

THE STROBACH SYNDROME FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH FÉTIS, HISTORICAL FAKES AND THE EARLY MUSIC REVIVAL

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Izvilleček: Nekatero skladbe, ki jih je François-Joseph Fétis vključil v svoje zgodovinske koncerte, so danes znane kot »zgodovinski ponaredki«, ki jih je komponiral sam in jih pripisal Emiliju de' Cavalieriju, Heinrichu Schützu, Alessandru Stradelli in drugim. V svoji Univerzalni biografiji glasbenikov je v smislu potegavščine za svojega izmišljenega skladatelja Jeana Strobacha ustvaril celo novo geslo. Pričujoča razprava sledi zgodovinskim glasbenim ponaredkom od Fétisa do Winfrieda Michela in ugotavlja, da so bili odkriti predvsem zato, ker so tako kot drugi kulturni artefakti sčasoma zastareli.
Ključne besede: François-Joseph Fétis, Jean Strobach, zgodovinski glasbeni ponaredki, Winfried Michel, izmišljeni dokumenti

Abstract: Some pieces included by François-Joseph Fétis in his concerts historiques are now known to be "historical fakes", which he composed himself and attributed to Emilio de' Cavalieri, Heinrich Schütz, Alessandro Stradella and others. He even provided a spoof entry for his invented composer Jean Strobach in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. This paper traces the history of historical musical fakes from Fétis to Winfried Michel, arguing that they are uncovered because they go out of date like other cultural artefacts.

Keywords: François-Joseph Fétis, Jean Strobach, historical music fakes, Winfried Michel, invented documents

The 150th anniversary of the death of François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) has prompted renewed interest in his varied activities, as a composer, a journalist, a theorist, a teacher, a voluminous writer on music, a pioneer musicologist, a concert promoter and a collector (Figure 1).¹ He was born in Mons into a family of musicians and instrument makers, studied at the Paris Conservatoire, and was appointed professor of counterpoint and fugue there in 1821. He was appointed librarian of the Conservatoire in 1826, though he was removed from his post in 1831, and in 1833 he was appointed the first director of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, where he was based for the rest of his life. Fétis had ambitions as a composer as a young man, a rival of Berlioz, but increasingly devoted himself to journalism and scholarship. In 1827 he founded the ground-breaking periodical *Revue musicale*, which he largely wrote himself, and published an eight-volume *Biographie*

¹ For Fétis, see in particular Campos, *François-Joseph Fétis*.

universelle des musiciens (Brussels, 1835–1844; 2nd ed., 1860–1865). His magnificent music library, purchased after his death by the Belgian government, is in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels (B-Br) and is currently being digitized.²

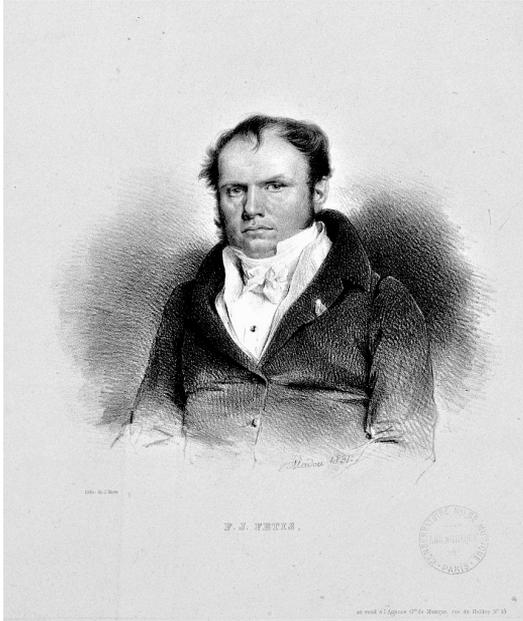


Figure 1

François-Joseph Fétis, engraving by Jean-Baptiste Medou (1831), Bibliothèque nationale de France, gallica.bnf.fr.

Fétis is perhaps best remembered today for his role in the developing early music movement, as a writer and collector and as the organizer of the series of *concerts historiques* he put on in Paris, starting on 8 April 1832 at the Conservatoire with a survey of opera from the *Balet comique de la royne* (Paris, 1581) to Weber and Rossini.³ Fétis was not, of course, the first in this field. The Academy of Ancient Music (originally the Academy of Vocal Music) had been performing old music in London since 1726,⁴ while

² Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*; see also Eeckeloo, “François-Joseph Fétis”; De Baerdemacker, “Digitized Fétis Collection”.

³ The programmes of the four *concerts historiques* Fétis gave in Paris, together with one given in the Salle Herz in Brussels on 14 April 1855, are in Weckerlin, *Musiciiana*, 55–66. Weckerlin apparently derived his information partly from a pamphlet by Aristide Farrenc, *Les concerts historiques de M. Fétis à Paris* (Paris, [1855]); I have been unable to locate a copy of this item. See also Niecks, “Historical Concerts”, esp. 219–220, 242; Wangermée, “Les premiers concerts historiques”; Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 19–21; Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, esp. 22–25; Holman, *Life after Death*, 308–309.

⁴ In particular Weber, *Rise of Musical Classics*, 56–74; Johnstone, “Academy of Ancient Music”.

the Concerts of Ancient Music put on high-profile public concerts there from 1776, supported by King George III and an influential group of the British aristocracy.⁵ By the early nineteenth century parallel organizations had developed in other European capitals, such as Raphael Georg Kiesewetter's house concerts in Vienna,⁶ the Sing-Akademie in Berlin,⁷ and Alexandre-Étienne Choron's concerts of Renaissance and Baroque choral music, given in Paris in the 1820s by the pupils of his Institution royale de musique religieuse.⁸ Nevertheless, Fétis's *concerts historiques* broke new ground in several respects. They were apparently the first in which old music was performed with what were thought to be old instruments. Until then old music always seems to have been performed with the ordinary instruments of the time, and that continued long after the 1830s, even in organizations specifically devoted to old music. On 29 April 1846, for instance, a *trouvère* song by Thibault I, King of Navarre (1201–1253), was sung at the Concerts of Ancient Music in an orchestral arrangement by the composer Henry Bishop, who was principal conductor of the Concerts from 1842 to their demise in 1848.⁹

By contrast, Fétis's first *concert historique* included instrumentalists playing “des violes, basses de viole, clavecin, orgue, guitares et harpes” in extracts from the *Euridice* operas by Peri and Caccini and Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*; while the second concert, at the Conservatoire on 16 December 1832 (postponed from 18 November), included: a “Pièce de viole à cinq parties, par Gervaise (1556)”; “Pièce d'épinette, tirée du *Virginal book*, de la reine Elisabeth” (the manuscript now known as the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book); and “*Concerti passeggiati* pour violes, violon français, harpe, orgue et théorbe, composés par Emilio de Cavaliere”. The third concert, at the Salle Ventadour on 24 March 1833, featured the work that prompted the title of this paper: “*Concerto de chambre* pour une mandoline, un luth, une viole d'amour, une basse de viole à sept cordes et un clavecin, par Jean Strobach (1698)”.

