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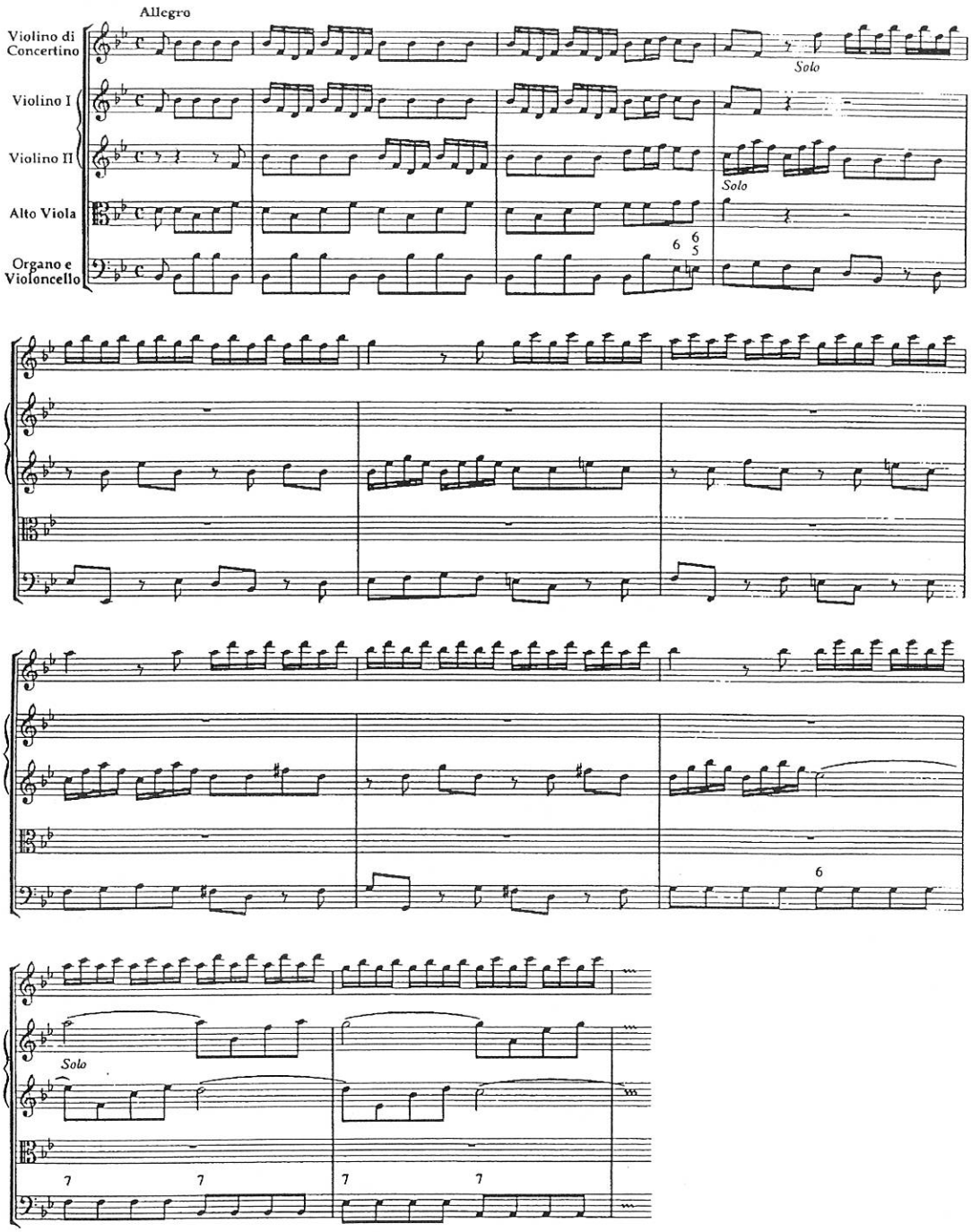
Bach's Concertos: Orchestral or Chamber Music?

RICHARD MAUNDER

There are many aspects of performance practice that have changed radically within living memory. The ponderous tempi and the liberal use of vibrato to be heard on recordings of the 1960s, for example, are very different from current ideas about what Bach would have expected. But a much more basic issue has hardly been considered at all. It is still usually taken for granted that Bach's concertos are 'orchestral' music: this is, for example, how *The New Grove* classifies them. After all, everyone knows that the essential feature of a concerto is the dramatic opposition of a lone soloist and a large orchestra, don't they? This view of the concerto may be correct for the nineteenth century, but is it right to extrapolate it backwards in time? Might 'concerto' be one of those words that has changed its meaning since the eighteenth century? 'Orchestra' certainly has: Dr Johnson's *Dictionary* defines it as 'the place where the musicians are set at a publick show', not as the band of musicians itself. Joshua Rifkin and Andrew Parrott have shown us that 'chorus' is another word that did not mean the same to Bach as it does nowadays.

My chief question, therefore, is: how many instruments did Bach expect to play his concertos? I want to argue that, contrary to the usual assumption, in Bach's time concertos were regarded as chamber music to be played one-to-a-part (just like the vocal parts in the cantatas, in fact!). To perform them 'orchestrally' would be to misrepresent the composer just as much as would the use of a modern-style choir for his cantatas, or, say, multiple strings for a Haydn quartet.

To set the scene I'll start by looking at Venetian concertos of c.1700-1720. Bach certainly knew many of them and to some extent took them as his models. A good example is no.1 in Vivaldi's op. 4 set, *La Stravaganza*, which was published around 1716. The first movement was arranged by Bach for solo harpsichord, and is, I think, a plausible model for Brandenburg 6 (which is in the same key of Bb). Interestingly, immediately after the opening tutti there is a passage for two solo violins and continuo, and a few bars later they are joined by a third violin soloist. (Ex.1) This sort of thing is a characteristic feature of many Venetian concertos, and I'll return to the point shortly since it has a bearing on the 'one-to-a-part' question. Recordings of Vivaldi concertos, even by the most reputable 'period instrument' groups, normally use a dozen or more string players, but such forces are considerably bigger than Vivaldi would have expected, which was just the soloist plus string quartet and harpsichord (or perhaps organ). That is, a total of only six players. (Ex 1)



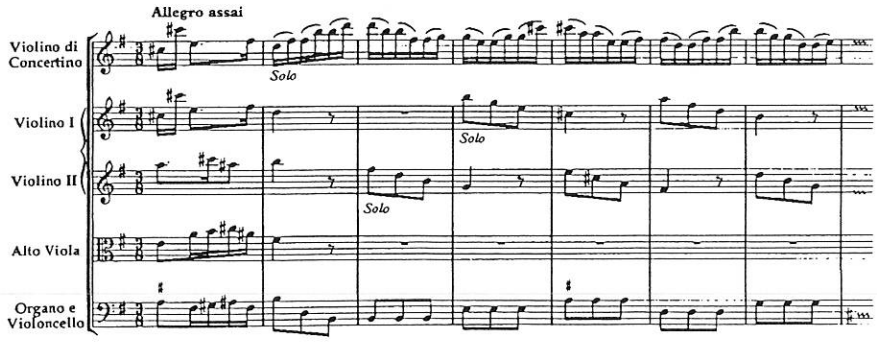
Ex.1. Vivaldi, Op.4 No.1, i, bars 19-30

What's the evidence for this radical claim? As far as I know there are no reliable pictures of Venetian concerto performances from the early eighteenth century, or useful written descriptions in letters or diaries. The answer is to look at the original published parts, which was how these concertos were disseminated to the public. They were popular all over Europe and were printed, re-printed, copied and pirated in Venice, Amsterdam, London, Paris and many other places. There was a standard format for their publication: what you bought was a set of parts consisting of one each for the principal violin (called 'Violino di Concertino' in Vivaldi's op. 4), violin 1, violin 2, and viola, and two copies of a figured bass part often called 'Organo e Violoncello' (which suggests one copy for each of them). It's very important to realize that there wasn't a score, so the parts alone had to contain all the necessary performance information. As in a string quartet, you simply gave them out and played the music, without a score-wielding conductor telling you what to do or when to play - even the keyboard player used a part. I can't emphasize this enough, for eighteenth-century practice was quite different from our own. Nowadays, we start by looking at a score and marking up things like bowings, extra dynamics, which figures are

to be realized by theorbo or harpsichord or whatever, where the double bass should drop out, and so on. We take this sort of thing completely for granted, and forget that it would have been quite impossible in the eighteenth century unless you first made your own score from the printed parts - but surely that's not what composers and publishers intended you to do every time.

