

Early Music Performer

A quarterly newsletter dedicated to questions of early music performance - then and now

Issue 6, August-2000



Nema

Early Music Performer is the newsletter of the National Early Music Association and is sent to subscribing members. Subscription to NEMA costs £19.50 per year, and subscribers receive a copy of *The Early Music Yearbook*. For further details contact the administrator, Christopher Goodwin, Southside Cottage, Brook Hill, Albury, Guildford GU5 9DJ, UK. Tel (+44)(0) 1483 202159. Fax (+44)(0)1483 203088 email nema@earlymusic.net

Early Music Performer is edited by Chris Thorn, 135 Arnison Avenue, High Wycombe HP13 6BH UK Tel (+44)(0)1494 523581
email christh@nildram.co.uk website <http://homepages@nildram.co.uk/~christh/>

Includes full listings of articles on early music

Nema

Members of Council

Chairman: Dr Peter Holman
Beeson

Deputy Chairman: Jonathan Ranger

Treasurer: Mark Windisch

Secretary: Jane

Individual Members' Representatives

Elected: Clifford Bartlett, John Bence, Dr Keith Bennett, John Briggs, Nancy Hadden, Matthew Spring, Anthony Rowland Jones, Duane Lakin Thomas, Chris Thorn (editor, *Early Music Performer*), Ann Allen (press & publicity).

Observer and Advisor: Andrew Pinnock

Corporate Members' Representatives: Stephen Cassidy (EEMF), Alison Ede (Dolmetsch Historical Dance), Glyn Russ (Early Music Network), David Fletcher (TVEMF), Julia Morley (Robert Morley & Co), Graham Felton (Benslow Music Trust).

Administrator: Christopher Goodwin

Register: Donald Gill.

Early Music Performer

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Full page | £40 |
| Half page | £25 |
| Quarter Page | £15 |

Members announcements are free

Early Music Yearbook 2001

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Full page | £135 |
| Half page | £86 |
| Quarter page | £44 |
| Eighth page | £25 |
| Inside covers: full | £245 |
| half | £159 |

NEMA members get a 10% discount
in this publication

Nema

Advertising Rates

You could fill this space in future copies of the Early Music Performer by advertising your instruments, courses or ensembles with NEMA. Your chance to reach out to thousands of early music practitioners everywhere.

You can now reserve your space in The Early Music Year Book 2001,

For more information or to place an ad contact:

Ann Allen 0207 935 6730

Making Harpsichords since 1969

*robert
deegan
harpsichords*

Early Keyboard Instruments and Restorations.
Colour brochure free upon request.
Concert hire.



Tonnage Warehouse, St Georges Quay,
Lancaster LA1 1RB
Tel & Fax: (01524) 60186

If you're into Early Music

NEMA EARLY MUSIC YEARBOOK 2001
you should be in this!

Whether or not you are a member of NEMA you can apply now for your FREE entry into the most comprehensive Early Music directory in the world.

NEMA membership costs £19.50 pa for which you receive Early Music Performer quarterly and a free copy of the Early Music Yearbook. It also entitles you to discounts on advertising in these publications.

For more info contact:

Chris Goodwin

Southside Cottage, Brook Hill, Albury, Guildford, GU8 9DJ

Applications are invited for the ninth biennial

International Early Music Network

Young Artists Competition

The Competition is organised by the Early Music Network, with funding from the Arts Council of England: it will take place in York from 11-14 July 2001 as part of the York Early Music Festival.

This prestigious international competition is open to vocal and instrumental ensembles (minimum 3 persons) who:

are between the ages of 17 and 30 (35 for singers)

specialise in repertoire within the period from the middle ages to the 19th century

follow appropriate 'historically-informed' playing techniques and stylistic conventions

If you are specialising in early music you should seriously consider entry. The competition can be a key stage on the way to national and international recognition for performers starting their professional careers; the jury (as well as the audience) regularly includes representatives of the broadcasting, recording, festival, and music promotion worlds – who see this as a prime opportunity to identify and select new and promising young talent. Judging will be by an international panel of performers and promoters. There is no registration fee; competitors participate at their own expense.

For further details please contact: the Early Music Network, 31 Abdale Road, London W12 7ER tel 020 8743 0302 fax 020 8743 0996 e-mail [HYPERLINK
mailto:glyn@earlymusicnet.demon.co.uk](mailto:glyn@earlymusicnet.demon.co.uk)
[HYPERLINK
mailto:glyn@earlymusicnet.demon.co.uk](mailto:glyn@earlymusicnet.demon.co.uk)

Closing date for applications is Friday 1 December 2000

Contents of this issue

| | |
|--|----------|
| Our New President: Christopher Hogwood | |
| <i>Peter Holman</i> | 1 |
| Obituary: June Yakeley | |
| <i>Monica Hall</i> | 2 |
| King's Music | |
| <i>Clifford Bartlett</i> | 4 |
| Was Dowland a Spy? | |
| <i>Peter Hauge</i> | 13 |
| This Temperament Business | |
| <i>John Catch</i> | 16 |
| NEMA Affairs | |
| Letters | |
| Members' Announcements | 17 |
| In brief . . . | |
| <i>compiled by Christopher Goodwin</i> | 18 |

The articles in this newsletter represent the opinions of the writers and do not necessarily reflect the policy of NEMA

Our New President

Christopher Hogwood

Peter Holman

Christopher Hogwood is well known as a performer, musicologist, writer and broadcaster. Born in 1941 in Nottingham, Hogwood studied classics and music at Cambridge University where his teachers included Raymond Leppard, Thurston Dart and Mary Potts. Subsequently he studied with Gustav Leonhardt and Rafael Puyana. He launched his performing career as a founder member of the Early Music Consort and as both a keyboard continuo player and keyboard soloist with The Academy of Saint Martin-in-the-Fields, for whom he also worked as Consultant Musicologist. In 1973 he founded The Academy of Ancient Music, the first British orchestra formed to play baroque and classical music on instruments appropriate to the period. He has gained international recognition as a pioneer in the field of 'authentic' music-making-but the adjective is one of which he is wary, and he is the first to reject any suggestion that his performances seek to make categorical pronouncements about a 'correct' way of playing music of the baroque and classical periods. 'Historically informed' is the description he prefers-the same principle can be applied with equal justification throughout his very broad conducting activities, which are not restricted to early instrument ensembles nor to purely baroque and classical programmes.

With The AAM Hogwood has a busy schedule of concerts worldwide and a celebrated catalogue of recordings for Decca on the L'Oiseau-Lyre label. Among his pioneering recordings are the complete Mozart symphonies, recorded in the late 1970s and early '80s for the first time on original instruments. Ten volumes of Haydn symphonies have also been released on the L'Oiseau-Lyre label. His most recent recording with The AAM is Handel's opera *Rinaldo*, which is to be released in November this year. He has also made his mark in the field of television and video, including an ambitious and dramatically conceived programme of Handel operatic arias with Kiri Te Kanawa and The AAM.

Hogwood is Artistic Director of Boston's Handel & Haydn Society, Associate Director of the Beethoven Academie in Antwerp, Principal Guest Conductor of the Kammerorchester Basel and Artistic Director of the National Symphony Orchestra's annual Mozart Summer Festival in Washington, D.C. He is active as an operatic conductor in many of the major opera houses, including Opera Australia, Deutsche Oper Berlin, Royal Opera Stockholm, Royal Opera House Covent Garden, Prague State Opera and Houston Grand Opera.

Despite his busy conducting schedule, Hogwood has written a number of books including his highly esteemed biography of Handel, published by Thames and Hudson. He enjoys a fine reputation as a harpsichordist and clavichord player, in both concerts and a distinguished series of recordings. In his capacity as musical editor he also has many editions to his name, including numerous works for keyboard instruments. Hogwood is currently working on new editions of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* and *L'Estro Armonico* for Bärenreiter and Schott respectively, which will be published later this year. He is Chairman of the Advisory Board for the publication of C P E Bach's Complete Works. He holds an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Keele, is a Fellow of Jesus and Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge, and is a Visiting Professor at the Royal Academy of Music, London. Hogwood is on the Committee of Honour of both the Handel House Trust and The Haydn Society of Great Britain, and is co-Chairman of the International Centre for Clavichord Studies. The Incorporated Society of Musicians elected him Distinguished Musician of the Year for 1997. In 1999 he was awarded the Martinu Medal by the Bohuslav Martinu Foundation, Prague.