Fétis's *concerts historiques* made a great impression in France and further afield, though some at the time questioned the historical accuracy of the instruments used. Aristide Farrenc, who collaborated with him on the second edition of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens*,¹⁰ wrote that the instrument Fétis called “violone” was actually just a modern double bass,¹¹ while the cellist and viola da gamba player Auguste Tolbecque claimed in 1898 that Fétis had difficulty finding musicians capable of playing old instruments and so resorted to modernizing them, “setting up the bass viol as a violoncello, the viola d'amore as a viola, the pardessus de viole as a violin, the lute as a guitar, etc.”;¹² he added: “I can vouch for the accuracy of my statement, having known the artists who

⁵ Weber, *Rise of Musical Classics*, 143–197, 248–257.

⁶ Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 15, 199n7.

⁷ Kelly, “Artistry and Equality”.

⁸ Wangermée, “Les premiers concerts historiques”, 186–187; Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 16–19; Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, esp. 25–28.

⁹ Holman, *Life after Death*, 308.

¹⁰ Ellis, “Making of a Dictionary”.

¹¹ Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 19–20.

¹² “[...] montant la basse de viole en *violoncello*, la viole d'amour en *alto*, le pardessus de viole en *violon*, le luth en *guitare*, etc.”.

took part in these concerts intimately”.¹³ Fétis was aware of the problem, writing in 1838 that “the performance never matched what I had in mind, and unfortunately I could not hope for better from it”.¹⁴

Another aspect of Fétis’s *concerts historiques* also came under scrutiny in the later nineteenth century and has attracted renewed scholarly attention in recent years. A number of the pieces that were performed in them, or which he prepared for performance, have been revealed to be what we might call historical fakes – that is, they purport to have been written at a much earlier period than was actually the case, and were presented in concerts and editions with intent to deceive. Fétis claimed that his pieces were composed by a range of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers, though we shall see that obvious features of their scoring and style makes this implausible, and like a guilty schoolboy trying to cover his tracks, he sometimes changed his mind about the composer or the dates of particular pieces. We shall also see that he was sometimes betrayed by his anachronistic choice of texts for vocal pieces.

So far as I have been able to discover, Fétis was the first person to compose historical fakes, though of course fraud and forgery in music has a rather longer history. The practice of copyists and publishers fraudulently misattributing works became a minor industry during the eighteenth century, particularly in the case of Pergolesi and Haydn,¹⁵ while the activity of faking musical instruments goes back at least to the sixteenth, the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, in the cases of wind instruments, violins and keyboard instruments respectively.¹⁶ It should be related to the wider and much older activity of faking documents and artworks with intent to deceive.¹⁷ I will argue, however, that the enterprise of composing historical musical fakes was particularly associated with the early music movement as it developed in the nineteenth century, and has maintained this association up to the present, along with the related activity of forging or simply inventing documents to deceive music historians.

¹³ “Je garantis l’exactitude de ce que j’avance, ayant connu intimement des artistes qui faisaient partie de ces concerts”. Tolbecque, *Notice historique*, 15–16.

¹⁴ “[...] l’exécution n’a jamais répondu à mes vues, et malheureusement je n’en pouvais espérer de meilleure”. Ellis, *Music Criticism*, 67.

¹⁵ For a survey, see Cudworth, “Ye Olde Spuriousity Shoppe”. For Pergolesi misattributions, see esp. Walker, “Two Centuries of Pergolesi”; Bacciagaluppi, “Classifying Misattributions”, and the literature cited there. For Haydn misattributions, see the category “Authenticity” in the bibliography of Feder and Webster, “Haydn, (Franz) Joseph”. Another case, uncovered in recent years, is Iseppo Baldan’s fraudulent misattribution of sacred works by Vivaldi to Galuppi; see Talbot, “Another Vivaldi Work”.

¹⁶ See in particular Barnes, Beare and Libin, “Faking and Forgery”, and the literature cited there.

¹⁷ The literature on fakes in the visual arts is large (see the bibliography in Lenain, “Forgery”), but I have found Kurz, *Fakes* particularly useful. Clericetti, “La verità e altre bugie” is a survey covering fakes in literature and the visual arts as well as music.

Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus

The obvious starting point for an examination of Fétis's historical fakes is the celebrated aria "Se i miei sospiri", since this is the only that has generally been recognized as such; it is listed as his composition in RISM A/II.¹⁸ He had it performed in his third Paris *concert historique* on 24 March 1833, claiming it was an "Air d'église" written "par Stradella (1667)".¹⁹ It was subsequently fitted with a number of sacred texts, including "Pietà, Signore, di me dolente", "Agnus Dei" and "Pie Jesu", and it has remained strangely popular up to the present (there are more than 100 recordings of it on YouTube as "Pietà, Signore, di me dolente"), even though French critics pointed out some implausible features as early as the 1860s: notably that the "Se i miei sospiri" words are the second verse of the first aria of Alessandro Scarlatti's oratorio *Il martiro di Santa Teodosio*, dating from 1685 – postdating Stradella's death in 1682.²⁰ However, it was not until 1996 that Walter Corten pointed out that Fétis's autograph score survives in B-Br, Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus, fols. 34–36.²¹ This is doubtless the form of the piece performed in the 1833 concert, where a tenor sings the original "Se i miei sospiri" words accompanied by two violas, "Viol di gamba" and "Violone".

Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus is entitled "Fr. J. Fétis, Concerts Historiques" on the spine and is described on a flyleaf as: "Collection of pieces performed in the historical concerts of M. Fétis: many transcribed by him in modern notation: autographs".²² It is a guard-book containing a number of separate manuscripts of different sizes and types, perhaps a pile of loose papers bound together only when it entered the Royal Library. In the summary list of the collection appended to his article Corten identified sixteen pieces that were, in his words, "of totally doubtful authenticity, according to stylistic criteria and in the absence of identifiable concordances".²³ In addition to "Se i miei sospiri", Corten's "of completely doubtful authenticity" category (which I will refer to as his "blacklist" for short) includes pieces Fétis attributed to Gombert, Palestrina, Mouton, Lassus, Alessandro Scarlatti (or Steffani in another copy), Willaert, Balthasar de Beaujoyeux, Bull, Schütz, Cavalieri and Andrea Gabrieli, as well as Anonymus and the invented composers Soto di Puebla and Jean Strobach.

