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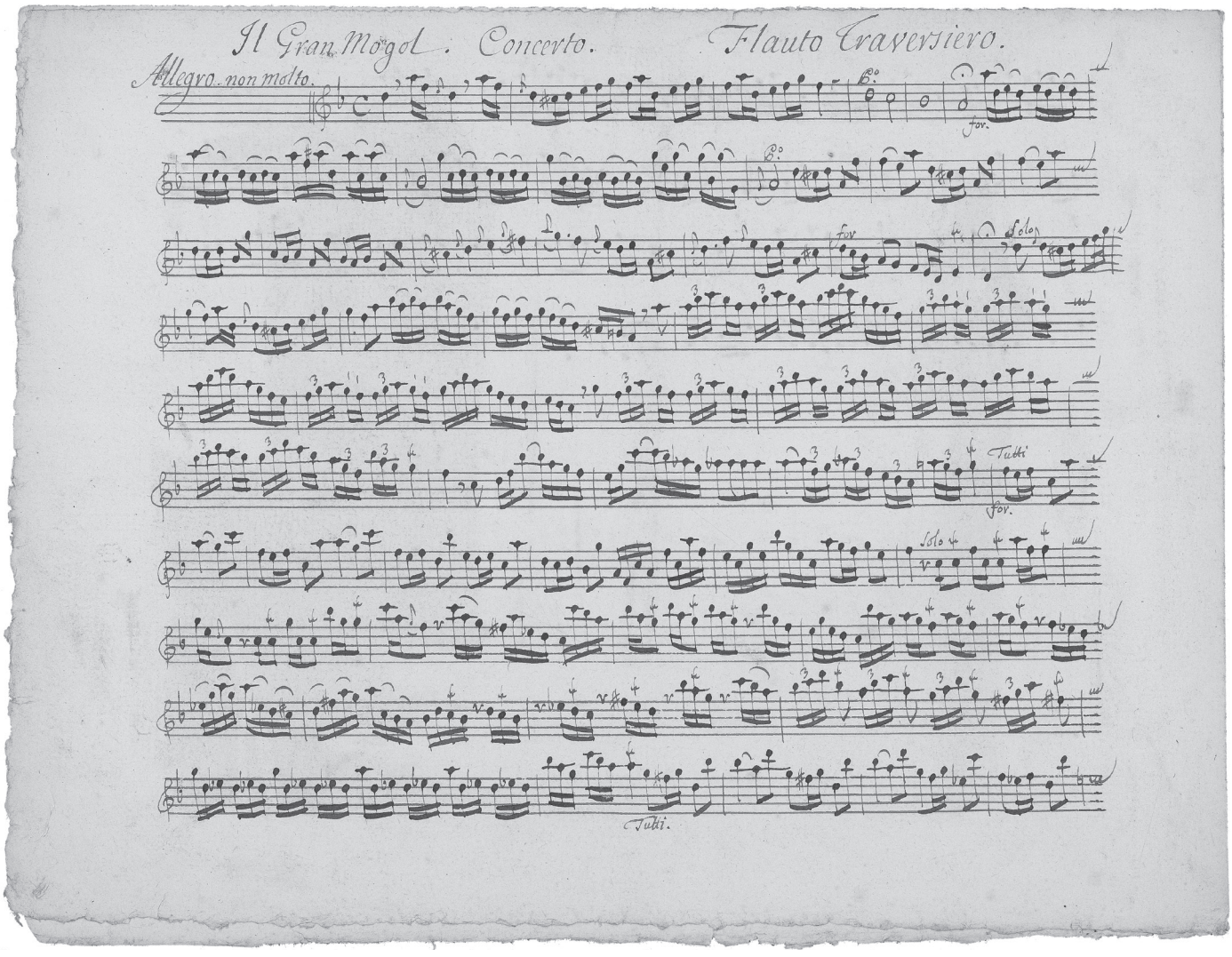

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Editorial

Andrew Woolley

Earlier this year I had the fortune to locate a manuscript for a flute concerto by Vivaldi, previously deemed lost, in the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh, which I have since written an article on and have prepared an edition of. The delay to the publication of this issue of *EMP* was thus due not only to a long gestation period, but also to a 'spurt' of other publishing commitments relating to this discovery (in addition to some others). I hope, however, that readers will appreciate this varied and interesting issue, which duly offers a report on the new concerto, in fact one of two Vivaldi discoveries that have occurred this year: the other, two new violin sonatas and a giga for violin and bass uncovered by Michael Talbot in a manuscript in the Foundling Museum library in London, will be treated to a full-length article Michael has written for the next issue of this journal, in which we will also publish a transcription of the giga.

New musical sources often provide food for thought on questions of performance practice, or the circumstances of early performances. Although new examples tend to turn up less frequently, and music historians have long recognised their value, pictorial representations of early musicians likewise add occasional nuances to our knowledge. For instance, they can give an idea of the sizes rooms where music was performed, and the placement of musical groups within them (such as in a theatre). However, they tend to call for periodic reinterpretation since their status as 'documentary' sources is often open to question. This is especially true of paintings where musicians and instruments will often feature as part of an allegorical theme, and consequently, the picture may not depict actual ensembles or real instruments, but rather a fantastic or idealised conception of them. The possibilities and limitations of pictorial evidence are highlighted by Tim Shephard in his article for this issue of *EMP*, which offers an illuminating account of a painting that has mainly interested art historians to date, and whose musical aspects have yet to be fully recognised. Tim argues that while only one of the musicians represented can probably be considered a 'real' individual, its depiction of a courtier points to the status of music, and of lute playing in particular, as a courtly activity in the early sixteenth century: we have on our hands an interesting counterpart to the descriptions of the musically-educated aristocrat of this period found in the writings of Castiglione. Complimenting Tim's article, the music supplement for this issue is Morris Davies's revised reconstruction, for performers, of the four-part version of Adrian Willaert's enigmatic *Quid non ebrietas*.[1]

By some contrast, our second article takes us to the world of empirical musicology. Peter Collyer, a professional viola player who has performed with a number of leading period orchestras over the past 25 years, and is currently undertaking a PhD at the University of Leeds relating to the field of nineteenth-century string performance, presents the findings of a recently conducted survey of his peers. In addition to a candid assessment of his own career, his article is a revealing account of the experiences of string players who have specialised, or have experience of, performing nineteenth-century repertoire in large period groups. In the process Peter probes some of the abiding concerns of period performers. For instance, how appropriate (for instance in terms of approaches to vibrato or fingerings) is the common tendency to apply a generalised performance style originally developed for eighteenth-century music? The aesthetics of period-style performance have received much critical scrutiny, but often from writers wearing an essentially philosophical 'cap' (for instance, Richard Taruskin labels the general style a manifestation of 'musical modernism'); it might be said that Peter's findings, presenting the views of practitioners more intimately involved in the business of preparing performances, breaths some much-needed fresh air into the debate.

Similar themes are taken up by Amy Blier-Carruthers and Edward Breen in their report on the event 'Practising Research in Performance: Beethoven's Chamber Music', which took place under the auspices of the University of London in July. Two members of Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, Jane Booth and Jennifer Morsches, teamed-up with John Irving, the current director of the Institute for Musical Research, to present an 'open rehearsal' of Beethoven's trio for clarinet, cello and piano. An exciting performance of this work on period

instruments was witnessed, but also an insight into the working methods of period performers, engaged in testing both the evidence of source materials and their musical intuitions.

Last but not least, Lisa Colton lucidly takes us through Christopher Page's new major book on the singers of the Christian West in the first millennium.

1 Hereafter all our supplements will be published separately by Peacock Press following publication in *EMP*; they are copyright of Peacock Press. Whenever this is not the case copyrights will be assigned to the author.

Music and the Poetics of Presence in Giorgione's *Fête champêtre*[*]

Tim Shephard

The early sixteenth century in Italy offers a wealth of paintings featuring music-making. Some might be termed 'programmatic', in the sense that they seem to depict specific individuals participating in a real-life entertainment (as, for instance, Lorenzo Costa's *Concert* in the National Gallery, London). Some are apparently allegorical, often associated with the three ages of man through music's aptness as a symbol of the passing of time (as in the *Three Ages of Man*, usually ascribed to Giorgione, in Palazzo Pitti). Others are close in both spirit and appearance to the portrait-style paintings of beautiful and seductive women associated particularly with Giorgione, Titian and Palma Vecchio (for example, Dosso's *Music* rhomboid in the Galleria Estense).[1] Particularly satisfying and novel is the fact that several of these paintings seem to be not merely *of* music, but *about* music. Through the mediation of painted representation, such works often reveal aspects of Renaissance musical culture—and the ideologies surrounding it—that were rarely or but obscurely expressed in words.

Nowhere is this more true than in the work of Giorgione, the seductive but enigmatic 'painter of poetic brevity', and the artists associated with him.[2] The style known as 'giorgionismo' played a leading role in translating the studious and philological classicism of fifteenth century humanism into the sensuous and diverse classicism favoured at the courts of the *cinquecento*. The rich musical symbolism of the older humanism, centred upon muses and liberal arts, gave way to a more informal Ovidian/pastoral sonic landscape, strongly coloured by the musical introspection of Petrarchism. It was within this version of classicism that Italian courtiers of Castiglione's generation, many or most of whom lacked his depth of classical learning, found the classical avatars to which they could best relate. Giorgione, whom Vasari identifies as an accomplished lutenist and singer, was ideally placed to manifest the playfully classicising musical vision of his patrons in paint; and in this article I will attempt to reveal the early sixteenth-century musical aesthetics encoded into one of the best-known paintings from his circle.[3]

Attributed variously to Giorgione, Titian, Giorgione completed by Titian, and a follower of Titian, the *Fête champêtre* (c.1510) (see Fig. 1) has occasioned much comment and many entirely divergent interpretations.[4] At the centre are three seated figures with musical instruments: a rustic man, probably a shepherd; a nude woman with a recorder, usually called a nymph; and a man luxuriously dressed in contemporary style, with a lute.[5] Stella Newton notes that, on the basis of his dress, this man cannot properly be Venetian, suggesting that he belongs to the upper class of the Venetian mainland: I prefer to label him a courtier, which I suspect catches the intended resonances.[6] The group sits on the grass in a pleasant landscape leading back to a small wood, a body of water and some distant buildings. In the middle ground of the painting, near the wood, a shepherd stands with his flock, playing a musical instrument. At the front left a nude woman stands pouring water from a jug into a stone cistern. In all probability the cistern is a drinking fountain, fed by a natural spring which the woman, as a nymph, embodies.

Figure 1: *Fête champêtre*. ?Giorgione or Titian, c. 1510. Louvre. Reproduction courtesy of The Bridgeman Art Library.

Scholars have not exactly been uniformly just in their pronouncements on the musical aspects of the painting, although they have informed several interpretations, and it will be worth our while to clarify them briefly. Although some think of the seated figures as a musical ensemble, only the courtier is actually making music.[7] He is caught mid-strum, his left hand fingering a chord on the strings, his technique at least passably realistic; the seated shepherd, meanwhile, is not actually singing, and the seated nymph holds her recorder casually at some distance from her mouth.[8] The view of some writers that the shepherd and nymph represent 'lower' poetry and 'lower' class, associated with the bawdy recorder, whereas the courtier represents 'higher' poetry and 'higher' class, associated with the courtly lute, is unsustainable: the second shepherd, in the background, is playing a *lira da braccio* (or some almost identical bowed instrument)—arguably more courtly still than the lute at this period.[9] The significance of the musical aspect of the painting, then, has not yet been altogether successfully divined.

Giorgione's painting emerged from the new vogue for the pastoral—a vision of landscape, founded largely on readings and visualisations of Virgil and Ovid, which placed shepherds, nymphs and satyrs in a range of amorous relationships, orbiting around a rural pantheon (Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres...). Appropriately, therefore, Paul Holberton has outlined an illuminating context for the *Fête champêtre* in the literary history of Arcadia.[10] He finds its origin in Theocritus' first *Idyll*, whose influence was felt in the Renaissance largely through the agency of a loose imitation—Virgil's *Eclogue 10*. Here we encounter a real Roman aristocrat, Gallus, in an amorous bind: and whilst, at the outset, it is the poet who is located in Arcadia, we quickly find that the pastoral cast is assembling also around his subject:[11]

> For him ... even pine-crowned Maenalus wept, ... The sheep, too, are standing around ... The shepherd came, too ... Menalcas came ... All ask: "Whence this love of thine?" Apollo came. "Gallus", he said, "what madness this?" ... Silvanus came ... Pan came, Arcady's god ... "Will there be no end?" he cried. ...