Hogwood resides in Cambridge, where he does less teaching than he would like, and possesses a number of fine keyboard instruments, ranging from a 16th-century Italian harpsichord to a 19th-century piano, once the property of Weber. He is also an enthusiastic collector of porcelain (a silent source of historical information).

OBITUARY: M. JUNE YAKELEY 1949-99
Monica Hall

I first met June when I was Music Librarian at Paddington Library in Westminster, and she was leading a Bohemian life in a bedsit in Bayswater. She was writing regularly for the periodicals *Music and Musicians* and *Records and Recordings*, and had just edited some collections of guitar music for Ricordi (in the library stock, of course), and I had just written an article for *Early Music*. Mutual recognition took place across the counter one summer afternoon and we immediately became firm friends, united by our interest in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish music, and especially the vihuela and early guitar.

Soon afterwards she moved to Manchester for a while to work for Northern Renaissance Instruments. Here she began to build up her wide knowledge of early plucked stringed instruments, and in particular of their stringing. But London was where she felt most at home, and she moved back there in 1980, settling down to a more permanent way of life nearby in North London.

June was born and grew up in New York. Her early musical training was in classical piano and flute, but at high school her interest in folk music prompted her to take up the guitar. She was active in the school folk music group, and her very first research project was a history of American folk music with taped examples and a commentary, which she compiled with her lifelong friend, Terry Johnson. She went on to study music at the Barnard College of Columbia University.

After graduating she came to the UK in 1971 to study classical guitar with Tom Hartmann. She also attended courses with Emilio Pujol in Cervera - the beginning of a love affair with Spain and early Spanish music which was to last a lifetime. This prompted her to build up an impressive collection of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spanish printed books about music and the theatre, and related

scholarly monographs and editions of printed music. She spent at least a couple of months every year in Spain, travelling, researching and visiting sales, book fairs and second-hand bookshops. Each time she would arrive home with more treasures to add to her library and in time this became a very significant collection. It has been bequeathed to the Hispanic Society of America.

During the 1980s she divided her time between teaching privately and for the Inner London Education Authority, and pursuing her research work into the early guitar, concentrating especially on its role in seventeenth-century Spanish theatre. In 1982 she founded the group *Músicos de Cámara* with the counter-tenor Simon Hill, with the objective of exploring the lesser-known sixteenth and seventeenth-century domestic repertoire for voices, guitar and other instruments, particularly Spanish and English. Their first concert was given in conjunction with the art exhibition 'Painting in Naples' at the Royal Academy in 1982. This was soon followed by two further exhibition-based concerts, 'William Dobson (1611-1646) - The Royalists at War' at the National Portrait Gallery in 1983, and 'Painting in Holland', again at the Royal Academy. Over the next four years *Músicos de Cámara* gave many concerts in London and beyond, including one overseas engagement at the monastery of Santes Creus in Catalunya. In November 1987 they collaborated with Madeleine Inglehearn's Companie of Dansers in a semi-staged entertainment, 'The English Dancing Master' and in 1988 (the 400th anniversary of the Spanish Armada) gave several more concerts based on Spanish music and dance with Madeleine's group. In the same year an Arts Council grant enabled them to spend a week together exploring the relationship between Spanish dance forms and the vocal music which survives with the same dance-form titles. June and Madeleine also worked together on 'Armada 88', a project for junior school pupils integrating music, dance, mime and art with history in the context of English, Spanish and Italian culture.

In 1989 June became a music tutor at Westminster Adult Education Institute teaching guitar and running an early music class. The demands of the Institute meant that the promotion of the *Músicos de Cámara* took a back seat, but the group did take part in a conference on Juan del Encina at Westfield College, London, in 1991, performing Encina's *Eclogue VIII*, and gave a final concert at the Horniman Museum. As well as teaching, June became more and more involved in development work with community groups based in Westminster and in Brent, particularly with the Bangladeshi community. It was not an easy time to be working in adult education, as it coincided with the abolition of the Greater London Council and Inner London Education Authority, but she was able to undertake several successful projects and to obtain funding for them during a period of financial stringency. During the same period she acted as a consultant for the City Parochial Foundation for whom she organised a conference on mother-tongue teaching. She also undertook consultancy work for the London Voluntary Sector Resource Centre.

In 1994 she left Westminster in order to concentrate on her research and to write up her dissertation on the guitar as an instrument of accompaniment, with special reference to the seventeenth-century Spanish composer José Marín, for an Open University Ph.D. This included a transcription of the main source of his music, the *Cancionero de Marín* in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. She also became a council member of the National Early Music Association, often advising on funding issues.

June was disabled, and life was never easy for her. Over the last two or three years she had suffered several health problems. Typically, she was determined not to let these inhibit her from living life to the full, and probably only those close to her knew that she was in constant pain. Nevertheless, these were good years for her. In 1996 she published an article in the Spanish periodical, *Revista de Musicología*, describing the new sources of music for the five-course guitar which she had discovered in Spanish libraries. In April 1998 she read a paper to the Lute Society on aspects of guitar practice in Spain from 1525-1775.

In the spring of 1999 she read an entertaining and well-researched paper on the seventeenth-century Spanish 'singer, songwriter and assassin' José Marín, at another meeting of the Lute Society. She made her usual extended visit to Spain in the late summer. She always spent at least some time in Barcelona

with her friend Frances Luttikhuizen, whom she had met whilst researching in the Biblioteca de Catalunya. Frances was involved in teaching English for Academic Purposes at the University of Barcelona and June regularly helped her with the organisation of conferences held in the coastal resort of Canet del Mar, near Barcelona, each September. At the 1999 conference June read a paper "Passport to the past: translating technical material from historical documents with reference to musical instrument technology". A few years previously June had also come across an important and previously undocumented source of material relating to seventeenth-century musical activity in Canet del Mar, in the Archivo de la Parroquia, and was trying to organise a research project.

She was also busy reviewing for *Early Music Review*, *Lute News*, and the short-lived quarterly *Gramophone Early Music*, working on projects for the Lute Society and finishing her dissertation on José Marín for the Open University.

June had a wonderful gift for making friends wherever she went. She was always ready to share her impressive knowledge of Spanish music and generous to a fault when it came to lending often irreplaceable items from her collection. She also had an uncanny knack of finding out what was going on in every corner of London, and together we spent many hours at concerts devoted to the more recondite aspects of Spanish music usually sitting on hard pews in draughty churches! No portrait of her would be complete without mentioning her cats. First there was Aphra (named after the playwright Aphra Behn), a black moggy with aristocratic Burmese touches, and when she went the way of all cats, June adopted two delightful black kittens from the RSPCA, giving them the improbable names of Barry and Bracegirdle, after the famous seventeenth-century actresses. She would be pleased to know that a new home has been found for them.

She usually spent Christmases in the United States with her old school friend, Terry. I phoned her the night before she left, and joking about the Millennium Bug, told her to come back safely. Sadly this was not to be. She was taken ill shortly after arriving and died very unexpectedly on 28 December. She will be sorely missed by all who knew her.

I am grateful to Terry Johnson, Simon Hill, Frances Luttikhuizen and Ragee Jones for help in writing this account of June's life.

King's Music

Clifford Bartlett

Although the name existed earlier and we had already produced a set of six facsimiles of English trio sonatas, King's Music really got under way in 1985. One of the ways of celebrating the anniversary of the births of Bach, Handel and Domenico Scarlatti was the creation of the European Community (now Union) Baroque Orchestra. I was asked to advise on a basic library, and suggested that it should be equipped with facsimiles of the standard late-baroque printed editions, starting with Corelli op. 6 and Handel opp. 3 and 6. Right, I was told, find them for us. So I did, and the tutors who turned up to teach the new orchestra were so delighted with them that they wanted them too. So we expanded. I had some early scores of my own (*Harmonia Sacra*, Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* and *Ode on the Death of Purcell* and some late 18th-century English operas) and friends lent material: Peter Holman provided our best-selling facsimile, Biber's *Rosary Sonatas*, in the form of a photographs of the sole surviving manuscript which he had bought from the second-hand booksellers May and May. We also had the co-operation of a friendly local library that was well equipped with 18th-century printed parts. So we built up a collection of mostly-English editions of a wide range of 18th-century music, running off copies on a photocopier at the foot of our bed.