As already mentioned, suspicions were originally aroused about "Se i miei sospiri" because of Fétis's choice of the text, and Corten pointed out several similar tell-tale cases

¹⁸ RISM A/II, ID no. 700007075, <https://opac.rism.info>.

¹⁹ Gianturco and McCrickard, *Alessandro Stradella*, 267–268 (catalogue nos. 11–270); Hibberd, "Murder in the Cathedral?", 554–562.

²⁰ Hibberd, "Murder in the Cathedral?", 557–558. A score of *Il martiro di Santa Teodosio* at Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (I-MOe), Mus.F.1058-59, has been digitized and made available at the IMSLP website: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Il_martirio_di_S._Teodosia_\(Scarlatti%2C_Alessandro\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Il_martirio_di_S._Teodosia_(Scarlatti%2C_Alessandro)).

²¹ Corten, "Fétis, transcripteur et vulgarisateur". The volume has now been digitized and is available at: <https://uurl.kbr.be/1909104>.

²² "Collection des morceaux exécutés dans les concerts historiques | de M. Fétis: plusieurs transcrits par lui en notation | moderne: autographes".

²³ "[...] d'authenticité totalement douteuse, selon des critères stylistiques et en l'absence de concordances identifiables". Corten, "Fétis, transcripteur et vulgarisateur", 267–268.

in Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus. Fétis attributed two copies of the five-part madrigal “T’amo mia vita” (fols. 37–37v, 39–39v) to Lassus, but Corten pointed out its “strange similarities with the madrigal by Monteverdi on the same text”.²⁴ Fétis attributed the five-part madrigal “Stracciami pur” in two copies (fols. 42–42v, 43–45v) to Alessandro Scarlatti but in a third (fols. 46–48v) to Agostino Steffani, despite the fact that it has “an incipit that resembles that of the madrigal (with the same text, ‘Stracciami pur’) set by Monteverdi in his Third Book”.²⁵

Corten suggested that Fétis came across Monteverdi’s setting of “Stracciami pur” in Charles Burney’s *General History of Music* (London, 1776, 1782, 1789), and pointed to other cases where Fétis seems to have copied genuine pieces printed by Burney, in Sir John Hawkins’s *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), and in one case in Thomas Busby’s *General History of Music* (London, 1819). Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus also contains a number of other demonstrably genuine pieces of old music, some of which Fétis apparently found in printed primary sources in his own library, including two movements from the *Ballet comique de la royne* (fols. 161–163) (which Corten mistakenly placed on his blacklist),²⁶ and extracts from Peri’s *L’Euridice* (Florence, 1600) and Monteverdi’s *L’Orfeo* (Venice, 1615) (fols. 106–114).²⁷ Not everything in Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus is in Fétis’s own hand: the collection includes what looks like a late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century set of parts for the quartet “Nominativo hic et haec et hoc” (fols. 62–75), ascribed wrongly to Carissimi rather than to Tarquinio Merula;²⁸ and two eighteenth-century scores of Giovanni Clari’s popular duet “Cantando un di sedea Laurinda al fonte” (fols. 135–140v, 142–147v).²⁹

More research needs to be undertaken on this fascinating collection and its connection with Fétis’s *concerts historiques*, though it is likely that it includes other fakes not included in Corten’s blacklist. Suspect pieces include a three-part “Lied, Chanson Allemande par Samuel Scheidt” (fols. 100–101),³⁰ and the aria “Rio destin ch’a tutte l’ore vai” (fols. 125–126v), which Fétis claimed to be from Cavalli’s opera *La Didone*,³¹ though it does not come from the opera and “in all likelihood was not even by Cavalli”.³² Of the pieces by Lully in the collection, two, “Airs de Ballet de Lully” (fols. 184–186), turn out

²⁴ “[...] les ressemblances étranges avec le madrigal de Monteverdi sur le même texte”.

²⁵ “L’incipit ressemble à celui de madrigal (avec le même texte “Straccia mi pur”) traité par Monteverdi dans son Troisième livre”.

²⁶ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, 2:317 (no. 2511). “Fragments du *Ballet comique de la Reine*” were performed in the first and fourth Paris concerts.

²⁷ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, 2:317, 318 (nos. 2514, 2516).

²⁸ It is from Merula’s *Madrigali et altre musiche concertate [...] libro secondo*, Op. 10 (Venice, 1633). It was performed in the third Paris concert.

²⁹ See the list of sources in RISM A/II. It was edited in Clari, *Fünf italienische Duette*, 2–19.

³⁰ It is not listed in Koch, *Verzeichnis der Werke Samuel Scheidts*. It was performed in the third Paris concert.

³¹ It was presumably the “Air de la *Didone*, par Cavalli (Venise, 1639)” performed in the third and fourth Paris concerts.

³² Fabris, “*Didone* by Cavalli and Busenello”, 136. A digital copy of the sole surviving score of *La Didone*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (I-Vnm), It.IV,355, is available at IMSLP: [https://imslp.org/wiki/La_Didone_\(Cavalli%2C_Francesco\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/La_Didone_(Cavalli%2C_Francesco)).

to be an air from Act I of *Persée* LWV 60/26 and the “Entrée des Zéphirs” from *Atys* LWV 53/47, though the “Symphonie de Lully / Exécutée aux Thuileries en 1671 par la Bande des Petits Violons” (fols. 165–172) may be another Fétis fake.³³ Other suspicious instrumental ensemble pieces not on Corten’s blacklist and remaining to be investigated in detail include: “Airs De la Mascarade des Enfants fourrés de Malice / (1587)” (fols. 153–156v), “Airs de Danse grave de la cour de Ferrare / au Mariage du Duc Alphonse D’Est” (fol. 177–177v) and “Basses-Dances / De Catherina de Medicis” (fols. 182–183).

I became interested in Fétis’s fakes when I was working on the history of the viola da gamba in Britain, and in particular on a concert given by the Concerts of Ancient Music in London on 16 April 1845, in which three pieces originally performed at Fétis’s second Paris concert were performed using scores and instruments sent by him from Brussels.³⁴ The three pieces performed that day are in Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus: the “Villancico de Soto de Puebla (en 1561)” (fols. 76–83); “La Romanesca / fameux air de danse italien de la fin du 16^e. Siècle” (fols. 178–181v) and the “Concerto Passegiato” supposedly by Emilio de’ Cavalieri (fols. 206–216). All three also survive in scores once in the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music, evidently copied from Fétis’s autographs: London, Royal College of Music (GB-Lcm), MS 1111 (fols. 107–118v); MS 794 (fols. 14–19); and MS 794 (fols. 1–13v). A fourth piece in Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus, the “Concerto de chambre par Jean Strobach (1698)” (fols. 197–202v), also exists in a copy once in the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music, GB-Lcm, MS 1152 (fols. 87–95v), suggesting that it, too, was considered for performance in the 1845 concert. It may well have been omitted because a harpsichord was not available or because no one capable of playing the lute part could be found in London.