Holberton observes that Virgil's repeated 'and ... came' (*venit et*) has the quality of an incantation or summons, populating the doleful

world of his real friend with the personae of paradise.[12] In response to their questioning, Gallus acknowledges directly the ambiguous relationship between his reality and that of his new company: 'O that I had been one of you, the shepherd of a flock of yours, or the dresser of your ripened grapes'.[13] At the very end of the fifteenth century, this idyllic conception of Arcadia—the dream-like aspiration of the professedly love-sick aristocrat—was reborn in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

From these starting points it is quite easy to follow Holberton's view of the painting. The world of the *Eclogues* is summoned into being by poetry through a mode of utterance that is essentially performative; and bucolic poetry is almost invariably framed as song.[14] Thus, in his formulation, 'The nymphs have been brought out by the music: their presence indicates that the young men, by making music, have brought Arcadia to life around them.'[15] Other writers would add that the arrangement is circular: the lutenist, in turn, is inspired in his music-making by the proximity of an other-worldly source of eloquence, symbolised (as is conventional) by the personified water-source.

I have only one objection to this attractive view: like all other writers on the painting, Holberton places the shepherd who apparently communes with the courtier in the category of 'real', distinct from the existence of the nymphs. But in the context of the Eclogues it is the courtier alone who is out of place—dressed shepherds and naked nymphs have equal claim to fully-Arcadian status. I suggest that the courtier, like the bucolic poet and even like Gallus, makes his music alone in the tangible world, and summons with it not just the nymphs but the shepherds too. His sideways glance, by which he appears to engage his companion's attention, is far from unambiguous in its success, and is not dissimilar to a pose used by artists of the period to indicate that a musician is listening to his instrument—perhaps it is supposed to sit suggestively in-between the two implications.[16]

In fact, the musico-poetic conceit of invocation in the *Fête champêtre* finds its roots not only in a poetic fashion, but in a configuration of musical experience of several decades' standing. The ability of music to bring the human and divine realms into communion was an important aspect of fifteenth century religious experience, supporting an aesthetic vocabulary that appears at times very clearly to prefigure the situation of the *Fête champêtre*. The idea is developed at length in music-theoretical writings. Gilles Carlier, in a treatise on sacred music of c.1470, reasoned thus: 'is it surprising if hosts of angels aid God's servants in their devout jubilation when, in the presence of the Church, Christ's beloved bride, they perform songs of praise...?.'[17] His justification, familiar from antiquity, is that music 'instils heavenly love, and brings forgetfulness of earthly things, so that the mind ... seems to partake of heavenly joys'—music turns the mind towards God.[18] His expansion and discussion, detailing six 'special claims' (*praerogativas*) of music, draws the conception into even more suggestive territory:[19]

> The first [special claim] is that it is a reflection of heavenly joys. Sweet and well-constructed music conveys an image of angels and saints continuously praising the name of the Lord. ...
>
> The fifth special claim of euphonious music is that it earns the visitation of the Holy Spirit. ...
>
> The sixth special claim is that music earns the companionship of the angels. ...

Music mediates theophany, conjuring the image of heaven and even drawing divine beings into direct communion with those on earth.

The religious flavour is tangible still (if coloured by neoplatonism) in a sonnet by Pietro Bembo, in which we find precisely this musical vision transposed into a gently classicising pastoral very similar in conception to the *Fête champêtre*:[20]

> La mia leggiadra e candida angioletta,
> cantando a par de le Sirene antiche,
> con altre d'onestade e pregio amiche
> sedersi a l'ombra in grembo de l'erbetta
> vid'io pien di spavento:
> perch'esser mi parea pur su nel cielo,
> tal di dolcezza velo
> avolto avea quel agli occhi miei.
>
> My lovely and candid little angel,
> singing like the antique Sirens,
> with other honest and praiseworthy friends
> sitting in the shade, in the womb of the meadow
> I saw full of awe:
> for I seemed to be up in heaven,
> so sweet was the veil
> that moment had placed over my eyes

In achieving its musical conjuring trick, the *Fête champêtre* thus employs an established habit of thought from the realm of music: the contemporary viewer would easily have recognised music in the painting as the mechanism of the courtier's divine encounter.

The pastoral vogue in the early sixteenth century manifested itself not only in art and literature, but also in the real landscapes of noble leisure—the country villas and estates. Such spaces, although a long-standing feature of Italian life, reached the apogee of their popularity in the sixteenth century, and it is easy enough to envisage how their owners' pastoral interests might have inflected their design and the experience of their delights. Holberton notes that the metaphorical presence of nymphs in gardens and landscapes is standard fare in early sixteenth century writing.[21] Duke Alfonso I of Ferrara, one of the most enthusiastic builders of country villas when the Fête champêtre was made, had two country estates created while simultaneously having the same landscapes enlivened with a pastoral-classical overlay in paint in his private study.[22] (Such a strategy makes perfect sense in the context of the seasonality of court life: winters at the palace alternated with summers at one of the villas.) It seems clear, in this light, that the *Fête champêtre* makes manifest the gently classicising conception lying behind contemporary noble leisure. One might conveniently imagine that the man-made drinking fountain locates us precisely in the groomed nature of a country estate—one whose buildings, perhaps, are those visible in the background.[23]

In this respect, as in the mechanism of its conceit, the *Fête champêtre* is an explicitly musical picture. Paintings and descriptions showing the court at leisure in the countryside frequently list music among its entertainments. For example, one of Duke Alfonso's contemporary biographers reports summer music at an estate known as the Boschetto, both in the villa and in its gardens:[24]

> the Prince himself would [habitually] play the viol in wintertime before dinner, [with] one or another of his valets or private chaplains, and passed thus the time not only before, but also after dinner, singing two or three motets, French songs, and others, [and] just as [happened] in summertime at the Villa and at the Boschetto, while they ate, the musicians sang four or six very dainty songs.

Simultaneously, the summer scene of a country picnic with musical entertainment is rehearsed several times in the decoration of his study (see, for example, Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*, Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians or Dosso's Aeneas in Elysium*). The *Fête champêtre*, then, constitutes a conceptual representation of realistic, or almost realistic, noble musico-pastoral leisure—and thus also an index of the relationship between the pastoral and music in their aesthetic vision. The early sixteenth century courtier really did retreat to the country to pursue musical entertainments, and as he did so he imagined that his music brought him into communion with the cast of characters familiar to him from the pastoral genre. Giorgione overlays the reality with the fiction that gives it meaning within the courtly context.[25]

Such existential slippage, such porosity at the boundaries between reality and fiction, is entirely characteristic of the courtly appropriation of pastoral; and indeed music is frequently its cue and mechanism. Pastoral eclogues such as Castiglione's *Tirsi*, as well as pastoral-bucolic entertainments of a less literary character, were frequently performed by courtiers and nobles themselves, in private before the rest of the court. Giuseppe Gerbino has argued at length that such role-playing, with its frequent and essential musical aspect (you can't be a shepherd without singing), was an essential part of the social and cultural construction of the court as a coherent and decorous entity.[26] Further, as Giorgione's painting appears to demonstrate, pastoral role-playing leaked out of the parameters of drama to become a conceptual (in the sense of habits of thought) and material (in the sense of painted decorations or country villas) frame for 'real' life. But the frame needs activation: all that is required to project the courtier into the world of the eclogues—to turn him from a noble at leisure into a shepherd—is for him to sing a song.

Only one important point remains to be addressed: as I observed above, our courtier is playing but not singing. Turning to Ferrara once more, we find that the ground was laid for the entire poetic endeavour to be collapsed into a solitary lute in the last decades of the previous century. The singer and lutenist Pietrobono was, until his death in 1497, the most celebrated musician in Italy; and his communicative ability as an instrumentalist was such as to inspire his contemporaries to ascribe to his playing the power of language—a kind of 'mute poetry' (to recycle Joost-Gaugier's phrase). Filippo Beroaldo wrote that 'From the singing strings [Pietrobono] produces resounding words';[27] and Antonio Cornazano similarly described him 'giving with sound most vivid words'.[28] Predictably, the consensus among contemporaries was that Pietrobono enjoyed communion with the divine through his music (albeit in fifteenth century terms): among numerous and divers examples, Ludovico Carbone thought him 'one inspired by a divine power', whilst Aurelio Brandolini named him 'unique light of Phoebus'.[29] Our courtly lutenist rests upon, and aspires to, Pietrobono's poetic achievement. It is hardly surprising, given such cultural and ideological investment in the power of the lute, of music and of the pastoral, that Petrucci found a ready market for accessible lute intabulations in exactly the years the *Fête champêtre* was painted.

* I am grateful to Flora Dennis, Philip Weller, Andrew Woolley and Peter Wright for reading and commenting upon various versions of this essay. Translations not otherwise credited are my own.

1 For a convenient portfolio of reproductions, see H. C. Slim, *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2002).

2 I quote from the title of Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione: The Painter of Poetic Brevity* (Paris and New York, 1997).

3 On Giorgione as musician see Katherine A. McIver, 'Maniera, Music and Vasari', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28(1997), 45–55.

4 On the painting's attribution see Anderson, *Giorgione*, 308. Key interpretations include Philip Fehl, 'The Hidden Genre: a study of the *Concert Champêtre* in the Louvre', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 16 (1957), 153–68; Patricia Egan, 'Poesia and the Fête champêtre', *The Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 303–13; Patricia Emison, 'The *Concert Champetre* and Gilding the Lily', *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1991), 195–6; Paul Holberton, 'The *Pastorale* or *Fête champêtre* in the Early Sixteenth Century' in Joseph Manca ed., *Titian 500* (Washington, Hanover and London, 1993), 245–62; Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, 'The Mute Poetry of the *Fête champêtre*: Titian's Memorial to Giorgione', *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 133 (1999), 1–13; Ross S. Kilpatrick, 'Horatian Landscape in the Louvre's "Concert Champetre"', *Artibus et Historiae* 21 (2000), 123–131. For further bibliography see Anderson, *Giorgione*, 309.

5 Some writers refuse to identify the seated rustic as a shepherd on the basis of his costume, but a comparison with the similarly attired shepherds in Giorgione's slightly earlier *Adoration of the Shepherds* (National Gallery, Washington) overcomes their objection.

6 Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians, 1495–1525* (Aldershot, 1988), 43.

7 For example, Holberton ('*Pastorale*', 247) writes of 'the young men ... making music'.

8 Egan ('Poesia', 304) claims that the man has paused in his playing, and Emmanuel Winternitz (*Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London, 1967), 50) that he is not playing, but I cannot understand why. I do not consider significant Joost-Gaugier's observation ('Mute Poetry', 7) that the lute has no strings: the whole face of the lute has either been painted very loosely or has suffered abrasion, as rose, frets and pegs are also invisible – their exclusion would not have been necessary to achieve the allegorical significance Joost-Gaugier proposes. The ghost of a rose is perhaps detectable at the centre of the sounding box, suggesting that details have been lost.

9 See Egan, 'Poesia', esp. 306–12; Emison, 'Gilding the Lily', 196. A detail of the background shepherd can be found in Kilpatrick, 'Horatian Landscape', 127. His instrument has usually been identified as the bagpipes, I think in error; either is appropriate to the pastoral context.

10 Holberton, '*Pastorale*', 245–7.

11 X.13–28. *Virgil. Vol. 1, Eclogues, Georgics Aeneid I–VI*, ed. and trans. by H. Rushton-Fairclough (London, 1916). I have used this edition, known as the Loeb edition, for the quotes in this section.

