aging. In this, he was following in the tradition of those who 'did cause their pictures or counterfeit to be painted from time to time to see how time doth alter them'; this was better than a mirror, which could not show the face 'as it was in time past'[43] or fix the image, and had a strong moral component for the self-viewer, 'that they may consider with themselves how they ought to alter their conditions, and to pray to God that. As they draw towards their long home and end in this world, so that they may be more ready to die in such sort as becometh true Christians'. The second of Whythorne's pictures (1550) was accompanied by four lines of poetry, explicitly to be read and decoded by his mistress; while the first (1549), of Whythorne playing the lute, was actually an interior lid painting in a virginals:[44] 'I caused in a pair of virginals to be painted my own counterfeit or picture', accompanied by verses that show his awareness, while still a very young man, of oncoming age. A recent illness may have sharpened his sense of mortality:

The pleasures that I take,
Now in my youthful years,
The same shall me forsake,
When hoary age appears.

Only one Whythorne painting survives, dating from 1569 when he was 41 (illus.1); this was very likely used as the basis for the 1571 and 1590 woodcut that accompanied his published composition collections (illus.2).[45] This is a further possible use of a portrait (here, done shortly before the issuing of his *Songes for Three, Fower, and Five voyces*, the only secular music published in England between 1530 and 1588): an accurate image that could be simplified, duplicated and shared through the medium of print. It is worth noting how unusual this was for English musicians: there are no contemporary images of Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Dowland, Weelkes or any of the other published English composers from before the Civil War; while Bull and Gibbons are at least known from surviving paintings (see below), author engravings of this kind were more common on the Continent. The smallish Whythorne painting (42 x 36 cm) was made by professional artist George Gower (1540–96), who had links with both court and university.

Whythorne appears to have matriculated when young at Magdalen College, Oxford, having been a chorister there, but left early and without a degree, possibly for financial reasons, so is represented as a sober high-collared gentleman,[46] not a graduate (note that the signifying coat of arms just visible in the painting on the left has been replaced by four in the corners of the woodcut). He is shown fashionably bearded; 'virtually all of the men depicted in portraits from the English Renaissance have beards'.[47]

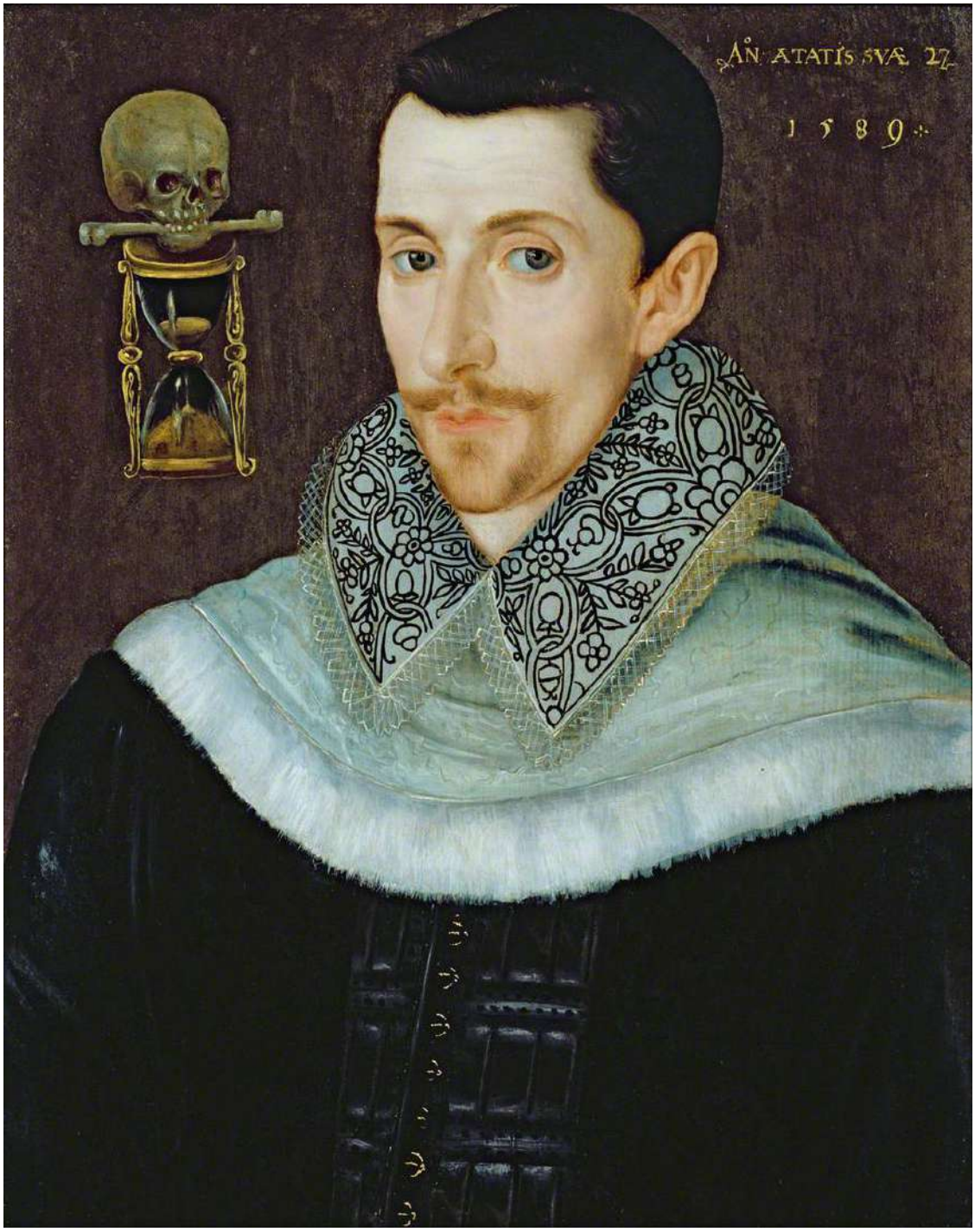
Illus.1 Thomas Whythorne (George Gower, 1569), oil on panel (Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library)

Illus.2 Thomas Whythorne, woodcut, Duos *(1590), Bassus partbook*

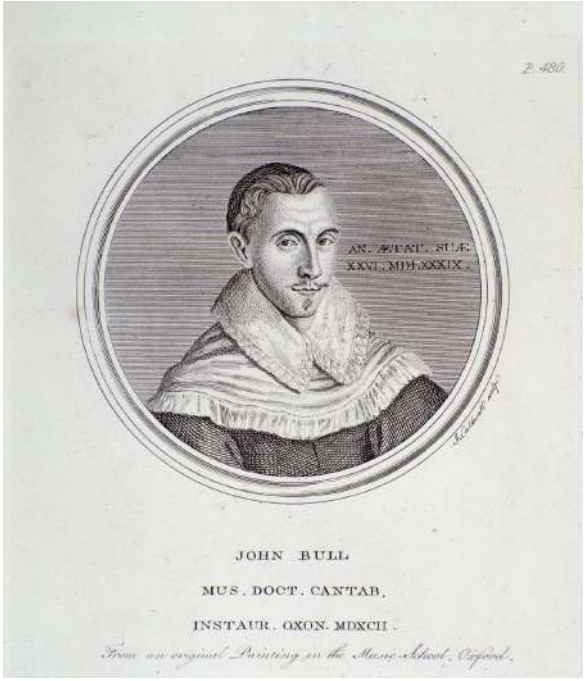
John Bull

John Bull (1562/3-1628) studied with John Blitheman, and was appointed Organist of Hereford Cathedral (where he had been a chorister), then became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. He took the BMus (1586) at Oxford and DMus at Cambridge (incorporated at Oxford in 1592),[48] and was Reader in Music at Gresham College in London from 1597. After a scandal he left Britain in 1613 and worked at the Brussels court alongside Peter Philips, then at Antwerp Cathedral.[49] This fine head-and-shoulders painting on board (illus.3) shows Bull in 1589, and has usually been assumed to represent him in his BMus robes.[50] However, this is uncertain, and it would make more sense that this shows Bull as a newly-minted DMus in 1589 (his graduation date has not survived in the Cambridge registers but could well have been that year),[51] rather than three years after his BMus. It has also been suggested that the robes are those of a Doctor of Physic[52] – there being no specific regulations for the DMus, dress of an equivalent status could be borrowed. Unfortunately there are no known Elizabethan representations of either the Oxford BMus or Cambridge Doctor of Physic to resolve the matter, but the latter seems more probable.[53] As well as the information about the sitter (date, age) and a vaunting couplet around the four sides of the frame (*The bull by force in field doth raigne: But Bull by skill good-will doth gayne*, not shown), a skull with a bone it its mouth sits on an hourglass, traditional iconographical reminders 'that life is short: skulls, hourglasses, corpses, snuffed candles and inscriptions instruct the viewer that "all is vanity"'.[54] The eyebrows and beard colour are red-brown while the hair is black – perhaps Bull dyed his hair

(not unknown for Elizabethan men, as the theory of the Humours included hair colour as a signifier).

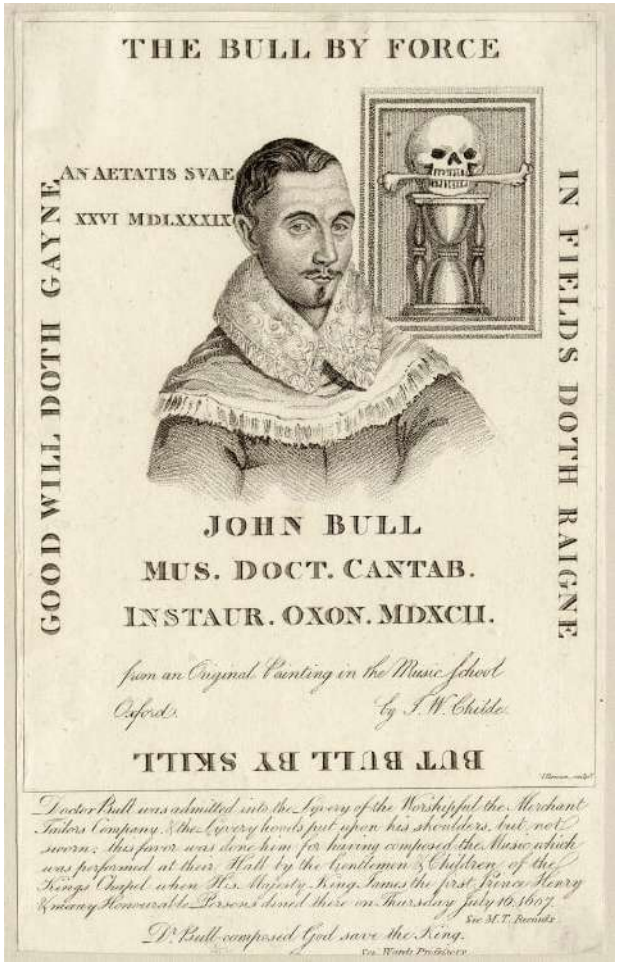


Illus.3 John Bull (unknown artist, 1589). Music Faculty, University of Oxford



Illus.4 James Caldwell (1739-1822)*, John Bull (1776)*

Later engravings of artworks have usually been ignored as simply derivative, but it is worth comparing them, especially when paintings they were derived from are no longer extant (see below). The James Caldwell etching from John Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music* (London, 1776) (illus.4) is closely based on the 1589 work ('From an original Painting in the Music School, Oxford'); Caldwell has followed the original quite well (note the distinctive shape of the ear, for example).[55] For convenience, a preliminary drawing that would have been made for the etching has represented the image as seen, meaning that it is printed reversed: Bull now looks to the right, not the left. Curiously, Roman numerals have replaced the original numbers, giving his age as 26 (the number on the painting has been interpreted as both 26 and 27, but looks more like the latter). A further small (8 x 5") stipple engraving by Thomas Illman (active 1812-1860) was published in 1822 (illus.5). This also faces right, exchanges the background iconography and text between the sides, adds in the couplet and a brief sketch about Bull. It attributes the drawing to the miniaturist James Warren Childe (1780–1862).



Illus.5 James Warren Childe (1780–1862), John Bull (1822)

Unknown man, possibly John Bull

A second oil-on-panel portrait (illus.6) has been associated with Bull: this was owned by W. H. Cummings, then by Thurston Dart, who bequeathed it to the National Portrait Gallery in 1971. It is now described 'Unknown man, formerly known as John Bull', and dated 'circa 1600-1620'. This is a much smaller work (36 x 26 cm) than the 1589 painting, and does bear a resemblance to the Bull in the authentic portrait. The sitter is holding a musical score (indicating he is a composer) with the text 'I saw her, I love her, and I will love her' – no work exists with this title, so it cannot be identified. A bow or baton in his right hand has been partially painted out. The National Portrait Gallery catalogue suggests the style is Dutch or Flemish, and wonders whether this is Bull painted in exile in the Netherlands after 1613. However, it could alternatively be pre-1613 and have been painted in England by an immigrant artist in that style. Flipping the painting and comparing the Bull and 'unknown' head side by side facing the same way (illus.7) confirms that there are considerable similarities – compare particularly the ear and nose; the later image could indeed be Bull some years after.

Illus.6 'Unknown man, formerly known as John Bull', National Portrait Gallery NPG 4873

Illus.7 The two 'Bull' paintings together (detail)

Orlando Gibbons

Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) was born into a family of musicians and studied at King's (BMus 1606, incorporated at Oxford the following year); he was appointed to the Chapel Royal as Gentleman then Organist, followed by an appointment to Westminster Abbey. He apparently graduated DMus at Oxford, and this portrait actually represents a conundrum:[56] his fellow Gentleman of the Chapel Royal William Heather (or Heyther) was awarded this degree on 17 May 1623, seemingly alongside Gibbons – a letter from the Vice-Chancellor the very next day states that the 'like honour' was granted to Gibbons as to Heather. However, Gibbons does not seem anywhere to be referred to as 'Dr Gibbons' thereafter, not in his publications, not in the Chapel Royal records or even (crucially) on his 1626 monument in Canterbury Cathedral. The painting would seem to confirm the award of the degree, but it is actually an (undated) later copy from a lost original.[57] Composer John Hingston (c.1606-1683) bequeathed a picture of his 'ever honoured Master Mr Orlando Gibbons' to the Music School in Oxford, which has been assumed as the lost original.[58] It is not recorded as being on display in a list from c.1720, so may never have reached there, or not been retained. The small copy (13 x 10", illus.8), which was apparently presented to the Music School by Dr Philip Hayes (1738-97), bears a label (probably 19th century) saying that it was made 'from the original in possession of Mr. Fussell'.[59]

Illus.8 Orlando Gibbons (unknown artist). Music Faculty, University of Oxford

There is an interesting comparison with the portrait of his son Christopher Gibbons, who is shown holding a roll of music (likely a composition of his own), the Orlando portrait (which Paul Vining suggests is reduced in size from the original)[60] does not show the hands, or any indication of the sitter's profession – the same is true of the Whythorne and Bull portraits, leading to the suspicion that the status being portrayed shows a preference for 'gentleman' or 'graduate' over 'musician'. The fact that William Byrd's will (1622)[61] does not even mention music hints that, even for the leading composer of his age, music could be a means to social advancement as well as an art.