Corten put all four of these pieces on his blacklist, rightly in my opinion, though he did not explain why in detail. In my 2005 and 2006 articles I pointed to a number of implausible features in them. The composer of the villancico, Soto di Puebla, is not recorded elsewhere; its vocal scoring, for six-part female chorus, is more characteristic of nineteenth-century part-songs than genuine villancicos; and the three written-out guitar parts (played doubled by six guitarists in London) are clearly intended for nineteenth-century six-string guitars rather than the four-course Spanish Renaissance *guitarra*. The “Romanesca”, which seems to have been composed by Pierre Baillot (he played it in Fétis’s second *concert historique*), is a charming nineteenth-century salon piece that subsequently became very popular in a variety of arrangements; it has nothing to do with the sixteenth-century chord sequence, despite Fétis’s assertions to the contrary. The “Concerto Passegiato” does not correspond to any genuine work by Cavalieri; its harmonic style is closer to the eighteenth than the sixteenth century, with a “Sarabanda” section quite unlike genuine early sarabandes; and there are a number of implausible features in the writing for the instruments, including a written-out obbligato organ part,

³³ This work is not listed in Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis*. It was performed in the third Paris concert.

³⁴ Research published in Holman, “First Early Music Concert”; and Holman, “Early Music in Victorian England”; it is summarized in Holman, *Life after Death*, 312–317. The villancico and the “Romanesca” were repeated in the 1855 Brussels concert.

a written-out theorbo part in the tenor clef, and an elaborate viola da gamba part closer in idiom to eighteenth-century solo music than to sixteenth-century viol parts.

As already mentioned, Fétis described the Strobach concerto in his autograph score as “Concerto de Chambre par Jean Strobach (1698)”, and labelled the instruments “Mandoline”, “Viole d’amour”, “Basse de viole”, “Luth” and “Clavecin”. He stated in an entry he wrote for Strobach in the *Biographie universelle* (Figure 2), in my translation: “I organized a performance of this piece in one of my historical concerts, in March 1833. The celebrated guitarist [Fernando] Sor had the patience to make a special study of the lute to play the obbligato part for that instrument, which I had transcribed from the tablature. [Matteo] Carcassi played the mandolin, [Chrétien] Urhan the viola d’amore, [Auguste] Franchomme the bass viol, and myself the harpsichord”.³⁵

STROBACH (Jean), luthiste et compositeur, né en Bohême, vers le milieu du dix-septième siècle, fut attaché au service de l'empereur Léopold I^{er}. Il a publié des concerts très-curieux pour clavecin, luth, mandoline, viole d'amour et basse de viole, à Prague, en 1698, in-fol. J'ai fait entendre un de ces morceaux dans un de mes concerts historiques, au mois de mars 1833. Le célèbre guitariste Sor avait eu la patience de faire une étude spéciale du luth pour exécuter la partie obligée de cet instrument, dont je lui avais traduit la tablature; Carcassi jouait la mandoline, Urhan la viole d'amour, Franchomme la basse de viole, et moi le clavecin.

Figure 2

Entry for “Jean Strobach” in François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 2nd ed., vol. 7 (Paris, 1864), (public domain).

Fétis began his entry for Strobach in the *Biographie universelle* as follows, again in my translation: “Strobach Jean, lutenist and composer, born in Bohemia towards the middle of the seventeenth century, was attached to the court of the emperor Leopold I. He published his very curious *concerts* for harpsichord, lute, mandolin, viola d’amore and bass viol in Prague in 1698, in folio”. However, no one else has seen this publication: it is not listed in RISM A/I or Göhler’s catalogue of music in Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair catalogues,³⁶ and Strobach is not given an entry by Robert Eitner (who rarely missed

³⁵ It was performed in the third Paris concert. In an announcement for the concert (reproduced in Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 12) the performers were listed as [Luigi] Castellaci (mandolin), [Chrétien] Urhan (viola d’amore), [Olive-Charlier] Vaslin (bass viol), [Fernando] Sor (lute) and [Charles-Alexandre] Fessy (harpsichord).

³⁶ Göhler, *Verzeichnis*.

even the most obscure composer or musical source),³⁷ or in any other musical dictionary. Fétis also arouses suspicion by being evasive about Strobach's supposed career, stating that he was merely attached – *attaché* – to the Viennese court, implying that he was not findable in lists of musicians employed at the Viennese court – which he is not.³⁸ The next entry in the *Biographie universelle* is for a real musician, the Bohemian violinist Joseph Strobach (1731–1794), so it seems that Fétis calculated that readers would assume a family connection between the two men, bolstering the plausibility of his dictionary entry for the imaginary Jean Strobach. This may have been the first fake entry in a musical dictionary, but it was certainly not the last.³⁹

Furthermore, the idiom of the Strobach concerto is implausible for a work published in 1698, particularly because of the anachronistic writing for the instruments. The mandolin, viola d'amore and bass viol parts are all characteristic of writing for those instruments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, not the late seventeenth century. The mandolin part is clearly intended for the later wire-strung instrument tuned like the violin rather than the late seventeenth-century *mandola* or *mandolino*, gut strung and usually tuned e'-a'-d''-g''.⁴⁰ The viola d'amore part, with a range of over three octaves (d to a'') and using harmonics and elaborate multiple stopping, is unlike genuine late seventeenth-century Austrian and south German viola d'amore music, such as Henrich Biber's Partia no. 7 in C minor for two violas d'amore and continuo, published in 1696.⁴¹ The gamba part, for a seven-string viol rather than the six-string instruments used in Germany and Austria at the time, changes role more frequently than genuine seventeenth-century ensemble viol parts, dodging between the melody, the bass and decorative chords or arpeggios.

The melodic, harmonic and textural idiom of the work is also implausible for 1698. In particular, the second movement, marked by Fétis "Tempo di Menuetto", is a charming movement in a galant idiom with elaborate textures demanding the stately tempo of the late eighteenth-century ballroom minuet – Fétis marked it crotchet = 88 (Music example). It is a long way from the simple one-in-a-bar minuets of the late seventeenth century, such as the ones (particularly relevant for a work supposedly published in Prague in 1698) in Georg Muffat's *Florilegium primum* (Augsburg, 1695) and *Florilegium secundum* (Passau, 1698).⁴² In short, we have to conclude that Fétis wrote the Strobach concerto himself and that he tried to cover his tracks by inventing an imaginary composer as its author. Its scoring is a colourful extension of the genres of chamber music with obbligato lute that developed in the course of the eighteenth century. Significantly, Fétis owned an important collection of such works, including the Partita in D major for lute, viola d'amore, violin, two horns and bass by the Bohemian composer Johann Baptist Georg Neruda (c. 1711–1776) (B-Br, Ms II 4088, fasc. 4, 5), and the Concerto in C major for lute, harpsichord, violoncello and

³⁷ Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*.

