

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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



Illus.3 Frontispiece of Hawkins' A General History

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

The Engravers

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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



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

General observations on the Medallion Portraits

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

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

The Oxford Music School Collection

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

Below, each image is reproduced and assessed in turn.

John Bull

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



Portrait A1 John Bull [FL = flipped]



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

William Child

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



Portrait A2 William Child [FL]



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

Arcangelo Corelli



Portrait A3 Arcangelo Corelli, engraved by Charles Grignion the Elder



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

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



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



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

William Croft

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

F. 3



Portrait A4 William Croft [FL]



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

Christopher Gibbons

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



Portrait A5 Christopher Gibbons [FL]



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

William Heather (Heyther)

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



Portrait A6 William Heather [FL]



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

John Hilton (the Younger)

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

Matthew Locke

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



Portrait A9 Matthew Locke [FL]



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

Bernard Smith (Father Smith the organ builder)

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



Portrait A10 Bernard Smith [FL]



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

John Wilson

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



Portrait A11 John Wilson [FL]



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

The Selection Process for the Oxford Portraits

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



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



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



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



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

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

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

Existing books and publications available to Hawkins and his engravers

Major Sources

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

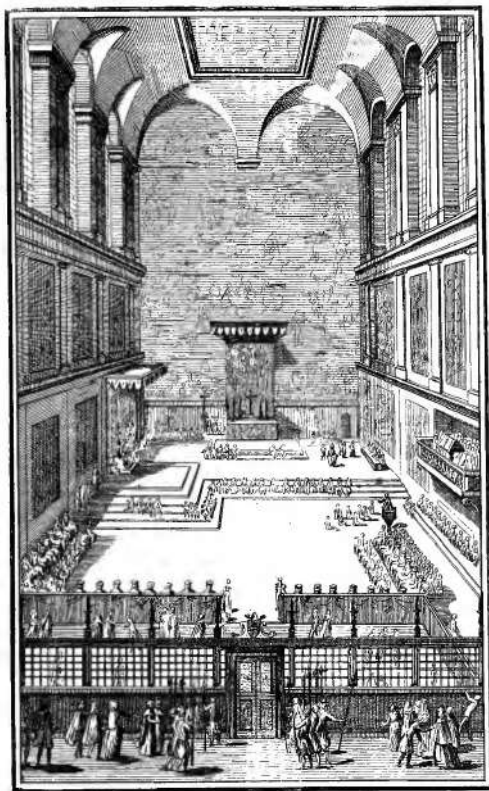
Hawkins enlisted the assistance of Sir Horace Mann, the British Envoy at Florence, through his family friend from Twickenham, Horace Walpole, the Earl of Oxford (1717 – 1797) to acquire different sources to complete his project. Here Walpole wrote to Sir Horace:

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

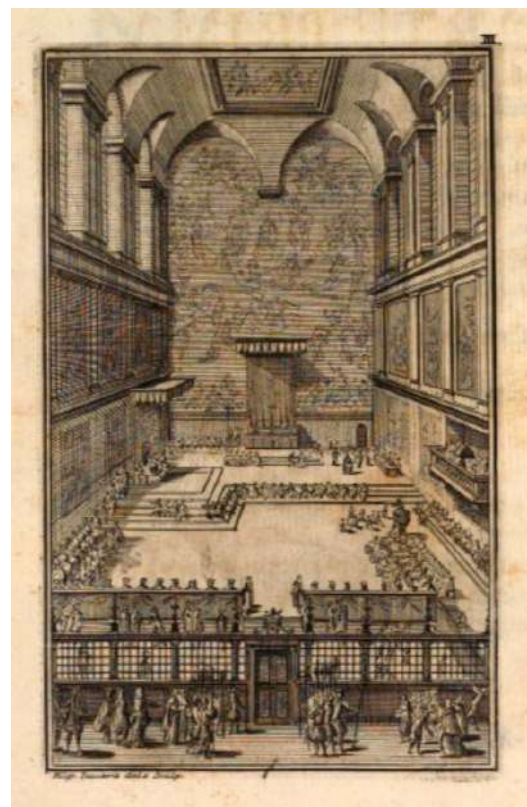
1. *Tutte le Opere di Giuseppe Zarlino. Venezia, 1589; 2 vols. Folio.*
2. *History of Music, in Italian, by Gio. Andr. Angelini Bontempi, 1695, folio.*
3. *Dialogo della Musica antica e moderna, di Vincenzo Galilei. Folio, 1602, or 1541, in Firenze.*
4. *Musica vaga ed artificiosa di Romano Michieli.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