In 1716, then, if you wanted to perform Vivaldi's op. 4, no.1 all that was available was a set of single parts. It doesn't immediately follow that you had only single players, of course, because some of the parts might have been shared in the modern fashion, or perhaps you bought several sets of parts. (I'm sure the publisher would have been delighted if you did!) Rather surprisingly, though, there's a lot of evidence to suggest that string players in the baroque period did not routinely share parts but expected one each, even if they had to be copied by hand. In the case of Vivaldi's op. 4 I can show that only single players were intended by looking at the way the words 'Solo' and 'Tutti' are used in the printed parts. Such markings are very common in eighteenth-century concertos, especially in soloists' parts. In op. 4, for example, there are lots of them in 'Violino di Concertino': 'Solo' warns him, obviously enough, where he is on his own and will be embarrassed if he hasn't practised the difficult bits, and 'Tutti' tells him where he is in unison with violin 1 and the pressure is off (I ought to say that a violin soloist in those days always played along in tutti sections).

This is clear enough, but there are also a few 'Solo' and 'Tutti' markings in the other violin parts: for example the extra solo bits in the first movement of no.1 I mentioned just now are printed in the violin 1 and 2 parts, and are duly marked 'Solo'. The important question here is: are these 'Solo' markings intended as instructions to reduce the section to a single player, or are they, as in the principal part, simply warnings that the part is exposed - in which case the assumption must be that the part will be played by only one person throughout? It seems unlikely that 'Solo' should be a warning in one part and an instruction in another, but what really settles the question is this: if 'Solo' were an instruction to others to drop out, there would have to be a cancelling 'Tutti' later or else there would be chaos as they tried to guess where to come in again. In op. 4 most of the 'Solo' bits for violins 1 and 2 are followed by 'Tutti', but a few are not (for example in the finale of no.3 there are a few bars where all three violins are marked 'Solo' Ex.2) , but violins 1 and 2 never have a subsequent 'Tutti', not even for the final ritornello).

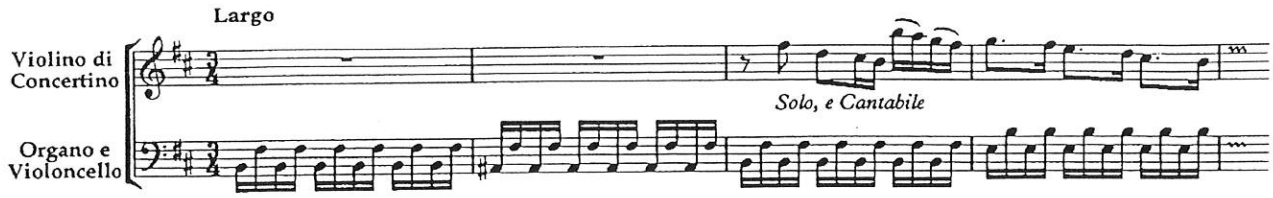


Ex.2. Vivaldi, Op.4 No.3, iii, bars 28-34

Hence the 'Solo' markings in violins 1 and 2 must be intended just as warnings; therefore those parts are meant for single players. (Of course, you might think that a few 'Tutti' markings could have been omitted by a careless engraver, but it would be a pretty serious mistake if the markings were supposed to be instructions – it doesn't matter so much otherwise - and it seems unlikely anyway when every single warning marking for the soloist is carefully engraved.)

Given that all three violin parts are for single players, it's hardly likely that the viola part was meant to be doubled, and it's reasonable to assume that the two copies of 'Organo e Violoncello' are indeed provided so that those two don't have to share, either (the cellist may have had to peer over the shoulder of the keyboard player in the opera-house, but evidently not in Venetian concertos). No double bass is mentioned, so presumably none was intended, unless perhaps there was an unwritten convention that you automatically added one to

the continuo in music of this kind (which seems to be what's assumed nowadays, for no very apparent reason). This notion can be ruled out by the slow movement of op. 4, no.11, which is scored for solo violin and continuo only (Ex.3). The elaborate bass line is obviously unsuitable for double bass, but the continuo part has no instruction such as 'senza Contrabasso': hence the assumption must be that there's no such instrument to silence. (Interestingly enough, there's a manuscript set of parts for this concerto in the Naples Conservatoire, dated 1727, that does have a part labelled 'Controbasso' - but it has a quite different slow movement with a bass in long notes.) (Ex 3)



Ex.3. Vivaldi, Op.4 No.11, ii, bars 1-4

Vivaldi's op. 4 is absolutely typical of these Venetian concertos: the parts were simply not designed for 'orchestral' performance, which in practice is impossible without first making a score. Moreover the conclusion about single players doesn't apply only to Venice. To mention just one other example, Handel's well-known oboe concerto in Bb was published in London in about 1740 as part of an anthology called *Select Harmony, Fourth Collection*, which also includes the concerto grosso Handel wrote for the interval of *Alexander's Feast*, and a couple of Tartini violin concertos. Four violin parts were necessary for the concerto grosso (concertino and ripieno violins 1 and 2), but in the oboe concerto the ripieno parts are marked 'Tacit' and only the concertino parts have the music. You could hardly ask for clearer evidence than that!

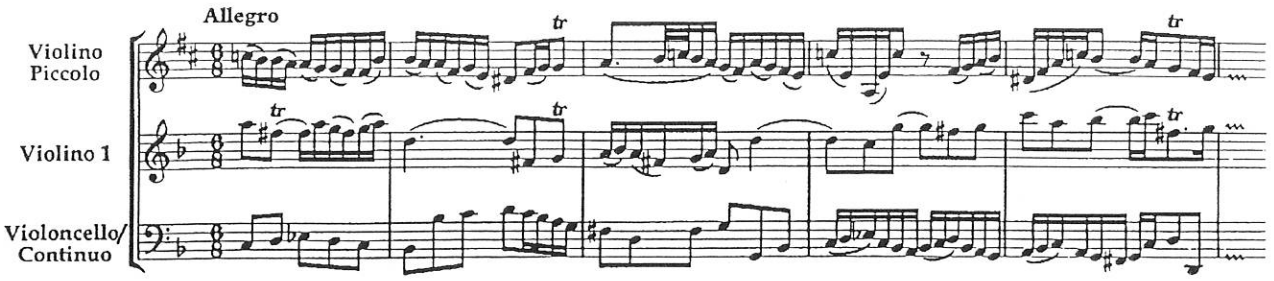
To return to Bach: the thing to bear in mind is that one-to-a-part performance of concertos was absolutely normal at the time, so one would need convincing evidence to show that Bach's practice was different. As we shall see, it wasn't.