³⁸ Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle*.

³⁹ See Fallows, "Spoof Articles"; Clericetti, "La verità e altre bugie", 142–143.

⁴⁰ Tyler and Sparks, *Early Mandolin*, 12–22.

⁴¹ Biber, *Harmonia artificiosa-ariosa*, 81–105. For the genuine viola d'amore repertory, see Jappe and Jappe, *Viola d'amore Bibliographie*.

⁴² There are convenient complete modern editions available at IMSLP: https://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Muffat,_Georg.

Music example

François-Joseph Fétis, opening of the Menuetto from “Jean Strobach, Concerto de chambre”.

Métr: 88 -  Tempo di Menuetto



Mandoline

Viole d'amour

Basse de viole

Luth

Clavecin

6

8

four-part strings by the Hungarian-German composer Paul Charles Durant (b. 1712) (B-Br, Ms II 4086, fasc. 12).⁴³ To my knowledge, the latter is the only genuine work from the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries that combines obbligato parts for lute and keyboard.

⁴³ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, 2:353 (nos. 2911, 2914). The

Fakery and the Later Early Music Movement

Fétis may have been the first composer to write historical fakes, but he certainly was not the last. A far from comprehensive survey begins with the three supposedly sixteenth-century polyphonic vocal pieces discussed by Katharine Ellis: “Adoramus te” attributed to Palestrina in 1838 but actually a reworking, probably by Friedrich Rochlitz, of a motet by François Roussel; Arcadeldt’s “Ave Maria”, a four-part elaboration by Louis Dietsch of a three-part chanson by the composer, published around 1845; and “Mon coeur se recommande à vous”, a four-part chanson attributed to Lassus in 1853 by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin and probably composed by him.⁴⁴ Significantly, Dietsch and Weckerlin were both involved with Parisian choirs specializing in early music during the 1840s and 50s,⁴⁵ and their fake pieces have remained enduringly popular.⁴⁶ In another vein, the germ of Berlioz’s *L’Enfance du Christ* (1854) lay in a chorus, “Adieu des bergers à la Sainte Famille”, that he wrote in 1850, attributing it to the imaginary “Pierre Ducr , master of music to the Sainte-Chapelle, 1679”; he claimed he had discovered the manuscript in a cupboard there.⁴⁷

Given the country’s leading role in the developing early music movement, it is surprising that no historical fakes have so far come to light from eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Britain,⁴⁸ with the possible exception of a sonata Clementi published under the name of Domenico Scarlatti in London around 1791,⁴⁹ and the short keyboard piece by John Bull that the organist and writer Richard Clark (1780–1856) seems to have rewritten and extended to make it appear the ancestor of the British national anthem.⁵⁰ However, nineteenth-century British musicology was bedevilled by the activities of the collector and editor Edward Francis Rimbault (1816–1876), whose speciality was inventing documents. Among those said to have been in his possession, but which no-one else has seen, are: “a portion of the original manuscript” of John Dowland’s collection *Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares* (1604);⁵¹ the manuscript score of “The Address of the Children of the Chapel Royal to the King, and their Master, Captain Cooke, on his Majesties Birthday, A.D. 1670”, said

collections have now been digitized and are available at <https://uurl.kbr.be/1816742> and <https://uurl.kbr.be/1816725>. See also Meyer, “Les manuscrits de luth”.

⁴⁴ Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 13. See also Collins, “Arcadeldt’s ‘Ave Maria’”; Melamed, “Who Wrote Lassus’s Most Famous Piece?”.

⁴⁵ Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 17–18; Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, esp. 31–36; Melamed, “Who Wrote Lassus’s Most Famous Piece?”, 17.

⁴⁶ There are convenient modern editions at the ChoralWiki (Choral Public Domain Library) website: [https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Ave_Maria_\(Arcadelt-Dietsch\)](https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Ave_Maria_(Arcadelt-Dietsch)); [https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Mon_c ur_se_recommande_ C3%A0_vous_\(Anonymous\)](https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Mon_c ur_se_recommande_ C3%A0_vous_(Anonymous)).

⁴⁷ Holman, *Berlioz*, 418–419.

⁴⁸ Nelson, “Antiquarian Creation of a Musical Past”, esp. 118–142, discusses various types of “falsehood” associated with the early music revival in eighteenth-century Britain, including modernizing old music and writing new music in an antiquarian style, but does not identify any specific examples of the sort of historical fakes discussed in this article.

⁴⁹ Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 217.

⁵⁰ See Cummings, *God Save the King*, esp. 8–29, 82–83; Bull, *Keyboard Music*, 85, 237–238.

⁵¹ Holman, *Dowland*, 6, 82n14.

to have been composed by Henry Purcell at the age of eleven;⁵² and a letter supposedly written by Matthew Locke to Purcell.⁵³ A characteristic of this type of fraud is that the documents are too good to be true: the letter conveniently confirms the close relationship between Locke and Purcell, something we can hear in their music.

An invented document of another type is *The Little Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach*, ostensibly the autobiography of J. S. Bach's wife but actually the invention of the English writer Esther Meynell (1878–1955); it was published anonymously in 1925 and subsequently became very popular, eventually inspiring a film featuring Gustav Leonhardt as Anna Magdalena's husband.⁵⁴ A more recent example of an invented document is a letter supposedly written by Domenico Scarlatti in London on 1 March 1720 to his father, describing his visit to England.⁵⁵ This is also too good to be true because scholars have often wondered whether he came to London in that year for the production of his opera *Narcisco*.⁵⁶

Returning to our main theme, writing historical fakes became a minor industry in the early twentieth century as the early music movement developed. To list them all is beyond the scope of this paper,⁵⁷ though the best-known are the sixteen salon pieces for violin and piano "in the olden style" ascribed by the violinist Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962) to composers ranging from Louis Couperin to Boccherini and given the title "Classical Manuscripts";⁵⁸ Kreisler claimed he found the manuscripts in a monastery near Avignon and paid the monks about \$8000 for them.⁵⁹ When the violinist confessed in 1935 to having composed them himself, this led to a feud with Ernest Newman, music critic of *The Times*; he defended himself with the words "The name changes, the value remains".⁶⁰ His most ambitious piece, the still popular "Vivaldi" Violin Concerto in C major written around 1905 (but published only in 1927),⁶¹ had the unexpected effect of inspiring the young French-Algerian musicologist Marc Pincherle to devote himself to studying Vivaldi's genuine music.⁶²

⁵² Cummings, *Purcell*, 20.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁴ See Clericetti, "La verità e altre bugie", 135–136. For the film, see the Wikipedia entry "The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Chronicle_of_Anna_Magdalena_Bach).