The Gibbons robes are significant, as the painting appears to confirm the DMus award (as with Bull, there was no standard Oxford academic dress for this degree); the alternative and much less plausible suggestion has been that this is Chapel Royal livery. As William Hather (below), Christopher Gibbons (1615-76) and John Wilson (1595-1674) are all painted in the same robes, this must surely have been the accepted form of doctoral dress for the Oxford DMus at that time.

There is a further image of Gibbons, a bust made by the eminent and well-connected sculptor and architect Nicholas Stone (1586/7-1647), part of a very expensive (£32) monument erected in Canterbury Cathedral (where Gibbons had died of apoplexy – 'a lamentable rush of blood', according to the inscription - while part of the welcoming party for the bride of Charles I, Henrietta Maria) a year after his death, and paid for by his widow Elizabeth. As this is posthumous, its accuracy as a representation is uncertain, and this has been used as an explanation as to why the painting and the bust (illus.9) do not seem to be very alike.[62]

Illus.9 Orlando Gibbons monument (Nicholas Stone, 1626), detail. Canterbury Cathedral

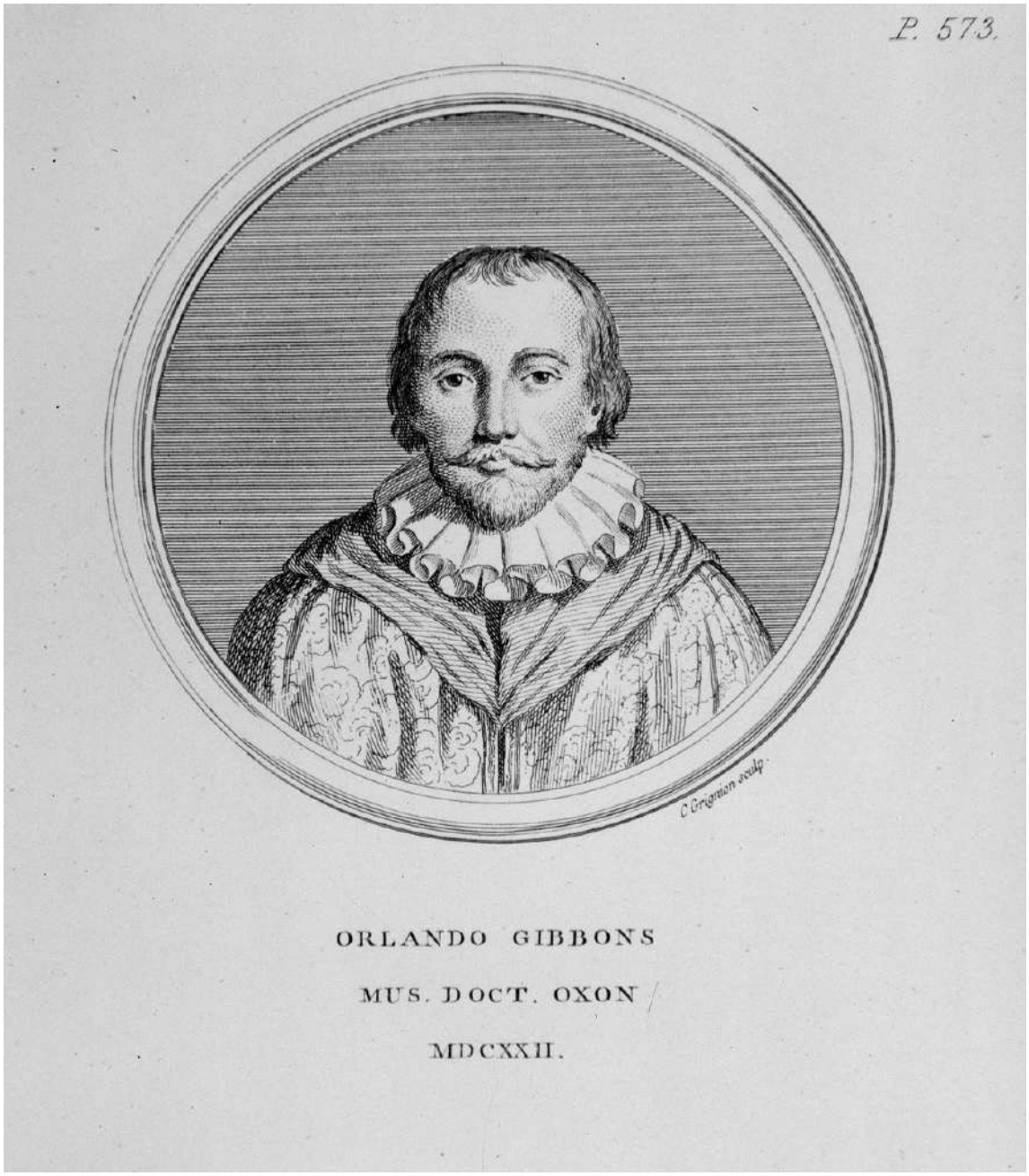
This bust has had a long reach: first, the monument was poorly engraved (possibly by James Cole) for John Dart's 1726 *The history and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury* (illus.10).[63] It was then the model for Gibbons used by Henry Hugh Armstead for George Gilbert Scott's 'Frieze of Parnassus' (169 eminent people from history) on the Albert Memorial in

Kensington (1872) (illus.11), and later for Arthur George Walker (1861–1939) in black marble for Westminster Abbey (1907) (illus.12).

Illus.10 Orlando Gibbons monument, from John Dart, The history and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury *(1726)*

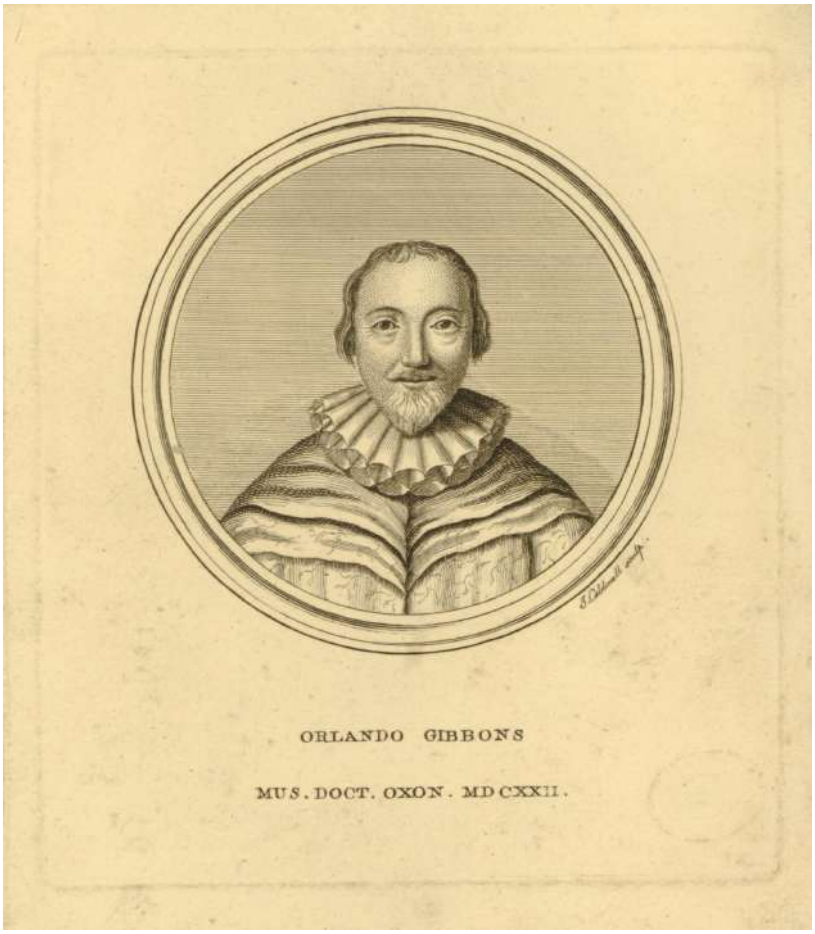
Illus.11 George Gilbert Scott, Orlando Gibbons*, from the 'Frieze of Parnassus' (1872). Albert Memorial, London*

Illus.12 Arthur George Walker (1861–1939), Orlando Gibbons *(1907). Westminster Abbey*



Illus.13 Charles Grignion*, Orlando Gibbons (1772)*

There are also etchings or engravings of Gibbons, but these are not of the Oxford portrait, and this is where matters become interesting.[64] First, there is a small (14 x 8 cm) version by Charles Grignion (1717-1810) from 1772, showing Gibbons facing forward and bare-headed (illus.13), which may have been the model for the James Caldwell engraving done for Hawkins in 1776 (illus.14). It is easy to imagine that they are both derived from a now-lost painting, perhaps the Hingston one.[65]



Illus.14 James Caldwell, Orlando Gibbons *(1776)*

The sixty-odd head-and-shoulders illustrations of composers and performers that Caldwell and Grignion provided for Hawkins cover many musicians from the 16th to the 18th centuries;[66] the choices of whom to include likely depended primarily on the availability of images, which would have included paintings and woodcut and engraved pictures accompanying printed music (many from Italy, for example), rather than the most important figures. No sources for any originals are given, with the exception of those from the Oxford Music School collection: John Bull, William Child, Christopher Gibbons, William Heyther, John Hilton, Nicholas Lanier, Matthew Locke, Bernard Smith and John Wilson. Caldwell evidently went to the Music School and made what images he could, or what Hawkins had instructed him to – but note that the Orlando Gibbons image was *not* from that collection. All the names listed are eminent composers of their day, plus the leading organ-builder Bernard Smith. The exception is William Heather (c.1563-1627), a singer and later Oxford donor.

William Heather

William Heather (or Heyther) was a professional musician (but not a composer) who sang at Westminster Abbey (1586-1615) and then at the Chapel Royal.[67] He was a close friend and sole executor of Westminster School headmaster and Clarenceux King at Arms William

Camden (1551-1623), and was to part-benefit for 99 years from the profits of the manor of Bexley, which Camden had donated to Oxford University to fund a new chair in history.[68] Heather in turn donated an annual sum to support a chair in music and for practical music support,[69] as well as 'an Harpsycon, Chest of Viols, divers Music books, both printed and written'.[70] Another list shows the instruments to have been 'A Harpsichord with a winde instrument of two stops' (that is, a claviorganum) and ten viols.[71] There is an early manuscript 'catalogue of so many setts of bookes as were given by Mr. Doctor Heather to the Universitie of Oxford, at the tyme of his first founding the practise of musick there' at MS. Mus. Sch. C. 103*(R).[72]

Illus.15 William Heather (c.1622)

The large half-length (128 x 91 cm, illus.15) painting of Heather in his DMus robes was presumably done either at the time of his Oxford graduation, or in preparation of the donation process; it formed part of the donation, and is recorded in the documents as 'Dr. Heathers Picture'. His generosity was not forgotten, and the 300th anniversary of the Heather Professor foundation was marked by a Heather Festival in Oxford.[73] He is holding a copy of *Musica Transalpina*, a collection of English versions of Italian madrigals published some 35 years previously; a curious choice.

The 1776 Caldwell engraving (or possibly the 'Heather' painting itself) was reinterpreted as a small (6 x 4") lithograph by Jérémie Graf (active 1837-42) in about 1840 (illus.16).

Illus.16 Details of the painting (reversed) and engravings of William Heather by Anon, Caldwell and Graf

The 'Gibbons' portrait problem remains unresolvable. There are now two different surviving representations (the current Oxford portrait and the monument bust), neither of which is certain to present the composer completely accurately, but three further lost variants can be identified: the 'Hingston' portrait; the 'Fussell' portrait; and the model for the Caldwell/Grignion engravings. Some of these could have been the same work, although the current Oxford Fussell-copy portrait cannot have been a copy of the face-forward Caldwell/Grignion original. Given the similarity of the Heather and Gibbons paintings now in the Oxford collection, it is always possible that the latter is in fact an inferior later concoction designed to fill a gap in the list of worthies, and was actually based on the Heather painting, or – as the sitter is facing left – the Caldwell Heather engraving:[74] compare illus.17, with just the faces shown, looking left. This would leave the posthumous bust (not certain as true-to-life) and possibly the Caldwell/Grignion pair as the most authentic representations of Gibbons that survive, now discounting the Oxford portrait – widely reproduced on record covers over the years – as too uncertain for consideration. Such suspicions are by no means new: engraver George Vertue described one portrait as 'supposed to be Orlando Gibbons' as long ago as the early 1730s.[75]

Illus.17 William Heather and Orlando Gibbons (detail)

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Christina Faraday and Alex Kerr for a number of important suggestions and citations.

Notes

[1] See Robert Tittler, *The face of the city* (Manchester, 2007) and Christina J. Faraday, *The Story of Tudor Art. A History of Tudor England Through its Art and Objects* (London, 2025).

[2] C. F. Abdy Williams, *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge, with a Chronological List of Graduates in That Faculty from the Year 1463* (London and New York, [1894]).

[3] There are a number of additional drawings or informal-pose paintings, of John Blanke, Daniel Bacheler, Thomas Campion, Nicholas Lanier and others, but these are from different traditions and will be considered elsewhere; there are also a number from around the time of the Civil War itself. For musician portraits, see Arnaldo Morelli and Nicolaas Waanders, 'Portraits of Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy: A Specific Typology', *Music in Art*, xxvi/1-2 (Spring-Fall 2001), pp.47-57.

[4] There is an extensive literature on portrait painting before the Civil War, most of which concentrates on high-status art; see, for example, Tarnya Cooper and Antonia Fraser, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London, 2008), Charlotte Bolland, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (London, 2019), Roy Strong, *The Elizabethan image: an introduction to English portraiture, 1558 to 1603* (New Haven, 2019) and Elizabeth Cleland and Adam Eaker, *The Tudors: Art and Majesty in Renaissance England* (New York, 2022). For work on the non-aristocratic orders, see particularly Tittler (2007) and Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven, 2012).

[5] From 'Thoughts Suggested by a College Examination', in George Byron, *Fugitive Pieces* ([London], 1806).

[6] Clive Bell, *Art* (London, 1914), p.64.

[7] Tittler (2007), p.116.

[8] Giorgio Vasari, trans Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, *The Lives of the Artists* (Oxford, 1991), p.500.

[9] John Donne, ed A. J. Smith, *The Complete English Poems* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p.247. Donne also wrote a poem called 'His Picture' (pp.100-101).

[10] Hugh Macdonald (ed), *England's Helicon* (London, 2/1962), p.158

[11] Robert Browne, *Treatise on Mathew*, in Albert Peel and Leland Carson (eds), *Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne* (London, 1953), p.173, cited in H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1958), p.245.

[12] The Elizabethan statutes of the University of Cambridge were in force from 1570 for about 300 years; they were drawn up in Latin by William Cecil, Matthew Parker and John Whitgift in September 1570. See *Letters patent of 12 Elizabeth I dispatching a new code of laws or statutes to the University of Cambridge*, University Library, MS UA Luard 187; modern edition at *Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (London, 1852), i, pp.454-496, discussed in Victor Morgan, *A history of the University of Cambridge. Volume II 1546-1750* (Cambridge, 2004) pp.63-98.

[13] Alex Kerr, 'Gowns Worn by MAs in Early-Seventeenth-Century England and the Curious Case of Thomas Thornton's Sleeves', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, xii (2012), pp.72-85 at 75.