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

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



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



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

Andrea Adami

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



Portrait B1 Andrea Adami [FL]



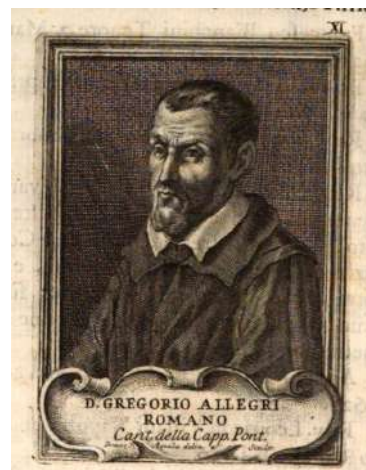
Illus.26 Engraving of Andrea Adami in Adami's Osservazioni

Gregorio Allegri

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



Portrait B2 Gregorio Allegri



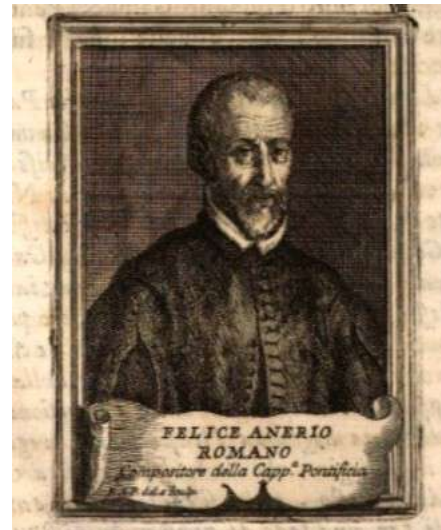
Illus.27 Engraving of Gregorio Allegri in Adami's Osservazioni

Felice Anerio

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



Portrait B3 Felice Anerio



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

Ruggiero Giovanelli

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



Portrait B4 Ruggiero Giovannelli



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

Antimo Liberati

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



Portrait B5 Antimo Liberati



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



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

Cristóbal de Morales

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



Portrait B6 Cristóbal de Morales



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

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

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



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



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

Giovanni Maria Nanino

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



Portrait B7 *Giovanni Maria Nanino*



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



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

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina

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

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

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



Portrait B8 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina



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



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

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



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



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

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



Ex.2 Transcription of music fragment found in the Frontispiece

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

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



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



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

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

Matteo Simonelli

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

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



Portrait B9 Matteo Simonelli



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



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

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

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

Jean-Baptiste Lully

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



Portrait C1 Jean-Baptiste Lully [FL]



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



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

Marin Mersenne

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



Portrait C2 Marin Mersenne [FL]



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

3. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Bibliotheca Chalcographica*

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

Philippe de Monte

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

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



Portrait D1 Philippe de Monte [FL]



Illus.48 Engraving of Philippe de Monte in Bibliotheca Chalcographica



Illus.49 Engraving of Philippe de Monte by Raphael Sadeler

Orlande de Lassus

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

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



Portrait D2 Orlande de Lassus [FL]



Illus.50 Engraving of Orlande de Lassus in Bibliotheca Chalcographica

Portraits Sourced from Miscellaneous Publications

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

John Blow

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



Portrait E1 John Blow [FL]



Illus.51 Engraving of John Blow in *Amphion Anglicus*

Ercole Bottrigari

Ercole Bottrigari (known as Hercole Bottrigaro by Hawkins) (1531 – 1612⁴⁴) was born into a family of aristocrats in Bologna, an illegitimate son. His portrait was sourced from his book *Il Melone, Discorso Armonico del M. Ill. Sig. Cavaliere Hercole Bottrigaro, et il Melone Secondo, Considerationi musicali del medesimo sopra un Discorso di M. Gandolfo Sigonio intorno à Madrigali et à Libri dell'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna Prattica di D. Nicola Vicentino* which was published in Ferrara by the firm Vittorio Baldini in 1602. In the book, Bottrigari wrote about the controversies between Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano.⁴⁵ Charles Grignion was the engraver who reproduced the portrait for Hawkins: the elaborate frame in the original source was omitted and Bottrigari's appearance was accurately captured.