⁵⁵ Rescigno, "Domenico Scarlatti". So far as I have been able to discover, the only mention of this document in the scholarly literature is in Poensgen, "Die Offiziumkompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti", 1:164n492, where it is described as "ein (fiktiver) Brief" (a [fictitious] letter). I am grateful to Dean Sutcliffe and Serguei Prozhoguin for drawing this thesis to my attention, and to Michael Talbot for confirming that the letter is a fake. Some other musicological spoofs and hoaxes are discussed in Clericetti, "La verità e altre bugie", 141–143.

⁵⁶ See Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 28–29.

⁵⁷ There is a useful list in the Wikipedia's "Musical hoax" entry (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Musical_hoax).

⁵⁸ Published by Schott from 1910. See also Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 295–308; Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 73–74.

⁵⁹ Cudworth, "Ye Olde Spuriousity Shoppe", 31.

⁶⁰ Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 301.

⁶¹ A copy is at IMSLP: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Violin_Concerto_in_C_major_\(Kreisler%2C_Fritz\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Violin_Concerto_in_C_major_(Kreisler%2C_Fritz)).

⁶² Talbot, *Vivaldi Compendium*, 104, 142–143.



Figure 3
“Société des Instruments Anciens, Fondée en 1901 par Henri Casadesus”, postcard (c. 1911),
Bibliothèque nationale de France, gallica.bnf.fr.

The most notorious group of historical fakes written around the same time are the concertos ascribed to various eighteenth-century composers by Henri Casadesus (1879–1947). These include the “Handel” Concerto in B minor for viola,⁶³ the “J. C. Bach” Concerto in C minor for viola or violoncello,⁶⁴ and the “C. P. E. Bach” Concerto in D major for violin or viola.⁶⁵ Casadesus was heavily involved with family members (among them, his brother Marius, the faker of the “Mozart” Adélaïde violin concerto) in the early music scene in Paris, founding with Saint-Saëns in 1901 the Société des instruments anciens, in which he played the viola d’amore (Figure 3); this gave concerts with old instruments up to 1939.⁶⁶ The first version of the C. P. E. Bach concerto, “for Four Viols Concertante”, was played by the group soon after its foundation. The supposed Handel and J. C. Bach concertos in particular are startlingly implausible as works by these composers, yet they have had an astonishingly long life, as the many videos of performances on YouTube show.

⁶³ Bell, *Handel Chronological Thematic Catalogue*, 396. A copy of an edition for viola and piano is at IMSLP: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Viola_Concerto_in_the_Style_of_Handel_\(Casadesus,_Henri\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Viola_Concerto_in_the_Style_of_Handel_(Casadesus,_Henri)). For Casadesus’s fakes, see Cudworth, “Ye Olde Spuriousity Shoppe”, 32; Lebermann, “Apokryph, Plagiat, Korruptel oder Falsifikat?”. Many more pieces by Casadesus “in the old style” are listed in Berck, *Viola d’amore Bibliographie*.

⁶⁴ Bach, *Collected Works*, 573 (no. YC 98). There is a copy of the version for viola and piano at IMSLP: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Viola_Concerto_in_the_Style_of_J.C._Bach_\(Casadesus%2C_Henri\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Viola_Concerto_in_the_Style_of_J.C._Bach_(Casadesus%2C_Henri)).

⁶⁵ Helm, *Thematic Catalogue*, 108 (H 497).

⁶⁶ Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 50–51; Becker-Dexer, “Les sociétés de musique ancienne”, 52–57.

Other notable historical fakes include two recital items still popular among singers, “Se tu m’ami”, ascribed to Pergolesi by Alessandro Parisotti (1853–1913) in the first volume of his *Arie Antiche* (Milan, 1885) but probably written by Parisotti himself,⁶⁷ and “Dank sei dir, Herr”, published under Handel’s name in 1905 by the Berlin composer and conductor Siegfried Ochs (1858–1929).⁶⁸ A well-known instrumental fake is the Toccata in B minor for violoncello and piano by the Spanish cellist Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966), published in 1925 under Frescobaldi’s name; Cassadó had supposedly found it in a manuscript at Barcelona.⁶⁹ In similar vein, the Italian musicologist Remo Giazotto (1910–1998) claimed that the Adagio in G minor for strings and organ he published in 1958 was based on fragments of a manuscript trio sonata by Albinoni in Dresden.⁷⁰ No one else seems to have seen this manuscript, so it is unclear whether the work as published contains any genuine material, though in style it clearly relates more to twentieth-century commercial music than to Albinoni. It is no surprise that it has been used hundreds of times in films, TV programmes and advertisements, and has also been reworked as popular music. Both works are implausible as genuine products of the named composer, but the Adagio is oddly similar to the first section of the Toccata, suggesting that Giazotto was influenced by it.

Among more recent historical fakes are the inexplicably popular “Ave Maria” by the Russian guitarist Vladimir Vavilov (1925–1973),⁷¹ often attributed to Giulio Caccini, and the lute pieces by the Ukrainian artist and composer Roman Turovsky-Savchuk (b. 1961), who has attributed some of them to invented composers, including Jacobus Olevsiensis and Johann Joachim Sautscheck.⁷² In doing this, Turovsky-Savchuk does not seem to be trying to deceive; in that respect, his activities are related to the wider recent movement to compose music in eighteenth-century style, embodied in the activities of the Vox Saeculum society.⁷³

⁶⁷ Copies are available at IMSLP: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Arie_Antiche_\(Parisotti%2C_Alessandro\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Arie_Antiche_(Parisotti%2C_Alessandro)). See Walker, “Two Centuries of Pergolesi”, 305–306.

⁶⁸ See Staehelin, “Dank sei Dir, Herr”.

⁶⁹ Schenkman, “Cassadó’s Frescobaldi”, 26, reports a letter from Cassadó in which he stated he discovered the piece “in the archives of La Merced, the Conservatory of Music at Bracelona” and that “The score bore the title *Toccata* and the name Frescobaldi, and was presumably a copy originally written for organ solo”. The publication is at IMSLP: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Toccata_in_the_Style_of_Frescobaldi_\(Cassad%C3%B3_Gaspar\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Toccata_in_the_Style_of_Frescobaldi_(Cassad%C3%B3_Gaspar)). See also Cudworth, “Ye Olde Spuriousity Shoppe”, 536.