I was also involved in editing other sorts of music. The Consort of Musicke commissioned an edition of Blow's *Venus and Adonis*, the Taverners wanted Monteverdi's *Vespers* and *Orfeo* and various works of

Handel; Roger Norrington also wanted an *Orfeo*. The Opera Stage asked me for Handel's *Alcina* and then Monteverdi's *Poppea* for productions and recordings with Richard Hickox. The Sixteen needed parts of Handel's Chandos Anthems. This was before computer type-setting was widespread. My handwriting, for words or music, is appalling, so as far as possible I took standard, out-of-copyright editions and corrected them, producing parts by cutting scores into strips and pasting them up. On the whole, the scores were better than the parts: Chrysander's Handel edition, in particular, doesn't work well stripped into parts, since the lines are too long for their stave-height. We still have some of these in our catalogue, but are now a bit embarrassed by them.

I have Emma Kirkby to thank for moving into computer-setting. She phoned me one Sunday lunch-time in 1988 and reported that her host (or was it her guest?) was expounding to her the virtues of computer music setting; she thought I ought to investigate. I started looking at available systems. The favourite at the time was one that ran on Apple Mac, but I wasn't entirely happy with it: I didn't like its inability to control how much you got onto the page. You can see this weakness in some of Garland's volumes of minimally-edited scores of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music. I was grateful to Tim Crawford and Duane Lakin-Thomas for advice, but in the end went my own way and adopted a system called PMS (Philip's Music Scribe), devised by Philip Hazel in Cambridge. Eventually, thanks to demands of users like myself, it became quite complex, but was at that stage easy to learn and operate. It used a simple coding system of letters and signs for input, which was then converted to music on screen and could be printed. A convenience not then apparent is the concision of the coded notation. The whole of the score of *Alcina*, for instance, takes up just 655,781 bytes and individual movements, even when set out quite spaciously, take up fewer pages than when converted into music. So data can be sent very quickly by e-mail. It is in some ways quite naive compared with current methods, but in fact we still use it, though the more recent the music, the more Sibelius becomes preferable. The disadvantage of PMS is that it operates on Acorns; unlike Sibelius, also originally devised for Acorns, it has not been rewritten for PC. We haven't used Sibelius for King's Music output, but editions I have done for Oxford University Press (*Messiah* and the forthcoming Madrigals and Part Songs anthology in John Rutter's Oxford Choral Classics series) have been set on Sibelius by Jenny Wilson, whose first job was operating our photocopiers.

Peter Holman put me in touch with Brian Clark when we needed to make scores of some trio sonatas so that we could list misprints. Brian had a variety of musical interests that were complementary to mine. He took to computer-setting rapidly, and King's Music's output is entirely dependent on his amazingly quick and accurate setting. He can work from modern or early editions, from manuscript, and even from German organ tablature, and is far better at languages (except Latin) than I am. Our normal manner of working is for Brian to set the music from whatever material is available. If Brian takes editorial responsibility (e.g., some of the seventeenth-century Venetian editions or music by Fasch, on which he is a recognised expert), I proof-read it or just get the computer to play it back. Otherwise, I check it against the source(s), make editorial decisions and write an introduction, along with a critical commentary when appropriate. I am also usually responsible for the layout. We aim to make our editions practical as well as musicologically sound. I find that, within reason, the more that is visible on the page the better, and that sensible page-turns are important. In Handel operas, for instance, if the first section of the overture doesn't fit onto a single side, it must start on page 2 so that you don't have to make three page turns: over, back for the repeat, then over again. In *da capo* arias I try, where possible, to give the harpsichordist only one page to turn back. This can be facilitated by not giving special staves to *colla parte* oboes. Anyway, cueing them in and out of violin parts, in the score as well as the separate parts, makes it easier for a conductor to make different decisions.

I aim to present editions that will fit the needs of 'early music' performers and that will encourage historically-informed performances, but which do not make more decisions on behalf of the performer than necessary. Taking the Monteverdi Vespers as an example, I know that some sections of the psalms are usually sung chorally, others by solo voices. But I haven't added solo or tutti marks, partly because

every conductor makes up his/her own mind on this question, partly because they would carry the spurious implication that some sections ought to be sung tutti. Similarly, although we supply parts for optional instrumental doubling, I have avoided specifying which instruments and which sections should be doubled. I merely provide a pack of parts containing each psalm complete, with middle parts in a variety of clef.

In fact, the Monteverdi Vespers is our great success. Until last year, it was the only edition that allowed for the transposition of *Lauda Jerusalem* and *Magnificat* down a fourth, as advocated initially by Andrew Parrott, and it has been used for most recordings and a large number of performances since we produced our computer-set version in 1990. If I'd knuckled down and written out an organ part so that the Performing Rights Society would have paid me for them, I'd be rich enough to retire, but we don't clutter our scores with keyboard realisations, and few of our customers want them. We are, however, commercial enough to sell any transposition required. *Lauda Jerusalem* transposed down a tone is becoming common with choirs that don't want it down a fourth, and we have also had to produce the *Magnificat* down a minor third.

We number our type-set publications. KM1 was Purcell's *Funeral Sentences*; KM750 is a group of plainsong antiphons on a leaf of a Sarum Antiphonal that was used to cover parish records at Hadleigh in Suffolk, which I inspected before playing in Biber's *Missa Salisburgensis* at the neighbouring church recently. What distinguishes us from most cottage-industry publishers is the fact that we have produced so many large-scale works, including 30 operas. In another sense, the *Missa Salisburgensis* is our largest score, requiring 56 staves.

It would be wrong to imply that we have a clearly-thought policy of what we publish. We mostly react to requests. For larger works, these come with a fee attached to justify the cost of computer-setting and editing. At first, the fees came from record companies, but they have generally dried up, and income adequate to justify substantial editing jobs now comes only from opera companies, who are used to paying substantial hire fees for most of their performances. The main composers we have edited and published (the actions are inseparable) are Monteverdi, Purcell and Handel. We also produced virtually all Geminiani's output in facsimile for the 300th anniversary of his birth in 1987. The emphasis on Purcell centered round the 300th anniversary of his death in 1995. We hadn't consciously intended to edit his stage works, but the Purcell Society editions, even the revised ones, had weaknesses, and good orchestral material was not available for sale. So, as a result of various commissions, we found that by mid-1995 that we had done all the major stage works: *Dido and Aeneas*, *Dioclesian*, *The Fairy Queen*, *King Arthur* and *The Indian Queen*, as well as a variety of other works. Handel has been a long-running progress: with 40 operas to cover, we are so far only a quarter of the way through. We do not have ambitions to do all the rest. We can, however, provided photocopies of the Chrysander editions of them, mostly at £20.00, at A4 size (larger than the Garland and Kalmus reprints), and can provide scores and parts of individual arias.

A problem with publishing is that the more one has produced, the more time the sheer business takes. I don't want to become a full-time administrator: I want to keep in touch with music-making and the customers. But there is a limit to the amount of music we can handle. Indeed, physically we have passed the limit: an extension to our house is nearly finished so that we will have room to live, and also room for my library (which was extensive even before I started reviewing for *Early Music News* in 1977 and then *Early Music Review* in 1994) to be separated from King's Music master copies and stock. We also need space for the photocopiers and for Elaine to keep the accounts. In this article I mostly use 'I', though all our publications include my wife's name.

We decided from the start that we wanted to be self-sufficient. Our initial experiment with having facsimiles of trio sonatas properly printed turned out to be utterly uneconomic. We circulated information quite widely, but sold disappointingly few sets. They may have broken eventually, but we

still are nowhere near selling out of any of them from a print run of 500. We discovered later that libraries did not like buying parts without scores, while amateur players are generally not happy with unrealised figured bass parts. Apart from Brian working at his computer in Dundee, everything is done at home. Our only significant capital outlay is on photocopiers, on which we have found that we should not economise. If you are dependent on them and have a large output, you need at least two, probably three, to be sure that one is working. Only recently, with the development of digital machines, has reliability improved.