[14] James G. Clark, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History* (New Haven and London, 2021), p.94.

[15] Damian Riehl Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Volume 1, The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.83 and 87.

[16] Newman, Brian, 'The Evolution of Undergraduate Academic Dress at the University of Cambridge and its Constituent Colleges', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, xx (2020), pp.67–93 at 71.

[17] William Gibson '"The remembrance whereof is pleasant": A Note on Walter Pope's Role in the Attempt to Abolish Academic Dress during the Commonwealth', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, x, Article 3 (2010), pp.43-46.

[18] Noel Cox, 'Tudor Sumptuary Laws and Academical Dress: An Act against Wearing of Costly Apparel 1509 and An Act For Reformation of Excess in Apparel 1533', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, vi (2006), pp.15-43 and 'An Act to Avoid the Excess in Apparel 1554-5', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, xiii (2013), pp.39-44.

[19] David Baldwin, '"Having Dignities…": Academic Attire as a Component of the Livery of the Chapel Royal', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, vii (2007), pp.106-141 at 115-116.

[20] Cited in Nicholas Groves, 'The Use of the Academic Hood in Quire', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, viii (2008), pp.98-105 at 101.

[21] Alex Kerr, '"Different Forms of Gowns for All Sorts of Scholars in their Several Ranks": Academic Undress at Oxford in 1635', *Transactions of the Burgon Society*, xx (2020), pp.14–50.

[22] John Skinner (attrib), 'Letters from Oxford', cited in Lilian M. Quiller Couch, *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men 1559-1850* (Oxford, 1892), pp.183-201 at 184.

[23] See Tittler (2007), Appendix A, for a list of named painters.

[24] For the background, see Tittler (2007), Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven, 2012) and Charlotte Bolland, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (London, 2019).

[25] Jo Kirby, 'The Painter's Trade in the Seventeenth Century: Theory and Practice', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, xx, Painting in Antwerp and London: Rubens and Van Dyck (1999), pp.5-49 at 8.

[26] Ruth Goodman, *How to be a Tudor* (London, 2015), pp.163-164. See also Robert Tittler, 'Regional portraiture and the heraldic connection in Tudor and early Stuart England', *The British Art Journal*, x/1 (Spring/Summer 2009), pp.3-10.

[27] Tarnya Cooper, 'Making art in Tudor Britain: New research on paintings in the National Portrait Gallery', *The British Art Journal*, ix/3 (Spring 2009), pp.3-11 at 6.

[28] Cooper (2009), p.6. See also Robert Tittler, *Painting for a Living in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge, 2022).

[29] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named The Governour* (London, 1531), XIV.

[30] See Edward Town, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters, 1547–1625', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, lxxvi (2014), pp.1-235.

[31] Henry Peacham, *Graphice* (London, 1612), cited in Kirby (1999), p.6; 'Vaunients' are 'worthless persons'. See also Karen Hearn, 'Insiders or outsiders? Foreign-born artists at the Jacobean court', in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds), *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland, and colonial America, 1550–1750* (Brighton, 2001).

[32] Town (2014), pp.58-59; see also Robert Tittler, 'George Cottington and the Dering Family Portraits of 1626', *Burlington Magazine*, cli (2009), pp.208-211.

[33] Town (2014), pp.73, 135-136 and 152-153.

[34] This unusual sum was the equivalent of 20 marks, a standard medieval coin of account.

[35] For official images, a monarch might exert control over representations, as when Elizabeth I in 1563 required approval of finished works to be used as pattern pictures; those causing her 'great offense' could be burned. Elizabeth W. Pomeroy, *Reading the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Hamden, CT, 1989), p.17.

[36] See Tittler (2007), Appendix B, where prices of £3-5 seem usual.

[37] Tittler (2007), pp.124-134 and 136; for timepieces as symbols, see Christina J. Faraday, 'Tudor Time Machines: Clocks and Watches in English Portraits c.1530-c.1630', *Renaissance Studies*, xxiii, Article 2 (2018), p.244.

[38] Francis Little, ed C. D. Cobham, '*A Monument of Christian Munificence'; or, an account of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross, and of the Hospital of Christ, in Abingdon* [1627] (Oxford and London, 1871), pp.94-95.

[39] Tittler (2007), pp.153-154.

[40] Abdy Williams (1894), p.48, and Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', Music & Letters, xlviii/1 (1967), pp.23-33 at 27-28. See also Wyn K. Ford, 'The Oxford Music School in the late 17th century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xvii/2 (Summer, 1964), pp.198-203; the art is not mentioned except as '15 pieces of Painting' in the manuscript catalogues (c.1720).

[41] Cited in John S. Bumpus, *A History of English Cathedral Music 1549-1889* (London, [1909]), pp.294-295. See also Rachel Poole, 'The Oxford Music School and the Collection of Portraits formerly preserved there', *The Musical Antiquary*, iv (1912-13), pp.143-159; a donation date of 1770 is Poole's estimation, but some time after 1777 (when Hayes became Professor of Music at Oxford) seems more likely.

[42] *Shrimpton's Easy Guide to Oxford* (Oxford, r/1871), pp.25-26.

[43] James M. Osborn (ed), *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (London, 1962), pp.115-116. For Whythorne, see also Katie Nelson, 'Love in the music room: Thomas Whythorne and the private affairs of Tudor music tutors', *Early Music*, xl/1 (February 2012), pp.15-26.

[44] No attributed English virginals from the 16th century survive, although the names of numerous keyboard instrument makers are known; see Francis Knights, 'A Register of British keyboard makers, composers, copyists and players, c.660-1630', *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, vii/2 (Autumn 2023), pp.25-108.

[45] This was formerly owned by Winifred L. Hill, and sold at Christie's on 19 November 1965.

[46] In his 1590 *Duos, or Songs for two voices* he describes himself as 'Thomas Whythorne Gent'.

[47] Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, liv/1 (Spring 2001), pp.155-187 at 158.

[48] Abdy Williams (1894), p.71.

[49] For Bull, see Walker Cunningham, *The Keyboard Music of John Bull* (Ann Arbor, 1984), Pieter Dirksen, 'Towards a canon of the keyboard music of John Bull', in David J. Smith (ed), *Aspects of Early English Keyboard Music before c.1630* (Abingdon, 2019), pp.184-206 and Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'Dr Bull and a motet in 80 parts', *The Consort*, lxxviii (2022), pp.94-108.

[50] For example, Baldwin (2007), pp.120-121.

[51] He presumably had to incoporate his Oxford BMus at Cambridge first in order to proceed to the DMus; it is not known whether simultaneous awards (as could happen in the 18th century) were then possible.

[52] Alastair McAllister, *Snippets about John Bull* (n.p., 2012), p.24.

[53] The 1822 engraving (see below) claims the dress is a Livery hood from the Merchant Taylors' company. William N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress* (Oxford, 1963), pp.119-120 and 126 notes that academical dress for Bachelors and Doctors of Music was neither clearly defined nor regularized this early on.

[54] Faraday (2018), p.248

[55] For a study of the Hawkins illustrations, see Bryan Au Yeung, 'The sources of the portraits in Hawkins' *A general history*' (forthcoming).

[56] John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons Family of Musicians* (London, 1999), pp.64-66.

[57] The painting, which is of modest artistic quality, needs forensic investigation to establish its likely date and see whether there was any later restoration or overpainting.

[58] Harley (1999), pp.287-288; Paul Vining, 'Orlando Gibbons: the portraits', *Music & Letters*, lviii (1977), pp.415-429.

[59] Peter Fussell was organist of Winchester Cathedral (1774-1802); Vining spends many pages trying to conjecture a possible transmission link between the creation of the original painting and Fussell's ownership some 150 years later. Blacker and Pinto assert that the Gibbons copy was made for Hayes; C. V. R. Blacker and David Pinto, 'Desperately Seeking William: Portraits of the Lawes Brothers in Context', *Early Music*, xxxvii/2 (May 2009), pp.157-174 at 161.

[60] Vining (1977).

[61] Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1999), pp.391-394.

[62] The monument is high up on the wall, and therefore hard to photograph; Vining (1977), pp.416-417 usefully provides close-up face and side images made at eye level.

[63] John Dart, *The history and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury, and the once adjoining monastery: containing an account of the first establishment, A survey of the present church and cloysters, the lives of the Archbishops, An appendix of ancient charters and writings 1726* (London, 1726), p.51.

[64] For a systematically sceptical perspective, see Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'Attributions in early music: a checklist for editors', *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, v/2 (Autumn 2021), pp.56-67.

[65] Vining (1977), p.418 proposes they were made from the monument bust, but details such as the figuring in the silk suggests a painted model.

[66] This was not the first such attempt at recording composer likenesses in England; some 60 'heads … almost finish'd' were apparently ready by April 1729 for Nicola Francesco Haym's lost *A General History of Musick*; Blacker and Pinto, (2009), p.157.

[67] Jack Westrup, rev Penelope Gouk, 'Heyther [Heather], William', *Oxford Music Online.*

[68] See William H. Allison, 'The First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent', *The American Historical Review*, xxvii/4 (July 1922), pp.733-737.

[69] David Mateer, 'Heather, William (c.1563–1627)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008).

[70] Nan Cooke Carpenter, 'The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Renaissance (1450-1600)', *The Musical Quarterly*, xli/2 (April 1955), pp.191-214 at 194-195.

[71] Crum (1967), p.26.

[72] See Crum (1967).

[73] Frank Howes, 'The Heather Festival at Oxford', *The Musical Times*, lxvii/1000 (1 June 1926), pp.537-541.

[74] Note that Heather was two decades older than Gibbons, but they look about the same age in the Oxford paintings.

[75] Cited in Blacker and Pinto (2009), p.168. It is possible the Oxford painting is not Gibbons at all; the other possible Oxford DMus holders from between the 1580s and 1620s are Robert Stevenson (1596), Nathaniel Giles (1622), John Mundy (1624) and Matthew White (1629), for none of whom any visual material survives to make a comparison.

The settlement patterns of immigrant harpsichord and pianoforte makers in London in the mid- to late-18th century

Daniel Mulryne

London in the latter half of the 18th century was a rapidly expanding metropolis, both in terms of population, which rose from 675,000 in 1750 to 900,000 in 1800, and its geographical extent.[1] Much of this population growth occurred due to immigrants settling from elsewhere in Britain and abroad, with an estimated net figure of 8,000 arrivals per annum by the 1750s.[2] The increasingly crowded nature of the City saw the migration of London's wealthier citizens out to the calmer, newly-developed West End, creating a more distinct and fashionable aristocratic quarter.[3] It is within the context of these demographic shifts that the transition from the harpsichord to the pianoforte as the dominant keyboard instrument in London by the end of the 18th century took place. The pianoforte, whilst a pre-existing invention attributed to Italian instrument maker Bartolomeo Cristofori which dates back to the 1700s, only saw commercial development and production in London from the mid-1760s, joining alongside the well-established harpsichord making trade.[4] However, with its softer tone and its ability to produce a wide range of dynamics due to the incorporation of the hammer action[5], the pianoforte matched the harpsichord's rate of production by the 1780s and soon overtook it, becoming a fashionable instrument both for the concert halls of professional composers and musicians, and for the drawing-rooms of elite and prosperous middle-class families.

Immigrant craftsmen, largely of German or Flemish descent, were central to this development, both as harpsichord and pianoforte makers. The arrival of craftsmen from the continent had been ongoing for several centuries: waves of refugees from the Low Countries and French Huguenots had arrived in London during the 16th and 17th centuries, settling in the city due to its transport connections, cosmopolitanism, stability and economic prosperity.[6] Furthermore, as F. Anne Jarvis has noted regarding the arrival of German musicians during this time, the encouragement and patronage of the Hanoverian kings towards the arts created attractive opportunities and positions.[7] Existing studies have highlighted similar reasons for why London was such an attractive hub for craftsmen involved specifically in the development of the pianoforte and harpsichord, namely focusing on its relative peace, with the Seven Years War of 1756 to 1763 destroying opportunities for stable trade on the continent, and the wealth and freedom its trading system provided.[8] The associations between these different makers have been touched upon through the lens of individuals by historians such as Eva Badura-Skoda, who notes the role of Burkat Shudi in welcoming fellow German-speaking immigrants to the city, and Charles Mould and Peter Mole, who highlight the fact that Jacob Kirkman had many neighbours within the music trade close to his Great Pulteney Street and Broad Street premises, including several family members.[9] However, a comprehensive study of the settlement patterns of these makers remains lacking, especially regarding how this complemented the development of the harpsichord and pianoforte trades, in terms of their innovation and evolving rates of production.

This article will therefore take a spatial perspective to understand the community that was established amongst immigrant craftsmen and how this impacted the development of the harpsichord and pianoforte making trades in London (Table 1). By tracing the chronology of both trades from the 1750s to the 1800s, it is possible to understand the settlement patterns of both immigrant and domestic makers, the dominance of immigrant craftsmen during this period, and their contributions to the quality and innovation of both instruments. I will make use of contemporary maps overlayed with the address data of selected makers, oftentimes from trade directories, to visually comprehend these patterns, whilst incorporating other relevant primary sources to enhance my arguments. When analysing the addresses of harpsichord and pianoforte makers, it is important to note that nearly all of them lived and worked at the same address or at neighbouring properties, perhaps using the ground floor or a shed in the garden as a workshop, and the upper floors for accommodation; it was only at the turn of the 19th century that factory-style production and a separation of living and workshop premises became increasingly common.[10]

Name of maker	Place of origin	Years active in London	Surviving instruments
Burkat Shudi	Switzerland	1718-73	50 harpsichords (including 28 with John Broadwood)
Joseph Mahoon	England	1729-73	19 harpsichords
Jacob Kirkman	Alsace	1730s-92	85 harpsichords and 7 spinets by Jacob alone; 68 harpsichords, 8 square pianos by Jacob and Abraham Kirkman
Roger Plenius	Netherlands	1736-74	0
Baker Harris	England	1752-83	3 harpsichords, 24 spinets
Frederick Neubauer	Germany	1754-74	0
John Zumpe	Germany	1760-84	66 square pianos (including 44 with Buntebart and 2 with Meyer)
Frederick Beck	Germany	1760-99	33 square pianos
John Broadwood	Scotland	1761-1812	31 harpsichords (including 28 with Shudi), 102 square, 103 grand and 13 upright pianos
Americus Backers	Netherlands/Germany	1763-78	1 harpsichord, 2 grand pianos
John Pohlman	Germany	1767-93	39 square pianos
Longman and Broderip*	English	1767-98	139 pianos (including 12 grand and 125 square) - *largely acted as distributors
Gabriel Buntebart	Germany	1769-95	69 square pianos (including 44 with Zumpe and 18 with Buntebart)
Adam Beyer	Germany	1770-98	59 square pianos
John Craig Hancock	England	1771-94	2 square pianos, 5 grand pianos, 1 spinet
Joseph Merlin	Belgium	1773-1800	2 harpsichord-pianos, 1 grand and 3 square pianos
Robert Stodart	Scotland	1775-96	1 combined harpsichord-piano, 9 grand pianos
Christopher Sievers	Germany	1778-93	18 square pianos with Buntebart
John Geib	Germany	1779-97	1 square piano (though supplied several for Longman and Broderip)
Humphery Walton	Unknown (likely England)	1780s	0
John Landreth	Unknown (likely England)	1780s	0
William Southwell	Ireland	1794-1821	18 pianos (including 12 square)
Muzio Clementi*	Italy	1798-1832	304 pianos - *largely acted as distributor
William Edwards	Unknown (likely England)	1803-25	8 square pianos, 1 upright piano

Table 1 Selected harpsichord and pianoforte makers active in London in the mid- to late-18th century (data from Boalch-Mould Online, and Early Pianos Online)

The harpsichord making trade in London was firmly established by the mid-18th century, with the beginnings of widespread commercial production stretching back well into the seventeenth century. The two leading figures in the 1750s and 60s were both immigrant craftsmen, namely Burkat Shudi and Jacob Kirkman, who enjoyed royal patronage of the Prince of Wales and Queen Charlotte respectively. Many domestic makers were also active during this period, with some experiencing considerable success and popularity. Joseph Mahoon is the prime example of this, being harpsichord maker to George II from 1729, and having one of his harpsichords featured in Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* as belonging to the Rake himself (illus.1), indicating that he was a well-known maker of high-end instruments for an elite clientele.[11] Nonetheless, Shudi and Kirkman were set apart from other makers thanks to both the quality of their instruments and their high production rates – Frank Hubbard notes that Shudi's workshop was making around fifteen instruments a year from 1750 to 1769, whilst Kirkman's production rates were roughly

double that, with almost all of them being exclusively harpsichords.[12] As such, this forced most of the less successful makers of the time, both domestic and immigrant, to 'devote themselves mainly to spinets', which were smaller and more affordable versions of the harpsichord.