Bach's concertos fall neatly - most of them - into three groups:

(i) the Brandenburg Concertos, whose autograph score is dated 24 March 1721.
(ii) the solo and double violin concertos, which probably date from about 1730 and may have been intended for Bach's weekly concerts at Zimmermann's coffee house in Leipzig (they used to be dated some ten years earlier, but this seems pretty unlikely since some of the original parts were copied by C. P. E. Bach, who was born in 1714).
(iii) the solo harpsichord concertos, the autograph score of which can be fairly accurately dated to 1738, no doubt also intended for the same concert series. (I don't want to get involved in questions of whether all the harpsichord concertos are arrangements of concertos for other instruments!)

What can we learn from the surviving performing material? For the Brandenburgs there are parts only for no. 5 (which, incidentally, includes a solo harpsichord part in Bach's own hand: it shows how ingrained was the habit of playing from parts that he didn't play even his own music from the score); there are also parts for earlier versions of nos.1-3. But fortunately the autograph score tells us most of what we want to know. Brandenburg 1 is often regarded as 'orchestral' even by those who use single strings in, say, Brandenburg 6. Bach's score is headed 'Concerto 1mo à 2 Corni da Caccia. 3 Hautb: e Bassono. Violino Piccolo concertato. 2 Violini, una Viola è Violoncello, col Basso Continuo'. '2 Violini, una Viola è Violoncello' certainly sounds like a description of a string quartet, but might Bach be thinking of staves in the score rather than the actual instruments, as in a later symphony? You might think that more than a string quartet would be needed to balance two horns and four woodwind. However, there is one trio passage in the third movement (Ex.4) which is scored only for violino piccolo, violin 1 and continuo, where it would make no sense to double violin/ 1. But there is no 'Solo' marking for violin 1 to tell anyone to stop playing, so the presumption

must be that such a marking was unnecessary because only one person was supposed to play the part anyway. There is some corroboration in the earlier version of this concerto, which must certainly be for single strings, for it has no violino piccolo and the solos are assigned instead to violin 1, with no 'Solo' markings in the part. (Ex 4)



Ex.4. Bach, Brandenburg 1, iii, bars 75-9

For the violin concerto in A minor (BWV 1041) there is an original set of parts in a wrapper on which Bach himself wrote 'Concerto a Violino certato due Violini una Viola obligati e Basso Continuo'. Exactly as in Vivaldi's op. 4, there are single copies of 'Violino Concertino', violin 1, violin 2, and viola, and two copies of a bass part, this time called simply 'Continuo' and as it happens unfigured; the parts are all autograph or at least partially so (some bits were copied by C. P. E. Bach). (In fact unfigured basses were common in Germany at this time - continuo players had to learn to use their ears. Heinichen's Der General-Bass in der Composition (Dresden 1728) devotes three chapters to advice on how to play from unfigured bass parts.) The disposition of the parts strongly suggests that exactly the same one-to-a-part line-up as in Vivaldi's op. 4 was intended, and 'due Violini una Viola obligati' surely confirms it (the word 'obligato' is normally used of solo parts). After all, if Bach had expected any parts to be shared why go to the trouble of copying two 'Continuo' parts? (Which are surely intended for cello and harpsichord, one each – there's no part labelled 'violoncello' and there are other examples where Bach uses the label 'Continuo' for parts apparently intended for those two instruments.) Again as in Vivaldi's op. 4, there is no mention of a double bass so there seems to be no good reason for adding one.

As for the solo harpsichord concertos, as I've already said there's an autograph score of all of them dating from c.1738, but for only one (the A major, BWV 1055) is there an original set of parts. Again there's an autograph wrapper, reading 'Concerto a Cembalo certato due Violini una Viola e Basso Continuo', and there are (single) autograph parts for violin 1, violin 2, viola, and 'Continuo' (the solo part from the set must have got lost). As usual single players are surely expected, and there are some duet passages for harpsichord and violin 1 that would sound silly with multiple violins. What is particularly interesting in this concerto is that there is a subsequently added part called 'Violone', which plays only in the tuttis. It was obviously prepared under Bach's supervision since he himself wrote at least the title and the first bass clef and key signature (paper studies suggest the part was copied a year or two later than the others). At first, therefore, Bach definitely played this concerto without a double bass - assuming that's what 'Violone' means, which is in fact rather doubtful (I'll come back to the meaning of 'violone'). The 'Continuo' part, as in the A minor violin concerto, is surely meant to include a cello (again there's no part labelled 'violoncello') - and presumably a second harpsichord since the part is for once fully figured (the soloist, on the other hand, has no figures at all but has a written-out part in the tuttis). Actually, I suspect it was common practice to include a separate continuo instrument in solo keyboard concertos: this certainly seems to be the case in Handel's organ concertos, and there are even some indications that Mozart may have done the same.

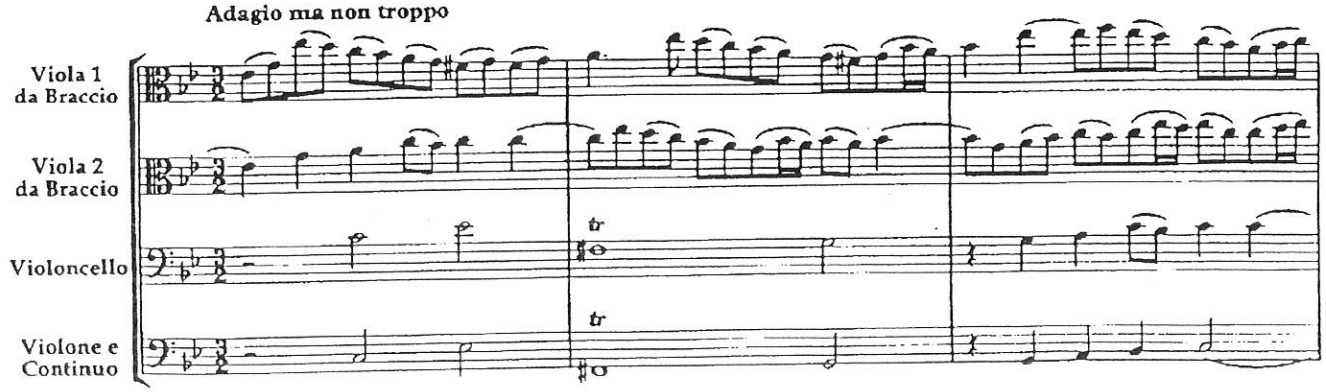
Another example where there surely isn't meant to be a double bass is the two-harpsichord version of the D minor double violin concerto (which presumably implies that the same is true for the original version as well). There are no

surviving parts, but there is an autograph score, probably dating from 1736 or 37 - just before the solo concertos. It's headed 'Concerto à due Clavicembali obligati. 2 Violini, Viola e Violoncello'. Bach could hardly have made his intentions more explicit: two solo harpsichords (note 'obligati' again, like the string parts in the A minor violin concerto) plus string quartet, with no double bass and this time no additional continuo harpsichord (it would be pretty superfluous with two solo harpsichords). (My main message can be simply stated thus: such titles mean exactly what they say; in particular 'due violini' means two violins, not two violin sections.)

A propos of double basses, I promised to say something about the meaning of 'violone', which as we have seen Bach subsequently added to the A major harpsichord concerto, and in fact specifies in all the Brandenburgs – though not in the violin concertos. It's often assumed that 'violone' is synonymous with 'contrabasso', but, while this appears to be true in the Mozart/Haydn period, it's certainly not always the case in the early eighteenth century, when 'violone' was a generic term and could mean one of at least four different instruments:

(i) the double bass viol with six strings, the lowest bottom DD, playing at 16' pitch.
(ii) the 'quint' bass tuned a fourth higher (lowest string GG), mentioned by several German writers of the time, e.g. Walther in his Musicalisches Lexicon of 1732, which played at written pitch.
(iii) the old large-sized 'bass violin' going down to bottom BBb.
(iv) the relatively new cello with a smaller body and wire-wound bottom strings (which was invented in Bologna in the 1660s and apparently didn't arrive in Germany until about 1700). (Recall that Corelli's op. 5 violin sonatas, for example, are accompanied by 'violone o cimbalo', but he surely didn't expect a 16' instrument!)