12 Holberton, '*Pastorale*', 247.

13 X.35–6.

14 As Virgil makes explicit when he has Gallus say 'Yet ye, O Arcadians, will sing this tale to your mountains; Arcadians only know how to sing.' (X.31–3).

15 Holberton, '*Pastorale*', 247. Although he argues otherwise, in this respect Holberton's view is almost identical to that proposed some decades before by Philip Fehl ('Hidden Genre').

16 A slight or pronounced turning-in of the ear—as, for example, the turbaned musician (Aristoxenus) in Lorenzo Costa's *Coronation*.

17 '...quid mirum si servis Dei devote iubilantibus assistunt praesidia angelorum, quando in facie ecclesiae, sponsae Christi dilectissimae, laudes musicales exsolvunt, nedum inimicas propulsantes fallacias, sed et corda audientium ad luctum devotionis immutantes?' Text and translation in J. Donald Cullington ed. and trans., with Reinhard Strohm, *'That liberal and virtuous art': three humanist treatises on music* (Ulster, 2001), 36 and 52. The treatise is entitled *Tractatus de duplici ritu cantus ecclesiastici in divinis officiis*, and is published in full with translation as Cullington, *'That liberal and virtuous art'*, 31–57. For an introduction to the discourse on the powers of music, of which Carlier is a part, see James Hutton, 'Some English Poems in Praise of Music', *English Miscellany* 2 (1951), 1–63.

18 '...caelestem immittit amorem, terrena facit oblivisci, ut nisi fuerit animus gravibus peccatorum cathenis astrictus, gaudiis videatur interesse caelestibus...'. Text and translation Cullington, *'That liberal and virtuous art'*, 34 and 50.

19 '...prima est quod est caelestium imago gaudiorum. Dulcis enim et bene composita musica typum gerit angelorum et sanctorum, qui non cessant laudare nomen Domini. ... Quinta praerogativa musicae consonantis quod meretur adventum spiritus sancti. ... Sexta praerogativa quod meretur associationem angelorum. ...'. Text and translation in Cullington, *'That liberal and virtuous art'*, 34–6 and 50–2.

20 Text in Pietro Bembo, *Prose e Rime*, ed. Carlo Dionisotti (Turin, 1960), 518, no. 18.

21 Holberton, '*Pastorale*', 247.

22 On the relationships between Alfonso's actual and painted landscapes, see, among others, John Shearman, 'Alfonso d'Este's Camerino' in *'Il se rendit en Italie': Etudes offerts à André Chastel* (Rome, 1987), 209–30, at 215–6; and Anthony Colantuono, 'Tears of Amber: Titian's *Andrians*, the River Po and the Iconology of Difference' in Dennis Looney and Deanna Shemek ed., *Phaethon's Children: The Este Court and its Culture in Early Modern Ferrara* (Tempe, 2005), 225–252.

23 Compare with David Rosand's brief comments on the relationship between pastoral and leisure in his 'Pastoral Topoi: On the Construction of Meaning in Landscape', *Studies in the History of Art* 36 (1992), 161–177, at 162.

24 '...il Prencipe [Alfonso I d'Este] stesso averebbe il verno innanzi cena suonato di Viuola, ma un cotal Cameriere, un Cappellano privato de' suoi, e passato quel tempo non solo avanti, ma anco dopo la cena, cantato dui o tre mottetti, Canzone Francese, ed altri, come spesse volte l'istate alla Villa ed al Boschetto mentre si connive i musici averebbono cantato quattro o sei Canzone molto leggiadre...'. Text in A. Solerti, 'La vita Ferrarese nella prima metà del secolo decimosesto descritta da Agostino Mosti', *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, ser. III, 10 (1892), 164–203, at 182.

25 For an illuminating study of the relationships between musical recreation, the country villa and the pastoral mode later in the century, see Giuseppe Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2009), 300–23.

26 Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia*.

27 'Exprimit hic fidibus resonantia verba canoris'. Text and translation in F. Alberto Gallo, *Music in the Castle: Troubadours, Books and Orators in the Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Anna Herklotz and Kathryn Krug (Chicago and London, 1995; orig. Italian ed. Bologna, 1992), 88.

28 'dando col suon vivissime parole'. Text in Nino Pirrotta, 'Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966), 127–161, at 144–6.

29 'divino numine afflatum' and 'unica lux Phoebi' respectively. Text and translation in Gallo, *Music in the Castle*, 89 and 116–7.

Observations from a career in historical performance with a survey of period instrument specialists

Peter Collyer

Of course there is no 'authenticity'. Of course we don't know all the answers. Even if we did, it wouldn't make us perfect performers. Music-making must always involve guesses and inspirations, creative hunches and improvised strategies, above all, instinct and imagination. But if we don't have all the answers, the least we can do is set out on our journey with the right questions.[1]

When I embarked on a career in historical performance it was my perception that there were many guesses and improvised strategies involved in playing the orchestral music of the nineteenth century on string instruments from a historically-informed perspective. In a short paper that I presented at the University of Southampton in 2007, I spoke about these perceptions, and of my experiences of the approach taken to this repertoire by the major period instrument ensembles in London. The paper gave an overview of my career, and my first experiences of playing nineteenth-century orchestral repertoire in an 'authentic style'; it therefore focussed on what it *felt like* to be a performing musician entering the world of scholarship-led performance, rather than what it actually *was*. I later became aware, however, that such a set of observations were too subjective to stand alone as a piece of commentary on historically-informed performance, and that I should seek the views of wider group of musicians on the specific issues that I had discussed. In order to achieve this, I conducted a survey in the months following my Southampton paper, and together with observations on my own career, this article presents the results of that survey.

A career in historical performance

When I began studying at the Royal College of Music in 1980 there was a clear divide between modern and historically-informed performers in the professional world. The former made up the overwhelming majority of the performing musicians who were commercially active in London, while the latter, more often referred to as 'early musicians' or 'period instrumentalists' seemed to be a much smaller fringe group, providing for a niche market, or a specialist audience, which focussed its activities on medieval, renaissance and baroque music. While the activity of these musicians as 'performer-scholars' was recognised by conservatoire students such as myself, many of us did not approve of their sound in concerts and recordings. Our judgement was that their work 'represented the activities of surprisingly small groups of people who seemed to have enjoyed virtually no consistent or institutional training in history or historical performance'.[2] Since our own institutional training lacked a significant academic component, this judgement was arguably a misguided one.

I had developed a great enthusiasm for baroque music prior to entering music college, but this was based on my own experiences of playing it on modern instruments and on spending many hours listening to recordings by

groups such as The Academy of St Martin's in the Fields, conducted by Sir Neville Mariner, The English Chamber Orchestra directed by Britten, Leppard and others, and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Karl Münchinger. My exposure to period instrument performance was limited to one recording belonging to my parents, an LP of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London,[3] and to attending a small number of lunchtime recitals. Munrow's recording was fascinating, but as a performer concentrating on post-1800 music, using a modern instrument, it did not occur to me to connect the performance practice questions it raised to my own music-making. The recitals I attended presented the expected challenges to my ideas about (and ideals relating to) string playing: the sound was too rough, the differences in pitch and temperament I received as poor intonation, and the lack of vibrato and bowing refinements suggested to the young string player a lack of technical proficiency.

I studied the viola in the conventional manner at the Royal College of Music with Margaret Major,[4] a leading chamber musician at the time. Although the tuition I received was of a high standard, representing the continuation of a tradition of aural transference of pedagogic instruction that had its roots in the nineteenth century, little reference was made by my tutors and coaches to any of the written material on string instrument technique. Transcriptions of violin studies by Kreutzer, Flesch and Scevchik formed the basis of the technical work I was encouraged to undertake, and the Caprices by Campagnoli made regular appearances as examination pieces. Any considerations of 'historical performance' or 'early music performance practice' were positively frowned upon in the tradition of string playing that I grew up in. The great Julliard School-trained violin soloists who had emerged during the seventies (Perlman, Zukermann and Chung) were our heroes, and the innovative British baroque violinists at the forefront of the early music movement (Standage, Mackintosh and Huggett) were most definitely villains, assaulting the values of even tone and rich vibrato that we held so dear.

I left the college in 1984, and after a short stint with the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, embarked on a freelance career playing in modern symphony orchestras and chamber groups. However, a set of circumstances combined, in 1988, to draw me towards the world of historically-informed performance. Firstly, like many young musicians who find themselves on the treadmill of the freelance scene in London, I was beginning to get a little bored (the big tunes in *Swan Lake* lose their appeal when you have played them many times, even if there are practical advantages to no longer having to open the viola part). Secondly, I missed playing the baroque repertoire that I had enjoyed as a student, since it rarely appeared in the programmes of concerts I was engaged for, and authentic instrument groups had effectively 'cornered' the market, encouraging performers on modern instruments to concentrate on later music. The final factor to 'push me over the edge', so to speak, was exposure to some performances by 'early' musicians—most notably, John Eliot Gardiner's recording of the *Magnificat* by Bach, and television broadcasts of Roger Norrington conducting his own London Classical Players in symphonies by Beethoven and Schubert. It was apparent from these that things had moved on from the scratchy sound and poor intonation that had featured in 'authentic' performances I had heard earlier—here were interpretations as intentioned as they were intelligent, played by bands of musicians making refined sounds, and demonstrating total command of their hitherto awkward historical instruments. Moreover, it would be dishonest of me not to admit that the rumour going round in freelance circles, that early instrument specialists were paid twice as much, and were three times as busy as the rest of us, had a part to play in my decision to purchase a baroque viola and sign up for a course of lessons with one of the leading baroque viola players in London. By the end of 1989 my working life revolved entirely around tours and recordings with the English Baroque Soloists, the London Classical Players and the Academy of Ancient Music, with only the occasional return visit to 'the other side', showing my face at film sessions with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, or in the pit performing in *Miss Saigon*, mainly as insurance against the day that the historical performance bubble might burst.

However, by the time I joined the ranks 'early instrument' specialists in the late 1980s, the term 'early' was no longer completely appropriate when applied to the repertoire of historical performance practitioners. My first engagement was with the London Classical Players on a European tour, whose repertoire included Mendelssohn symphonies and a Chopin piano concerto. Throughout the 1990s, with the exception of a major project to perform and record the mature Mozart operas, my work with the English Baroque Soloists featured repertoire that was rarely 'earlier' than Beethoven. The enthusiasm with which Eliot Gardiner was

offering promoters projects featuring the music of Schumann, Berlioz and Verdi (among others) meant that his orchestra had to be extravagantly re-branded as the Orchestre Revolutionaire et Romantique; the press releases at the time reported that the name was intended to reflect the pan-European identity of the orchestra, but in fact it was a means by which a group of musicians could cast-off a misleading 'baroque' tag while they explored the repertoire of the nineteenth century.[5]

The speed at which this new repertoire was introduced was driven by the desire of festival promoters and record company executives to present the innovation of performing it on historical instruments (if endeavouring to play music as it was played over one hundred years ago can be described as 'innovative'). While it was exciting to be a part of, it meant that a 'compromised' style of string playing, informed by both historical considerations and modern convenience, began to develop—distinctive yes, and one that served the needs of the music very well, but historically informed? This was questionable. The lead on stylistic matters was provided by the first generation early instrumentalists whose technique and understanding was rooted in the way the treatises of the eighteenth century were interpreted at the dawn of the early music movement in the 1960s and the 1970s. There was valuable input from a new generation of string players who made later repertoire their speciality (notably Peter Hanson and David Watkin of the Eroica Quartet), but a consensus on style was something that emerged largely within the constraints of limited rehearsal time rather than being underpinned by strong scholarly conviction.

In general, this confusion as to what 'historically informed' or 'period performance practice' really means persists today, particularly for string players working on music written after 1800. The important research that has been undertaken by Clive Brown, Robin Stowell, and others has not been absorbed by performers, and our style of playing, and its current 'fashions', have evolved out of a number of disparate factors. The teaching of 'early' instruments often lacks the methodical approach characteristic of the academic research literature, with non-academic performers tending to 'cherry-pick' fragments of historical information that most suit their own playing style. There are interesting comparisons to be made between the unquestioning manner in which we were expected to receive the wisdom of our professors at the Royal College of Music, and the way a 'tradition' of early instrument playing has grown up, and has been passed on to succeeding generations.