Portrait E2 Ercole Bottrigari [FL]



Illus.52 Engraving of Ercole Bottrigari in his *Il Melone, Discorso Armonico*

Henry Carey

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



Portrait E3 Henry Carey [FL]



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

Scipione Cerreto

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



Portrait E4 Scipione Cerreto [FL]



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

Thomas D'Urfey

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



Portrait E5 Thomas D'Urfey [FL]



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

Girolamo Frescobaldi

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



Portrait E6 Girolamo Frescobaldi [FL]



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

George Frederic Handel

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



Portrait E7 George Frederic Handel



Illus. 57 Engraving of George Frederic Handel by Jacobus Houbraken

Claude de Jeune

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



Portrait E8 Claude de Jeune [FL]



Illus.58 Engraving of Claude de Jeune in his Dodecacorde

Henry Lawes

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



Portrait E9 Henry Lawes [FL]



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

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

Canon a 3 voc : m 4 & 8 Interius

Re - gi Re - gis Re - gi Re - gis Re - gum Ar - ca - na ca - no

HENRICVS LAWES
Regia Majestati ab utraq
Musica

Ex.3 The canon Regi Regis by Henry Lawes, found on his portrait

Hawkins, however, chose to use the portrait of Henry Lawes from his *Ayres and Dialogues for One, Two and Three Voyces*. The engraving was by William Faithorne and reproduced by Charles Grignion. In terms of Lawes' appearance, the Faithorne engraving is consistent with the Lawes oil on canvas. The only difference is the outfit that he was wearing when he sat for these portraits.



Portrait E9 Henry Lawes [FL]



Illus.60 Engraving of Henry Lawes in his *Ayres and Dialogues*

Thomas Mace

Thomas Mace (1613 - ?1706) was a singer who spent his life in Cambridge. He was appointed a 'singing-man' (or 'clerk' as Hawkins described him) at Trinity College, Cambridge. His portrait was extracted from his book *Musick's Monument*, published in 1676 when Mace was 63 years old. Henry Cooke (d. 1700) drew the image and it was engraved by William Faithorne (1616 – 1691). Charles Grignion made the reproduction for Hawkins.



Portrait E10 Thomas Mace [FL]



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

Henry Purcell

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



Portrait E11 Henry Purcell [FL]



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

Antonio Vivaldi

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

89



Portrait E12 Antonio Vivaldi [FL]



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

Loose Prints available to Hawkins

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

Henry Aldrich

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

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

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



Portrait F1 Henry Aldrich



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



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

Attilio Ariosti

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



Portrait F2 Attilio Ariosti [FL]



Illus.66 Engraving of Attilio Ariosti, Gallica BnF

John Banister

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

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

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



Portrait F3 John Banister [FL]



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

Francesco Bernardi (Senesino)

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



Portrait F4 Francesco Bernardi (Senesino) [FL]



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

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



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

Allegro. *Tutti.*

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

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

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

Thomas Britton

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



Portrait F5 Thomas Britton [FL]



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



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

Carlo Broschi (Farinelli)

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

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

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



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

Francesco Geminiani

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



Portrait F7 Francesco Geminiani [FL]



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

William Holder

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



Portrait F8 William Holder



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



Portrait F10 Johann Christoph Pepusch [FL]



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

Mrs Anastasia Robinson

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



Portrait F11 Mrs Anastasia Robinson [FL]



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

Questionable Portraits

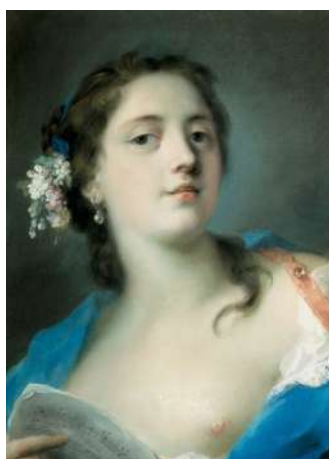
Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina)

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

A



Portrait G1 Faustina Bordoni (Signora Faustina) [FL]