In Brandenburg 1 Bach says 'Violone grosso', presumably to make clear that he really does want the largest size (though, interestingly, it's not listed in the heading and the words are just added - in a different ink - to the 'Continuo' stave - another subsequent addition!). In Brandenburgs 4 and 5 the 'violone' part is carefully arranged to avoid (written) C and C# but not D, which surely implies that it's a double bass viol with lowest string DD. However, in Brandenburg 6 the 'violone' is often notated an octave lower than the cello, which means that if it were played at 16' pitch there would be a gap of two octaves. The effect is pretty grotesque: see Ex 5. The part even goes down to bottom BBb right at the end of the piece. Surely this violone is meant to play at written pitch, but it's not clear whether it's supposed to be a 'quint bass' or perhaps a bass violin. If it were a quint bass with bottom string tuned to GG it's rather surprising that it goes no lower than BBb, although Praetorius suggests that you could tune the instrument a tone higher – which would be very convenient for a player used to the 7-string viola da gamba with bottom string AA. The bass violin, of course, normally goes down exactly to BBb. You might think that the combination of cello and bass violin is an unlikely one, but in fact it was commonly used in Bologna around 1700 (for example in Torelli's concertos). As for the A major harpsichord concerto, the subsequently added 'violone' part goes down to bottom C# three times, which is why I said it may not be a double bass: it's more likely to be either a quint bass or a bass violin again.



Ex.5. Bach, Brandenburg 6, ii, bars 44-7

Some thoughts on the word 'recorder' and how it was first used in England

ANTHONY ROWLAND-JONES

It is interesting that the recorder is known in the English language by a word that bears no relation to 'flute' or 'pipe'. Blockflöte and other German words for the instrument derive from features such as the block inserted into a tube, or the shape of its mouthpiece, although Schnabelflöte, which equates with the Dutch bekfluit, is now rarely used. In their English form these words - 'beak flute', or, from the instrument's lip or labium, 'fipple flute', or, referring to its windway, 'duct flute' – all relate to a whole family of direct-blown flutes with a windway, including the flageolet. Most present-day writers reserve the word 'recorder' for the member of the duct-flute family which has holes to be covered by seven fingers and a thumb. The fact that the German word is not associated with a fingering system has, I think, affected scholarship not only in German but to some extent in English.

Christopher Welch in 1911 anticipated modern usage:

> The instrument to which the name recorder was applied belonged to the fipple flute family. It was distinguished from other members of that family by the number of its holes. At the commencement of the sixteenth century there were, we are told by Virdung, fipple flutes with three, four, five, six, seven, eight, and sometimes, but rarely, even more than eight holes. Only such of them as were pierced with not less than eight holes – seven for the fingers and one at the back for the thumb – could with propriety be termed recorders.[1]

Welch would have regarded Howard Mayer Brown and Joan Lascelle as lacking in propriety for the definition they use in their influential manual *Musical Iconography* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1972, p. 79) under 'Flute, Fipple - Recorder' where the entry ends with the following sentence: 'Except for tabor pipes, all tubes with fipples are listed as recorders, regardless of the number of finger-holes, e.g. flageolets, shepherds' pipes, etc.' recorders in works of art, and this breadth of definition has affected the value to recorder specialists of some otherwise excellent iconographic work by scholars such as Bowles, Salmen, and Brown himself. In Stanley Godman's translation of Hildemarie Peter's pioneering book *Die Blockflöte und ihre Spielweise in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Robert Lienau, Berlin-Lichterfelde, 1953) 'the 3-holed pipe with drum' is classed as a form of recorder (p. 42); but of course the tabor-pipe is a form of Blockflöte.

The term 'recorder' was not unknown to early German writers, as Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum ii* and *Theatrum instrumentorum*, Wolfenbüttel,1619 and 1620) refers to 'Recordor' – as an English term – in his text (p. 33), where the spelling 'Plockflötten' is also found. The caption to his Plate IX uses Blockflöiten, although the instruments were generally just called *Flöten*, for example by Virdung in 1511. Similarly, in the late Baroque period in England, an unqualified 'flute' meant the recorder, often in its Italian form, *flauto*; until the 20th-century recorder revival, the word 'recorder' was little used in England after the introduction of the French baroque *flûte douce* around l670. 'Recorder' appears three times in Samuel Pepys's Diary (April 1668), each time with a capital 'R', differentiating from his flageolet which he always spelt with a lower case 'f'. 'Recorder' or 'Rechorder' is found in a few instruction books up to 1695. But 'flute' prevailed, along with, later, 'English flute', and then 'common flute' – at a point when, ironically, the recorder was becoming less common in relation to the fashionable transverse or 'German flute'.

Romance languages tended to identify the instrument by its sound if any qualification of the word 'flute' was felt to be needed - *douce*, or *dolce*. 'Beak flute' – *flauta de pico* – is widely used in Spanish, and flûte à bec in French. A particular French-language term is *flûte à neuf trous*, referring to the paired offset little finger-

for playing with either the left hand or the right hand lower, the unused hole being sealed with wax. This terminology is found in, for example, Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la langue Francoyse* of 1530 ('Recorder – a pype – fleute a ix neufte trous'), in the title to a chanson collection published by Pierre Attaingnant in 1533, and in the title of Philibert Jambe de Fer's instruction manual of 1556[3]. The phrase is elsewhere equated with the simple Italian word *flauto*.

If this usage could be traced back a century or more, it would provide valuable early evidence of the existence of what is clearly a recorder in a French-speaking country. The lists given in the two romances by the poet-musician Guillaume de Machaut around 1330[4] include a variety of flutes (some of which could be the same instrument under more than one name); they have been meticulously considered by Pierre Boragno in an article entitled 'Flûtes du moyen âge: éléments de recherche'[5], but without shedding light on the early history of the recorder. Nor can the 12th- century reference to 'fistula anglica' in a manuscript in Glasgow University do more than invite conjecture. Only the English word 'recorder' can therefore provide satisfactory linguistic evidence about the origins of the instrument, assuming that the semantic differentiation it represents is intended to distinguish between duct flutes played with seven fingers and a thumb and those played in other ways. Disregarding the complex terminology of folk instruments, the only other words unrelated to 'flute', 'flageol(et)', or 'pipe' (or the Latin terms *fistula* and *canula*) which could signify the late medieval flute was 'doucet', which was differentiated from 'rede' in Chaucer's *House of Fame*[6], suggesting that it is there a generic term for soft duct flutes; the *dolzaina*, or *douçaine*, however, was a member of the shawm family.

Unfortunately, the study of literary sources has not so far revealed any use of the word *recorder* in literature before the 15th century. After Welch's *Six Lectures*, extremely thorough work in this field was carried out by Henry Holland Carter for his *Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms* (Indiana, 1961; repr. 1980). But Nicholas Lander has provided an impressively comprehensive internet survey, *Literary and Theatrical References to the Recorder* (http:/www.iinet.net.au/~nickl/quotes.html), which he keeps updated.