However, as stated earlier, a valid discourse on the approach of 'historical' performers to nineteenth-century repertoire cannot be based solely on my own perceptions as a working musician. With this in mind, I undertook a survey of my performing colleagues with the aim of establishing whether or not my perceptions are typical of the general experience of string-players engaged in this type of work, and to begin a study of how period instrumentalists see themselves.

The survey

I sent forty copies a questionnaire, by email, to a random sample of early musicians that included violinists, violists, cellists and bassists. The survey sample covered the range of roles that exist in historical performance—from soloists, chamber players, principal orchestral players and tutti orchestral players—and the questions focused upon the performance of the orchestral repertoire of the nineteenth century. All of the survey respondents had experience of this repertoire. Thirteen surveys were returned. As a sample of musicians active in the field of historical performance, it is small, and the information cannot be collated in a scientific manner, although it is a significant portion of the musicians who were contacted, and of string specialists. The sample also forms an interesting picture of how this group of musicians have perceived issues of style and performance practice as members of large period instrument orchestras.

I began by asking the musicians when they had started playing period instruments. The respondents all took up their historical instruments between 1984 and 2005, and all of them have a background on modern instruments. This was an important question to ask, since the answers to it indicate that none of the sample group could be described as members of the first generation of 'early' musicians in London; their knowledge of historical performance practice, on the whole, would therefore have come from other players, rather than from their own research or involvement in the research projects of others. Also, it is during this period that a generalised 'period style' was used to perform the music of a range of composers, from Haydn to Elgar and beyond, by the major period instrument orchestras.

When I asked the survey group how they began their tuition on early instruments, I also gave them a set of multiple choice answers to select: as a principal study at music college; as a principal study at university; as a second-study

at music college; as a second-study at university; self-funded, as an extra-curricular activity while in full-time education; self-funded, while working as a performing musician; and none of the above. Five began their early instrument tuition as a second study at a music college, while two undertook self-funded lessons, as an extra-curricular activity while in full-time education, and one funded their own lessons while working as a performing musician. Of the three who gave more detailed answers, one started learning while still at school, as part of the only County Youth Baroque Orchestra in the UK (under the umbrella of a conventional County Youth Orchestra), and one took part in an extra-curricular activity at university—a group-study viol consort—which was funded by their music department. The third gave an answer that provides a good description of what John Butt, quoted earlier, referred to as 'learning on the job':

> I started in the early days when [****][6] was performing Handel on baroque [instruments]. I worked with [*****] and she gave me advice. Then I played with [****] and copied her playing. I read a couple of books and then winged it by listening to anyone who seemed to know what they were talking about.

While it has always been unusual for professional musicians to begin work on early instruments without any formal tuition whatsoever, this response shows that it is does happen.

The third question asked what treatises and other background reading had been suggested to the musicians when they undertook their training on 'period' instruments. The answers show a strong bias towards the earlier literature. Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* (1756)could be described as the 'standard' text, with ten respondents naming it as one of the main sources suggested to them. Seven also named Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751)—which, together with Mozart's treatise, is most often referred to in playing circles—while four mentioned Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752), illustrating that treatise's general importance to 'early' musicians. The other primary sources cited were 'Tartini' (in two responses, neither of which named the particular treatise in question), Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620) (also in two responses), Muffat's *Florilegium Secundum* (1698), Corrette's *L'Art de se perfectionner dans le violon* (1782),[7] Tosi's *Observations on the Florid Song* (1743), and Baillot's *Méthode de violon* (1803) (all in one response, which also mentions the treatises by Mozart, Geminiani and Tartini), Prelleur's *The Modern Musick Master* (1731), Bassano's *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie* (1585) and Ortiz's *Trattado de glosas* (1553) (also all in one response). Noteworthy is that only one nineteenth-century source, Baillot, is mentioned.

Only two secondary sources are named—David Boyden's *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (Oxford, 1965) and Judy Tarling's *Baroque String Playing 'for ingenious learners'* (St Albans, 2000)—but only one of these, Tarling's book, can be described as instructional material aimed at the performer. Two respondents said that no written material was recommended to them by their teachers.

The dates of the treatises mentioned are consistent with the repertoire that the respondents first studied on 'period' instruments, with one naming 'renaissance', eleven 'baroque' and one 'a combination'. Not one respondent in the survey group wrote that they had been introduced to nineteenth-century performance practices during their initial lessons in 'period' performance, and likewise, none had been recommended any literature, either primary or secondary sources, relevant to the nineteenth century.

The respondents all had their first experiences of playing nineteenth-century orchestral repertoire on 'historical' instruments between 1985 and 2003.[8] This timeframe coincides with the initial growth of interest in performing nineteenth-century music in 'period' style, and thus the participants would have been among the first to venture into it. Most would also have been active in the 'boom' years (the 1990s), when interest in performing and recording post-classical repertoire on historical instruments was at its height. During this time, I was most active as a performer in 'period' orchestras specialising in later music; the next question I asked, relating to the experiences of fellow-performers in that field, who had worked during the same period, is therefore directly relevant to my attempts to understand the extent to which my own perceptions of it at that time, as a practitioner, were generally shared. I asked my colleagues: 'how well did your previous tuition prepare you for playing nineteenth-century orchestral music on period instruments?', again providing a number of answers for the respondent to choose from. Only one of them said that their tuition had left them well prepared for work in this area. Two said they were quite well prepared. Most (seven) said that their tuition did not prepare them very well, and that they were aware of significant gaps

in their knowledge, while one reported that he felt badly prepared and possessed no information that was relevant to the repertoire. These answers correlate with my own experiences of starting out in a 'period' orchestra that specialised in later music as outlined above.

Three respondents chose to provide more detailed answers, and in doing so raised some interesting issues. One showed the way in which some orchestral musicians have taken the initiative, applying a diligent approach to research that relates directly to their performance:

> I was pretty much self-taught. I acquired a copy of Robin Stowell's doctoral thesis (Cambridge 1978) "The Development of Violin Technique from L'Abbe le Fils to Paganini", and studied this: also I found a copy of Spohr's Violin School and several other, less well known and later treatises.
> I felt rather ill at ease in this repertoire, not through lack of knowledge but simply through lack of experience in the idiom.

Another respondent had an analytical approach, applying a structurally-based understanding of the music, which they had also applied earlier in their careers, in an analogous way, to baroque and classical music—presumably with the aim of allowing the compositional style to reveal a correct performance practice. In employing this method, the respondent evidently felt confident in performing later repertoire, but primarily as a result of their own confident and informed approach to performance in general:

> I feel that any knowledge about harmony and structure in Baroque & Classical music helps also in C19th music, and many of the same rules-of-thumb apply, so I did feel well-prepared. At the RAM, where I studied, C19th music was never "on the menu" in the period orchestras, and never discussed in my individual baroque violin lessons. Nevertheless, when it came to playing Brahms and Schumann with the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment in 2003, I didn't feel out of my depth, but I would have liked to have known more about historical fingering.

In order to avoid the ready identification of the respondents, I have endeavoured not to group or collate together the comments of an individual to a significant extent. However, given the above musician's declared 'preparedness' for later repertoire, contrary to the common perception, it would be interesting to juxtapose their observations with the related final comment of another, particularly since both referred to a desire for greater knowledge of historical techniques (such as knowledge of historical fingering, which the above respondent referred to):

> My 'early instrument' tuition did not provide me with information that was relevant to this repertoire, but my modern training was actually more useful—it covered most of the basic technique and style points for nineteenth century music.

This performer may have the correct approach as far as technique is concerned; string instrument *technique* has not changed significantly since the nineteenth century. However, when set next to the research of, in particular, Clive Brown and David Milsom, the idea that the 'basic style points for nineteenth century music' are covered by a 'modern training' is erroneous. It is significant that a minority of the respondents had a more sophisticated understanding of this issue, which implied more of a distinction between technique, in its most fundamental sense, and style: while basic techniques might be as valid for modern music as they are for nineteenth-century music, styles of performance (the way in which the basic techniques are applied), have changed significantly. However, many 'period' performers of nineteenth-century music persist in the view that an entirely separate technique is required in this repertoire—for instance, in their use of 'unsophisticated' fingerings—resembling that which has been developed for earlier repertoire.[9]

If tuition on 'early' instruments and historical performance courses in higher education do not, in general, provide a comprehensive training in nineteenth-century performance practice, then there is an onus on the orchestras to provide their members with the relevant information. The next question in the survey addressed this point, asking how much guidance the participants had received on matters of style when they first played nineteenth-century music on period instruments.

Two musicians reported that comprehensive guidance was provided, five said that some guidance was provided in the form of verbal instructions, while four said that not much was provided, and that they felt they had to 'learn on the job'. A further two said that they had received no guidance whatsoever (except concerning the pitch being used and the temperament). My own experiences reflect these findings; in general, matters of performance practice in the string

sections of large period-instrument groups are not handled in a methodical manner. One usually receives a combination of verbal instructions from senior colleagues, and the expectation that each individual will respond to what he sees and hears around him is no different from the way a new player is integrated into a modern orchestra. Given the widespread view that a large orchestra cannot function as a 'creative democracy', one can argue that this traditional method of establishing a uniform approach between the players in a section is acceptable. Although it is a method arising out of practical considerations, and may not be historically appropriate for some repertoire, anarchy would ensue if each member tried to impose his or her own particular style upon the wider interpretation of the music. Basic orchestral discipline is therefore as important to the period instrument orchestra as it is to its 'modern' counterpart.

The two respondents who reported receiving comprehensive guidance would probably have enjoyed a more methodical approach involving classes outside of rehearsal time to learn about the performance practice issues. I have been involved in two projects where this kind of exercise had taken place, both cycles of Beethoven symphonies: with the Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique in 1991–93 and with the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment in 1999. For both projects, a seminar was held to discuss matters of style and the choice of instruments and bows in advance of the first rehearsal, and a short paper (written by the Principals) was circulated, which made a set of broad recommendations. While this is a basic approach, involving the teaching of performer-oriented scholarship in a way that offers little scope for in-depth study, it is the most practical from the point of view of a large group of string players with limited time on its hands.

My next question turned back to the modern instrument tuition that the survey group had received, all of whom had started on a modern instrument and had switched to a 'historical' one.[10] I asked how much reference was made to treatises and schools of playing in lessons? Only one respondent said that their teacher made frequent references and suggested background reading. Five reported that their teachers only made passing references, and seven said that no mention was made at all of either treatises or schools. This shows that, while it is possible to identify a 'modern' style of string playing, which has its roots in the methods and schools of the nineteenth century, this is rarely expressed in a treatise-based approach during lessons on modern instruments. One respondent felt that their tuition on a modern instrument lacked the 'holistic' approach, involving criticism of sources and editions, and similar exercises, which they encountered in lessons on 'period' instruments:

> I see no reason why style / performance practice / intelligent, harmonically-based phrasing / faithfulness to original articulation & slurring / use of responsible editions / etc will not be limited to period performance. Hopefully before long these things can be integrated into mainstream performance!

This comment suggests that instruction on 'period' instruments affords students greater opportunities to examine a wide range of issues pertaining to performance, helping them to make 'historically-informed' decisions. However, it is noteworthy that none of the respondents acknowledged that a certain level of 'distance' inevitably exists between how treatises and similar materials were utilised in the past and how they are interpreted today—certain modern conceptions necessarily come into play. Indeed, one might argue that the typical approach to 'period' instrument tuition is, in some of its aspects, remarkably similar to tuition on modern instruments in which an emphasis tends to be placed on 'received' wisdom.

Next I asked how relevant the survey group thought their 'modern' studies were to the performance of nineteenth-century repertoire, and the extent to which they felt tuition in nineteenth-century performance practice was necessary. I had the aim of establishing if there was a consensus that tuition on modern instruments is felt to be a sufficient foundation for a stylistic and technically assured approach to this repertoire, or whether the respondents saw the need for a new historical performance discipline, focussing on the nineteenth century, as a counterpart to studies of baroque and classical music. Four respondents said they felt that their modern tuition was relevant to technique as well as more general points of style, while four said it was partly relevant to both. Although three said that their tuition on modern instruments was not relevant, and one remarked that it was 'no more relevant than to baroque [music]', the answers showed that, in general, a perception exists linking modern and historically-informed approaches as far as nineteenth-century repertoire is concerned.