The design of the harpsichord remained relatively static during this period as quality was most highly prized by consumers who looked to possess instruments of a similar calibre to those made for members of the royal family. Functional additions, such as the machine stop mechanism, were present on mid-century harpsichords, though they did not radically alter the variety of instruments that makers produced: Hubbard highlights that Kirkman (illus.2) and Shudi's workshops consistently produced three models throughout this period.[13] Interestingly, those who attempted major changes to the design of the harpsichord were of Flemish and German origin, namely and Roger Plenius and Frederick Neubauer. Indeed, the former took out a patent in 1745 for the lyrichord, a type of gut-string harpsichord, which he had been developing with the help of his sons.[14]

Illus 1 William Hogarth, 'A Rake's Progress', Plate 2

Despite this, build quality remained most customers' chief concern: a letter written by George Washington in 1761 from his home in Mount Vernon, USA, to his agent in

London, John Didsbury, includes a request for a 'Very good Spinit, to be made by Mr. Plinius [sic]' for his stepdaughter Martha.[15] Interestingly, Plenius is thought to have been one of the earliest makers to manufacture (or at least stock) a 'pianoforte' instrument, as evidenced by an advertisement regarding the sale of his stock after being declared bankrupt in 1756.[16] Similarly, Neubauer is listed in Thomas Mortimer's 1763 *Universal Directory* as 'maker… of Piano Fortes' amongst various other keyboard instruments.[17] However, it is uncertain whether these were pianofortes in the Italian-derived style, like those of Plenius's workshop, 'or of the cruder Pantelong type previously advertised in Hamburg: hammer-action instruments probably not fitted with individual dampers'.[18] Regardless, the lack of sustained production and the survival of these early British pianofortes highlights the fact that forays into pianoforte making during the 1750s and early 1760s were sparse and made little mark on the wider keyboard instrument making trade.

Illus.2 Kirkman harpsichord, built in 1756 (reproduced from https://www.finchcocks.co.uk/Richard-Burnett-Collection/file/kirckman.php)

The spatial patterns of settlement amongst makers at this time provide a sense of what the harpsichord trade was like in the mid-18th century. Generally, makers operated separately from one another, serving a remarkably broad array of the population due to the disparities in price between the cheapest spinets and the most expensive harpsichords. As the accounts of Dublin keyboard instrument maker Ferdinand Weber show, spinets could be purchased for roughly £10, whilst harpsichords could range in price from around £25 for those of lesser makers, to somewhere between £50 and £100 for those made by Shudi and Kirkman.[19] Therefore, it made sense for Shudi, Kirkman and Mahoon to be clustered together in the area between Soho and Golden Squares, close to westernmost developments where much of the aristocratic population who would purchase their high-end instruments had relocated, whilst continuing to pay affordable rates for their premises. Indeed, Mould and Mole note that the area surrounding Kirkman's premises must have been 'unattractive' due to the nearby presence of breweries, a Poor House and a Workhouse, thus ensuing rent was modest.[20] Meanwhile, other makers further east served the middling sorts in those areas with large enough disposable income and aspirations of presenting themselves as prosperous families, such that they might purchase a more inexpensive, compact keyboard instrument for their homes. The map also provides an insight into the existing associations between certain makers, especially immigrants, who were present. Frederick Neubauer, for example, likely worked for Kirkman upon his arrival in London in 1756, before establishing his own workshop in the early 1760s on nearby Compton Street.[21] Furthermore, the connection between the two was strengthened by the marriage of Neubauer's daughter Charlotte to Kirkman's son Abraham in August 1758.[22] However, this was largely an exception to the overall trend at this stage of makers operating independently outside of associations through apprenticeship or employment of additional workmen.

However, the 1760s saw a rapid increase in the arrival of immigrant craftsmen, largely from German-speaking lands on the continent which had been ravaged by fighting during the Seven Years War (1756-63), which began to alter this trend of individualistic business pursuits. Certainly, it appears that once one or two makers had already made the move to London and found a city not only enjoying relative peace from the fighting on the continent, but also a city where commercial prospects were favourable for craftsmen such as themselves, many more soon decided to join this ever-increasing German-speaking community. This desire was likely stronger for those who were not yet settled through marriage in their homeland. With the German-speaking harpsichord makers Shudi, Kirkman and Neubauer already living within a relatively short distance of one another, this area quickly became a hub for several other German-speaking craftsmen hoping to become successful within the harpsichord making trade (illus.3). The area was also home to trades such as furniture making where similar craft skills could be applied, allowing these craftsmen alternative employment options if they were unable to establish themselves within the harpsichord making trade.

Illus.3 1763 map of London overlayed with locations of harpsichord makers' workshops, according to Thomas Mortimer's Universal Directory *(1763), alongside other selected makers and composers, and the five most popular indoor concert venues of the 1760s*

This period also saw the arrival of German-born composer Johann Christian Bach, a major figure within the London music scene of the 1760s alongside his fellow countryman and musical partner Karl Friedrich Abel and a prominent early influence behind the development of the pianoforte as a popular instrument to rival the harpsichord. He moved to London in 1762, prompted by an invitation to compose two works for the King's Theatre, and settled in the West End due to it being home to many of the city's most popular concert venues, remaining a constant figure in the area following his appointment as Music Master to the Queen at Buckingham House in 1764.[23] Bach, having previously been a composer of opera in Italy, was a major proponent of new musical styles which emphasised rapid changes of mood and dynamic contrast such as *Empfindsamer Stil* (predominantly associated with his older half-brother, C. P. E. Bach) and Sturm und Drang.[24] Charles Terry also notes that, unlike his father and half-brother, 'Bach declared a preference for the pianoforte over the harpsichord', likely due to its improved dynamic capabilities which could cater for such heightened expression.[25] Thus, Bach's proximity to several of the most successful harpsichord makers, many of whom were similarly German-speaking, likely explains why 'all the harpsichord makers tried their mechanical powers at piano-fortes', as musicologist Charles Burney wrote in the entry for the 'harpsichord' in Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia*.[26]

The notable increase in expressive keyboard instruments being produced following Bach's arrival was visible predominantly amongst the expanding community of immigrant craftsmen in the West End, despite Burney's all-encompassing statement. Michael Cole mentions Neubauer and Americus Backers as two such makers, though several others are likely to have experimented with producing large pianofortes between 1763 and 1766, perhaps hoping for Bach to promote their creations.[27] However, as Burney went on to note in his *Cyclopaedia* entry, it was the relatively minor maker John Zumpe (illus.4), whose 'small piano-fortes of the shape and size of the virginal… suddenly grew into such favour, that there was scarcely a house in the kingdom where a keyed-instrument had ever had admission, but was supplied with one of [his] piano-fortes'.[28] These instruments were known as 'square pianos', and were of a highly innovative design which Cole notes would have been appealing to ladies, as they were much more compact and portable than the experimental large pianofortes.[29] Their price was also relatively affordable, costing around £20, equivalent to the price of a lower-end harpsichord. Bach certainly played a vital role in promoting and popularizing the instrument, showing off its capabilities in the first public recital where a pianoforte was played as a solo instrument in June 1768 at the Thatched House Tavern on St James's Street, and actively arranging many sales of Zumpe's pianofortes.[30] Indeed, innovatively-designed pianofortes were becoming desirable products for both makers and consumers towards the end of the 1760s, a rapid change from the relatively staid, quality-driven harpsichord-making trade as it had been even at the start of the decade.

However, the harpsichord similarly began to see adaptations to its design in the late 1760s amongst the major makers. Kirkman and Backers are thought to have fitted a lid swell capable of dynamic variety to their harpsichords as early as 1766, whilst Shudi improved on the design to create the 'Venetian swell' mechanism, for which he took out a patent in 1769 (the first patent relating to the harpsichord since 1745).[31] Warwick Cole is adamant that these developments were solely a 'direct response to the changing styles of music

during the period', dismissing the notion that they could have emerged in response to the popularity of the pianoforte.[32] I would argue that due to the proximity of Shudi and Kirkman to figures such as Zumpe, and with Backers trying his hand at both harpsichords and pianofortes, the concurrent development of the pianoforte (which was markedly more capable of dynamic variation) would have prompted these makers to pursue such developments at that point. Whilst the overwhelming popularity of the pianoforte was not yet evident, its potential capabilities certainly were, especially to those within the musical hub of London's West End.

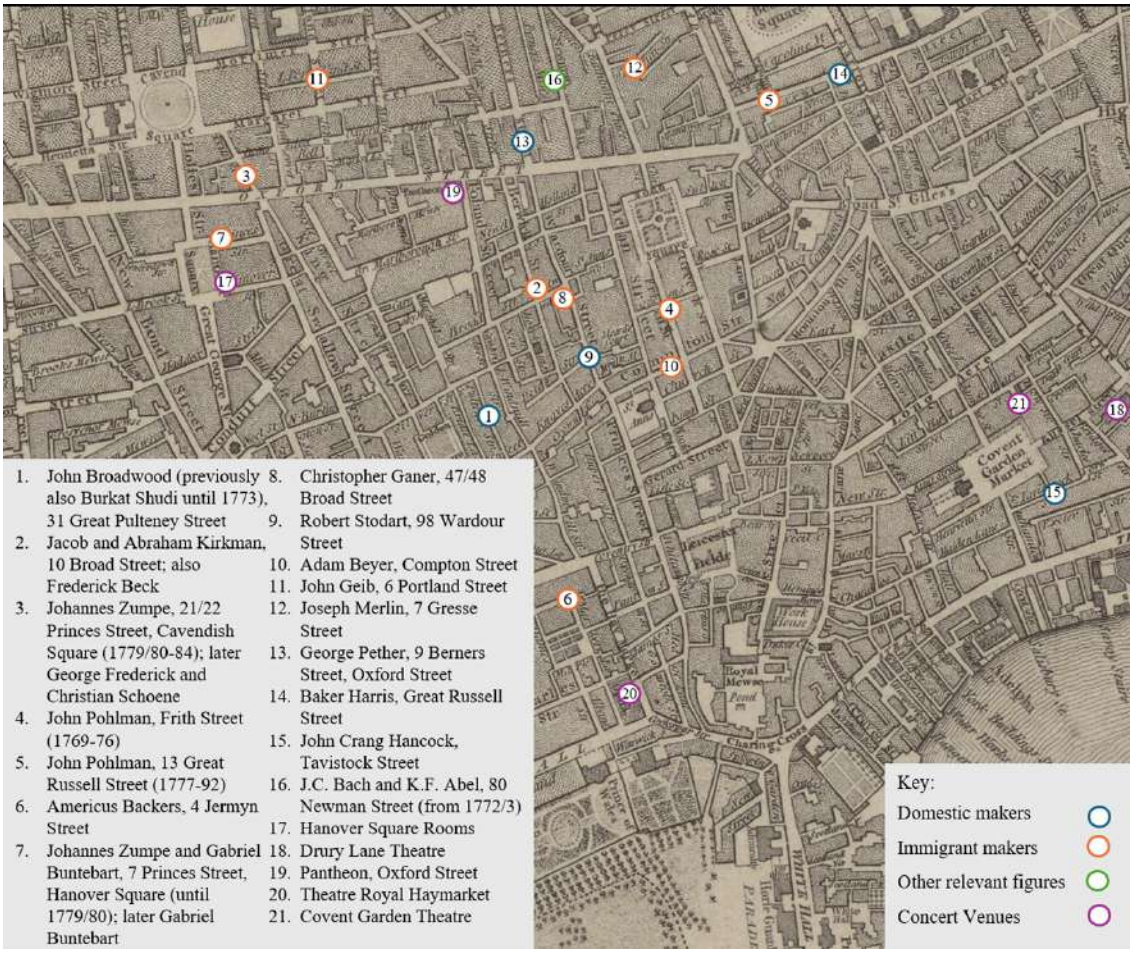
Illus.4 Zumpe square piano, built in 1769 (reproduced from https://www.cobbecollection.co.uk/collection/6-square-piano/)

The fact that the geography of this developmental musical culture was so concentrated in this specific region of London is not only visible from those makers who made the first attempts at constructing suitably expressive keyboard instruments, but also from those who first composed and sold music written with Zumpe's pianoforte in mind. Understandably, J. C. Bach was the first composer to do so, with his *Six Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* being listed in the *Public Advertiser* from 22 April 1766.[33] However, the second composer was John Burton, primarily an organist and harpsichordist, whose *Ten Lessons for the Harpsichord, Organ, or Piano Forte* were listed in the *Public Advertiser* from 23 December 1766.[34] It is likely that Burton's proximity to Zumpe's premises, as well as the broader cluster of keyboard instrument makers and concert venues that made up

London's musical hub in the West End, contributed to him possessing the awareness and technical understanding necessary to write music with the pianoforte in mind.