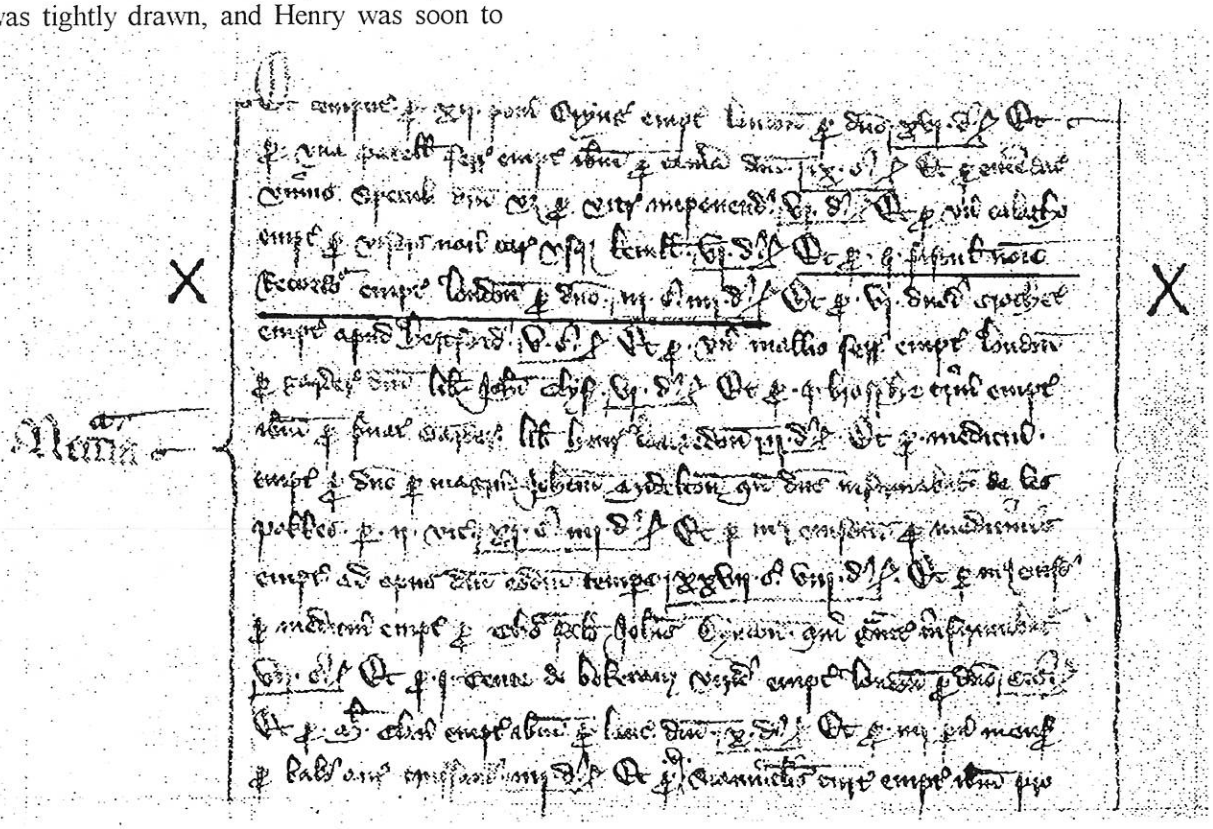
He has also written on *The Medieval Recorder* (http:/www.iinet.net.au/~nickl/medieval.html). This latter site, which covers archaeological and iconographic as well as linguistic evidence for the coming into being of the recorder, shows that, despite the recent discovery of the Göttingen example which can be dated to the 14th century with slightly more confidence than the Dordrecht one, unambiguous evidence of the existence of the instrument before the end of that century is very sparse. After 1400, however, the evidence becomes gradually less ambiguous and less infrequent. This makes any use of the word 'recorder' before 1400 particularly important in establishing the instrument's historical background.

Perhaps surprisingly, the word is never used by Chaucer, who died in 1400, although his gay young Squire in *The Canterbury Tales* was singing or 'floyting al the day'. Nor does it appear in the poem *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* (c.1370) which describes in great detail the kind of Christmas and New Year festivities with music in which at a later date recorders would have been likely to play a part. Outside literary usages, Welch (p.19) makes two references to lexicons, one from c.1359 and the other as early as 1280-1306, but, as he implies, they are very inconclusive, though deserving of further research by scholars who are both musicologists and medievalists. So far, there is only one 14th-century reference that is sufficiently well documented to be of value, but it is in a seemingly ambiguous form. It was the subject of a note by Brian Trowell entitled *King Henry IV, Recorder-Player* (Galpin Society Journal, x, 1957, pp. 83-4). The crucial section is as follows:

> Henry IV, born in 1367, seems to have been quite as musical as his more famous son; as I have written in an article on him in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 'he probably played a more important part in the musical history of England than has generally been supposed. A keen amateur musician himself, he brought up his sons to appreciate music and the arts; and . . . he certainly established the Chapel Royal on a broader basis, and carefully fostered the

careers of his singing-clerks and minstrels`. His wife, Mary de Bohun, is shown by the archives to have been a player on the gittern (if the mysterious `canticum`, on which parchment had to be stretched, is indeed, as Wylie supposes, the gittern); while in Henry`s household accounts for 1388, we find a payment for `i. fistula nomine Ricordo` for the Earl of Derby, as Henry then was. This entry appears to be the earliest known use of a special term in England for the whistle-flute; previous references use 'floyt' or 'fistula'. The Italian spelling of the word may suggest its true origin: Millhouse's Italian dictionary of 1857, which contains many rather old-fashioned Italian words, has the following entry: 'Ricordo: remembrance, souvenir, keepsake, memento, sign of friendship, token, note; libro de' ricordi, a memorandum book, note book.' Is it possible that the instrument had been given to the young Earl, then aged twenty-one, by some Italian noble, merchant, or ecclesiastic? The cultural, political and economic network of Europe at this period was tightly drawn, and Henry was soon to spend much time on the continent during his expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land. At the internationally famous court of his father, Duke of Lancaster from 1362 until his death in 1399, foreigners of many kinds were frequent guests. During the Middle Ages, the gift of a musical instrument was a recognized custom of civility and a means of obtaining a reward, and indeed an excellent 'memento' of favours received or expected.

At my request a relative of my wife, Christopher Whittick of the East Sussex Record Office, kindly re-examined the original document in the Public Record Office in London. He discovered that it had been inaccurately transcribed. The corrected entry has even more significance than Brian Trowell had realised. The following is a facsimile of part of folio 16v of a parchment volume containing the accounts of Hugh de Waterton for the receipts and expenditure of the chamber and wardrobe of the Earl of Derby, 30 September, 1388 (PRO, DL 28 1/2); it is reproduced by courtesy of the Keeper of Public Records:



The above excerpt is from a section headed 'Necessaria'; having dealt with 12 'orange apples' and putting glass in a mirror, it says, in the entry underlined and asterisked above: 'Et pro j fistula nomine Recordour empta London pro domino iij s iiij d.

Here is the word 'Recordour' in isolation:

It looks like 'Recordo', although Wylie in his *History of England under Henry IV* (London, 1884-98, iii, p 325), where Brian Trowell discovered the reference, wrongly transcribed it with an 'i'. This led Trowell to assume that the word might be of Italian provenance and that the phrase meant a flute, perhaps inscribed, presented as a keepsake or memento, rather than explicitly denoting a recorder. Later scholars, however, have made the assumption that the word 'Ricordo' specifically refers to the recorder, although Carter's citations never show it spelt with an 'i'. Above and beyond the 'o', moreover, is a line which in English court hand is an abbreviation for 'ur'.