As previously mentioned, one respondent went as far as to say that their tuition on a modern instrument was totally relevant to later historical

repertoire, and that it provided the foundations for performing nineteenth-century music in a stylistically appropriate manner. However, it is noteworthy that another expressed strong views against the integration of 'modern' players into string sections for large projects:

> Personally I feel strongly about these matters. When orchestras have been choosing players for 19th century repertoire, technical ability (in the broadest sense) seems to have been valued over understanding of style and use of the correct instruments. I think this comes from a fear – not entirely unjustified – that baroque specialists will not be able to get around the notes of difficult 19th century works. But where this leads to orchestras full of modern players using modern instruments with almost entirely modern stringing, and just a couple of stylistic nods to the experts (less vibrato, a few slides here and there), I think it is a great pity and a wasted opportunity. I don't see why it shouldn't be possible to have the best of both worlds. Why can't conductors insist on reasonable standards of historical accuracy when it comes to instruments and bows? Do they care or even notice? I fear sometimes not.

It is not unusual to hear such views being expressed by period instrument specialists. While any criticism of undisciplined or insensitive orchestral playing is fully justified, many of these views illustrate the way in which historical performance practitioners wish to maintain the exclusivity of their professional environment, and continue to produce a sound (regardless of the period of the repertoire) that is strikingly different from the sound of the modern orchestra. The larger issue that this touches on, that of the extent to which historical performance is a reactive response to the polished sound of the modern symphony orchestra, and thereby 'a symptom of late twentieth-century modernism',[11] is the subject of musicological debate involving John Butt and others.

Finally, I asked some questions about the instruments and bows that the members of the survey sample used. Again, the questions sought to establish perceptions rather than facts (if the aim had been to establish whether or not choices of instruments and bows were 'historically accurate', then a set of objective criteria would have to be established first, since the meaning of 'historically accurate' will inevitably vary within a given group of 'period' instrumentalists). I asked the following question, which produced a range of answers, showing that decisions were often taken on pragmatic grounds, rather than based on dogma: 'how confident are you that the instrument and bow that you use for baroque[/ classical/ romantic] music is correct?'[12]

Only one person was 'very confident' that their equipment was entirely appropriate for each of the periods in which they worked. The statistical results in answer to this question provided few consistent patterns of response. However, the overall pattern was one of compromise, and, in general, the respondents became less confident of the appropriateness of their instruments and bows in later repertoire. Most of them also admitted using the 'wrong' instrument, knowingly, for some repertoire, citing practical and economic reasons for this. The following sample of the answers to this question are revealing:

> I find it difficult changing instruments all the time. I have a classical violin which I use for everything except Renaissance music. It doesn't sound quite right for baroque music. I think it's important to have the correct bow for different periods of music.

> I'm taking the concept of 'correct' to mean something that I consider is appropriate, regardless of what other people's definitions of that may be.

> I'm aware that the instrument only (not the bow) that I use for Classical playing is not as 'correct' as I would like it to be, but it will take time and money to fix that. At the moment I have to use the same instrument for Romantic & Classical music.

> Buying and keeping Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Modern instruments in 'correct' setup is very expensive. Many people in the profession are in a state of slowly getting things changed but it shouldn't be taken to mean that they intend to use an incorrect instrument as a matter of policy.

> I think bass players are probably a little less well equipped than other string players.

> My violin is early classical (1750). I choose different bows for different repertoire though.

> This is only something I have been confident about in the last 7 years; I would say I was woefully ignorant about the equipment I was using when I first started working in the early music field.

> I do love trying to find the "right" tools for whatever period I'm playing music from, and I intend to eventually buy an earlier violin, and I'm constantly looking for bows as well.

These answers challenge the popular belief that the use of 'old-fashioned' instruments is central to the production of the distinctive aesthetic and sound of 'period' groups (since an eighteenth-century instrument might be used to perform seventeenth-century music), and that the instruments being heard in a performance by a 'period' group are exactly appropriate to the music. There was also a common perception among the respondents that 'early' instruments are legitimate in repertoire that post-dates them: an orchestral musician in the nineteenth century would probably have been as pragmatic as his present day counterpart in choosing to play a good instrument with an outdated set-up in preference to a poor but up-to-date example. One respondent fully concurred with this theory, saying:

> I am careful to use a bow contemporary to the period of music I am playing. However, I'm sure many different types of instrument and bow were being used at a time when the string instruments and bows were changing in set up and build. For this reason I don't have qualms about using an instrument that may be set up for an earlier period, provided it works on a practical level (e.g. the fingerboard is long enough).

It is fortuitous that many of today's 'historical' performers take a flexible approach to choosing equipment, since it probably results in a better quality of sound overall—and also one that is likely to be more 'authentic', since early orchestras may have included instruments ranging in date. The more obviously 'modern' aspects of an instrument—most notably, the use of metal strings—are easily avoided.

To summarise the findings of the survey: although the group under consideration was small, the responses show that my experiences of working on nineteenth-century repertoire in large period instrument orchestras had been, by and large, typical. My perceptions of how knowledge of performance practice has been disseminated over the past twenty years among practitioners has also not been too dissimilar to those of many of my colleagues. While the survey is not scientific enough to be taken any further, it does point towards the value that a more sophisticated survey of the field may have in the future.

Conclusions

The results of the survey, together with my own observations on the experience of playing nineteenth-century orchestral repertoire with period instrument orchestras, are snap-shots of a growing and increasingly complex history. I left the English Baroque Soloists/Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique in 1999, finding that the many weeks of foreign tours were no longer compatible with family life; the series of concerts I undertook with the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (with whom I was only ever an 'extra player' and never a member), in the same year, performing Beethoven symphonies, was the final project I took part in that concentrated on nineteenth-century repertoire. My present career involves engagements with 'period' groups that concentrate, almost exclusively, on baroque repertoire (the London Handel Orchestra and Players, La Serenissima, the English Concert and the Irish Baroque Orchestra). My research interest in nineteenth-century performance practice, however, affords me a vantage point to view the 'disconnect' between the realities of 'historical' performance as it practised, and the findings of scholarship—a disparity even more apparent today than it was twenty years ago. Putting aside for a moment concepts such as 'the composer's intentions', or the notion of 'historically informed performance', at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century we find that 'period' instrument orchestras are as much a part of the musical establishment as their older, modern instrument, counterparts.

Current research into nineteenth-century performance practices for string instruments has uncovered a wealth of evidence from early recordings and in printed editions, and it suggests the need for a wholesale re-evaluation of how we approach this repertoire in 'historically informed' performances. Yet, for the time being at least, the major period instrument groups keep faith with a 'clean and tidy' aesthetic that is as much a modernist reaction to the sound of the symphony orchestra of around 1980 as it is (or ever was) the result of a scholarly approach to music making. Nevertheless, performances of nineteenth-century repertoire by 'period' groups still have much to commend them. Surely the greatest achievement of the historical performance movement has been to reveal the clarity of the score, be it Monteverdi or Mahler, by stripping away the excesses of the late twentieth-century orchestral sound, with or without a truly historical rationale for doing so. The question remaining is one of entitlement to terminology: are the labels

'authentic' and 'historical' truly appropriate if the performances are not sufficiently informed by the evidence? The risk for the future, and the current trend among period instrument groups, is that the position of historical performance as a 'mainstream' activity freezes it in time, and prevents the performance practice revolutions of the future.

1 Roger Norrington, Introduction to Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford, 1999), viii.

2 John Butt *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance (Musical Performance and Reception)* (Cambridge, 2002), x.

3 Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance', The Early Music Consort, directed by David Munrow, *EMI (His Master's Voice) "Angel Series" SAN 391–392 (discs)* [LPx2] (1976).

4 Margaret Major was the Principal Viola with the Netherlands Chamber Orchestra from 1956–60 and member of the Aeolian Quartet from 1965–81.

5 This rebranding was not without its problems: the group had to revert to 'English Baroque Soloists' when it gave a complete cycle of Beethoven symphonies in Japan in 1992, presumably because an unknown orchestra was impossible to market so far from London.

6 The names of individuals identified in the responses have been removed.

7 A follow-up questionnaire would ask how this particular treatise was studied and how this study was applied to performance; Corrette's treatise offers little in the way of practical guidance to anyone without a very good command of the French language, except for a detailed illustration of a 'rule of the down bow' that bears little relation to any rule applied to French baroque music today.

8 One respondent could not remember when they had their first experience of playing nineteenth-century orchestral music on 'period' instruments, but it can be assumed, from their other responses, that they were active in the field during this timeframe.

9 One response, while a valid observation, was irrelevant to the question of technical and stylistic instruction: 'The most problematic aspect was trying to play on an instrument and bow which were in a bad state of repair and that I was unfamiliar with (which was quite a major problem).'

10 With such a small response group it is not possible (statistically) to mitigate the number who may have misunderstood a question. They may have missed the word 'modern' and continued to answer in relation to their period instrument tuition, as in this response: 'For example Leopold Mozart was mentioned, but of course, other things were pressed upon that could be found in his treatise, for example the use of vibrato seemed more important than most other things. I don't think I ever heard about any other treatises.'

11 John Butt, *Playing with History*, 14, summarising the viewpoint of Richard Taruskin's essay 'The Modern Sound of Early Music' in *Text and Act* (Oxford and New York, 1995), 164–70.

12 This question was asked three times, once for each period. The terms 'baroque', 'classical' and 'romantic' were used as they are the demarcations most commonly employed by 'period' string players to describe their instruments and bows.

Practising Research in Performance: Beethoven's Chamber Music

(Goodenough College, London, Tuesday 6 July 2010)
John Irving, fortepiano, Jane Booth, clarinet, and Jennifer Morsches, cello
(A University of London Knowledge Transfer Recital)

Amy Blier-Carruthers and Edward Breen

The Institute of Musical Research (IMR) is part of the University of London's School of Advanced Studies and runs many events ranging from conferences, training days for students and Knowledge Transfer recitals. In July, fortepianist and director of the IMR, John Irving, organised an 'open rehearsal' of music by Beethoven with two members of the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. The event took place twice, at two London locations, Goodenough College, on 6th July, and Morden College, on 10th July. It aimed to introduce 'the "behind-the-scenes" process of preparing historically-informed performances' addressed through a performance of Beethoven's piano trio, op. 38, on period instruments: modern copies of a fortepiano and clarinet from Beethoven's day, and an eighteenth-century cello.

This event was billed as both a 'knowledge transfer recital' and an 'open rehearsal'.[1] The idea behind an open rehearsal is to introduce to the public the working habits of musicians. It is, of course, not 'the real thing'—many would no doubt find it fascinating to be a 'fly-on-the wall' observing a true private rehearsal—but this kind of event is nevertheless enlightening. For anyone already involved in the fields of performance or musicology, it was at its most interesting when the musicians dealt with more detailed matters in the manner of an actual rehearsal (rather than lecture-workshop format). It is likely that many members of the audience would have been able to follow them to loftier heights, but of course it is not easy to be 'all things to all people', and the knowledge transfer aspect of the event was certainly fulfilled.

Three broad topics were addressed: the instruments used, ornamentation and tempi. The event was light-hearted to begin with: John Irving began by explaining that original instruments are 'funny-looking instruments that are brown instead of black!'

Irving introduced his instrument by drawing attention to the immediacy of the fortepiano, it being both quick to sound and to decay due to smaller hammers hitting thinner strings than is the case in a modern piano. This allowed him to play at a remarkable velocity without loosing detail or obscuring the sound of the other instruments.

When Jane Booth introduced her beautiful Boxwood clarinet, a copy of a model by Heinrich Grenser, she explained that she prefers to chose instruments whose date and country of manufacture is matched by the music being performed: her German-style clarinet has a larger bore than some other models giving it a warmer tone.