It is understandable that amongst the immigrant craftsmen looking to establish businesses in London from the late-1760s, such as Adam Beyer, John Pohlman and Gabriel Buntebart, the pianoforte was the keyboard instrument of choice to produce. As mentioned earlier, the harpsichord making trade was essentially sewn up by Kirkman and Shudi's dominance at the top end of the market, while the plentiful numbers of makers serving the rest of the population left little room for additional business. Meanwhile, the pianoforte market was still relatively untapped and ripe for innovations which would produce successful designs, both commercially and technically. Backers made the most of this possibility, pioneering the first successful grand pianoforte design at the turn of the 1770s, incorporating his own mechanism which came to be known as the 'English Grand Action'.[35] Backers was eager to highlight the innovatory nature of his instrument: in a series of advertisements from February to March 1771 regarding its presentation to the public at the Thatched House, he states that it is 'an Original Piano Forte; and thereby means that it is no Copy, being entirely his own Invention'.[36] Similarly, the inventor Joseph Merlin took out a patent in 1774 for a combined harpsichord-piano, a model of which Bach likely performed on at a concert that year at Carlisle House.[37] The public's attraction for such innovations, which could oftentimes supersede the desire for stable quality which for so long had been associated with the harpsichord-making trade, can also be gauged in the letter written by Colchester clergyman Thomas Twining to Charles Burney on 4 April 1774 regarding his recently purchased Pohlman square piano. Twining comments that 'if it has defects which a good harpsichord has not, it has beauties and delicacies which amply compensate', referring to the 'sweet and even' tone it possessed.[38]

The settlement patterns of makers in the 1770s and early 1780s highlight the increasingly compact area in the West End of London where they were based, especially those within the German-speaking immigrant community (illus.5). This part of London was also the centre of the growing public concert tradition: the Hanover Square Rooms, built in 1775, became the busiest indoor concert venue in London, largely due to the Bach-Abel subscription concerts which were hosted there from its outset.[39] The location likely allowed for the easy supply of instruments from Zumpe's nearby workshop, again highlighting Bach's role as a promoter of Zumpe's pianofortes. Furthermore, the fact that the pianoforte had quickly become a status symbol for aspiring 'gentlemen' perhaps meant that remaining on the doorstep of a suitably affluent and fashionable area of the city was crucial for makers to maintain such perceptions regarding their own instruments.[40] Interestingly, the domestic makers who had premises at the heart of this area were those who had been employed in the workshops of immigrant craftsmen. John Broadwood had been working in Shudi's workshop since 1761, and was taken into partnership by him in 1769 following his marriage to Shudi's daughter, Barbara.[41] Robert Stodart had been employed by both Broadwood and Backers as a pianoforte tuner before setting up his own workshop, whilst George Pether received training and employment in the workshop of Kirkman.[42] Being within this sphere of the most technically proficient immigrant craftsmen of both the harpsichord and the newly developed pianoforte allowed these domestic makers to gain the skills necessary to set up their own successful businesses.



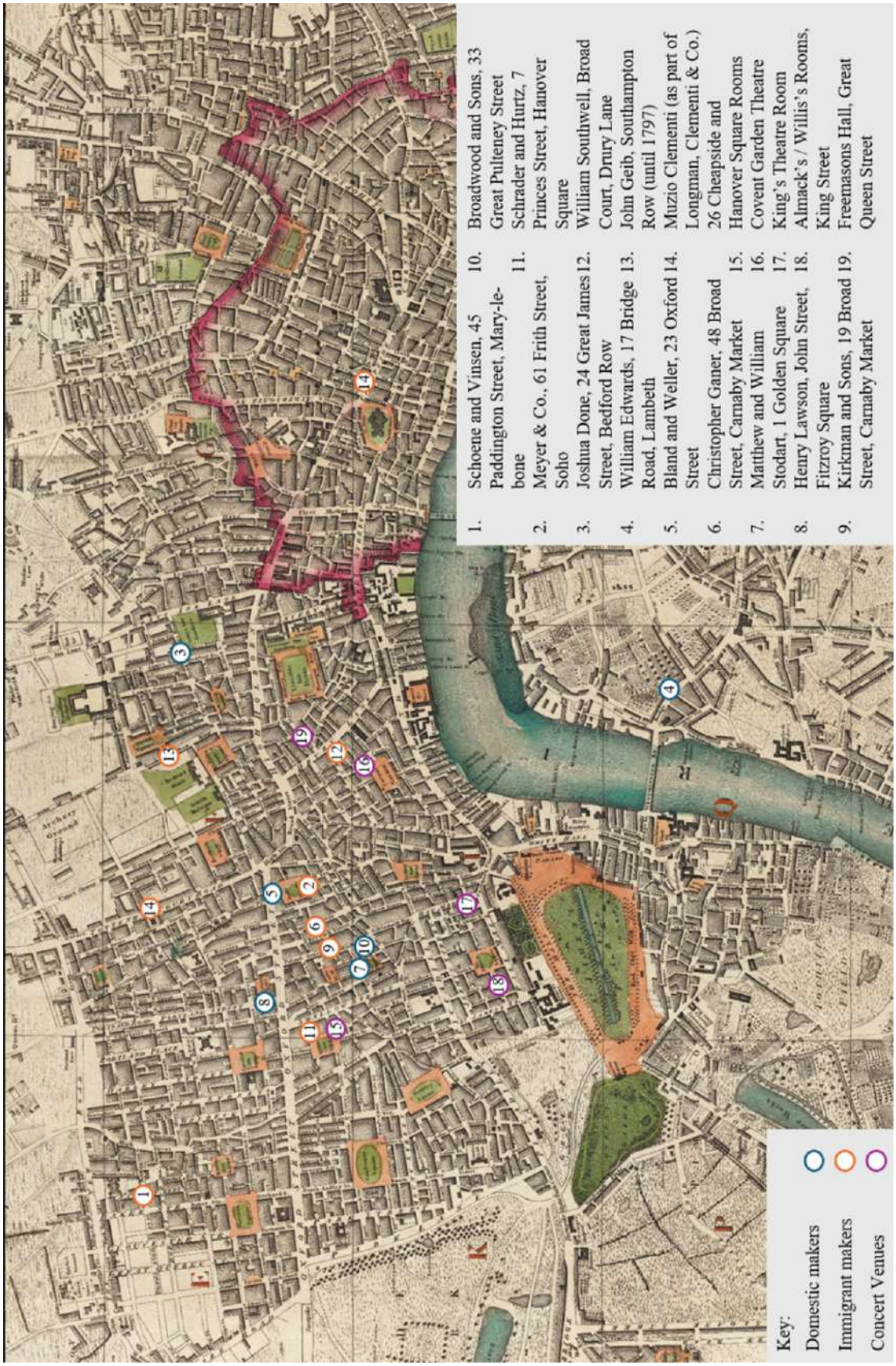
Illus.5 1785 map of London overlayed with locations of major pianoforte and harpsichord makers' workshops in the 1770s and early 1780s, alongside selected composers and the five most popular indoor concert venues of the 1770s

Continual activity amongst existing domestic harpsichord makers was still present during this period: Baker Harris, for example, maintained a successful business throughout the 1770s, as evidenced by his insured capital being worth £1000 in 1780.[43] Domestic makers outside of this concentrated musical area were also getting increasingly involved in the pianoforte making business as the decade progressed. The earliest surviving pianoforte of John Crang Hancock indicates that he had entered the trade by 1777, having received training in the workshop of his uncle, the harpsichord and organ builder John Crang.[44] However, such figures were few and far between, with the area between Soho Square and Hanover Square remaining the confines of the most successful and innovative makers. Domestic makers tended instead to have considerable success serving parts of the country where no other makers were present for miles, as they emerged in other British cities from the 1770s. Thomas Haxby, an established harpsichord maker based in York, went on to build over 300 pianofortes between the years 1772 to 1788, essentially monopolising the trade in the north of England.[45] Nonetheless, this further reinforced the dominance immigrant makers and their associates maintained within the capital, especially as Haxby's instruments all took their basis from Zumpe's designs. In a letter to Thomas Twining in January 1774, Charles Burney mentioned only Zumpe's, Backers' and Pohlman's

instruments as worth consideration when advising him on whose pianoforte to buy, with the latter being the most suitable due to its tone, size and affordable price.[46]

Whilst immigrant makers could have moved elsewhere in the country to start businesses there, it appears that the continually rising demand in London was high enough to sustain the growing number of makers who decided to remain (illus.6). The exchange between Burney and Twining highlights how London-based piano makers were able to serve a market far beyond the city, and the lack of specific imported materials, oftentimes shared between makers, in provincial centres outside London further weakened immigrant craftsmen's desires to settle elsewhere.[47] Besides, immigrant makers became increasingly associated through partnerships and arrangements to take on premises, highlighting the preferability of sharing success whilst remaining within the West End's German-speaking community, compared to independently starting afresh elsewhere in the country. Indeed, partnerships and inheritance arrangements proved to be highly profitable moves for makers: insurance records from 1778 and 1779 show that Zumpe and the joint business of Gabriel Buntebart and Christopher Sievers (Buntebart having just switched from working with Zumpe to Sievers) had the two highest amounts of capital insured with the Sun Fire Office in London for makers producing only pianofortes.[48] Meanwhile, John Broadwood, having taken over the firm he had partnered with Shudi following the latter's retirement in 1771, and Jacob Kirkman, now working in partnership with his son Abraham, similarly had insured capital worth over £1500 and £2500 respectively. Additionally, strong connections were being forged within this community beyond just business partnerships. Inscriptions on Frederick Beck's square pianos indicate that he shared the same Broad Street workshop address as Jacob and Abraham Kirkman from the late 1770s despite operating his own business, and he is also recorded as marrying Rose Ann Shudi in 1779, grand-niece of Burkat Shudi and resident of Berwick Street, Soho, just around the corner.[49]

The 1780s saw continual growth in demand for the pianoforte, and the production required to meet it, whilst harpsichord sales began to peter out as contemporaries increasingly viewed it as a less capable, and thus a less fashionable, instrument to purchase. In 1784, Broadwood sold 133 pianofortes compared to 38 harpsichords, having increased production of the former by tenfold in twelve years.[50] However, the design of the pianoforte was still seeing continual innovation during this period. Robert Stodart was granted a patent in 1777 for 'A new sort of instrument or grand forte piano with an octave swell', based on designs pioneered by Backers earlier in the decade, again emphasising the role of association in producing innovation.[51] Stodart enjoyed the lion's share of the market for 'grand pianofortes' until Broadwood started making them from 1785, at which point his increasingly factory-style production in expanded premises allowed for his domination of the market.[52] Broadwood himself took out a patent in 1783 for the 'position of wrest pins and dampers', whilst John Geib patented a 'grasshopper action' for his pianofortes in 1786.[53]



Illus.6 1796 map of London *overlayed with locations of pianoforte and harpsichord makers' workshops according to Henry Kent's* Directory *(1803), alongside the five most popular indoor concert venues of the 1790s*

Innovation appears to have been creeping into more domestic circles by the late 1780s, as two patents from 1787 relating to the (presumably) British makers Humphrey Walton and John Landreth suggest. However, these attempts were still limited in success, with few records and no instruments surviving regarding either maker, suggesting the cluster of West End makers remained at the forefront of the trade. Indeed, the West End remained the centre of pianoforte making and selling, such that businesses sought to have a presence there close to the aristocratic clientele and to associate themselves with the great makers. Instrument suppliers Longman and Broderip, originally based in Cheapside in the City, opened premises in Haymarket and Tottenham Court Road in 1782 and 1787 respectively, drawing on makers nearby such as Geib to produce instruments for them.[54]

However, the 1790s and especially the 1800s saw the pianoforte-making trade begin to expand beyond the West End as demand grew in other areas of London, and as the perception of German-speaking immigrant makers as exclusively leading figures within the trade was challenged. By the end of the 1790s, Broadwood had become the maker with the largest individual market share by far, producing around 400 instruments in a year.[55] Broadwood's status as a domestic maker and the gradual diffusion of pianoforte-making knowledge beyond the immigrant community encouraged other domestic makers to break into the trade themselves. Pianoforte design was also steadily becoming more standardised by 1800, at least in the form of the English grand, lessening the need to keep up with such rapidly developing and integral innovations by being based within the West End hub of development.[56] Furthermore, the immigrant community of makers was becoming less exclusively German-speaking, as figures such as William Southwell and Muzio Clementi arrived in London to benefit from the thriving pianoforte trade, without the need for such close-knit community ties. As such, makers saw less of a need to remain within the West End, instead prioritizing areas of a rapidly expanding London where no other pianoforte makers were yet present, or where space for mass manufacture could be acquired affordably. Annual rents for premises in the West End were rising sharply: the valuation for Christopher Ganer's houses in Broad Street grew from £52 in 1784 to £95 in 1805.[57] William Edwards's decision to set up the first pianoforte workshop south of the River Thames in Lambeth, a sparsely developed area of London at this point with rents generally below £20 in 1805, was an early example of this shift.[58]

The West End remained the musical hub of London, as evidenced by the number of major concert halls located there, and it was still undisputably the centre of London's pianoforte-making trade and what was left of the harpsichord making trade. Nonetheless, its exclusive grip on pianoforte making was slipping. The eventual end of the harpsichord-making trade in the area by the 1800s, as the instrument quickly fell out of fashion, paved the way for the pianoforte-making trade to expand across more of London throughout the 19th century. This was further precipitated as demand for the instrument spread throughout the city thanks to its relatively affordable price making it an accessible investment for many middle-class families – the cheapest pianofortes by Broadwood could be purchased for roughly 15 guineas, a little less than the cost of Zumpe's first square pianos thirty years prior.[59] The pianoforte was becoming a less societally exclusive instrument, its 'gentlemanly' connotations shifting towards ones of prosperity and upward mobility instead in the wake of its mass production. This was exemplified in Jane Austen's *Emma* (1816), where the Cole family, following a considerable increase in their income,

purchase a grand pianoforte amongst several other expenditures, even though Mrs Cole 'do[es] not know one note from another, and [her] little girls, who are but just beginning, perhaps may never make anything of it'.[60]

Overall, therefore, the settlement patterns of immigrant craftsmen in London show a progression which correlates to how well-established the harpsichord and pianoforte making trades were at different stages in the mid- to late-18th century. Immigrant makers formed a small, somewhat clustered group within a more generally dispersed distribution of makers during the established harpsichord trade of the 1750s and 1760s. The existing presence of the two largest harpsichord makers, Kirkman and Shudi, who themselves were based in the West End primarily due to the nearby presence of their aristocratic clientele, attracted other German-speaking makers to the area. This led to a larger, more concentrated community of immigrant makers to form from the mid-1760s, becoming central to the early innovations of pianoforte making and frequently working in partnership with one another. The role of individuals such as Bach in encouraging and promoting such development and the wider musical atmosphere of the West End solidified the community within the area. Domestic makers who joined with this community in the following decades were able to integrate at the forefront of the trade, with figures such as Broadwood (illus.7) and Stodart gaining the knowledge necessary to take on successful businesses themselves. This exclusivity of makers in the West End started to fade by the end of the 18th century as knowledge of pianoforte making diffused amongst a wider domestic community from the 1780s, and as makers sought affordable premises suitable for the mass production of instruments in areas where demand was not currently being served, especially for the growing middle-class market.

Illus.7 Broadwood grand pianoforte, built in 1808 (reproduced from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/504295)

Notes

[1] Roy Porter, *London: a social history* (London, 1996), pp.121-122.

[2] George Rudé, *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808* (London, 1971), p.6.

[3] Rudé (1971), p.9.

[4] Michael Cole, *The pianoforte in the classical era* (Oxford, 1998), p.2.

[5] The hammer action is a mechanism in which the strings of the instrument are hit with hammers, as opposed to the harpsicord's mechanism of plucked strings.

[6] Lièn Bich Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500-1700* (Abingdon, 2005), pp.3-4, 303.

[7] F. Anne M. R. Jarvis, *The community of German migrant musicians in London c1750 - c1850*, MSt thesis (University of Cambridge, 2003)

[8] François Portier, 'German Immigrants and the Birth of the Piano in Great Britain: Bach, Zumpe, their friends and the square piano', in *Revue de la société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, lxiv (2007), pp.339-355 at 345.