We don't keep much stock, except that it isn't worth running something through a copier only once, so we usually have a few spares of most of our publications. When dealing with orchestral parts, since we don't follow the practice adopted by some firms of only selling bundles of specific numbers, we never know how many copies of each part we will need for a particular order, so we generally run each order on request. The lateness with which some organisations order their music prevents an orderly allocation of priorities. Sticking the music together is a problem. Where possible, we produce copies on double-sided A3 paper, which can be folded and stapled within a card cover. But 80 pages is about the maximum for that method. For larger volumes we initially used comb binding. But it isn't strong and the pages tear out easily, so more recently we have been using channel binding. This is tough, but doesn't open very flat on a music stand, so when we know that a score is for a continuo player, we revert to comb binding. Computer output is usually A4 size; but facsimiles often need a larger format, and B4 is more of a problem, since photocopiers don't print B3 sheets. Many facsimile instrumental parts are this size; they have to be stapled along the edge and cloth tape stuck across the spine to make them look tidy and to stop the ends of the staples sticking in the fingers. This isn't very satisfactory - to us, because it is labour-intensive, and to the player because the parts don't open flat easily. The secret is to lay the music on the floor and fold the pages back just inside the staples with some pressure. We used to do that before sending the music out, but it looked a bit second-hand when it arrived, so we have ceased doing so.

We have done very little advertising, and when we have, there is little evidence of it having any effect. I was fortunate in that before we started I knew most of the British early music ensembles, and had their goodwill. Now, much of our sales are abroad, with requests from people we have never heard of. Word gets around. We have really only used two ways to draw attention to ourselves. Everything we publish has a small-print, concise list of our output - very useful if you have a movement *tacet* and want something to read! We do attend international early music exhibitions - though rather fewer than we used to. We have a small web-site, and eventually hope to expand it to include our catalogue, but haven't found time to get that organised yet.

I suppose that our magazine *Early Music Review* was originally justified as promoting our products. We do list new titles when we remember or have room. But it is curious that nearly every month our problem is to squash material in to avoid having to run to another four pages, rather than having space to pad out with King's Music adverts. Musicians don't generally buy new titles when they see them: they buy music when they need it. Our only effective way of advertising is to make people think that it is always worth asking us. As someone who has, since his teens, built up a large collection of scores, it disappoints me that so few buy our music out of general interest. And it amazes me how few libraries buy much from us. If you use a music library, try checking the Purcell operas: with the exception of *The Indian Queen*, ours are more up-to-date in their scholarship than the Purcell Society edition, and our King Arthur is the only Purcell opera with the full play text in sequence with the music. But few libraries stock them. Or take Handel's *La Resurrezione*. It has been known since the 1960s that the edition in the Handel Gesellschaft is seriously inadequate: yet how many libraries have bought our correct edition?

We have so far avoided producing keyboard realisations. It has always puzzled me why I, with no formal musical education, can manage to play something from the bass while others can't. It's not even that I'm a good improviser: I'm useless without some notes in front of me. However, apart from musical reasons,

there is also a problem that setting keyboard parts is quite hard work in PMS. Perhaps, if we have nothing else to do - unlikely considering the amount of stuff Brian and I have on microfilm - we might do a few keyboard parts on Sibelius. But then I'd have to learn how to write four-part harmony, and I never did study music formally.

Much of our time is now taken up with *Early Music Review*. Apart from finding time to read the books and listen to the CDs I review, it is mostly produced in the house. I sort out the main magazine; fortunately most of the input comes on e-mail so there is very little re-typing needed. Brian offers his help from Dundee, and he and Rosemary Druce do sterling work as proof readers, mostly to a very tight schedule. Camera-ready copy is taken to a printer. Then finishing the diary takes priority. In recent issues the diary has overtaken the magazine in size. It lists all early music concerts and courses that we hear about, abroad as well as in Britain, and is now the most comprehensive available. Elaine does all the work on that, except that I proof-read it.

The idea of sitting at home editing music all day and then going off at weekends to play it may seem attractive. But don't throw up your day job straight away. There are few big sellers in early music publishing, and amateur performers are pretty resistant to spending money on the dots, however much they spend on CDs or in the pub after performances. They tend to think that music is very expensive, even though prices have probably gone up less within my memory than the cost of a pint of beer. Even those who don't make illegal photocopies tend to think of the price of music in comparison with current page rates for photocopying. The unseen costs are enormous, and it takes many years to build up a catalogue and a wide enough clientele to earn a reasonable income from the sales of music alone. If you take a more planned route than ours, you may succeed better; but you may also find yourself becoming a salesman or a publishing executive.

Finally, why King's Music? Elaine's maiden name is King, and when we started, her brother owned a fish and ship shop in Godmanchester called King's Plaice, and we thought that King's Music tripped off the tongue quite easily. Ian Gammie had just stopped using that name, but we added Gmc after the name to avoid potential confusion; although it looks like an equivalent to Ltd or PLC, it is merely because Godmanchester took up too much space. We have gradually dropped the Gmc since we moved across the river to Wyton fourteen years ago, but you may still see it on some of our music.

Clifford & Elaine Bartlett/King's Music/Early Music Review
Redcroft, Bank's End, Wyton, Huntingdon, Cambs, PE28 2AA, UK cbkings@attglobal.net

We include as a sample of King's Music an extract from Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (we have kept the usual title, though an early source has *La coronatione di Poppea*: modern Italian has *incoronazione*, but we use the title page of Busenello's edition of his libretto as cover design, and that has T not Z). It comes at the end of the duet between Nero and Lucan in Act II, which has some of the most exhilarating music in the opera. It calms into a few bars of recitative, ending in D minor. So far, the scene has presented no editorial problems, but then an editor has to deal with differences in content between the two surviving MSS along with an incongruous key sequence. Our edition prints all the additional music in the slightly later Naples MS, so gives a continuation of the Nero/Lucan duet, but in smaller print. Then comes a more lyrical song by Nero, as shown here. Both MSS have it in E minor. That is in itself an unusual key for Monteverdi, and it is particularly strange following D minor. Since there are other places in the MSS where transposition has already taken place (eg ritornelli in different keys from the arias), it seemed sensible to offer the option of restoring it to the hypothetical key of D minor. Throughout the opera, the Naples MS has the ritorelli set in four parts, while the Venice MS is (with one corrupt exception) just for violins and bass. Here, the MS has only one upper part, a second one is added in small print. (The four-part Naples version is included on another page, as is the song at its notated pitch in E minor).

Excerpt from King's Music edition of Monteverdi *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, page 122

[Ritornello K: Transposed alternative to page 121 for VENICE version.]

140 



149 

156  *Nerone* 

Son ru - bi - ni a - mo - ro - si Tuoi la - bri pre - ti - o - si, Il mio

165

co - re co - stan - te È di sal - do, di sal - do dia - man - te, Co - sl, co - sì le tue bel

174

- lez - ze e il mi - o co - re Di ca - re, di ca - re gem - me ha fa - bri - ca - to A

183 

- mo - re, di ca - re, di ca - re gem - me ha fa - bri - ca - to A - mo - re.

Your precious lips are amorous rubies, my constant heart is a hard diamond;
thus Love has fashioned your eyes and my heart from precious stones.

Ritornello [K] ut supra

158 note 3:  in N.

It is odd that this does not follow in the same key as the cadence at 139, and E is an uncharacteristic key for Monteverdi.
Lib concludes the scene with 6 more lines of text, set in N: see page 123.

We have preserved the original time signatures. Since this edition was intended for non-specialist opera singers, we have reduced note values by the amount indicated by the fraction, in this case by half. It is

common and sensible for cadences between sections to overlap, for which we have used *dal segno* marks: the sign in bar 155 may coincide with that at 156. We have figured the bass (with perhaps more detail than I would now choose), for the benefit of players who are not experienced in playing Monteverdi; the occasional figure is encircled. The footnotes include a literal translation and editorial commentary.

Our editions are not fixed. Feed-back from others and playing them myself produces corrections and improvements. We have a version of *Poppea* with Peter Holman's rewriting of the ritornelli in five parts (it is arguable that neither MS has the version as originally composed), we have another in which the Naples MS is given precedence, produced for John Eliot Gardiner's recording, and we have just finished an abridged version with English text for the English National Opera, to be performed in the Autumn.

Was Dowland a Spy?

Peter Hauge

It is well known that Sir Francis Walsingham and later his successor Sir Robert Cecil were great Elizabethan spymasters. Walsingham was mainly interested in revealing possible Catholic plots against Elizabeth at which he was highly successful, and, in addition, information on Spanish activities was also considered very important. However, Cecil, whose network of spies grew to unseen proportions and became more costly than in Walsingham's day, seems to have been more interested in obtaining information on military issues and in particular on trade. Among their most professional spies were Thomas Phelippes, Anthony Bacon, who later became a spy for the Earl of Essex (Cecil's opponent at court), and Sir Horatio Palavicino. More famous personalities such as Christopher Marlow, Giordano Bruno, Thomas Morley, and possibly Alfonso Ferrabosco are found among those providing the Elizabethan government with sensitive information.⁽¹⁾ An important memorandum, written by one of Cecil's secretaries and with notes by Cecil in 1598, contains interesting information on spying activities on the continent as well as in England. The document mentions that there are agents "In such States as are freindes to us, as Scotlande Hollande Zelande Italye Germanye Denmarke and Swedlande"⁽²⁾. Unfortunately, in this instance no names are mentioned. Is it possible to count the famous lutenist and composer, John Dowland, employed at the Danish Court 1598-1606, among these spies?