For cellist Jennifer Morsches, a major consideration was her choice of bow. She demonstrated an English bow made from strawberry wood (c.1790) and a more modern one to highlight the great differences of tone they produce and how their properties affect the performer's agility. She added that 'it is such a joy to be able to play this piece on original instruments', and made the point that historical instruments can teach us about the music.

The most interesting aspect of this event concerned the exploration of the two main rehearsal topics: embellishment and tempi. Considering that performers were also more likely to be composers in Beethoven's day,

embellishment was once an expected extension of creativity and so the performers endeavoured to take this on board. An interesting question was posed by passages in which a theme was passed between instruments, usually pianoforte and clarinet. Should performers copy one another's ornamentation in these instances or should they remain individually inventive? Booth felt, aside from the question of whether the performers copy each other exactly or not in such passages, that embellishments should be different with each performance, since this adds an essential dimension of spontaneity to the music.

Morsches had looked at early scores as part of her preparation. She explained that in the first edition some *sforzandi* are in different places to how they are presented in the Henle edition commonly used. These earlier *sf* markings seem to push 'against the grain' of the music, and she felt discoveries like this provide a glimpse of what Beethoven was searching for and offer a platform for her, as a performer, to add interpretive details. In this case the *sforzandi* suggest longer bow strokes are required in the context of the phrase in which they occur, which in turn has ramifications for tempi, since all the notes concerned have to be performed with a single bow stroke.

The debate over Beethoven's possibly faulty metronome marks was also touched on. His 1817 markings can appear somewhat eccentric, especially when movements veer towards extreme tempi. The usual caveats about tempi needing to be suitable for the size of a particular venue were reiterated, but, fabulously, the trio were willing to play to Beethoven's prescribed tempo in the final movement (presto). Suddenly we were in a heightened world far away from the usual furrowed brow that one normally expects from Beethoven performance. Booth, however, felt that the result was 'breathless', leaving the music no time to speak, or the performer time to observe details in the score; '…it's quite an ask' she observed. Although the tempi had relaxed slightly in the final playing, experimental candour was not lost. It was in fact an exciting performance, while we, a relatively historically ill-informed audience, listened in rapt silence. The performers concluded that, of course, preferences over tempi change with fashions, but in Jane's words: 'We don't ever want to get into a situation where there is only one way to play a piece. I am aware of the traditions of the past, but I want *me* to perform *today*.'

What broader observations did we take away from this event? One is that performance is gaining an increasingly important role in musical research. Traditionally, the study of music has been rooted in the study of written musical texts. Stated very simply, performers played the music, and scholars studied the scores. This enabled—nay, promoted—a focus on the composer and his works, but it bred an attitude amongst historians and musicians alike that the act of performance was merely a recreative one: it was the performer's role to simply give voice to the work as imagined by the composer, to be a channel, a vessel. However, this leaves very little room for consideration of the deeply creative and personal act a musician undertakes when preparing a work for performance and presenting it. The sound of any given work in live performance, be it by Beethoven, Brahms or Bartok, will inevitably vary on each occasion since the process of performance is, necessarily, a profoundly interpretative act.

And it is this—the practice of performance, what musicians do, why they do it, and how it affects our experience of the music—that performers and scholars have begun to address in recent years. There are performers who engage in research into their own practice (research that feeds back into their performances, but is also disseminated in other ways, be it lecture presentations or articles), and musicologists who study music as it is practiced in performance (who have mainly looked at historical performing styles through the study of early recordings, but are increasingly engaging with musicians and the primary live event). Since for most people music is something they engage with as a listener, and musicians are primarily concerned with the business of preparing performances, it makes perfect sense for the study of music to have come around to dealing with the act of performance, and for performers to be involved. One might say that we are seeing a new breed of researcher, equally acquainted with the worlds of performance and scholarship; while researchers engaged in performance have always existed, the field is certainly beginning to open up once again.

1 'Knowledge transfer' is a term used by universities to denote an activity or piece of research which involves, or has implications for, the wider community (ed.).

New Vivaldi Uncovered in Scotland

Andrew Woolley

Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) was one of the most international and influential composers of the eighteenth century whose reputation (not only as a composer but also as a virtuoso violinist) was supported by the publications of his instrumental music that appeared in the 1710s and 1720s. These included the *VI Concerti a Flauto Traverso*, Op. 10, published in Amsterdam in 1729, apparently the first printed collection of its kind. While in the 1730s Vivaldi seems no longer to have favoured the publication of his music in print, he was able to supply the 'market demand' for his works through manuscript copies, engaging copyists to prepare collections, or single works, for his customers. In this way he was able to retain a greater control over the dissemination of his works, and also charge something of a 'premium'; in a letter from Edward Holdsworth to Charles Jennens we are told that the composer charged a 'Guinea for ev'ry' piece' at this period, an indication that he dealt shrewdly with his wealthier clients.[1]

A number of these individuals would have been performers on the transverse flute, an increasingly popular instrument among gentlemen amateurs, all over Europe, in the 1720s and 1730s. Indeed, these circumstances suggest an explanation for why a copy of a flute concerto by Vivaldi, a work until this year deemed lost, found its way to an archive in Scotland.[2] The manuscript, a set of parts, originates from the Marquesses of Lothian papers in the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh, and belongs to a collection of manuscripts for four flute concertos dating from the eighteenth century.[3] They were in all likelihood the property of Lord Robert Kerr (?c. 1719–1746), the second son of the third Marquess of Lothian, since we know that he played the flute. A series of financial accounts compiled by his tutor, the mathematician Colin Maclaurin, reveal that 'a Musick book' and 'a flute', the latter costing £1. 6*s.* 0*d.*, were bought for him some time between 15 June 1731 and 30 March 1732, and that by 30 March 1732 he had received three months' tuition from an unnamed 'Musick master'.[4] Lord Robert is the only member of his family at this period who is known to have played the flute (his elder brother, William Kerr, later the fourth Marquess, may have been denied the opportunity to pursue a musical education because of his status as the family's heir).

The concerto attributed to Vivaldi is in D minor, an unusual key for an eighteenth-century flute work (since the instrument, in this period, favoured 'sharp' keys), and not one used by the composer in any other of his surviving solo flute concertos. It has the title 'Il Gran Mogol' written at the top of each surviving part, indicating that it is one of the four 'lost' concertos with characteristic titles listed in the 1759 sale catalogue of the Dutch bookseller, Nicolaas Selhof of The Hague; the others, called 'La Francia', 'La Spagna' and 'L'Inghilterro', are not known to survive.[5] As listed in the catalogue, it appears they formed a series of 'national' concertos ('Il Gran Mogol' being representative of the Mughal Empire or India), and would have formed, as a quartet, perhaps an equivalent to the series of violin concertos known collectively as 'The Four Seasons'. Notwithstanding its many Vivaldian hallmarks, the authenticity of 'Il Gran Mogol' (now catalogued RV431a) is confirmed by the fact that another flute concerto by him in E minor (RV431), known from an autograph score, is a reworked, simplified, version of it.[6]

The manuscript source of 'Il Gran Mogol', for which a second violin part is unfortunately missing, appears to be in the hand of an Italian copyist, and its paper type suggests it was copied outside of Britain.[7] Indeed, only one of the concertos in the Edinburgh collection—a work by William Babel originally written for the recorder (no. 3, for 'sixth flute', in *Babell's Concertos in 7 parts... Opera Terza* ([1726])), but deemed by its copyist as being suitable for the transverse flute—is of British provenance: the other two, one anonymous and the other by the Paris-based flautist Jean-Daniel Braune, active in the 1730s, are probably of north European, but not British origin. This suggests that Lord Robert Kerr, if we are correct in supposing his ownership of the manuscripts, probably acquired them on a Grand Tour of Europe in the 1730s.

'Il Gran Mogol' is a wonderful work, notwithstanding its exotic title and unexpected Scottish connection, and should gain a place in the eighteenth-century flute concerto repertoire as a challenging but rewarding piece. The happy survival of a later re-working of it, in the form of RV 431, means that the missing second violin part

can be reconstructed with some confidence: the two works are, by and large, closely related, but some passages were completely re-composed in the later version, while the flute part was revised throughout. RV 431 also survives in an incomplete form, since it lacks a central slow movement in the only known source, but source evidence, and our knowledge of Vivaldi's practices of recycling, suggest that the 'missing' slow movement would have been a version, transposed from G minor to A minor, of the 'Gran Mogol' 'Larghetto'.[8]

The first modern edition of 'Il Gran Mogol', published by Edition HH in November of this year, offers both a reconstruction of the second violin part, in addition to a hypothetical completion of RV 431, affording the opportunity for groups to perform both works in a completed state. Plans are also afoot to perform and record 'Il Gran Mogol': the 'modern premiere' will be given by La Serenissima at the Perth Concert Hall on 26th January, who will then, shortly after, record it for initial release as a downloadable MP3 file.

1 See Michael Talbot, 'Charles Jennens and Antonio Vivaldi', *Vivaldi veneziano europeo*, ed. Francesco Degrada (Florence, 1980), 66–75, esp. 71.

2 For a full-length discussion of the concerto and its source context, see Andrew Woolley, 'An Unknown Flute Concerto by Vivaldi in Scotland', *Studi vivaldiani* 10 (2010), 3–38.

3 They are catalogued as GD40/15/54/1–3 and GD/40/55, the Vivaldi work being GD40/15/54/2.

4 See Woolley, 'An Unknown Concerto', 6.

5 See *Catalogue of the Music Library, Instruments and Other Property of Nicolas Selhof, Sold in The Hague; 1759*, facsimile edition with introduction by Alec Hyatt King (Amsterdam, 1973), esp. 223. For a discussion of Vivaldi's music listed in the catalogue, see Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi in the Sale Catalogue of Nicolas Selhof', *Informazioni e Studi Vivaldiani* (1985), 57–63.

6 I am grateful to Michael Talbot for pointing out the relationship between 'Il Gran Mogol' and RV431. A detailed comparison of the two works is presented in Woolley, 'An Unknown Concerto'.

7 The watermark is of the 'grapes' type, common in eighteenth-century French music paper. I am grateful to Bruce Gustafson and Graham Sadler for advice on this point.

8 The nature of the 'incompleteness' of RV 431, and how it might be authentically reconstructed, are considered in full in Woolley, 'An Unknown Concerto', 14–16, and *Antonio Vivaldi. Concerto in D minor RV431a ('Il Gran Mogol') and Concerto in E minor, RV 431*, ed. Andrew Woolley (Bicester, 2010), vi–vii.

Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years*

New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009
625 pp., 100 plates (50 in colour), £30

Lisa Colton

Even for the early music enthusiast, the period of Western European music history before, or in the early years of, the development of staff notation remains something of an enigma. Though plainchant scholars have investigated potential continuity between the earliest Christian liturgies and those practised in the later Middle Ages, their findings are often reported in highly specialist publications. Christopher Page's most recent project, the somewhat forebodingly titled *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years*, is written with a more general audience in mind, while also revealing details of practices and developments that will no doubt prove a definitive account for musicologists for some time. It is no easy task: lacking liturgical codices or music-historical accounts for the early centuries, Page's sources are ancient chronicles, charters, inscriptions, and other seemingly tangential resources such as archaeological reports on the trade routes for olive oil. Of course, the Bible is also a crucial locus of information, because those who worked in the early church as musicians were also responsible for the compilation of the New Testament; however, the author treads appropriately carefully in terms of treating the Bible as a 'historical' document, set up to give us information about the music of the past. Page's book is not primarily a history *of music*, then, or even once of musical performance, but of singers, and of their experience of liturgy within several centuries of cultural change.

Who were the singers of the early Christian church? Was the first recorded monk, a villager in fourth-century Egypt (not the recluse of later periods), a musician? The reality of early Christian lives was full of dichotomy. There was no clear distinction between the sung worship of these individuals and similar practices of Jews or other religious groups. Being a Christian had economic advantages as much as spiritual ones, with favourable terms of trade and exchange from at least the fourth century. Page goes to great lengths to foreground the richness of the lived experience of early Christians, reminding us that 'from the sixth century onwards, clergy and singers performed their liturgical tasks on ecclesiastical islands of luxury, with precious metals for liturgical vessels' (p. 12), while sketching, piece by piece, an image of ritual life in the first millennium that came to be associated with the rejection of material goods and the embracing of chastity, poverty and humility. By the twelfth century, the luxury of spices, smells and liturgical vestments had been joined by a new form of luxury: the adolescent male cantor, seemingly prized above other voice types for his beauty of sound.