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



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

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

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

John Playford

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

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

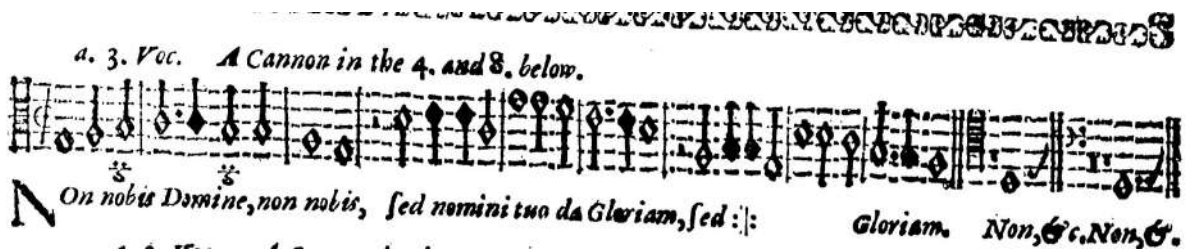


Portrait G2 John Playford [FL]



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

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



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

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



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



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

Christopher Simpson

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



Portrait G3 Christopher Simpson



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



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

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



Portrait G3 Christopher Simpson [FL]



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

Lost Portraits

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

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

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



Portrait H1 Paolo Agostino



Portrait H2 Francesco Foggia



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

Orlando Gibbons



Portrait H3a Orlando Gibbons



Portrait H3b Orlando Gibbons



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

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

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

Henry Needler

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



Portrait H4 Henry Needler

A Possible Link with Nicola Haym's *A History of Music*

Though most of portraits presented in Hawkins' *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* can be identified as derivative, with original oil on canvas portraits or etchings that can be traced, a number must be considered lost. The two case studies below are intriguing:

Giovanni Battista Bononcini

Giovanni Battista Bononcini (Buononcini) (1670 – 1747), one of the sons of Giovanni Maria Bononcini,⁸⁹ was an Italian opera composer who soon became Handel's rival upon his arrival in England. There was a suggestion that engraver James Caldwell referenced a portrait now hosted at Civic Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.⁹⁰ However, when putting Caldwell's presentation of Bononcini and an engraving of the composer by Gerard van der Gucht (1696/97 – 1776) side by side, it seems that Caldwell's etching was a derivative of van der Gucht's.



Portrait I1 Giovanni Battista Bononcini



Illus.89 Portrait of Giovanni Battista Bononcini, Civic Museo Bibliografico Musicale

83



Portrait 11 Giovanni Battista Bononcini [FL]



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

Francesca Cuzzoni

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

84



Portrait 11 Francesca Cuzzoni [FL]



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

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

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

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

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



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

Concluding summary

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix 2 A Summary of the illustrations, portraits and paintings

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ See Poole (1912), p.159.

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

²¹ *Oxford Grove*.

²² See Knights (2025), p.35.

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

²⁴ Poole (1912), p.368.

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

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

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

²⁸ Refer to Scholes (1953), p.114.

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

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

³¹ See Adami (1711), p.164

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁸ See Adami (1711), p.208

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

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

⁴¹ Hawkins (1776), ii, p.491.

⁴² Hawkins (1776), ii, p.349.

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

⁴⁴ Hawkins put the date of his death as 1609.

⁴⁵ Hawkins (1776), ii, p.207.

⁴⁶ Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.184.

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

⁴⁸ Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.184

⁴⁹ Hawkins (1776), v, p.159

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

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

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

⁵³ See Poole (1912), p.152.

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

⁵⁵ See Duncan (2016), p.272.

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

⁵⁷ Hawkins (1776), v/1, p.9.

⁵⁸ See Poole (1912), p.78.

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

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

⁶¹ Highfill (1973), p.96.

⁶² Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.175.

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

⁶⁴ Hawkins (1776), v/2, p.176.

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

⁶⁶ See Scholes (1953), p.120.

⁶⁷ Hawkins (1776), v/1, p.75.

⁶⁸ Highfill (1973), v, pp.148-149.

⁶⁹ Highfill (1973), v, p.151.

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

⁷¹ Hertz (1990).

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

⁷³ Hawkins (1776), v/3, p.238.

⁷⁴ Highfill (1973), vi, p.135.

⁷⁵ Hawkins (1776), iv/4, p.545.

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

⁷⁷ Hawkins (1853), i, p.v.

⁷⁸ Highfill (1973), xi, p.260.

⁷⁹ Highfill (1973), xiii, p.22.

⁸⁰ Highfill (1973), xiii, p.25.

⁸¹ Highfill (1973), v, p.190.

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

⁸³ See Poole (1912), p.155.

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

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

⁸⁶ See the comparison in Knights (2025).

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

⁸⁸ White (2024).

⁸⁹ Hawkins (1776), v/3, p.274.

⁹⁰ Highfill (1973), ii, p.210.

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