It seems that rumours circulate (or have circulated) among scholars today that Dowland possibly was a spy, since according to an entry in the Danish Treasurer's Account Books, Dowland was to provide the king with whatever service he wished.⁽²⁾ However, it seems rather unlikely that Christian IV would use Dowland as a spy at the Danish Court, though one could argue that he provided the Danish king with information obtained on his travels to England. But first, the entry is made as late as in 1604 when Dowland returned from his last visit to England, and second, it is doubtful whether Dowland really had access to highly sensitive information when in England.

However, a letter in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, seems to prove that Dowland certainly was a spy for Elizabeth—or at least that he was asked to procure information concerning a rather sensitive political issue between England and Denmark. The present article seeks to explain the background for writing of the letter as well as indicating new problems and interpretations arising from this new information on Dowland and his time in Denmark. A complete transcript including a detailed commentary on the letter will appear in a forthcoming article.

The letter addressed to "Den Erbarn Vnd Künstreichen Herr, Johan Dowland..." is found in a curious collection which belonged to Christian's Secretary of State, Jonas Charisius.⁽³⁾ The whole collection, containing more than two hundred letters written in Latin, French, Spanish and English, opens with a register presumably written in the seventeenth century giving the name of the writer and the date. Unfortunately only approximately the first half of the letters indicated in the register appear in Charisius' collection. Thus one entry mentions an "Apologie" by "Sir Walter Rawleighe" dated 1618. This reference

must be to a copy of the famous apology which Raleigh wrote just before his execution in 1618. Another entry mentions a letter dated, "In Amsterdam dessen 10. April A°1617", and written by "Jan P. Sweelnick" who must be the famous composer and organ player Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, in spite of the misspelling.(4) Another misspelled name appearing in the register is "William Leighthon". As this letter, written in Elsinore 1598, is present, it can be verified that the writer was Leighton and not Leighthon. The writer is presumably the person who published *The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule* (1612) in which Dowland appears with a commendatory poem. Very little is, in fact, known about Leighton and this is the first evidence that he was in Denmark; it seems likely that Dowland met Leighton in 1598 when they both were in the country.

The letters do not seem to deal with any particular subject; most of them concern trade, politics, negotiations, law, and military issues, that is, in general they deal with the provision of information. Some of the items are dated prior Charisius' birth and hence addressed to the previous secretary; other letters are, interestingly, correspondences between persons with no obvious relation to governmental persons or employees, which implies that these letters may have been confiscated in some way or another. This is clearly indicated with a note added on a correspondence, revealing "les conceptes de deux lettre trouvees parmy les bagages de Marquis de Baden" (the concepts of two letters found among the bagages of Marquis de Baden). The postal services were unreliable, and correspondences were often intercepted because of which reason merchants were also used to carrying letters, though without great success.(5) Another letter which apparently has nothing to do with the king's secretary is written by the English diplomatist, Stephen Lesieur, to John Dowland. It is a rather long letter, one and a half pages in all, in small handwriting and at times difficult to read. How did this letter end up in the archives of the Danish Secretary of State and why was it considered so important that it was kept there? In order to understand the letter fully, it is essential to look into the important political issues of the day. Browsing through the Danish and English Calendars of State Papers as well as the numerous manuscript memoranda and letter diaries—official as well as private—it becomes very clear that from around 1595 to 1603 there were serious problems between Denmark and England.(6)

For many years there had been a long series of disputes between the two countries regarding the fishing rights off the north coast of Norway and at Iceland, piracy and the confiscation of Danish ships and merchandise on grounds of contraband, the English voyages to the White Sea passing the North Cape for which the Danish king demanded payment; and especially for England the so-called Sound dues, which all vessels had to pay when passing through the Sound to the Baltic Sea, were an important issue. Elizabeth I and Frederik II sought to solve these serious problems by signing a treaty in 1583; however, the disputes continued.(7) In 1597 a Danish delegation was sent to England to lodge a protest, and the following year two delegations, a Danish and an English, made further complaints.

The disputes escalated rapidly, nevertheless, and the two sovereigns agreed to start negotiating again. It was agreed that the meeting should take place in Emden, an important coastal town in Germany, and the date, 23 March 1600, was set; but Elizabeth postponed the date to 15 April without informing the Danish commissioners. Unfortunately the English diplomats did not arrive until the 10 May, claiming that they could not cross the Channel as they were driven back by a persistent north wind. When the queen's delegation finally arrived in Emden, the Danes were leaving and would only accept a meeting immediately on board their ship. An English representative was sent out, but as he was rowing towards the Danish vessel, Victor, the Danes set up more sail and departed. The negotiations were dropped for the time being.

The tense situation did not improve when in 1601-02 rumours began to circulate in London that the Danish king would support the Essex rising and was, furthermore, sending a ship loaded with cannons to Spain. In addition, Christian demanded an increase of the fee for vessels sailing to Russia via the North Cape. The demand enraged the English merchants and, of course, the English government. Once more, Christian and Elizabeth agreed to try and settle the serious issues by appointing a

commission consisting of English and Danish diplomats. This time the negotiations were to take place in Bremen. They agreed on a date—Elizabeth, however, only agreed on the assumption that the commissioners were not delayed by contrary winds! The negotiations began in late September 1602 with the English delegation expecting to discuss the treaties, negotiate the fishing rights, the Sound dues, and the prohibition of sending contraband to Spain. The Danes, on the other hand, were only interested in settling specific cases and complaints. After two months with no progress at all and the English commissioners proposing that a treaty should be signed, the Danes left the meeting claiming that they could not make any decisions until they had consulted the king. The English delegation was flabbergasted and left behind waiting in Bremen.

In this connection the English diplomatist, Stephen Lesieur, on 9 December 1602 wrote to Dowland telling him about the terrible situation, begging

satisfie me very particularly of what yow shall think worthie my knoledge for her ma:ties seruice... I shalbe very glad from tyme to tyme to heere from yow of as muche as may concerne her ma:stie or her subiects, <that> shall come to <your> knoledge... spare not any reasonable charge to do it for I will see yow repaid.

It is apparent from reading the letter that Lesieur and his colleagues are getting rather desperate and badly in need of information on what is going on in Denmark. If Dowland supplies the much coveted information, Lesieur will make the lutenist's "true hart & seruice to her ma:stie knownen".

The letter raises new intriguing problems and interpretations of Dowland's employment in Denmark and his difficulty in getting a post at Elizabeth's court. It is clear that the English diplomatist must have known that Dowland was susceptible to an enquiry asking him to procure information, which would have meant imprisonment or, in the worst case, even execution. The letter also implies that Dowland and Lesieur already knew each other rather well and, indeed, Lesieur was in Denmark a few times. The first time seems to have been in 1599 when he delivered letters from England, which caused consternation in the Danish government which responded that they hoped the discussion "may be carried on in a friendly and calm manner".⁽⁸⁾ The second time Lesieur visited Denmark was in the Spring of 1602 and concerned the seizure of fishing vessels from Hull.⁽⁹⁾

Lesieur must also have been aware that he could offer Dowland something in return for his services which would interest the lutenist very much—namely an introduction to the queen and, eventually, obtaining a position at her court. But most important, the diplomatist addressing the letter to Dowland must have concluded that the lutenist was so close to the Danish king that he could obtain the information. It is evident that Dowland had a very exceptional position at the Danish Court, not only was his salary high but his title of address was "His Royal Majesty's Lutenist". Most often court musicians were merely addressed as instrumentlists (including lutenists) or singers; only the chapel organist and Dowland had distinct titles. It seems most likely then that Dowland was the king's personal lutenist and went with him on his progresses and travels.