The structure of the book is broadly chronological, but is helpfully grouped into chapters that reflect a particular theme, from 'Mediterranean Beginnings' (taking the reader to the fifth century), to a second part focusing on the importance of Frankish and Roman traditions, and concluding with an examination of the centuries straddling the millennium. This final part may feel more familiar because of its reference to Guido d'Arezzo, inventor of the stave, but Page's perspective is a fresh one. In his explanation of Guido's notation, Page reminds us that the very rigidity of fixing a pitch on parchment forced choices to be made between intervals that had to be firmly clarified as a major third or a perfect fourth, for example. While we might assume that this was entirely a blessing, to do so would ignore the fact that different oral traditions were therefore in direct competition with one another. Questions of authority and authenticity in liturgical melody were therefore heightened, rather than solved, by the innovation of the musical stave.

I enjoyed this book's social viewpoint, or rather its range of viewpoints. The reader is introduced to the 'great names' of Church and musical history, but within a fabric of names that are more localised in their own perspective, and whose significance may have been fleeting, relatively isolated, or quickly forgotten. The status of an individual is not the over-riding decider in whether or not Page includes his/her experience to the history of Christian song in his account. Power is a strong theme, for example in Page's remarks that 'a new chant in honour of a saint was often a hymn to a landowner from his tenants' (p. 400), but that 'the composition of new plainsongs often reveals harmonious relationships between monks, clergy and nobility in the consolidation of territories and communities' (p. 401). This breadth can be seen to be at the detriment of depth in a few cases. I was a little disappointed, for example, by the treatment of Hildegard von Bingen, given Page's central role in the revival of her music in the 1980s: her music, though Page admits to her 'strikingly original voice' (p. 389), is granted just two pages of discussion.

The history of Frankish and Roman interaction in the eighth to the tenth centuries is particularly well told in this book, giving a rich impression of local traditions and somewhat doomed attempts to regulate practice across vast geographical and cultural divides. Pippin, the father of Charlemagne, and ruler of the Franks (751–68) wrote a letter to Pope Zacharias as early as 746–7, concerned about the apparently commonplace practice of nuns singing and reading aloud at Mass, a 'problem' that reinforces the likelihood that 'some nunneries in the late Merovingian church were well supplied with well-trained singers' (p. 282), and from which Page infers that an equally competent tradition of male cantors had become established. Pippin and Pope Stephen II were responsible for Frankish singers studying with Roman members of the *schola cantorum* as part of a campaign to bring uniformity to Frankish liturgy, and to bring it into line with Rome. Page explores the motives for these developments in some detail. The harmonisation of liturgies was symbolic of broader governmental concerns, and the need to displace old rivalries. A sense of political expediency can be read from considering the liturgical reforms north of the Alps alongside the fact that Rome was being essentially 'rebranded' as located at the Eastern part of the Latin West, rather than at a western point of Byzantium. Page clearly enjoys having the space to speculate on details of the occasion in the 760s when a Roman singer, Simeon, was invited to Rouen to share southern practice, including discussion of the archaeological remains of the room in which this meeting took place (part of the North Church of St Stephen and the cathedral group at Rouen). He also asks provocative questions about the nature of this exchange of information, given the lack of available musical notation, and reminds the reader that without a means to fix the melodies in writing the tunes remained 'as a sensation in the ear and in the throat, perhaps with the occasional visual consolidation of a written text as a mnemonic resource' (p. 310).

Christopher Page is well known to most early music enthusiasts from his role as director of Gothic Voices, as well as having written books and articles on medieval music. A true interdisciplinarian, Page's approach to music history is one that is informed by subjects such as theology, economic history, literature, poetry, languages and archaeology. His most recent project is thus arguably his most ambitious, in terms not only of scale (at just under 700 pages) but also its chronological boundaries. So often, explorations of early Western history are either cultural histories that pay only lip service to the existence of music, or music-focused accounts that place emphasis on musicians as if they lived in a bubble, away from political struggles and trade routes, distant from their physical and geographical environments. Page's study succeeds on both counts: it is a cultural history with music embedded into its heart. The book is amply illustrated (often in colour) with maps, diagrams and photographs of archaeological remains, paintings and musical manuscripts. It is recommended to anyone with an interest in the origins of Christian music and its development, and Page's references to later and even to modern day social and musical events brings this otherwise distant period alive for all readers.

Willaert's *Quid non ebrietas*: a revised reconstruction for performers

Morris Grenfell Davies[1]

Adrian Willaert's duo *Quid non ebrietas*, composed around 1519, was first published, without text, by Giovanni Maria Artusi in 1600 (with the title *Quidnam ebrietas*). In its duo form the piece puzzled scholars throughout the centuries until 1956 when Edward Lowinsky (following a lead of Alfred Einstein) discovered the existence of a third part, for alto, and drew attention to an exchange of learned letters between the contemporary theorists Giovanni Spartaro and Pietro Aron of Venice.[2] These discoveries confirmed that the piece was intended as a remarkable 'experiment in chromaticism', and allowed him to establish its authenticity as a work of Willaert (despite the fact that Willaert did not include the piece among his published works). The alto part is somewhat anomalous, notably the fact there is little imitative dialogue between it and the others (by contrast, the cantus and tenor engage in imitation to a much greater degree). Nevertheless, Lowinsky was able to show that the original version was in four parts, for cantus, alto, tenor and bass, by pointing out that the alto does indeed 'fit' with the other two that survive.

Taken at face value, from bar 11 onwards, the duo version appears to make very little musical sense (see Ex. 1). For instance, while the cantus part ends logically on *d*`, the tenor apparently ends on *e*, which cannot be correct. It was shown in the nineteenth century, however, that the problem was with the tenor part, and that it requires chromatic alterations not marked in the score.[3] As printed by Artusi, the piece has an ordinary non-chromatic cantus part, but the tenor has flats against the *e*` in bar 11, the *a* in bar 13, the *d*` in bar 15, the *g* in bar 19, and the *c*` in bar 21 (notes, which if treated irrespective of relative pitch, descend successively by a fifth) and further flats are placed before the *e* and *a* in bars 22 and 23. Observing these features, the following chromatic alterations can be applied to the tenor part: in bar 12, *e* is to be interpreted as *e flat*, and on further appearances; similarly, the *d* in bar 17, *g* in bar 20 and *f* in bar 21 are to be flattened and on further appearances. From bar 21, the notes *g*, *b*, *a*, *e*, and *c* are all assigned double flats. While the *f*` in bar 21 is not flattened, its appearance between a *c flat* and an inferred *g double flat* is surely an indication that it should be flattened, in accordance with the scheme. The need for perfect intervals, rather than augmented or diminished ones, also dictates where the double flats should appear; for instance, the *b*` at the beginning of bar 22 necessarily becomes a *b*` *double flat* in order to create the interval of a rising perfect fourth. By the time we reach the middle of bar 24, all notes of the tenor part, except *f*, are necessarily assigned double flats.

'Once the chromatic inflections of the tenor part have been established (and the alto part is scored-up with the cantus and tenor), a reconstruction of the missing bass part may be accomplished—and although Lowinsky devised a practicable reconstruction in the 1950s, which was published as an appendix to his article, his version is not without its problems for performers. One problem concerns the presentation of the text, which is taken from lines of Horace (*Epistles* I, V, 16–20):

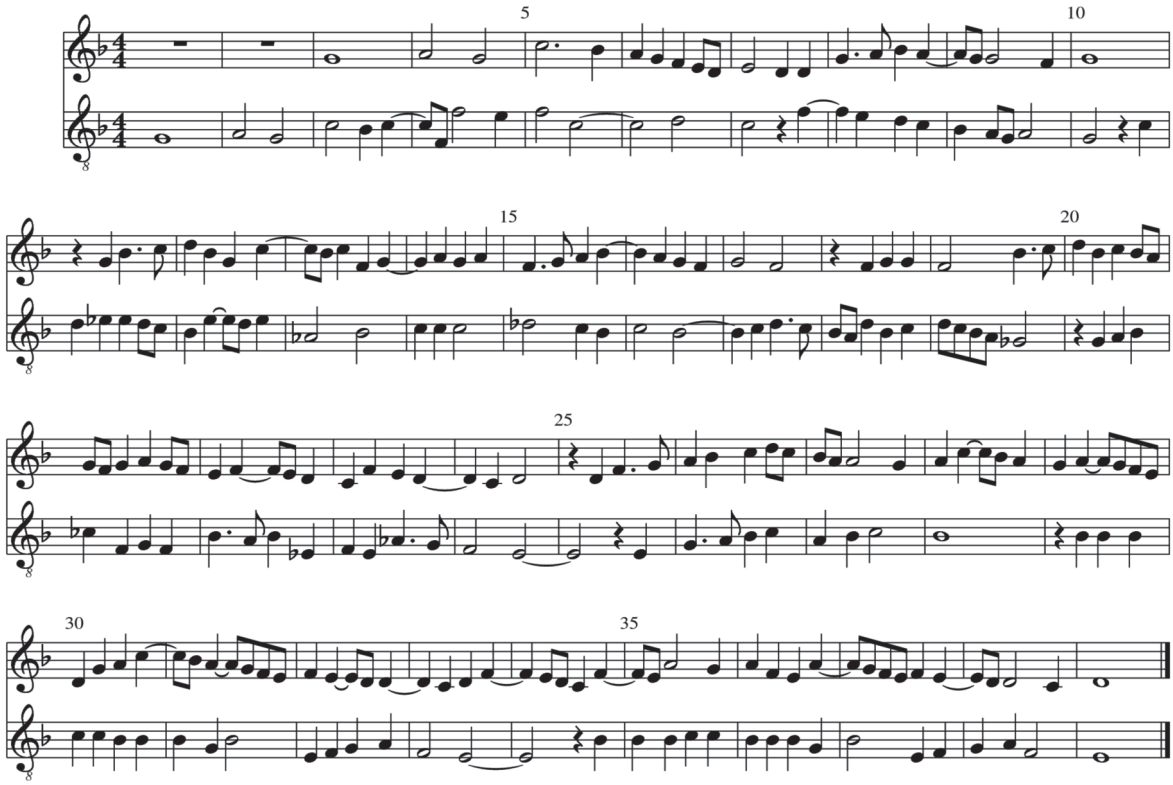
> Quid non ebrietas dissignat? operta recludit,
> Spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem,
> Sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.
> Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
> Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
>
> *What a miracle cannot the wine-cup work!*
> *It unlocks secrets, bids hopes be fulfilled, thrusts the coward into the field,*
> *takes the load from anxious hearts, teaches new arts.*
> *The flowing bowl - whom has it not made eloquent?*
> *Whom has it not made free even amid pinching poverty?*

(trans. H. Rushton Fairclough in *Horace. Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica* (London, 1926), 281–82)

As presented in the alto part, however, Horace's fifth line ('Contracta quem...') is omitted;

instead Lowinsky implies that the alto part supplies a repetition of the fourth line.[4] From the point of view of musical and poetic sense this would seem a coarse feature. The fourth line provides an unsatisfactory conclusion, which is perhaps not reflected in the musical setting; by contrast Willaert's setting has a finality about it (emphasised by the repetition of musical material in the closing bars), which would have well suited the fifth line.

In the revised reconstruction that follows, I have chosen to restore Horace's fifth line in the belief that this could have been Willaert's original intention. I have also taken the opportunity to provide a score that is of practical use to choirs and chamber groups by utilising modern clefs for the upper parts, by providing punctuation, and more logical underlay (in Lowinsky's reconstruction, all upper parts are given in C-clefs, there is no punctuation, and some of the underlay is inept). The reconstructed bass line endeavours to maintain Willaert's style to a greater degree than I feel is the case with Lowinsky's. In keeping with the 'free' style of the alto part, I have not attempted to introduce imitative motives into the bass part.