[9] Eva Badura-Skoda, 'The Piano Maker Adam Beyer, a German by Birth', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lvii (2004), pp.231-235 at 232; Charles Mould and Peter Mole, *Jacob Kirkman, Harpsichord Maker to Her Majesty* (Raleigh, NC, 2016), pp.11, 20-21.

[10] Cole (1998), p.69; Lance Whitehead and Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lxvii (2014), pp.181-216 at 196.

[11] *RCEWA – A Double-Manual Harpsichord by Mahoon, London 1738*, Arts Council England, accessed 20 May 2025, https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/EA%20statement_harpsichord.pdf.

[12] Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, MA, 1965) p.159.

[13] Hubbard (1965), pp.159-160.

[14] 'Plenius, Roger', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025, https://boalch.org/instruments/makers.

[15] George Washington, ed John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799, 39 vols*, (Charlottesville, 1931–44), ii, p.370.

[16] 'Plenius, Roger', *Boalch-Mould Online*.

[17] [Anon], 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *The Galpin Society Journal*, ii (1949), pp.27–31 at 31.

[18] Margaret Debenham and Michael Cole, 'Pioneer Piano Makers in London, 1737–74: Newly Discovered Documentary Sources', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xliv/1 (2013), pp.55-86 at 68.

[19] Lance Whitehead, 'Robert Falkener: An Eighteenth-Century Harpsichord Builder, Music Publisher and Malfeasant?', *The Galpin Society Journal*, lv (2002), pp.310-331 at 315; Jenny Nex and Lance Whitehead, 'A Copy of Ferdinand Weber's Account Book', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xxxiii (2000), pp.89-150 at 98.

[20] Mould and Mole, *Jacob Kirkman*, p.16.

[21] 'Neubauer, Frederick', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025.

[22] Cole (1998), p.46.

[23] Stephen Roe, 'Bach, Johann Christian (1735–1782), composer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com; Andrew Gustar, 'Eighteenth Century London Concerts: 3 – Concert Venues', *Statistics in Historical Musicology* (10 September 2020),

https://musichistorystats.com/eighteenth-century-london-concerts-2-the-locations/; Charles Sanford Terry, *John Christian Bach* (London, 2/1967), pp.62-63.

[24] Portier (2007), pp.347-348.

[25] Terry (1967), p.112.

[26] Charles Burney, 'Harpsichord', in Abraham Rees (ed), *The Cyclopaedia, or Universal Directory of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London, 1819); Burney's entry was likely written c.1803.

[27] Cole (1998), pp.49-50.

[28] Burney (1819).

[29] Cole (1998), p.52.

[30] Portier, 'German Immigrants and the Birth of the Piano in Great Britain', p.348; Cole (1998), p.62.

[31] Cole (1998), pp.75-76.

[32] Warwick Henry Cole, 'The Early Piano in Britain Reconsidered.' *Early Music*, xiv/4 (1986), pp.563–566 at 565.

[33] *Public Advertiser* (22 April 1766).

[34] *Public Advertiser* (23 December 1766).

[35] [35] Cole (1998), p.119.

[36] *Public Advertiser* (1 March 1766).

[37] 'Merlin, John Joseph', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025.

[38] Thomas Twining, ed R. S. Walker, *A Selection of Thomas Twining's Letters 1734–1804: The Record of a Tranquil Life* (Lewiston NY, 1991), i, p.92.

[39] Gustar (2022); Robert Hugill, 'The pocket watch and the news periodical: how the public concert developed in 17th and 18th century London', *Planet Hugill* (4 January 2021), https://www.planethugill.com.

[40] Geoffrey Lancaster, *The First Fleet Piano: a musician's view* (Acton, 2015), i, p.66.

[41] 'Broadwood, John', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025.

[42] 'Stodart, Robert', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025; 'Pether, George', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025.

[43] Lance Whitehead and Jenny Nex, 'Keyboard Instrument Building in London and the Sun Insurance Records, 1775-87', *Early Music*, xxx/1 (2002), pp.4-25 at 8.

[44] Martha Clinkscale, 'Crang Hancock, John', *Early Pianos Online*, accessed 20 May 2025, https://earlypianos.org/instruments/makerprofile/346.

[45] Cole (1998), p.81.

[46] Charles Burney, ed Alvaro Ribeiro, *The letters of Dr Charles Burney. Vol. 1, 1751-1784* (Oxford, 2014), pp.163-164.

[47] Colchester, the Essex town where Twining lived and had his Pohlman pianoforte transported to, is approximately 60 miles from the West End of London.

[48] Whitehead and Nex (2002), p.8.

[49] Michael Cole, 'Frederick Beck Piano Maker', *Square Pianos* (2023), https://www.squarepianos.com/beck.html.

[50] Alexander B. Finlayson, 'A brief history of John Broadwood & Sons Pianos', *Broadwood Archive Services*, accessed 20 May 2025, https://broadwoodarchiveservices.co.uk/history.html.

[51] *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments, A.D. 1694-1866* (London, 1984), p.12.

[52] Cole (1998), pp.132-133.

[53] *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments, A.D. 1694-1866,* pp.13, 18.

[54] 'Longman & Broderip', *Boalch-Mould Online*, accessed 20 May 2025.

[55] Cole (1998), p.101.

[56] Cole (1998), p.140.

[57] Westminster Ratebooks: Property Values of Westminster Electors, 1749-1818, *London Lives*, accessed 20 May 2025, https://www.londonlives.org.

[58] London, England, Land Tax Records, 1692-1932, *Ancestry.com*, accessed 20 May 2025.

[59] Cole (1998), p.133.

[60] Jane Austen, *Emma* (New York, 1981), p.196, quoted in Laura Voracheck, '"The instrument of the century': the piano as an icon of female sexuality in the nineteenth century', *George Eliot - George Henry Lewes Studies*, xxviii/xxxix (2000), pp.26-43 at 27.

A visit to Karlsbad

Glen Wilson

On a recent side trip from the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth, with its surprisingly funny and moving *Meistersinger*, I drove an hour into the Czech Republic to the spa town of Karlovy Vary, formerly known as Karlsbad. Myth has it that Emperor Charles IV (1316-78) was the first to stumble on the hot artesian fount that made the place's fame. He did grant rights to a town which from the 17th to the 19th centuries was the preferred summer health and leisure resort of Central European and Russian royalty and aristocracy. In fact, the volcanic phenomenon, constantly bubbling and sometimes spouting ten meters and more in the air, was known from time immemorial. It is now housed in a round neo-Classical colonnade.

I only had a few hours to look around, most of them spent around the ornate Grand Hotel Pupp, which spreads its wings on a bend in the river Teplá (illus.1). I knew from their website that it stood on the location of 18th-century buildings where extravagant revels were formerly held. It inspired Wes Anderson's 2014 film *Grand Budapest Hotel*, and one of the big film festivals is held there every year. Bricks let into the cobblestone pavement commemorate celebrity visitors past and present, often in odd proximity.

Illus.1 Grand Hotel Pupp, Karlsbad

While in town I searched in vain for a work of local history. The City Museum, the Tourist Office, the exalted Pupp — all offered only flimsy leaflets. Back home and online, I found a book entitled *Alt-Karlsbad* ('Old Karlsbad') which looked promising. I ordered the original from 1920 and a reprint from 1942. The former was in Gothic *Fraktur* type, and contained reproductions taken from old prints and drawings. The latter came with modern letters and saccharine colour fantasies of promenading ladies in bonnets alongside Napoleonic-era officers bowing to them or on horseback.

It took me a while before the implications of these dates dawned on me. A child of the Versailles treaty which ended World War I, ex-Habsburg Czechoslovakia where Karlsbad found itself located in 1919 was destined to have two short lives, interrupted by the Nazi rape and terminated by the secession of Slovakia in 1993. In one of its countless, catastrophic mistakes, the botched peace gave the new state the German regions in its west and south, resulting in armed uprisings, violent repression, and ultimately providing Hitler with his Sudetenland grievance. The 1920 work by the town archivist Dr K. Ludwig, printed in Eger/Cheb and enchantingly sourced from old documents and chronicles at his official disposal, was an understandable effort to stake out a quick claim to the town's Teutonic heritage. Imagine a swathe of upper New York State, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine suddenly annexed by Quebec, with the Yankee population forced to learn French and forbidden to speak English in public.

The 1942 reissue arrived at the high-water mark of the so-called Third Reich, and reclaimed Karlsbad from a perceived Slav aberration. It had an introduction celebrating the glorious new age of German history, and parentheses noting new toponyms: Adolf-Hitler-Platz, Horst-Wessel-Straße and the like. Otherwise, the quaint text was unaltered.

As for music, most of the references were to trumpet fanfares played from the watchtower on the arrival of the high and mighty, orchestras playing at the balls organized by the nobility, and wind ensembles in their service which performed in the market square and near the bathhouses, where they were often the subject of complaints about unwanted noise. They also serenaded friends of their employers outside their lodgings, like musical calling cards.

In Alt-Karlsbad much is made of Goethe's attachment to the town. He stayed for a number of long summers and carried on some of his many love affairs in the little Kurort. One musical event involving the *Dichterfürst* deserves mention. Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), the quintessential Italian diva, visited Karlsbad in 1818 on one of her concert tours. These netted her vast sums and had admirers of her trills and chromatic runs at her feet all over Europe. After two lucrative performances at a lovely hall outside of town (now in urgent need of restoration), she was persuaded to attend a private party where everyone hoped for an intimate encore or two. A German Baroness Bombelles was singing, accompanied at the fortepiano by her husband, when the great lady entered the room and kindly insisted the baroness continue. She commenced a setting — probably the strophic one by Reichardt rather than the more recent through-composed version by Zelter — of Goethe's *Kennst Du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn*, with the lyricist in the audience. A deep calm settled over the listeners. Goethe wept, and later said, 'We have a closer relationship to these tones. It is the German heart that resonates'. The serene moment was interrupted by la Catalani suffering an hysterical fainting fit. The poor woman, who was unable to sing Mozart operas because she couldn't keep a tempo or sing an aria without frequently breaking out into one of her legendary improvisations, was notoriously unable to bear anyone's success other than her own.

Beethoven and lesser musical lights also passed through Karlsbad. But readers who know their music history will have been waiting to hear what Alt-Karlsbad has to say about its most famous musical visitor of all. The answer is: nothing. Our author was either unaware that Johann Sebastian Bach came to town with his patron, Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen, in 1718 and again in 1720, or he didn't care. Nowadays not that many people in Germany read Goethe outside of a Gymnasium classroom, but Bach is everywhere, especially on religious holidays. Things may have been different in the Karlsbad of 1920. (Under Communism Bach was incongruously celebrated as a rebellious member of the Proletariat.)

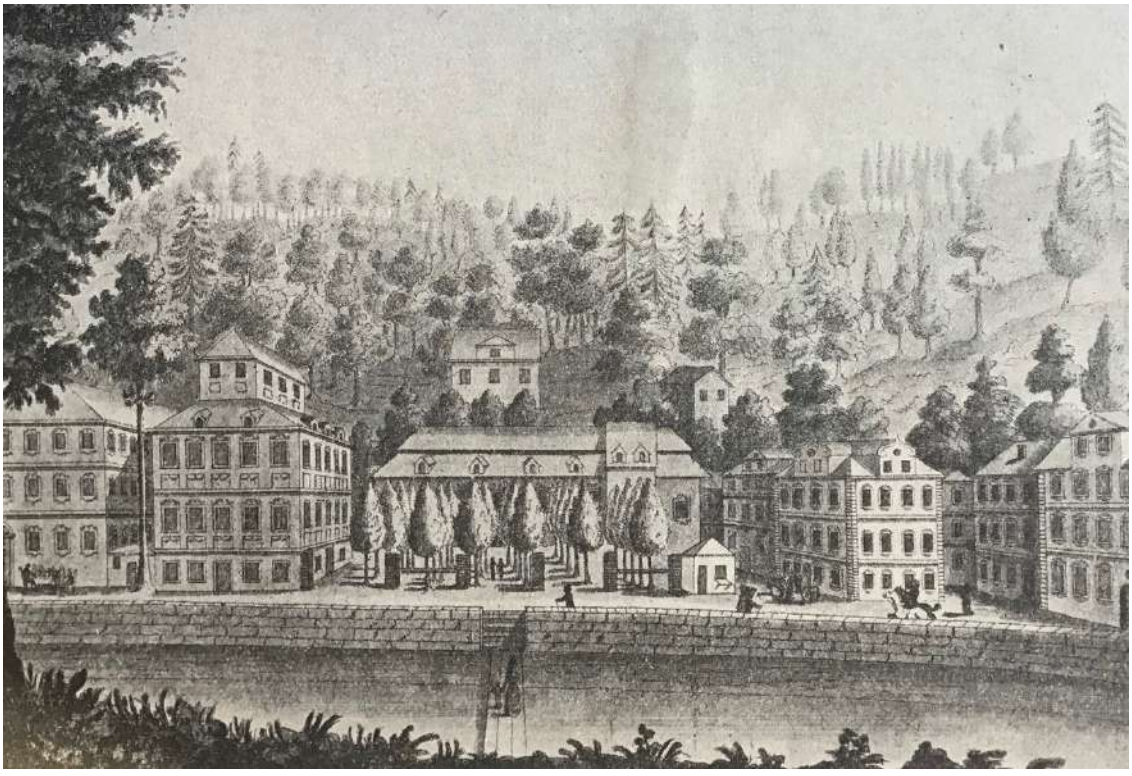
Everyone knows how Bach returned to Cöthen in 1720 to find his first wife dead and buried. The news was probably not thought worthy of a special courier. But members of his Kapelle accompanied the minor Fürst on both his visits. On the first occasion the princely *Clavicymbel* was carted along. In 1720 the splendid new Mietke that his *Capellmeister und Director deren Cammer-Musiquen* fetched from Berlin in 1719 must have made a much greater impression.

By now the reader will have guessed where I am going with this. Based on Bach's 1721 dedication of the Brandenburg Concertos, which says he met the Margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt 'il y a un couple d'années', the composer's meeting with the dedicatee is usually associated with that visit to Berlin. I think this is taking Bach's mediocre French too literally. Although connections between Berlin and Cöthen musical establishments are known to have existed, I find it difficult to believe that an obscure provincial Kapellmeister on a business errand could so easily come into contact with one of the highest-ranking members of stiff Prussian high society.