⁷⁰ For the publication, see Giazotto, *Adagio in sol minore*. See also the Wikipedia entry “Adagio in G minor” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adagio_in_G_minor).

⁷¹ There are various versions at ChoralWiki: [https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Ave_Maria_\(Vladimir_Vavilov\)](https://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Ave_Maria_(Vladimir_Vavilov)). Some other fakes by Vavilov are listed in his Wikipedia entry “Vladimir Vavilov (composer)” ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Vavilov_\(composer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Vavilov_(composer))).

⁷² For tablature versions and recordings, see Turovsky-Savchuk’s website: <https://polyhymnion.org/swv>.

⁷³ See the Wikipedia entry “Vox Saeculorum” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vox_Saeculorum). See also Haynes, *End of Early Music*, 212–214.

The historical fakes we have considered so far are all effectively invented documents, in that Fétis and his successors just performed and/or published their invented pieces without trying to forge manuscripts supposedly written by their chosen composers. However, there were several attempts in the twentieth century to undertake the much more difficult task of combining a historical fake with a forged manuscript. A pioneer in this respect within the musical domain (there are of course literary forgeries of this sort going back at least as far as the eighteenth century) was the Italian musician Tobia Nicotra, a prolific forger of literary manuscripts during the 1920s and '30s who also created music manuscripts he claimed to be autographs of Handel, Gluck, Pergolesi and Mozart; the paleographic aspects of two pieces for voice and keyboard, “Baci amorosi e cari” by “Mozart” and “Non mi negar signora” by “Pergolesi”, historical fakes as well as forged autographs, have been discussed in detail in a recent dissertation.⁷⁴ However, Nicotra seems to have been anticipated by the unknown creators of three richly decorated manuscripts of Italian vocal music, supposedly dating from late seventeenth-century Venice but actually copied in the second decade of the twentieth century, drawing on recently published editions of early music.⁷⁵

This brings us to the most notorious example of a combined historical fake and forged manuscript: the set of keyboard sonatas supposedly by Haydn that Winfried Michel composed using the incipits of an otherwise lost set written in the late 1760s, as found in one of the composer’s catalogues of his own works.⁷⁶ The purported discovery, revealed in December 1993, initially convinced some Haydn experts, including H. C. Robbins Landon, Eva Badura-Skoda and the pianist Paul Badura-Skoda. However, the fraud was uncovered when the Haydn Institute in Cologne examined photocopies of the manuscript, supposedly of early nineteenth-century Italian provenance. Had those who gave this so-called discovery wide publicity known more about Winfried Michel (b. 1948), a Münster-based recorder player and composer, they would have been on their guard. From the 1980s onwards he has published works in an eighteenth-century style using the names of two imaginary Italian composers: Giovanni Paolo Simonetti for his works in a Baroque idiom and Giovanni Paolo Tomesini for those supposedly dating from later in the eighteenth century.⁷⁷ As a professional recorder player and teacher, a student of Frans Brüggen, Michel’s activities certainly demonstrate the enduring connection between historical fakes and the early music movement.

Understanding Historical Fakes

Finally, we should return to Fétis to try to understand why he and his followers wrote historical fakes, and why they seem so obviously anachronistic to us when they apparently

⁷⁴ Smith, “Mozart, Pergolesi, Handel?”, esp. 23–64. See also Walker, “Two Centuries of Pergolesi”, 306; Brook and Paymer, “Pergolesi Hand”, 562–563; Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 74–75.

⁷⁵ See Tacconi, “Three Forged ‘Seventeenth-Century’ Venetian Songbooks”.

⁷⁶ See esp. Reece, “Composing Authority”.

⁷⁷ See the “Winfried Michel” page of the Mieroprint Musikverlag website: <https://www.mieroprint.com/winfried-michel/>.

fooled everyone at the time they were written. In some cases the motive must have been to provide repertoire to suit particular performers or groups at a time when little genuine early music was available in modern editions. A lack of real eighteenth-century viola concertos may have been one reason why Casadesu wrote the ones he attributed to Handel and J. C. Bach, and their continuing usefulness can be seen in the number of YouTube videos of students playing them; the same is true of Kreisler's charming "Vivaldi" violin concerto. Some of Winfried Michel's Simonetti pieces are clearly designed to cater for recorder players looking for unusual combinations of instruments. They include sonatas for treble recorder, viola and continuo; treble recorder, bass recorder and continuo; flute, violoncello or viola and continuo; and treble recorder, flute and viola.⁷⁸

However, in Fétis's case practical considerations were clearly secondary. For instance, he owned a copy of the original printed score of Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo* (Rome, 1600),⁷⁹ and he could have used the sinfonias and ritornelli in the work to make up a genuine Cavalieri instrumental work, suitable for the instruments he assembled for the "Concerto Passegiato", though it seems that the real thing – simple five-part writing with largely unvaried textures – was not exotic enough for him. Similarly, he owned a number of genuine pieces of eighteenth-century chamber music with obbligato lute parts, but his Strobach concerto was more colourful in its instrumentation, more varied in its textures and more virtuosic in its writing than genuine instrumental ensemble music from around 1700. In the case of some of the fake sixteenth-century choral pieces, the reverse is probably true: Weckerlin's "Mon coeur se recommande à vous", for instance, is much easier for amateur choirs to sing than Lassus's genuine five-part setting of the same words,⁸⁰ and the other pieces of this sort, more recently Vavilov's "Ave Maria", tend to be strikingly simple if not banal.

In Fétis's case, as with Edward Rimbault and probably some of the other fakers I have discussed, it seems that his deceptions were a by-product of intellectual arrogance. He would have derived satisfaction from being able to fool his fellow musicians and the public into thinking that his creations were genuine artefacts from the past. In Fétis's case, this could also have been a way for compensating for his lack of success as a composer by comparison with Berlioz and others in Paris at the time. In other cases, such as Berlioz's impersonation of Pierre Ducré, the motive seems to have been private amusement: to "have some malicious fun at the expense of the Parisian critics and public" as Charles Cudworth put it.⁸¹ That was certainly Kreisler's reason for creating his fakes, though "it seems that in this instance his hoax got a little out of hand; what began as a more or less private joke became in the end a *cause célèbre*".⁸²

⁷⁸ Published by Amadeus Verlag, Winterthur; see the list at their website: <https://www.amadeus-music.ch>.

⁷⁹ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque*, 2:317 (no. 2513).

⁸⁰ Modern editions are at ChoralWiki: [https://www.cpd1.org/wiki/index.php/Mon_c%C5%93ur_se_recommende_%C3%A0_vous_\(Orlando_di_Lasso\)](https://www.cpd1.org/wiki/index.php/Mon_c%C5%93ur_se_recommende_%C3%A0_vous_(Orlando_di_Lasso)).