Carter includes 'recordour' as one of several spellings for 'recorder'. He shows the word so spelt in William Caxton's 1485 translation of the French romance *Paris et Vienne*, and, around 1450 in the Scottish poem, *The Buke of the Howlate* (The Book of the Owl). The 'our' ending for modern 'er' was very common. For example, Carter gives 'harpour' as one of seven variants of the word 'harper' (including 'harpur' and 'harpyr') and of his twelve citations from literary sources between 1300 and 1450, one being from Langland's poem *Piers the Plowman* (1362-3), six use the 'our' ending. The accounts entry should therefore be translated 'and for one flute by name of Recorder bought in London for my lord, three shillings and four pence.' This reading indicates that the instrument was not a gift, keepsake or memento. It was bought as an item of household 'necessaries', which include medicine bought from John Midelton 'quando dominus infirmabatur de les pokkes', for green buckram, and for a hundred nails for the lord's lance. Among the purchases 'pro domina', for my lady the Countess of Derby who the year before had given birth to the future Henry V, are strings and pegs, presumably for her gittern. A recorder and a plucked stringed instrument go well together, especially in vocal music, and this combination is shown frequently in 15th- and 16th-century paintings and illuminations, including boating parties for the month of May.

Interesting conjectures can now be derived from this one accounts entry. First, it will be noted that the word recorder has a capital 'R', unlike 'fistula' (flute), which as a substantive in general use is treated as a common noun. 'Recordour' is treated as if it were a proper noun like 'London'; moreover it is qualified by the word 'nomine'. Nowadays we would use inverted commas – a flute known as a 'recorder'. This usage, together with not taking the suspended letters into account, led Trowell to suppose that the flute had been accorded a proper name, rather as some special Cremona violins have particular names; so, to extend his translation, fistula nomine Recordo would mean a flute which had been given the name 'Recordo', rather than a kind of flute known as a 'recorder'. The fact that the flute had to be so described, rather than simply called a recorder, strongly suggests that in 1388 the word was new to the language, or at least unfamiliar, as, presumably, was the seven-fingered type of duct flute the word is used to describe. It also suggests that the word 'recorder' should be employed only with great caution in iconographical and other contexts, especially English, in any reference before the last decades of the fourteenth century, even though the type of instrument it represents could have been used in other countries before it was known in England.

Let us now consider the purchase itself. The instrument was bought in London 'pro' – for, or on behalf of – Henry, Earl of Derby, and charged to his household accounts among other necessities. He obtained it for his domestic music-making (as presumably he did intend it to be played), in the same way as pegs and strings were purchased for his wife's instrument. Professional minstrel instrumentalists who entertained at feasts and special occasions were usually freelance and peripatetic, although some were permanently attached to great households; and they would probably have inherited, acquired or made their own instruments. Whoever sold the instrument might either have made it himself, or bought it in, possibly from abroad. The court of King Richard II was highly cultivated and had close links with France. French artists may have been involved in painting the famous Wilton Diptych (c1395), now in the National Gallery in London; and, as at other times when French cultural influence was strong, French imports, including recorders, could well have been available in London. But newfangled imported instruments would probably often have been referred to by their original names, in the same way as *flute douce*,

or more usually simply 'flute', became the term for a recorder in late 17th-century England. So it is not unreasonable to suppose that Henry's recorder may have been made in England, perhaps in London, and perhaps by the man it was bought from. Was it specially made for him? As the first English recorder? Or were there others around? Perhaps recorders were used in Richard II's musical court, and Henry wished to emulate this aspect of the monarchy, whatever he may have thought of Richard's shortcomings as a political leader. And what kind of recorder was it?

Such rudimentary English iconographical evidence as there is, mainly in church carvings, from around 1400 suggests that it may have been of our tenor recorder size, even though the only slightly less flimsy iconographical evidence from the Kingdom of Aragon at the same period suggests that the Catalans at first preferred the 'cantus' size of recorder (around our soprano or alto) before 'discovering' the larger instruments. This may partly have accounted for the cost in well-seasoned fruitwood – assuming it was made of the same material as the Dordrecht and Göttingen examples, and possibly with some garnishings of a precious material such as ivory. But if the instrument had been made entirely of ivory, or otherwise lavishly embellished, this surely would have been stated in the accounts to explain or justify its cost.

For whatsoever reason – its rarity, its materials, the time taken to make it, or the possible overcharging of an affluent client – Henry's recorder was certainly an expensive one. At the time, a skilled craftsman would have expected to be paid four to six pence a day. So, roughly translated on that basis into present-day currency, it might well have cost somewhere around £500. If this were largely labour costs, the single instrument might have taken around a hundred hours of a skilled craftsman's time. The likelihood is that the recorder was intended for Henry's personal and family use - an instrument fit for a king. The fact that the Earl of Derby, and probably other great nobles like him, possessed a recorder, shows that from the beginning it was seen as a courtly instrument, used for making pleasurable entertainment in an aristocratic environment. Later iconography provides frequent proof of the recorder's high status in society. Henry's purchase perhaps suggests that from the beginning the recorder was considered to be an instrument suitable for the enjoyment of amateurs.

Why did Henry want a recorder? And why in the accounts was it so called? (Carter's earliest documentation of the word is not until almost half a century later). We are here in the realms of imaginative and unsupported conjecture. Henry may have been keeping up with a newly-introduced fashion, and wanted to show off the most splendid instrument available. However, even large recorders are not as suited as some other instruments to parade wealth and opulence in materials, artistry and workmanship, unlike keyboard and stringed instruments. That Henry's musicianship was genuine is attested by Trowell in the passage already quoted and by the ascription of a piece in the early 15th-century Old Hall manuscript to 'Roy Henry', although it is possible that it might have been composed by Henry IV's son whose musical education he and his wife had so carefully nurtured, and who became Henry V[7] So perhaps he acquired the instrument because it would satisfy more than any other kind of flute his musical aspirations, including domestic music-making. This idea is sustained by the instrument being thought so different in its capabilities from the normally six-holed flute or 'flageol' that it needed to be distinguished by a totally different name.

If Henry played music with his wife, what music did they play? Almost certainly it would have been vocal music; and as a great lord he is not likely to have been short of capable singers in his domestic establishment. He would have wished to play a vocal line on his recorder (the tenor line was often left untexted[8], and therefore to have tried to be as expressive as a singer in communication of the meaning and spirit of the words of a *ballade* or *carole*. In his *De modo bene cantandi* (Mainz, 1474) Conrad von Zabern (quoted by Carol McClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, Indiana University Press, 1979, pp.12-16) berates singers who sing high notes with a loud tone – 'a particularly striking crudity'. Middle notes are to be sung with a moderate voice and high notes with a soft voice, with gradual change according to the movement of the melody. Singers should be able to modulate their voices in many ways, singing with life and emotion. Von Zabern compares the capability of the human voice to

that of the organ or monochord, where low notes are full in tone and high notes thinner and more delicate. I do not know of any earlier references which are as specific to dynamics in vocal technique as this passage, but Chapter 9 of Konrad of Mengenberg's *Yconomica*, a treatise on the education and concerns of a prince written between 1348 and 1352 (transcribed and commented on by Christopher Page in 'German Musicians and their Instruments' in *Early Music* 10/2 (April 1982), pp. 192-200) emphasises the need for a musician to communicate the meaning of a melody in order to affect his audience, a process surely calling for expressiveness and dynamic variation[9].

The duct flute with six holes obtains notes in its second octave by overblowing, so they are perforce louder than low notes. This is the reverse of von Zabern's concept of singing. But the clarity and strength of that instrument's upper register, as well as its nimble-fingeredness (ideal for playing rapid divisions), are well suited to playing dance music, such as lively estampies, which was probably the primary role of the smaller pipes; moreover, they were basically diatonic instruments. The recorder's thumb or 'speaker' hole made it possible to play upper notes softly, and its extra holes and potentiality for even-toned cross-fingering enabled it to move away from its home key without sacrificing good intonation or tonal clarity. In his already-mentioned internet article on the medieval recorder, Nicholas Lander, quoting Tuschner[10], believes this second feature to have been the main reason for the 'invention' of the recorder. A cultivated musician such as Henry would surely have valued both these features of the recorder, which, though more demanding in its fingering techniques, was so much the reverse of the six-holed instrument in its ability to imitate the expressiveness of the voice, especially in lyrical music, as to need, at least in English, a completely different name.