Illus.2 Sächsischer Saal, Karlsbad, engraving

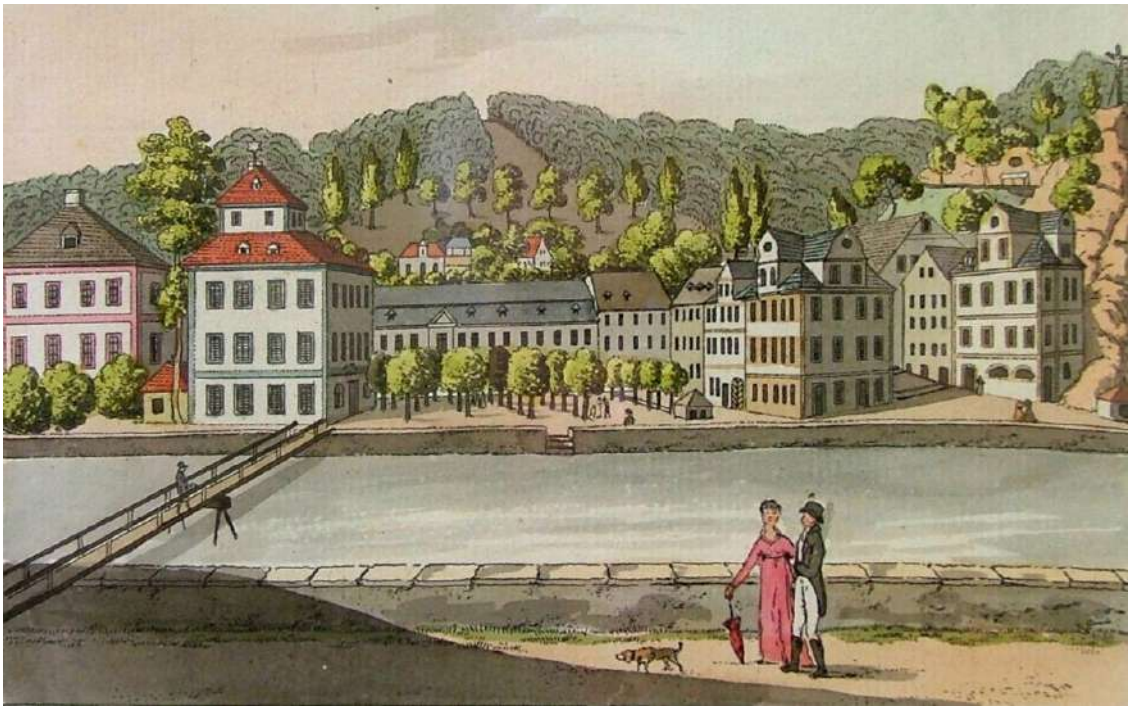
No, the place where Bach more likely 'had the honour of making myself heard' and an introduction would have been logical was the Sächsischer Saal (officially the Salle de l'Assemblée) in Karlsbad (then spelled with a C), a two-story structure built in 1701 with the support of Elector/King Augustus 'the Strong' of Saxony and Poland as the first locale in Karlsbad worthy of brilliant balls and representational concerts (illus.2). The Electoral-Brandenburg family is known to have been steady patrons of Karlsbad since the 17th century. Imagine Margrave Christian Ludwig, youngest son of the Great Elector and half-brother of the first King in (not of) Prussia, listening to *mes concerts* in the Saal still smelling of paint and lumber, impressed by an extraordinary cadenza erupting like a shower of sparks from the Cöthen *Clavicymbel*, asking, 'Who IS that man?', and sending a lackey to command Bach over to Durchlaucht. The genius bows low to the Hohenzollern. 'Most impressive, my dear fellow. Do send me some of your concertos. He shall be well rewarded. He may go', or words to that effect will have been spoken.

The Saal stood where the central wing of the Pupp courtyard now looms. In 1708 the larger Böhmischer Saal was built, at right angles and to the right as seen from the river, and later still the even bigger Zum Auge Gottes was added to the left (illus.3). Behind it a lime grove (illus.4) was planted which became the main promenade and scene of outdoor theatricals and fireworks. All three structures were soon connected into three sides of a square (illus.5). The whole site was gradually taken over by the descendants of the former pastry baker Johann Georg Pupp, who had changed his name from Jan Jiří Pop. After damage from floods and fires, by 1907 all had been consolidated into the gleaming white neo-Baroque edifice of today, where Bentleys and Maseratis park, and tourists gawk. At least one of Bach's visits is commemorated in the pavement, between Zsa-Zsa Gabor and Al Pacino. The original functions of the two Säle are still carried on by the Kaiserbad, finished in 1895.



Illus.3 Böhmischer Saal and Zum Auge Gottes: Zum Auge Gottes to the left, Böhmischer Saal to the right of the expanded Sächsischer Saal, engraving

Illus.4 The lime grove, engraving



Illus.5 The connected complex, c.1800, coloured engraving

New Handel publications

Mark Windisch

New Perspectives on Handel's Music – Essays in Honour of Donald Burrows

Readers of the *NEMA Newsletter* will be familiar with the enormous influence that Donald Burrows, Emeritus Professor at the Open University, has had on Handel scholarship through the years. He has not only conducted valuable research himself, but ensured that the future of Handel research is safe by inspiring younger researchers to carry on this important work. I have a vivid memory of Donald Burrows standing in when a speaker failed to turn up and delivering an excellent talk on Handel's linguistic abilities by displaying the marginal notes, where the language Handel used varied according to the language of the text that the work he was editing, used. In a recently published book from The Boydell Press (ISBN 978 1 78327 146 7) and edited by Dr David Vickers, a number of contributors have given us an interesting range of articles to cover many aspects of Handel's compositions. Handel is one of a select number of composers who have inspired a continuous tradition of research. I have given below the articles in this important volume which I hope will give readers the range of material available to anyone who would like to learn more about this composer.

The contents list is provided below, together with some summaries of the articles.

Act I. Handel's Music and creative practices

David Kimbell, '"Almire regiere": Some reflections on the First Aria in Handel's First Opera'
Suzana Ograjenšek, '*Il pastor fido* by Guarini (1585) and Handel (1712): From *tragicomedia pastorale to drama per musica*'
John H. Roberts, 'Late or Soon? Cadential Timing in the Continuo recitatives of Handel and his Contemporaries'
David Vickers, 'Handel's Bilingual Versions of *Esther* and *Deborah*, 1734-1737'
Silas Wollston, 'Handel's Compositional Process in the Creation of Grand Concertos, Op. 6'

Act II. Sources, documents and attributions

Andrew V. Jones, 'Handel's Continuo Cantatas: Problems of Authenticity, Classification and Chronology'
Hans Dieter Clausen, 'When and Why did Handel replace his Conducting Scores?'
David Hunter, 'Handel, the Duke of Chandos and Investing in the Royal African Company'
Colin Timms, 'Handel and *Comus* at Exton'
Leslie M. M. Robarts, 'Wordbooks for Handel's Oratorios, especially *Joseph and his Brethren* and *Hercules,* Copyright and Production'
Anthony Hicks, rev Colin Timms, 'New Music by Handel for Horn'

Act III: Context and Reception

John Butt, 'Bach and Handel: Differences within a Common Culture of Musical Invention'
Richard G. King, '*Le rivale regine*: Faustina and Cuzzoni in Satyrical Engravings, Literature and Opera in the 1720s and 1730s'
Ruth Smith, 'Charles Jennens Revisited'
Graydon Beeks, '*O Come let us Sing unto the Lord'* Performances of the Cannons Anthems during Handel's lifetime'
Triona O'Hanlon, 'Charity Performances of Handel's Works in Eighteenth Century Dublin (1736-1760)'
Michael Burden, 'Early Keepers of the Flame: Vanneschi (and Handel) at the Opera'
H. Diack Johnstone, 'Revamped Handel: The Content and Context of his So-Called *Miserere*'
Annette Landgraf, 'Handel's 'celebrated Largo' Remarks on the reception History of *Ombra mai fu*'

I think that a number of the articles will be of interest to the general reader rather than the musicologist alone so have made a precis here of a few of them. For deeper insights I would advise purchasing the book or ordering it from a library.

Professor Butt's article on the relation of the compositional influences on Bach and Handel is of interest. Comparison between these two giants of the 18th century have long been a subject of interest to musicologists and the general public. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, comparisons were made between them, usually illustrating Bach as an original genius and demoting Handel to someone who merely copied works by other musicians. The article explores the influences on both men in considerable detail. Although born in the same year less than 100 miles apart, the difference between the political and religious systems in Thuringia and Saxony were considerable. Thuringia was a very traditional state, unambitious to move forward whereas Halle, along with Magdeburg, had been ruled by Prussia, which was very forward looking, ambitious and increasingly cosmopolitan. There was also a difference in the social status of the two men. Handel's father was a high-status barber surgeon, valet to the Duke whereas the Bach family held the lower status of expendable artisans. Another large difference was the musical education systems which the composers had and their social status. Bach was born into what was in effect the family business and with this came the carrying forward of long-established tradition. Composition was not normally an expectation from a church musician. Handel had the benefit of being taught by Zachow and was influenced by Alberti, Froberger, Krieger, Kerll, Ebner and Strunck, who exemplified more modern compositional practices. The tradition he followed made it essential that any aspiring musician would be expected to compose new works. Having said this, there is evidence that Bach had some compositional help from Georg Böhm. Zachow, who taught Handel, had worked his way up from town piper to town organist at the Marktkirche. In Halle music education was being studied as an academic subject. Butt mentions *Rudimenta Musica* by Wolfgang Mylius as an example of the sort of educational resource which could have been in use, and which covered ornamentation thoroughly. There is no certainty that the young Bach studied such compositional theory (Wolfgang Caspar Printz) which was available in Thuringia, although it is possible that he had access to the writings of Niedt which deals with thorough bass and counterpoint. Handel was exposed to opera in Leipzig and would have come under the influence of Kuhnau. A move to Hamburg and an association with Mattheson developed Handel's ability towards dramatic expression. Butt deals with the issue of plagiarism by pointing out that both men used and developed pre-existing compositions as

part of their normal compositional procedure. He points out that both men came at an interesting historic juncture where borrowing and impersonation of their models were used to cultivate their own individual voices

The article by Richard G. King explores the invented 'rival queens' scenario used to compare Bordoni with Cuzzoni, stemming from the story of Alexander the Great and his first and second wives Roxana and Statira. Rivalry was a significant aspect of theatre culture in the 17th and 18th centuries. Dr King has researched the literature of the period, quoting the many instances where rivalry was an essential part of the plot. In fact Handel scholars have shown that the two singers seem not to have indulged in real rivalry but in fact worked well together on several occasions. King explores how this invented rivalry continued to be used in an attempt to excite the interest of the public for many years.

The article on Handel's early biblical oratorios *Esther* and *Deborah* by David Vickers illustrates the mixed reception of this format and the difficulty of the Italian singers in mastering English pronunciation. This led to Handel providing dual language versions in the wordbook, supplying English audiences with the text in their own language. Dr Vickers describes the forensic analysis to provide precisely what was done for these performances.

Ruth Smith returns to her classic study of Charles Jennens, one of Handel's most important collaborators. There had been an attempt to traduce Jennens' character, mostly by rivals in his championing and publication of unexpurgated works of William Shakespeare. Jennens' work in this field of literature was not equalled in its thoroughness until modern times. Later in the article Dr Smith explores the musical characterization of Saul in the eponymous oratorio and how Saul to some extent mirrors Jennens' own character. There is furthermore an interesting comparison of Saul's kingly style with that of Charles I. This article is unsurpassed in its exploration of the links between the biblical text and the words used by Jennens. Both Handel and Jennens were indeed fortunate in their relationship and we in the 21st century are the beneficiaries of this partnership.

Annette Landgraf, one of the team of scholars working in Halle, gives us an interesting description of how what is widely known as *Handel's Largo* became detached from its position in the opera *Serse* and had a life of its own for many years. An arrangement for violin, harp and organ by Joseph Hellmesberger senior (1828-93) was first performed by Joseph Alexander Zellner (1823-94) on Easter Sunday 1876 in the Hofoper Theatre Vienna as part of a concert for the benefit of the Opera's 'Pensions-fond'. It received mixed reviews, with some deploring its separation from the opera and others remarking on the beauty of the tune. Dr Landgraf has unearthed no less than 42 different sets of words attached to the tune, from *Calm friendly shade* by Maria X. Hayes in 1882 to *Crux Fidelis* by Edward Higginbottom in 2002.

I hope that the range of articles will stimulate interest amongst thinking Handelians and can do no more here than give readers the flavour of this prodigious book and would advise readers to get hold of the book itself to be informed about up-to-date scholarship.

Report on the 2024 Handel Conference in Halle, Saxony Anhalt, Germany

The Halle Handel conference took place in May 2024 with the theme *Handel in Italy, England and France*; this summary is taken from the 2025 *Händel-Jahrbuch* proceedings (ISBN 978-3-7618-7321-2). There were ten papers in English and six in German.

Donald Burrows, 'Handel and France'

The first appropriate work by Handel in French is the cantata *Sans y penser* HWV 155. Although guided by the rhythms of the French text it is clearly comparable to the Italian cantatas that Handel composed in Rome. Handel was certainly familiar with the language and would have come across French music in Hamburg, Halle and Weissenfels. Zachow makes no mention of teaching him composition in the French style but since he notes teaching different styles it is likely that it included the French style. Britain and France were allies at this time, which led to musical cooperation with French musicians performing in The Haymarket, and with the intervention of a M. Crozat Handel opera being performed in Paris. Handel's music was published in Paris where the titles were given in French. Burrows explores the effects on musical life caused by the varying political changes that took place during the 18th century.

Pierre Degott, 'Rediscovering Handel in nineteenth century France. An assessment of the roles played by Choron, Berlioz and Pauline Viardot'

This article explores how important Handel's music, especially the choral works, featured in early 19th century France. Mendelssohn's revival of Bach's St Matthew Passion in 1829, at a time when Handel's music had been adopted by choral societies in German speaking countries and England, came at a time of growing popularity in France of 'Ancient Music', promoted through the work of Alexandre Etienne Choron (1771-1834). The composers revived included Palestrina, Porpora, Scarlatti, Steffani. Critics were not impressed, but no one could deny the social popularity of these ventures. Even Berlioz paid tribute to Choron. Handel's music was seen as representing piety, sweetness and solemnity in opposition to Donizetti, Bellini et al., whose music was seen by Viardot as representing frivolity. Berlioz had his own agenda in comparing the popularity of choral performances of works by Handel and Mendelssohn in England and other countries in Europe where the ban of the Roman Catholic church against women singing sacred music did not operate. The article contains long quotes from the writings of Berlioz, showing in particular admiration of the English, although not without criticism of what he saw as lack of genuine musicality. He propagated many inaccuracies in his writings which are quoted in the piece and had strong objection to the unsuitability of the English language in musical context. This matter was clearly an important issue to Berlioz, who seemed to adopt a theoretical approach to ideas behind performance of 18th century music, although his attitude towards some of the details of Handel's compositions were not without negative comments.