Ex. 1. the duo version of *Quid non Ebrietas*

1 The present article is an editorial reduction of an article originally submitted under the title, 'Willaert's *Quid non ebrietas* visited—yet again'. It deals only with musicological aspects of the 'duo', and my reasons for devising a revised reconstruction of the four-part version, while the original places it in a broader context and includes a discussion of Edward Lowinsky's lateral thinking about this curious composition. The original can be obtained from the author: eb20@liverpool.ac.uk. I am indebted to Bill Purvis for typesetting the examples.

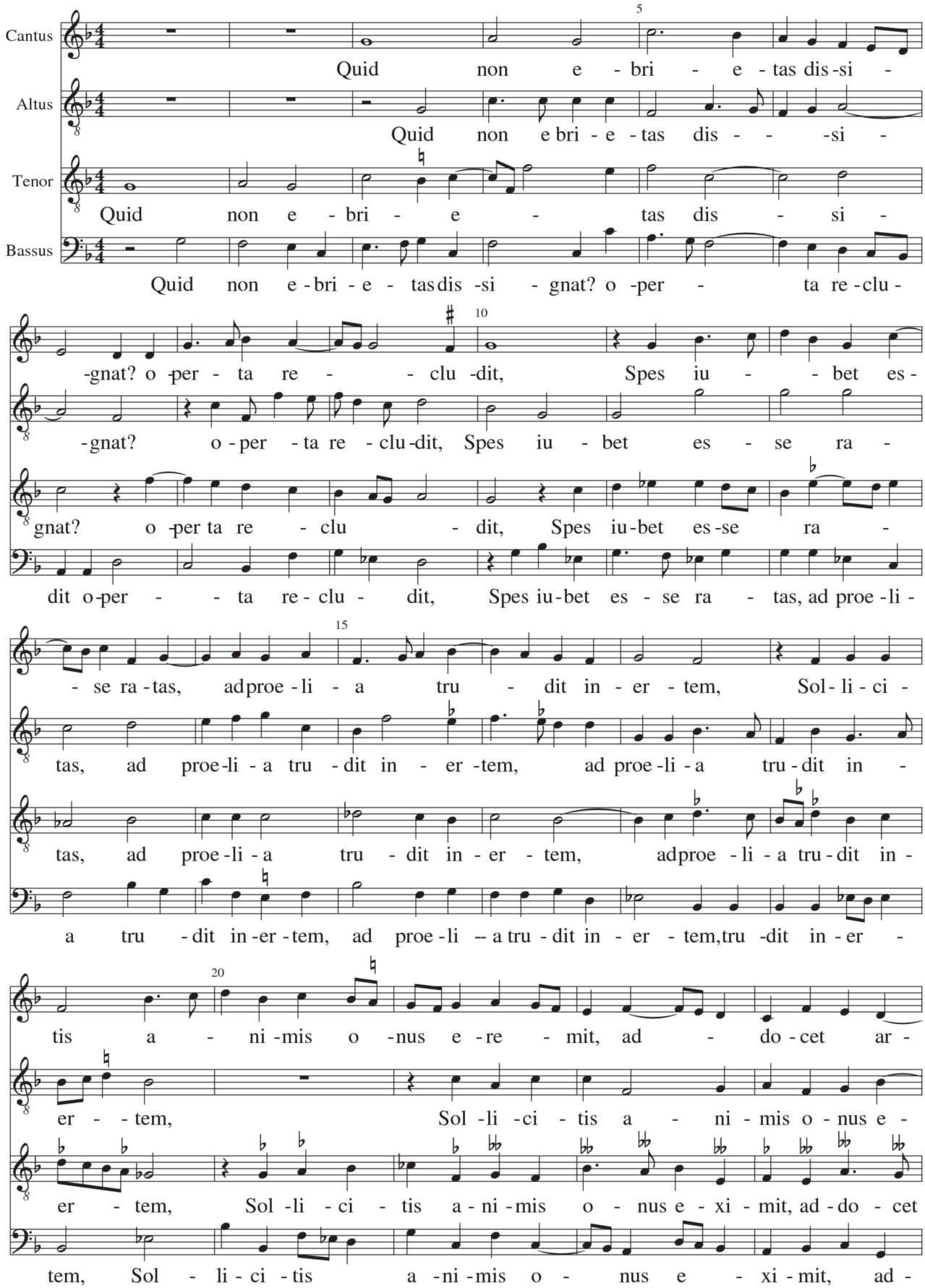
2 Edward E. Lowinsky, 'Adrian Willaert's chromatic duo re-examined', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Muziekwetenschap* 18 (1956), 1–36, esp. 2.

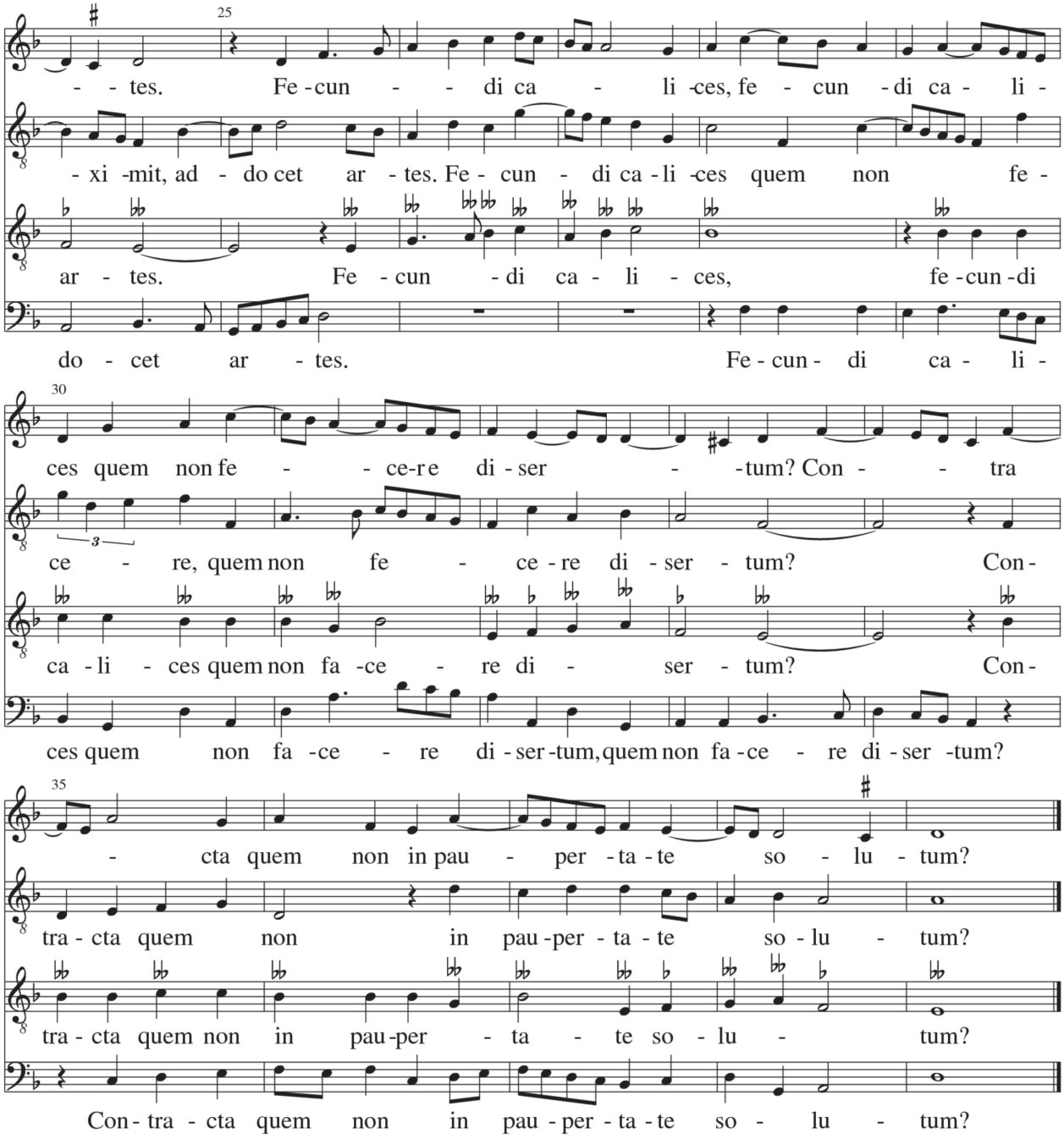
3 For an account of the literature on the piece throughout the centuries, see Joseph S. Levitan, 'Adrian Willaert's Famous Duo *Quidnam ebrietas*. A composition which apparently closes with the interval of a seventh', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 15 (1938), 166–192.

4 'Adrian Willaert's chromatic duo', esp. 28–30. Lowinsky does not state explicitly that the fourth line is repeated but implies that this is the case by pointing out that the alto part is 'provided with a text throughout', and that it features 'four verses [i.e. lines] of Horace's fifth epistle' (28). The possibility remains, however, that the alto part entirely lacks underlay at the point where the fifth line should appear, and that Lowinsky inferred from this feature, in his reconstruction, a repetition of the fourth line. If this is the case, he neither draws attention to it as an editorial intervention nor to the possibility that the fifth line may have been intended.

QUID NON EBRIETAS

Adrian Willaert





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CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT

1st International Conference on Historical Keyboard Music: Sources, Contexts, and Performance

1–3 July 2011
Department of Music, the University of Edinburgh, Scotland

This conference is intended as an international meeting of scholars and performers working in the field of keyboard studies, the first of its kind to be held in the United Kingdom. By intention, its scope is not bound by a particular historical time-frame, the aim being to bring together a diverse range of expertise in both performance and historical musicology. Moreover, it is anticipated that the conference will provide an opportunity for fruitful contact and exchanges of ideas between individuals working in the general field.

An exceptional opportunity for a suitable 'meeting point' between the often separate spheres of performance and scholarship, and the various branches of keyboard studies, is offered by the University of Edinburgh's Collection of Historical Instruments at St Cecilia's Hall and Museum. The Collection houses many outstanding keyboard instruments dating from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries that are in working order (see the Collection's online catalogue: http://www.music.ed.ac.uk/euchmi/ucki.html). As part of the conference, four invited speakers will address questions relevant to performance-oriented scholarship, in turn highlighting the continuing importance of instruments for the study of historical keyboard music. We are delighted to announce that these speakers will be as follows:

Terence Charlston, Professor of Harpsichord, Royal College of Music, London, England
Robert Hill, Professor of Historical Keyboard Instruments and Performance Practice, Hochschule für Musik, Freiburg, Germany
Christine Jeanneret, Assistant Professor, Université de Genève, Switzerland
Susan Wollenberg, Lecturer in Music, Brasenose College, the University of Oxford, England

CALL FOR PAPERS

Proposals are now invited for individual paper presentations at the conference (20 minutes duration followed by ten minutes for questions and discussion) or lecture-recitals (40 minutes duration, including discussion). The committee will also also consider grouped proposals for themed sessions. Proposed topics may, but not exclusively, relate to the following areas: performance contexts; performance practice issues; instruments in context; iconography and performance; organology and performance; keyboard technique in relation to aesthetics, cultural contexts, and the body; 'keyboard culture'; analytical techniques; pedagogy; the keyboard and amateur music-making; the keyboard and gender; the reception of historical keyboard composer-performers; authorship and the practice of keyboard arranging; textual criticism and sources; historical recordings.

Abstracts and proposals should be sent by email as .doc attachments AND a plain-text version contained in the email. The deadline for proposals is **14 March 2011.** Proposals should be sent to the organizing committee:

Dr Andrew Woolley (A.L.Woolley@soton.ac.uk)
Mr Erasmo Estrada (E.J.Estrada-Elizarraras@sms.ed.ac.uk)
Ms Eleanor Smith (eleanor@eleanorsmith.org.uk)
Dr John Kitchen (J.Kitchen@ed.ac.uk)

This conference has been kindly supported by the Friends of St Cecilia's, a grant from the University of Edinburgh Development Trust, and a University of Edinburgh Knowledge Transfer grant,

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