This returns us to the word itself – why 'recorder'? Smith's Latin Dictionary defines the verb *recordari* as 'to bring back to mind, recall, recollect, remember; to think over, dwell upon.' In his internet article *A Pipe for Fortune's Finger* (http://www.iinet.net.au~nickl/fortune.html), Nicholas Lander writes that the *New Oxford English Dictionary* dates the English verb 'to record' from as early as 1225 in its meaning 'to get by heart, to commit to memory, to go over in one's mind, or to repeat or say over as a lesson.' He cites examples of this usage from Chaucer (c.1374) and Caxton (c.1477). He goes on to say 'About 1510 this old verb seems to have been applied to birds for the first time and, by extension, to humans with the meaning of "to practise or sing a tune in an undertone; to go over it quietly (e.g. by humming it) or silently".' The verb 'record' is used in association with 'songes' and 'all maner musike' in *The Book of the Pylgremage of the Sowle* of 1413, translated from French by Caxton in 1483[11]. Moreover, the 'recording' here referred to was upon instruments, though the writer unfortunately does not say what these were. Welch (p.22) gives several examples of the English word 'record' as meaning to repeat a sound softly like a fledgling bird, or to hum quietly, and several of his literary citations associate birdsong with vocal music such as caroles, or dirges ('records with moan' in Shakespeare's *Pericles*). This ties in with the capability of the recorder to play softly throughout its compass, in particular the upper register. The invention of the speaker thumb-hole, enabling the recorder to be pari passu with the organ and monochord and in particular to imitate the expressive singing voice as described by von Zabern, seems to have been the quality which so greatly distinguished it from other duct flutes that in English it required the use of the semantic differentiation appropriately rendered by the nomenclature *recorder*.

I should like to acknowledge the helpful comments made on a draft of this article by Ian Harwood, Peter Holman, Nicholas Lander, David Lasocki and Christopher Whittick.

NOTES

1. Christopher Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder and other Flutes in relation to Literature* (Oxford, 1911), p. 23. The first three lectures were re-printed by Oxford University Press in 1961 with a new introduction by Edgar Hunt.

2. Also referred to by Praetorius *Syntagma Musicum II – De Organographia*, translated and edited by David Z. Crookes (Oxford, 1986), p. 45.

3. *Epitome musical de tons, sons et accordz, es voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, fleustes à neuf trous, violes & violons* (Lyon, 1556).
4. One list appears in Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandrie*, ed. M.L. De Mas Latrie (Geneva, 1877), pp. 35-6, and the other in Machaut, *Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune*, ed. James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler (with English translation) (Athens, U.S.A. and London, 1988), pp 390-1.
5. In *Les cahiers de musique médiéval*, ii, (1998), pp. 6-20.
6. c.1380. The musical references are considerable in Book III – see commentary and notes in Welch, op.cit., pp. 14-16.
7. Stylistically, the Old Hall MS includes pieces written from c.1400 – c.1430. Henry IV reigned from 1399 to 1413; Henry V 1413 to 1422. 'Roy Henry' is credited with a Gloria and a Sanctus.
8. The lack of a text is not an indication that the line was expected to be played on an instrument. The words may have been so familiar that a text underlay was not thought to be necessary; or the part may have been sung – vocalised – without words. In Christopher Page's article 'Machaut's "Pupil" Deschamps on the Performance of Music – Voices or instruments in the 14th-century chanson' (Early Music 5/4 (October 1977), pp. 484-491), he quotes Deschamps as saying that music 'may be sung with the voice in an artistic way without words par art, sanz parole'.
9. In Page's translation this chapter starts 'It is also necessary to know how the diversity of melodies and of musical instruments excites the minds of listeners to various emotions such as joy and sadness, anger and gentleness, boldness and terror, and thus also to other various affections of the mind.' Page illustrates his article (op.cit.) with illuminations indicating the 'sisterhood' of 'Sens, Rhetorique and Musique' (as the daughters of Nature) in the music of Machaut (c.1300 – 1377), again implying that devices of rhetoric were used to convey the meaning of melody. This surely indicates the modulation of sound – expressiveness – in emulation of the delivery of an effective orator. In *A Treatise on musicians from ?c.1400* (Journal of the Royal Music Association 115 (1992), pp. 1-21), Page paraphrases Arnulf de St Ghislain as saying that female musicians 'divide semitones into indivisible microtones and with their sound, more angelic than human, they steal away the hearts of those who listen to them, like the Sirens.'
10. *Die frühen Holzblasinstrumente in Lichte der mittelalterlichen Tonlehren*, Tibia 8/3 (1983), pp. 401-6.
(11) In Caxton at v.viii.99.

The original of this article was written for the German journal for woodwind players, *Tibia*, where it appeared in Vol. 2/2000, pp. 89-97. This English version is published here with kind permission of the editor of *Tibia*, Sabine Haase-Moeck.

Temperament: a reply to Robert Webb

JOHN CATCH

First, a significant verbal correction. "Our"' (bottom line, p.13 of my August paper) was "their" in my t/s. I did not see a proof.

Secondly - I take some trouble over my texts. Mr. Webb, and other readers, should read what I wrote (particularly my final paragraph) and not between the lines.

I am concerned only with what was historical practice as revealed by evidence of the kind which we demand in more important matters. Present-day aesthetic judgments rank very low by this standard. It must be all the available evidence, weighed of course according to its merits. Those who use the royal argument 'Have I not ears?' forget that Sir Joseph Williamson also had ears, but protocol did not allow him to tell Charles II so. Our brains cannot hear things as 'they' heard them. What people put on record in the past is evidence; each one was there and heard with his brain, not ours. It is depressing that so many people are unaware of this crucial distinction. Mr. Webb quotes a letter of S.S.Wesley of 1870 but omits a later passage of the same letter; 'The well-taught organist never would use his organ in the bad chords: no-one ever did so when we had good English conductors'(!). Wesley, fine musician, champion of unequal tuning, brain unwashed by equal temperament, did not find the bad chords

'artistic' or 'expressive' - 'coloured'. Some people undoubtedly hear keys as 'coloured', but differ so widely among themselves that their judgments must be considered subjective, dependent on experience and associations. Some have even found key colour in Equal-Tempered instruments - an illustration of the subjective nature of hearing. 'In the past' Mr.Webb affirms 'ET would have sounded dreadful'. So thought the Reverend gentleman-amateur-speculative-utterly unpractical musician Thomas Salmon, but hear his own words:

['Perfect and mathematicall proportions' - he meant Zarlino tunings - were] 'demonstrated upon a Viol...but may be accommodated to any Instrument, by such mechanical contrivances' (clever fellow!) '...which the Musick requires...'To make all our whole Notes, and all our half Notes of an equal size...*as the common practice is*' (my italics) 'may be allow'd by such Ears as are vitiated by long custome...'

That was in 1705, but his proposals had been aired in the 1670s, and justly ridiculed by Locke, practical musician. Again, nothing about the artistic value of the more out-of-tune keys; and observe the denunciation of brain-washing by ET in 1705.

Mean Tone enthusiasts commonly assume that, in the past, simultaneous use of differently-tempered instruments was unthinkable, an assumption which leads (for example) to hypotheses about MT fretting and alternative fingerings for enharmonic differences. If they will follow me through a brief review of the evidence they must recognise that this basic assumption, which superficially may seem to be 'common sense', is unjustified, and that the hypotheses have been thought up to resolve a problem which never existed. The documentary evidence for MT fretting will not stand up to critical examination; and there is no documentary evidence at all for alternative fingerings.