Unfortunately the aging Elizabeth died in March 1603 so it was impossible for Lesieur to draw the queen's attention to Dowland's "true hart & seruice", and hence also difficult to get a reward for the lutenist for the trouble and dangerous work he may have done. Certainly, the diplomatist complained that, since the queen now was dead, it severely restricted his own possibilities of promotion.⁽¹⁰⁾ For Dowland in particular the whole situation became even more complex as the new king of Great Britain, James I, was married to Anne of Denmark, the sister of Christian IV. This meant that the political climate became less tense, though the disputes were not solved. It would become difficult, if not impossible, for Dowland to seek protection at the English court if it were discovered that he had been spying on the brother of the new English queen. In addition, it seems that it would even be difficult for Dowland actively to seek employment at the English court without the wholehearted consent of Christian.

It must be emphasised, however, that Lesieur's letter to Dowland does not prove in any way that the royal lutenist was a spy—the letter only asks Dowland to do so. As yet we have no idea of Dowland's response. There are, furthermore, indications in the letter that he may not even have received it, since Lesieur mentions that he has not heard from his Danish sources and friends for a long time, including Dowland. It is possible that the letter in question was confiscated or intercepted as often happened, and was thus filed in the archives of the king's secretary. Another possibility is that as soon as Dowland received the request, he gave the letter to Charisius; however, that would certainly have diminished Dowland's chances considerably for ever receiving employment at Elizabeth's court. Finally, the letter could have been found among Dowland's possessions when he was dismissed in February 1606—but why would Dowland keep such an incriminating letter for years?

Perhaps the whole question of Dowland's possible spying activities should be seen in the context of the letter he wrote in 1595 to the younger Robert Cecil who the following year officially became the new secretary of State after Walsingham's death in 1590.⁽¹¹⁾ In this long letter Dowland reveals detailed information on English Catholic exiles in Italy who were plotting to overthrow Elizabeth. It is plausible that Dowland was asked to procure information, and that was precisely what he was doing when in Italy.⁽¹²⁾ Perhaps Cecil saw potential in Dowland as a spy; this could perhaps explain his travels on the continent and that in 1598 he ended up in Denmark, rather than accept the position offered him at the court of Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse, earlier that year. Since there were many serious disputes with Denmark around this time, it would be more advantageous for Cecil (and the English government) to have an informant at the Danish court than at Hesse. Dowland was placed in an ideal position to procure highly sensitive information regarding the Danish views on the disputes—an opportunity which was too great for Cecil and the queen's commissioners in Bremen not to utilise.

(1) Stone (1956), p. 328

(2) John Ward, 'Dowland Miscallany', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 10 (1977) pp104-5

(3) The Royal Library, Copenhagen, MS-NKS 1305.

(4) It is possible that Clarissius met Sweelinck on one of his travels to Holland; on one of these trips Charisius was to buy paintings and musical instruments, cf *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, ed C F Bricka (Copenhagen, 1934) vol 4 pp603-6.

(5) Maurice Lee Jr, 'The Jacobean Diplomatic Service', *The American Historical Review* 72 (1967) pp1275-6

(6) For the Danish Calender State Papers regarding Denmark-England, see William Dunn Macray, *Appendix to the Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records for the Year 1883* (London, 1885); for English Calender State Papers and other English sources regarding Denmark-England, see Jens Engberg, *Kilder til dansk historie i engelske arkiver* (Copenhagen, 1968); for a good general discussion of the disputes, see Edward P. Cheyney, 'England and Denmark in the Later Days of Queen Elizabeth', *The Journal of Modern History*, 1 (1929), pp. 9-39.

(7) Frederik II died in 1588, and Christian, who was minor at the time, was crowned in 1596.

(8) Macray (1885) p55

(9) Engberg (1968) p71, Macray (1885) p33

(10) Dictionary of National Biography, ed Sidney Lee (London 1893) vol 23 p67.

(11) For a facsimile and transcription of the letter, see Diana Poulton, John Dowland (London 2nd ed 1982) plate 1 and pp37-40.

(12) cf Poulton (1982) pp44-5.

This Temperament Business

By John Catch

I think that many people nowadays - not so much the down-to-earth professionals as earnest amateurs of early music - fuss too much over temperament.

Many years ago I asked my professional friend Eric Johnson (a violinist) who was tuning his harpsichord, how he laid the bearings for the tuning octave. He grinned and said "I just tune it to sound right". After meditating for half-a-century, as an earnest amateur, on the subject I am increasingly suspicious that my old friend's approach was that of many practical musicians in all ages, and that we pay rather too much attention to the theories of the learned, who were sometimes out of touch with the practice of our own

times. The pioneers of the early music revival seem to have taken equal temperament as a matter of course. Dolmetsch, in his ground-breaking book of 1915, gives no attention to either temperament or pitch, and these really became an issue only after WW2.

The reader probably remembers what the “learned aristocrat” Ercole Bottrigari wrote in 1594; he could not enjoy a concert, although performed by “acknowledged masters”, because of the clash of temperaments between fretted strings, unfretted strings, keyboards and winds, and goes on to a scholarly exposition of temperament lore (appearing, by the way, to favour equal temperament for all). It was of course merely the standard opening gambit for a “master and pupil” textbook of the kind common at the time, but it is commonly taken to be representative of a sensitive contemporary listener’s view. But it isn’t so simple as that. The masters performing were probably more sensitive listeners than Bottrigari; they, the patron who paid them, and the patron’s guests must have thought the music tolerable enough. Concerts didn’t stop. The story reflects the differing mentalities of “speculative” and “practical” musicians, which is not always appreciated by commentators in modern times. “Speculative” writers concerned themselves with ancient Greek theory, music of the Bible, moral effects of the modes, and the like - and of course temperament. For examples of how far speculative musicians could be out of touch with the practice of their own times the reader may look up the Reverend Thomas Salmon on interchangeable fingerboards for viols to allow of “Musick reduced to Arithmetical and Geometrical Proportion” (Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1705 xxiv p2072; the numbering of these pages is erratic) and Wolfgang Frei on Juan Bermudo (*Early Music* xxiii 421). Frei’s careful and detailed study showed that Bermudo was “indifferent to musical reality . . . obvious contradictions between theory and practice . . . cannot be understood as an account of factual reality”; yet he has repeatedly been quoted by temperament addicts as supporting some theory or other.

String players sometimes complain as Bottrigari would of the false and inflexible tuning of the piano, but they go onto the platform and play music for piano and strings written by the most sensitive and masterly composers. I don’t believe that they really find it all that unpleasant, and are putting up with it bravely just to pay off the mortgage; audiences and critics applaud, and do not complain of terrible temperament trouble. A recent history of the Guarneri String Quartet reveals how painstakingly they study the smallest details of artistic performance; but there is not a word in it about temperament, although they have often performed with pianists. Bottrigari could have enjoyed himself if only he had stopped bothering consciously about his commas and limmas. Compare the experience of a sufficiently hard-boiled critic (J A Fuller-Maitland) coming to recognise the stature of Debussy when that master’s music was new; “If one can completely forego the pleasure of employing such intellect as one may possess, after a time the new idiom does penetrate even to those who love the classics, and gradually one comes to see that there is not the slightest reason why this music should not become classic in its turn” (*A Doorkeeper of Music*, 1929, p229).

How was keyboard tuning really done in the olden days - not on the scholarly textbook level, but in real life? Temperament addicts may give the impression that the tuner would have Werckmeister (or Salinas, or Vallotti, or whatever) on his shelf and reproduce the given instructions. We can do that easily enough with a clever little black box to help us. But as the acoustics expert LI S Lloyd has observed, “ . . . it is one thing to draw a tuning on paper with mathematical accuracy and quite another to devise a means of tuning accurately in practice”. Burney may have had the books and *may* have studied them (though I have my doubts, for he was decidedly a “practical” musician of his time) but did he concentrate on them when at Streatham, tuning Queenie Thrale’s harpsichord before a lesson to the accompaniment of her mamma’s sprightly conversation? The ancestor of Lady Constance Keeble, during the London season, might perhaps employ a man from Kirkman’s (and even maybe pay the bill at the end of the season) but down in Shropshire it would be DIY or call the organist of Blandings Porcorum Parish Church. He may have known some of the theory, or may not; but who can be sure of how he did in fact lay out his octave? It is all very well for a recent writer to advise viol players to tune to 1/6th-comma meantone, but

how would you do it without electronic aid? Most of us would not find it easy to tune even an organ so, without the black box to help us.