Luke Howard, 'Nationalist Implications in 19th Century French Performances of Handel' s Messiah'

In September 1872 Pierre Lamoreux made a proposal to the Committee of the Societe des Concerts in Paris for a series of concerts featuring sacred music of Bach and Handel. The idea was rejected but it raised the question of how these compositions in foreign languages should be set for French audiences. Since the 1870s, under the direction of Alexandre Choron and Francois Fetis, using a French edition by Victor Wilder. The article explores the French attitude towards the ability of musical performances to align with the Nationalistic expectations. Fitting the French language to Handel's music turned out to be quite difficult because of the dissimilarity of the structure of the languages. A further complication as far as *Messiah* was concerned was that the original text was taken from the

Protestant King James Bible, which did not chime well with the French Catholic Vulgate. There were problems, too, with finding singers and instrumentalists capable of performing classical music following the disruption to music scholarship, seen as too much connected to the ancient regime, after the revolution. An interesting side issue was how much Handel was preferred to Bach; partly this was that Bach was seen as more fundamentally Protestant whereas Handel was seen as far less so. In the end *Messiah* never really achieved the popularity in France in the 19th century that it did in other countries

Rosalba Agresta, 'Between salon and the concert room. The promotion of Handel's Music by Edward Rodriguez in 19th Century Paris'

There seems to have been some uncertainty of when Handel was first performed in France. Rosalba Agresta has found that his music was performed as early as the 1820s, 50 years earlier than was once believed. One Edouard Rodrigues, once connected with a translation of *Judas Maccabaeus*, left a box of annotated, printed works in multiple copies with the BnF. They were found by the author in the Music Department in 2014, and the handwriting on them indicated performances in 1839 and 1845. Rodrigues seems to have been a wealthy amateur from a banking family, and his background is described in the article. He had personal connections with many professionals, including Halevy and Pierre-Joseph-Guillaume Zimmerman. Also, he assisted Salvator, the son of Cherubini, to publish the father's music. Rodrigues' interest was in setting up concerts in his own salon where parts of *Messiah* were performed in 1839 in a concert which also included music by Gluck. He formed part of a group of professionals like the violinist Boëly who shared an idealistic intention of taking a scholarly view of music performance. Amongst works by Handel in performance were excerpts from *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Theodora* and *Samson*, all of them presented in French translation. In order to perform these works he took to producing lithographs, first with the help of professionals, but as his confidence grew he turned to self-published versions of piano reductions

Paul Newton Jackson, 'French Influence in the Mixed Metric Practices of Georg Frideric Handel'

The article uses the aria 'Bel piacere' to illustrate the author's point that the composer 'thwarted the ear's expectations' by inserting within the flow of a self-contained section of music measures of a different length to the surroundings'. These techniques probably stem from French style rather than Italian. Scenes in *Orlando* make use of this technique to illustrate Orlando's confused state, using the unusual time signature of 5/8. Burney wrote about the unusual insertions of this time signature but did not significantly comment on the effect. In the 18th century, composers of French opera often used these changes of metre, based on the demands of text setting. Recent research has revealed that Telemann studied works of Campra and other composers of French music in his Hamburg days and incorporated stylistic features from their music in his own compositions (See TWV1,1494). Some comparisons of Telemann's use of these metrical devices are contrasted with Handel's stylistic habits. Handel's *Agrippina* was composed and performed in Venice, and even this most Italian of compositions already displays French stylistic devices.

Laura Naudeix, '"Un merveilleux a la Française?" Reflections on five of Handel's Operas'

Five of Handel's operas are used as the basis of this analysis of their influence on English opera. These works, sometimes referred to as the 'magic' operas, are *Rinaldo* (1711), *Teseo* (17 13), *Amadigi* (1715) *Orlando* (1733) and A*lcina* (1735). The first two were probably

influenced by earlier French works, *Teseo* coming from the opera *Thesée* by Quinault and Lully (1675) and *Amadigi* from Antoine Houdard de la Motte and Andre Cardinal Destouches (1684). With these models it is possible to examine how these French models became influential in the development of English opera. A key figure in this development was the poet George Granville, whose *British Enchantress* was premiered in 1706 but written earlier, and following on the tradition of *King Arthur* by John Dryden and Henry Purcell. Granville explained his admiration of 'Decorations and Dancing' but thought it needed 'Harmony of Italian Opera' to make it suitable for English audiences. Composers of English opera, including Handel, considered it important to keep the high moral tone of French opera fused with the musicality of Italian tradition. Dancing and special magical affect were used to provide spectacular performances to English audiences.

Teresa Chirico, 'French theater and music from Rome before and during Handel's stay in Rome'

In the final years of the 17th century French theatre began to be very important to the cultural elite in Rome through the numbers of the French elite who became integrated with their Roman colleagues. In 1690 *Armida* by Lully, translated from the French, was performed. The spectacle was much appreciated, but not the arias nor the music, which did not suit Italian tastes. The purpose behind the performance was to repair a certain coolness between King of France and the Holy See. There followed a growth in staged plays in the French style, particularly where Arcadian settings were involved. Maria Casimira Sobieska, Queen of Poland but of French origin, settled in Rome and offered operas in her small personal theatre by Domenico Scalatti and Carlo Sigismondo Capece (author of Handel's *La Resurrezione*). The young Handel was very active in the Roman musical scene and evidence of French influence in his compositions from this period are detectable, both in the use of French descriptions of movements and the introduction of the traverso, which was uncommon in Rome at this time. Handel had already adopted some French musical practices from his time in Hamburg and was able to develop them further in Rome.

Corinna Herr, "'Non sono ch'un ombra al par del Giorno": Shadows of Antagonists from Amadis to Amadigi'

This is a complex study of character types, particularly those who continue to appear after death (Dardanus, Prince of Thrace) as shadows or ghosts. The version of the story in Handel's *Amadigi di Gaula* in Metastasio's version is contrasted with that in the version of Philippe Quinault and Jean-Baptiste Lully s *Amadis*. There are also references to other operas such as the revival of *Amadis* by de la Motte and Destouches and the role and character of sorcerers and what antecedents governed their characteristics. Burney is quoted with reference to the type of music and the instruments used in accompaniments to the various characters. The article concludes with the thought that the producers of staged opera should be aware of the complexities of the characters being portrayed and the opportunities that digitization brings to character portrayal.

Yseult Martinez, "'Et moi, triste rebut de la nature entiere": Handel's Alcina, a Racinean Heroine?'

This article looks at the change of direction which took place in the early 1730s, when Handel and John James Heidegger entered a difficult period following the collapse of the Royal Academy in 1728, the decline of Italian-style opera and when John Gay's popular

Beggar's Opera of 1728 was providing unwelcome competition for audiences. Handel's decision to move to oratorio-style performances like *Deborah,* his dismissal of Senesino and his banning the use of 'silver tickets' (life subscriptions) caused several consequences, like the rise of an alternative opera company. the Opera of the Nobility, which began to have a fatal effect on his ability to attract audiences. At this point Handel entered into an arrangement with John Rich, who had just opened a theatre at Covent Garden, and engaged the famous dancer Madame Salle. This provided Handel with several opportunities, and he added dance movements in *Il Pastor Fido*, in the French style where appropriate in other works. One of the most popular was opera *Alcina*, based on a libretto by Antonio Fanzaglia which Handel probably acquired when he was in Italy. French influence is evident in this opera as detailed by Martinez; Handel is known to have had scores on works by Lully and Campra in his library. The author examines the character of the promiscuous Alcina in some detail and describes the suffering caused to herself by the consequences of her activities. Psychological insights into Alcina's character are postulated and reference made to other female characters in literature. In the conclusion reference is made to Handel's knowledge of Racine's plays, with Alcina's characterization as neither entirely guilty nor entirely innocent, but an abandoned woman worthy of compassion.

Yiyun Liu, 'Dreams and the Appropriateness of Music Exploring French Influences in Handel's Covent Garden Debut'

A detailed analysis of Lully's *Atys* opens this article. The issue that concerns the author is the appropriates of the music to the meaning of the text. In Lully the power dynamic between the characters is central to the structure. There are parallels between *Atys* and Handel's *Ariodante*, where the dream sequence in each opera reveals the characters state of mind. Atys did not achieve popular appeal, and some of this might have been caused by a mis-match between the serious intent behind the text and the light-heartedness of the music; this relationship between music and text in *Atys* is covered thoroughly. We then move to the influence of *Atys* on *Almira*, composed when Handel was in Hamburg. Almira includes two French dances - a Sarabande and Chaconne. This engagement with French aesthetics resurfaces later in *Ariodante.* This opera illustrates Handel's ability to blend Italian and French aesthetics, while the dream sequence shows his ability to introduce mood changes as the dream progresses, demonstrating Ginevra's troubled state of mind. The article moves to one of Handel's innovations, the introduction of organ concertos embedded into oratorios to serve as dramatic bridges. A detailed analysis of some of these pieces follows, and the author shows Handel's sophisticated ability to combine musical representation with textual integrity.

Andrew V. Jones, 'Elizabeth Legh, An anecdote, a cantata and an hypothesis'

The article is not part of the themed section, and starts off with the only two documented occasions where Handel was almost going to follow a path to a romantic attachment, in particular, with the wealthy and aristocratic Elizabeth Legh. Although they were not romantically involved, she became a lifelong admirer and supporter of the composer. The reasons why they never moved to the next step in their relationship is explained in the article. A cantata having come to light, the author examines its origin and the identification of the copyist; much research has gone into identifying the sources, the reasons why these particular pieces were selected by Legh and why it is significant. The author of three separate pieces is identified and it turns out that the copyist was Elizabeth Legh, and that the arias she chose to copy probably reflected her state of mind and her feelings about the

composer. As an example of meticulous scholarly research this is an object lesson to all aspiring musical researchers.

Finally, there are also a number of articles in German, listed here by title:

Stefan Kem, 'Händel als Schlüsselfigur Europäischer Musiktransfers'
Michael Klaper, 'Noch Einmal Zur Frage der goûts reunis um 1700'
Margret Scharrer, 'Chaconne und Pasacaille auf den "hamburgischen Schauplatz"'
Joachim Kremen, "le Milton de la musique": Händel-Aneignungen in Frankreich im 19. und frühen 20, Jahrhundert'
Inken Meents, 'Sans y penser a la cantate française? Georg Friedrich Handels'
Louis Delpech, 'Wege und Vermittler französischer Musik zwischen Hannover und London (1710-1714)'

News and Events

News

Prof **Bettina Varwig** has been awarded the Royal Musical Association's Dent Medal for 2025.

The website **Improvised, Free Ornamentation in Violin Music of the 18th Century**, by Yuki Horiuchi andAkira Takaoka, is at http://sites.music.columbia.edu/akira/compositions/ImprovisedOrnamentation

Obituaries

Organist **Bernard Lagacé** (1 November 1930-11 February 2025) has died at the age of 94.

Harpsichordist and scholar **Siegbert Rampe** (9 February 1964–2 February 2025) has died at the age of 60.

Organist and harpsichordist **Edoardo Bellotti** (17 September 1957-27 February 2025) has died at the age of 67.

Harpsichordist **Alan Cuckston** (2 July 1940-24 March 2025) has died at the age of 84.

Organist **Nicolas Kynaston** (10 December 1941-26 March 2025) has died at the age of 83.

Organologist **Charles Mould** (12 August 1928-25 May 2025) has died at the age of 96.

Listings

EARLY MUSIC SOCIETIES AND EVENTS

Early Music Fora and events

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

29 November 2025, The Life & Music of Thomas Morley, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Bank. Burton Court, Eardisland

28 February 2026, *El Parnasso Hyspano*, Latin American music workshop

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

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

1 November 2025, Scottish Renaissance Music (David Peebles, Andrew Blackhall and Robert Carver), tutor Alan Taverner, Falkirk Trinity Church

22 November 2025, Purcell, tutor Philip Redfern, Reid Memorial Church Hall, Edinburgh

13 December 2025, Corelli, tutor Philip Redfern, Reid Memorial Church Hall, Edinburgh

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

11-12 October 2025, Heinrich Schütz, *Schwanengesang*, tutor George Parris, Thaxted Parish Church

14 February 2026, Epiphany Party, tutor Philip Thorby, Beccles

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

1 November 2025, *From Darkness to Light* (Hans Leo Hassler, Heinrich Schütz and Johann Hermann Schein), tutor Drew Cantrill-Fenwick, St Francis Church Hall, Newcastle

6 December 2025, *Christmas with the Shepherds*, tutor Andrew Fowler, North Road Methodist Church, Durham

24 January 2026, *A party in Augsburg*: Music of the early 16th century German Town and Dance bands, tutor Lizzie Gutteridge, Clements Hall, York

7 February 2026, Zelenka at the Dresden Court, tutor Chris Roberts, Thirsk & Sowerby Town Hall

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

8 November 2025, *The Sound of Power* – Johann Stadlmayr's Polychoral Music for the Habsburg Courts, tutor Gawain Glenton, St Mary's Church Hall, Sale

14 February 2026, *Love Early Music*, tutor Lisa Colton, Liverpool

21 March 2026, Victoria Lamentations, tutor David Allinson, Didsbury

18 April 2026, *Missa Ave Virgo Sanctissima* by Gery de Ghersem, tutor Rory Wainwright Johnston, Preston

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

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

12 September 2026, tutor Stephanie Dyer, Chester

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

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

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

8 November 2025, *Consumed with Sorrow*, tutor Angus Smith, St Nicholas Church, Warwick

6 December 2025, tutor Robert Hollingworth, Solihull Methodist Church Hall

17 January 17, 2026, tutor David Hatcher

7 February 7, 2026, *William Byrd and his Circle*, tutor Sally Dunkley

7 March 2026, Schutz: *Psalmen Davids*, tutor Bill Carslake,Tamworth Church

2 May 2026, tutor Greg Skidmore, Lincoln

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

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

15 November 2025, Palestrina workshop for voices, tutor David Allinson. Challock

15 November 2025, *A European Advent*, tutor Ali Kinder, Boxgrove Village Hall

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

25 October 2025, *Andrea Gabrieli 540th Anniversary*, tutor Philip Thorby, Thorverton Parish Church

29 November 2025, *Praise and Prayer* (Palestrina and Cipriano de Rore), tutor Alison Kinder, Leckhampton Village Hall, Cheltenham

28 March 2026, *Polychoral Pentecost*, tutor Mark Wilson, St George's Church, Cam, near Dursley

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

8 November 2025, Renaissance Playing Day, Chesham

7 December 2025, Christmas Workshop: Valls, *Missa Scala Aretina*, tutor Patrick Craig, Amersham

21 February 2026, Bach: Choruses from the *Christmas Oratorio*, tutor Philip Thorby, Keble College, Oxford

14 March 2026, Prophecies and visions: chromatic music of the 1540s-1570 (Lassus, Vicentino, de Rore and Marenzio), tutor James Weeks

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

Conferences

The conference **Music and Celebrations in the Jubilee Years between the 17th and 19th centuries** will take place at the Conservatorio Statale di Musica di Roma on 13-15 November 2025. Contact: a.caroccia@conservatoriosantacecilia.it

The 41st Annual Conference on **Music In Eighteenth-Century Britain** will take place at the Foundling Museum, London, on 28 November 2025.

The virtual conference ***O felix Roma*: Palestrina and his Roman Contemporaries** will take place on 12-14 December 2025. Contact: conferences@luigiboccherini.org

The conference **Sources and Musical Practices in Extraordinary Liturgical Ceremonies of the Hispanic World (17th Century)** will take place on 4–6 December 2025 at the Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, Baeza, Spain. Contact: marin@ujaen.es

The conference **Alternative Routes. The Spread of Liturgical Chant in post-Carolingian Europe (900–1100)** will take place at the University of Pavia, Cremona, on 12–13 January 2026. Contact: giovanni.cunego@unipv.it

The conference **Human Body, Musical Performance and its Visual Representation throughout History** will take place at the Conservatorio 'Giuseppe Verdi' in Turin on 19-21 March 2026. Contact: conferences@luigiboccherini.org

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

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

EARLY MUSIC ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

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

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

Boston Clavichord Society, www.bostonclavichord.org

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finnish Clavichord Society, suomenklavikordiseura.blogspot.com

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

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

Handel Institute, https://handelinstitute.org

Handel Friends, www.handelfriendsuk.com

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

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

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

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

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

Het Nederlands Clavichord Genootschap, www.clavichordgenootschap.nl

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

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

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

Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch

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

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

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

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

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

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AUCTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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