⁸¹ Cudworth, "Ye Olde Spuriousity Shoppe", 30.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 31.

The strange thing about historical fakes is that even the most acute critics usually fail to spot the deception at the time they were written, painted, made or composed, whereas even the relatively uninitiated can perceive that there is something wrong with the artefact once the period in which it was created has itself receded into the past. Anyone with a little knowledge and understanding of seventeenth-century Dutch art can now see that the “Vermeers” Han van Meegeren painted in the 1930s and ’40s are fakes, just as anyone who has heard a fair amount of genuine Baroque music will not be fooled by Fétis’s “Strobach”, Casadesus’s “Handel” or Giazotto’s “Albinoni”.

Of course, we are able to identify the musical van Meegerens more easily today because we can draw on more than a century of musicological research to help us spot such things as the implausibility of the writing for the instruments in the Strobach concerto or a sixteenth-century piece entitled “Romanesca” that does not use the Renaissance chord sequence. However, the English writer Alan Bennett pointed out in his play *A Question of Attribution*, a study of forgeries and deception in the art world, that it is not just a question of historical knowledge. In a speech put into the mouth of Sir Anthony Blunt, who was both the Surveyor of the Queen’s Pictures and a Soviet spy, Bennett argued that forgeries go out of date like any other cultural artefacts, and thus we come to see that they have more in common with the art of their own time than with the period from which they supposedly come. Blunt is discussing the subject with the queen:

What has exposed them as forgeries, Ma’am, is not any improvement in perception, but time. Though a forger reproduce in the most exact fashion the style and detail of his subject, as a painter he is nevertheless of his time and however slavishly he imitates, he does it in the fashion of his time, in a way that is contemporary, and with the passage of years it is this element that dates, begins to seem old-fashioned, and which eventually unmasks him.⁸³

This certainly applies to the music I have been discussing in this paper. Fétis’s historical fakes have much more in common with late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music than that of the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, just as Kreisler’s fakes now sound like *belle époque* salon pieces and the “Albinoni” Adagio sounds like 1950s film music. In time, doubtless, the same fate will overtake Michel’s Simonetti trio sonatas and Haydn keyboard sonatas. Perhaps the prospect of inevitable exposure in retrospect will deter future fakers of old music, but that seems unlikely. I suspect they will continue to appear so long as early music continues to have relevance to us.

⁸³ Bennett, *Single Spies*, 55.

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STROBACHOV SINDROM: FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH FÉTIS, HISTORIČNI PONAREDKI IN ZGODNJE OBUJANJE STARE GLASBE

Povzetek

Dne 24. marca 1833 je François-Joseph Fétis na enega od svojih pionirskih zgodovinskih koncertov (*concerts historiques*) na pariškem konservatoriju uvrstil tudi komorni koncert za mandolino, violo d'amore, basovsko violo, lutnjo in čembalo. Koncert naj bi izdal Jean Strobach v zbirki, natisnjeni leta 1698 v Pragi. Kot pri številnih skladbah, ki jih je Fétis vključil v svoje koncerte in jih opremil z imeni, kot so Andrea Gabrieli, Cavalieri, Schütz, Stradella itd., je šele čas pokazal, da je Strobachov koncert zgodovinski ponaredek. Očitno ga je napisal Fétis sam in svojo prevaro podkrepil še z izmišljenim geslom v zadnjem zvezku svojega leksikona *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Pariz, 1844). Podrobno preučevanje Fétisovih zgodovinskih ponaredkov je olajšala nedavna digitalizacija njegovih partitur, hranjenih v Kraljevi knjižnici v Bruslju (B-Br, Ms Fétis 7328 C Mus).

Fétis in Strobach v pričujoči razpravi predstavljata izhodišče za odkrivanje različnih vrst prevar, ki spremljajo oživljanje stare glasbe od začetka 19. stoletja do danes. Pregled ponaredkov avtor začne v Parizu 19. stoletja in vključuje skladbe, ki so jih Friedrich Rochlitz, Louis Dietsch in Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin opremili s slavnimi imeni starih mojstrov, kot so Palestrina, Arcadelt ali Lasso. V ta sklop sodi tudi zbor, ki ga Berlioz pripisuje namišljenemu skladatelju 17. stoletja Pierru Ducreju. V nadaljevanju se avtor dotakne tudi izmišljenih dokumentov, med drugim tistih, za katere je Edward Rimbault trdil, da so jih napisali Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell in John Dowland, o *Mali kroniki Ane Magdalene Bach*, ki jo je v resnici napisala Esther Meynell, ter o ponarejenem pismu, ki naj bi ga Domenico Scarlatti napisal v Londonu leta 1720. Med poznejšimi zgodovinskimi glasbenimi ponaredkami so violinske skladbe Fritza Kreislerja »v starem slogu«, pa koncerti, ki jih je Henri Casadesus podpisal z imeni, kot so Händl, J. C. in C. P. E. Bach, ter vokalne skladbe, ki jih je Alessandro Parisotti ustvaril kot Pergolesi ali Siegfried Ochs kot Händl. Med te sodijo tudi *Toccata*, ki jo je Gaspar Cassadó opremil z imenom »Frescobaldi«, in slavni »Albinonijev« *Adagio*, ki ga je v resnici napisal Remo Giazotto. V zaključnem delu razprave so obravnavani primeri zgodovinskih glasbenih ponaredkov v kombinaciji s ponarejenimi dokumenti, zlasti rokopis, ki ga je zagrešil Winfried Michel in je vseboval šest neznanih sonat za glasbila s tipkami, ki naj bi jih napisal Haydn.

Gibanje za oživljanja stare glasbe in glasbil je v svoji zgodovini privabljal tudi goljufe in ponarejevalce. V nekaterih primerih je bil motiv prevar zagotavljanje repertoarja, primerne za takratne skupine izvajalcev stare glasbe, ko je bilo v sodobnih izdajah na voljo le malo pristnih skladb. A zdi se, da je Fétis svoje zgodovinske ponaredke pisal bolj zato, ker se resnične glasbene umetnine iz daljnega 16. ali 17. stoletja niso skladale z njegovimi idealiziranimi predstavami o namišljeni preteklosti. Po zgledu angleškega dramatika Alana Bennetta, ki je o ponaredkih in prevarah v svetu umetnosti razpravljal v svoji igri *A Question of Attribution*, lahko trdimo, da glasbeni ponaredkami zastarajo enako kot vsak drug kulturni artefakt in sčasoma se razkrije, da imajo več skupnega z glasbo svoje dobe kot z obdobjem, iz katerega naj bi izviral.