Broadwood's expert Alfred John Hipkins tells us that in 1846 he trained their tuners in equal temperament. This has commonly been taken to mean that before 1846 they deliberately tuned unequally in some way, even that they used 1/4-comma meantone. I suggest that it is far more probable that they were already approaching equal temperament empirically, and Hipkins taught them to do it methodically and accurately. Hipkin's own wording, "The change to *intentional* equal temperament in 1846 in England . . ." (Grove I, 'Tuning'; my italics) is compatible with this view. It is hardly credible that all the piano virtuosi who performed and sometimes settled in England, from Clementi to Mendelssohn, submitted to seriously unequal tuning without, so far as I know, complaining. Mendelssohn's letters of 1829 show that he often played "off the cuff" in private houses. It is most unlikely that all those pianos had been specially tuned to suit him. He writes with amusement that Cramer one evening "having drink taken", modulated as far afield as F sharp major, but neither here or elsewhere does he complain that it was a horrid noise.

It is on record that Samuel Wesley (1766-1837) played all the "Well-Tempered Clavier" in public, on the organ. I have seen no evidence that he did other than use an existing organ e.g. in the Surrey Chapel, or in Davis's organ works; and although it is *possible* that it was specially tuned for such occasions, I have seen no evidence for this either, and it seems unlikely. Again, as Wesley and his friends played Bach for the octogenarian Burney in his rooms at Chelsea Hospital at various times between 1808-13 and some interesting correspondence about this has survived, but there is nothing in it about special tuning of the pianos which were used. Scholes, in his perceptive way, discusses this in *The Great Mr Burney* (1948) and remained puzzled.

The statements that none of the eight organs in the 1851 exhibition was tuned in equal temperament, and that S S Wesley (1810-76) insisted on unequal tuning to his dying day, are no doubt true, but how unequal was "unequal"? It was unequal enough to distress Wesley's own pupils, but that need not have meant 1/4-comma meantone. I know of no record explaining exactly what the tempering was; does any reader know of such? Yet that was in the scientific 19th century of Helmholtz, Koenig and Ellis.

To go back a little further, in strumming through English 18th century organ music I find myself at times in C sharp minor, B major and even F sharp major. Further back still, there is Purcell's verse anthem *The Lord is my Light* (Z55) which often not merely touches on but dwells in such extreme keys, both in instrumental passages and in verses. If Holman is right in concluding that the organ played all through these anthems (*Four-and-Twenty Fiddlers*, p407) how was it tuned? Earlier still, I pick up John Jenkins's consorts with contemporary written-out organ parts, and find quite a number of B, C sharp, A flat and F sharp major chords; and there is Bull's *Hexachord* for keyboard.

We are brought up to honour those clever Greek theorists who found out the relationship between consonance and simple whole numbers. But there is a debit side to this; I suspect that the philosophical notion that small whole numbers represent Perfection colours our judgment to this day in that our present-day Bottigaris are troubled by equally tempered or Pythagorean major thirds, whereas the untutored listener accepts them and a violinist will use them freely in a suitable context. Mistuned thirds are tolerated more readily than mistuned unisons, octaves and fifths.

Some people clearly think it mean and unfair of Dame Nature to arrange that three successive perfect major thirds fall short of a perfect octave while four successive perfect minor thirds exceed it. That is ungrateful; the wise and benevolent dame has given us the much more precious gift of subjective and selective hearing; a gift which is very commonly enjoyed without the happy possessor even knowing that he has it; ignorance being in fact bliss. It allows the sensible listener (and the performer, listener *par excellence*) to have, if he chooses, the best of two worlds which would otherwise seem irreconcilable; the

glorious sound of perfect intonation and tolerance of tempered intervals and imperfect consonances. Seashore, pioneering worker in the psychology of music, has put it this way, "there are many illusions of hearing . . . Thank God for illusions! Without illusions there could be no musical art". Most listeners and performers are sensible in this respect and, like Professor Peter Williams, see temperament as a "cul-de-sac of a subject". (*Early Music* 1983 p48). The common use of terms such as "the natural scale" or "the just scale" is itself tendentious and misleading. The harmonic series may properly be called "natural", but scales, in all their varieties, have arisen out of making music, as Hubert Parry told us a century ago, and none of them is in any proper sense "natural". Intonation is determined by the musical context, not by any preconceived scale. But an understanding of the psychological phenomena of hearing came only half-a-century later than a comparable understanding of the physical-acoustical phenomena, and I fear that many musicians have not even now caught up with it.

If, like Bottrigari, the listener is ungracious enough to spurn Nature's precious gift by conscious attention to temperamental problems, using such intellect as he may possess, he has only himself to blame if he cannot enjoy the music. This was Sterne's view of art (*Tristram Shandy*, Book III, Chap 12) deriding those critics who "judge by rule and compasses":

"I would go fifty miles on foot . . . to kiss the hand of that man whose generous heart will give up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands - be pleased he knows not why, and cares not wherefore. Great Apollo! . . . send Mercury, with the rules and compasses, if he can be spared, with my compliments, to - no matter."

All this is not to dispute the use of various unequal keyboard tunings in the past, but to urge caution in concluding how generally any particular temperament was used, particularly for domestic keyboards. For the gut-strung and gut-fretted instruments the historical evidence is clearer; from the mid-16th century onwards practice came to terms with the technical constraints and equal-tempered fret spacings became the norm. I suspect that empirical approaches to equal temperament were more often used, even in keyboard tuning, than is commonly supposed.

NEMA Affairs

SUMMARY OF ISSUES DISCUSSED AT COUNCIL MEETINGS

Present Dr. P Holman(13/4/00)(11/7/00), Ms A Allen(13/4/00), C Bartlett(13/4/00), Ms J Beeson (13/4/00)(11/7/00), Dr. K Bennett(13/4/00)(11/7/00), J Briggs(13/4/00), S Cassidy(13/4/00)(11/7/00), Ms A Ede (11/7/00)D Fletcher(13/4/00)(11/7/00), C Goodwin(13/4/00)(11/7/00), N Hadden(13/4/00), D Lakin-Thomas(13/4/00)(11/7/00), Ms J Morley(13/4/00), J Ranger(13/4/00)(11/7/00), G Russ(13/4/00)(11/7/00), M Windisch(13/4/00)(11/7/00).

DATA PROTECTION ACT

The situation of the membership list and the Data Protection Act were discussed. A form of words will be used to inform members of their rights will be included in future "details" questionnaires.

FINANCES

Position on 13 April positive balance of 2,700, 11 July £2,000. Most income came from subscriptions and expenditure went on producing and mailing the Yearbook. Planning future expenditure is difficult because invoice dates are seldom known in advance. The Council will work towards maximising subscription and advertising income and the planning of future expenditure options. The Treasurer will look in to the question of Charity giving and investigate Standing Order payments at an incorrect level.

NEW PRESIDENT IN SUCCESSION TO late J M THOMSON

Christopher Hogwood has been approached by Peter Holman and has agreed to make himself available for election. There will be an announcement in a future issue of *Early Music Performer*.

AGM/ NATIONAL EARLY MUSIC DAY

The AGM will take place on 25 or 26 November, depending on our success in securing suitable premises. It is proposed that there should be an associated didactic event. There will be an announcement about this.

2001 CONFERENCE - YORK

The theme is to be "Town Bands of Europe" and as before organisation will take place through the assistance of the National Early Music Centre, York. Papers for the 1999 conference will be published later in this year.

EARLY MUSIC YEARBOOK

Preparations are in well hand for producing this in time for the Early Music Exhibition.

EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER

A further issue is planned for August and articles have been commissioned for several future issues.

OTHER BUSINESS

We will need to find a replacement for Ms A Allen who is going to Basel to further her studies and has performed a valuable service in marketing NEMA.

Letter

Dear Chris,

I have been doing some research and needed to look-up various periodicals and access information from libraries and although a long-standing NEMA member I am a newcomer to surfing the web for such things and did not know where to start. The index you provide for magazine articles is very helpful but would be even more so if one could see or download them on line. I would be most grateful for lists of useful websites for early musical matters as I am sure would others; it is so much quicker if one has an address. Might this be a useful service you could offer in the newsletter? Or could members contribute to a useful on-line directory?

Some examples of need might be:

- 1) Finding an obituary printed in a newspaper some years ago.
- 2) Looking up an article written for one of the specialist music periodicals.
- 3) Accessing an image from a picture library
- 4) Knowing of inexpensive sites on which to advertise an instrument for sale.
- 5) Accessing out-of-print works or recordings.

Yours sincerely,

Penelope Cave ARAM GRSM LRAM

Members' Announcements

For sale: Andrew Garlick Flemish Harpsichord, single manual, 2x8ft with decorated soundboard, fully maintained and regulated, £6250. Ian Graham-Jones, Chichester 01243 371128.

For Sale: Musette du Cour, by Dave Shaw: sweet sounding, plays well, complete with bellows & case, £875ono. Also Cornish Double Pipes by Julian Goodacre, including alternative fingering for key changes, bellows & exceptional walnut box £725ono. Julian Watson, PO Box 439, Belfast BT9 5LY: both can be viewed on the mainland by contacting Dave on 0151 632 5361, email windy@mellwand.freeserve.co.uk. Wanted: Blowzabella CD *Vanilla* in good condition.

Wanted: Sacred music/dance/poetry: Pealing Chord - 14,000 different books, 13,000 booklets, 2000 recordings - seeking single copies print, MS,- print, Ms, photography, audio, cyber - any era - single copies. To be placed in institution, non-profit. Will buy, trade, accept gifts. Pealing Chord, 8 Ellen Dr, Wyoming PA 18644, USA.

IN BRIEF...

This information is complied from information received from Christopher Goodwin with additions supplied by the editor. Anyone with further sources of relevant material is invited to send it to the editor.

From Christopher Goodwin:

The Consort

Oliver Webber: *Real gut strings: some new experiments in historical stringing*

Claire Nelson: *The party of the century: Lord Stanley's Fête Champêtre*

John Cranmer: *Music retailing in late 18c & early 19c Scotland*

Obituary: Frederick Morgan

Book reviews: Malcolm Boyd: *Music in Spain during the 18c*

Kay Gilliland Stevenson: *Paradise lost in short: Smith, Stillingfleet & the transformation of epic (Handel)*

Robin Stowell: *The Cambridge companion to the cello*

Early Music America vol 6 no 1 Spring 2000

Obituary: LaNoue Davenport

Heidi Waleson: *The new countertenors*

Early Music America vol 6 no 2 Summer 2000

Heidi Waleson: *Bach in 2000*

Early Music vol xxviii/2 May 2000

Ann Buckley: *Music & musicians in medieval Irish society*

Patrick V Brannon: *Medieval Ireland: music in cathedral, church & cloister*

Sara Gibbs Casey: *Reconstructing Irish chant from Drummond Missal neumes*

Martin Czernin: *Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish monasteries in continental Europe*

Theodore Karp: *A serendipitous encounter with St Kilian*

Barra Boydell: *Richard Hosier, restoration anthems in Dublin cathedrals*

Paul Nixon: *Keyboard Instruments in Dublin, c 1560-1860*

Jann Cosart et al: *Reconstructing music of medieval Ireland*

Elizabeth Roche: reviews of choral music by Bassano, Viadana, Comes

Book reviews: Fabrice Fitch: *Antoine Busnoys: method, meaning & context* . .

Jérôme de la Gorce & Herbert Schneider, ed: *Quellestudien zu Jean-Baptiste Lully*

Donald Burrows, ed: *The Cambridge companion to Handel*

Music reviews: Duffin, ed (OUP): *A Josquin anthology: 12 motets*

Luisi & Zanovello, ed: *Le Frottole Petrucci*

Baxendale: *Henry Purcell: 20 keyboard pieces and one by Gibbons*

Early Music Review no 60 May 2000

Reviews: Russell Stinson: *Bach: The Orgelbüchlein*

Peter Holman, etc: *The Violin Book*

Early Music review no 61 June 2000

Reviews: John Potter, ed: *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*

Christoph Wolff: *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*

Thomas F Heck: *Picturing Performance: The Iconography of the Performing Arts in Concept and Practice*

Colin Lawson: *The Early Clarinet: A Practical Guide*

Annual Byrd Newsletter No 6

Early Music Review no 62 July 2000

Reviews: David Fallows *A catalogue of polyphonic songs 1415-1480*
Basil Smallman: *Schütz (The Master Musicians)*
Glenn Stanley ed: *The Cambridge companion to Beethoven*

Early Music Today vol 8 no 2 (April/May 2000)

Jane Clark: *Collectors' Items*: who was popular at the time in early 18c England
Deborah Roberts: *Women's Institutes*: female ensembles in 16c Italy
Edward Wickham on the success of *L'Homme armé*
Craig Ogden on the vihuela
Jacob Heringman: *16c lute intabulations of Josquin*
Reviews: Roger Bowers: *English Church Polyphony: singers & sources from 14-17c*
Ernest H Saunders: *French & English Polyphony of 13&14c*
ed Simon Harris: *The Communion Chants of 13c Byzantine Asmatikon*
Paul Carroll: *Baroque Woodwind Instruments, history, repertoire & basic technique*

FoMRHI Quarterly no 99 April 2000

E Segerman: 'Mysteries' about early bowed instruments
E Segerman: Use of wound strings c1700

The Galpin Society Journal LIII April 2000

Obituaries: Philip Bate, Donald Bloach
Mary Ann Alburger: *The Fydill in Fist: bowed string instruments from the Mary Rose*
Bernard Brauchli: *The 1782 Taskin harpsichord*
Timothy A Collins: *Of the differences between trumpeters and city tower musicians - the relationship of Stadtpfeifer and Kammeradschaft trumpeters*
Tom Dibley: *A contrabassophone by Alfred Morton*
Bruce Haynes: *A reconstruction of Talbot's hautboy reed*
Beryl Kenyon de Pascual: *A further updated review of the dulcians (bajón and bajoncillo) and their music in Spain*
John Koster: *A Netherlandish harpsichord of 1685 re-examined*
Darryl Martin: *Two Elizabethan virginals?*
Grant O'Brien: *Original state of 3 manual harpsichord by Bolcioni 1627, Edinburgh*
Mary Oleskiewicz: *The flutes of Quantz: their construction and performing practice*
Terence M Pamplin: *The influence of the bandora on the origin of the baroque baryton*
Sabine Klaus & Malcolm Rose: *An unsigned harpsichord in Basel*
Jenny Nex & Lance Whitehead: *The 6 early clavichords of Arnold Dolmetsch*

The Lute vol xxxix, 1999

Roger Harmon: *My Lute Awake: Thomas Wyatt, Sappho and Lyric Poetry*.
Peter Holman: *A new source of Jacobean lute music*.
M June Yakeley: *The life and times of José Marín*.
Jonathan Le Cocq: *Guide to notation in Air de Cour for voice & lute (Ballard 1608-1643)*
Obituaries: George Weigand, M June Yakeley, Jean-Michel Vaccaro
Book reviews: Peter Holman: *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)*.
Stefano Toffolo: *Oscar Chilesotti*, essays
Stefan Lundgren: *The Baroque Lute Companion*
Andrea Damiani (Eng trans Doc Rossi): *Method for Renaissance Lute*.
Victor Coehlo (ed): *Performance on Lute, Guitar & Vihuela...essays*

Lute News 54 June 2000

Matthew Spring: *Reconstructing the consort lessons of Richard Reade*.

Karl-Ernst Schroeder: *Reconstructing the Dresden lute duos of Sylvius Leopold Weiss.*

Denys Stephens: *The use of the left thumb in six course lute technique.*

Christopher Goodwin: *Why you should buy facsimiles of lute manuscripts.*

Lute Society of America, Inc Quarterly xxxiv/4, November 1999

Scott Witzke: *Johann Adolf Hasse and the Lute*

Reports from Amherst Early Music festival, Summer 1999

The following were submitted by Andrew Pink: Thank you!

*A Handbook for Studies in 18th Century English Music (Eds.: M. Burden and I Cholij) Volume IX.
1998. New College. OXFORD.*

Jennifer Burchell; Musical societies in subscription lists; an overlooked resource.

*A Handbook for Studies in 18th Century English Music (Eds.: M. Burden and I Cholij) Volume X.
1999. New College. OXFORD.*

Claire Sharpe; An annotated bibliography of early English violin tutors, published 1658-1731, including re-issues and subsequent editions if single works.

-----; Thematic catalogues of British or British based composers 1660-1880.

Choir and Organ, January/February 2000

Wilfred Mellers; *The meanings of monody.*

Choir and Organ. March/April 2000

David Ponsford; *Buxtehude defined.*

Wilfred Melloes; *The birth of Polyphony.*

Choir and Organ. May/June 2000

Wilfred Mellers; *From Ars antiqua to Ars nova*