The evidence: firstly, Bottrigari, whom I have quoted, gentleman-amateur-speculative musician, tells us that the down-to-earth professionals of his time did the unthinkable. Next, Praetorius. Read what he writes in 1618 (Blumenfeld's translation): 'The harpsichord...and the like...are rather incomplete and imperfect in that they do not afford chromatic tones such as can be produced on lutes and viols da gamba...' [this is suggestive of 1/4-comma mean-tone - QCMT for short]. 'Gambas and especially lutes, of course, afford all chromatic tones; yet their tuning is not so pure and true as (a *clavicembalo universale* with all black keys divided and 77 notes in four octaves). 'This is because the frets on gambas and lutes are all equally spaced (though the nearer the bridge, the closer the spacing - and this goes without saying)...But then the frets are false only by a half-comma (about 1/10 of an ET semitone) on either side, and this does not disturb the ear very much, since the discrepancy can not be discerned very clearly ...The main reason for this is that the player can influence the pitch by the position of his fingers on the frets...If it is desired to play chromatically on the lute' (here he means in perfect accord with the *clavicembalo universale* described) 'all its frets would have to be taken off and it would have to be played without them entirely'.

There speaks the down-to-earth practical musician who understood the problem and did not fuss too much over temperament. He, again, does not profess to find any artistic value in the out-of-tune keys. His pictures of viols, lutes, and most wire-strung instruments show the frets very close to equal temperament (ET for short) and decidedly not in any kind of MT - of which more later.

Jean Denis, harpsichord maker about 1640, recognised that viol fretting (i.e. in ET) did not accord with harpsichords in his time, which must have been unequally tuned, and he proposed a scheme of stepped, fixed frets to harmonise them (of which, again, more later). There is no evidence that his scheme was ever used.

The greatest musicians seem never to have fussed over temperament, but were content to work in the conditions of their times; and as time went on ET was approached, often I suspect empirically. We know from CPEB and Agricola, who would have known the truth, that J S Bach advocated some change in practice, although exactly what, is not certain; it seems unlikely to have been reactionary. But when he had (literally) the chance of a lifetime to expound it and gain the credit, he passed it up and in 1747 sent Mizler's musicological society - not a

treatise on temperament, but the magnificent Canonic Variations.

The iconographical evidence allows us to be more certain about fretting than we can be about tuning of keyboards, but not of course by constructing a detailed theory on the basis of one picture, as a recent would-be researcher has done.

I have examined 76 pictures of gut-strung and gut-fretted instruments dated from about 1475 to 1704, mostly line drawings. Anyone who chooses may do the same. They were not selected in any way and may be taken as a fair sample. Here are the findings:

1) Every single one of the hundreds of frets is perfectly straight and at right angles to the centre line of the neck. Not one is sloped, bent, stepped or split.

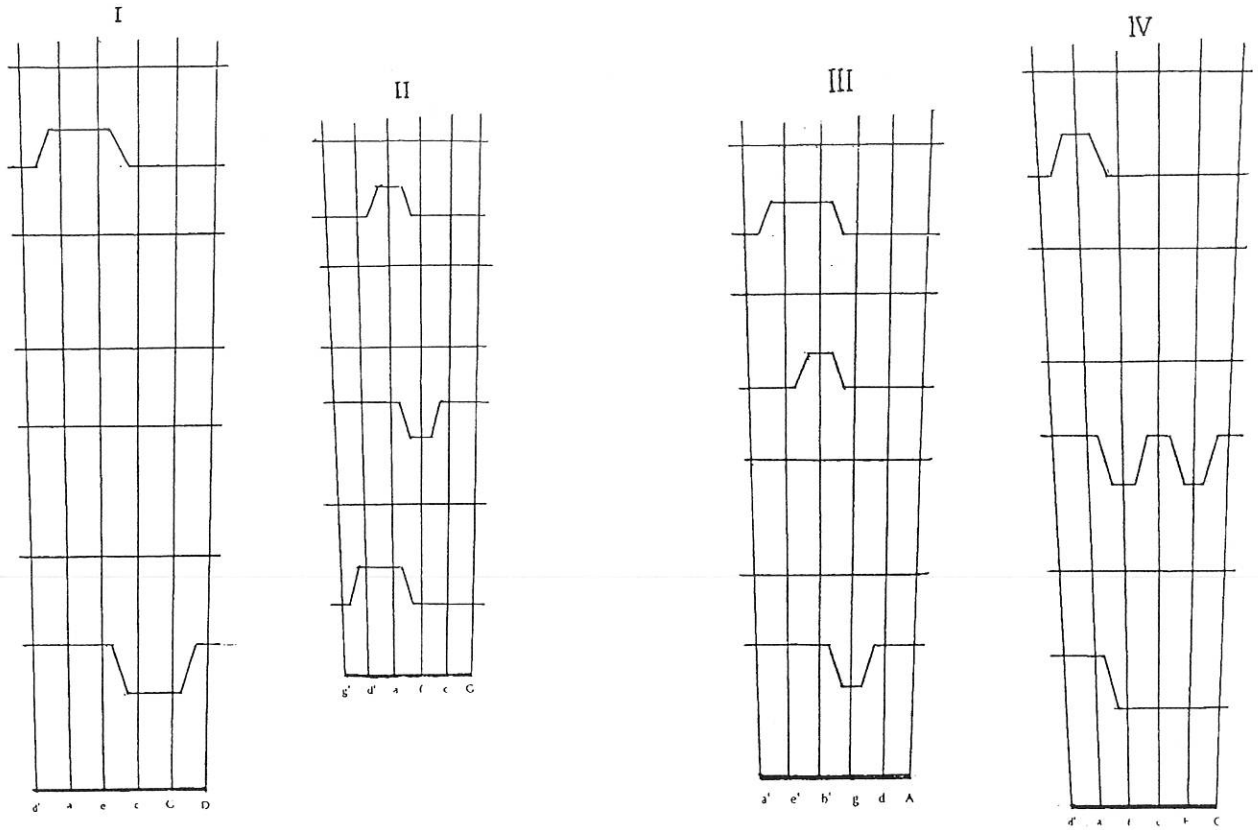
2) Seven pictures were rejected as having meaningless spacings (e.g. Judenkunig 1523)

3) One picture only (Kinsky, *History of Music in Pictures* 1929 p.96, no.4) shows alternate wide and narrow spacings which may mean an attempt to approximate to MT.

4) Nine are excellent pictures of ET fretting, and ten others are close to it. The Simpson pictures are so accurate that I suspect that the artist measured them, and the superb picture of Marais (1704) is another of those which show, unmistakeably, ET fretting. The MT-fretting enthusiast will find such pictures difficult to explain away.

5) The biggest group of 49 show essentially an impossible, literally equidistant spacing. They show other evidence of inexact observation, such as wrong positioning of the seventh fret, or slightly increased spacings as they ascend the fingerboard. The explanation is, I suggest, that the frets were in ET but the artist had not perceived the slight successive diminution of the spacing. It is not always obvious nowadays to the uninformed eye.

Next, the technical-theoretical evidence.



The diagrams I - IV show patterns of fretting for QCMT centred on C. These are not opinions, personal judgments, subjective, but prosaic unchallengeable facts. The exact pitches (i.e. frequencies) of QCMT in C were converted by simple arithmetic (with enough precision to go beyond discrimination by the most sensitive musical ear) starting from the open strings, into string lengths for each fingered note and thus the exact fret positions. Anyone prepared to take time and trouble may verify them for himself. The first point to strike the observant reader will be that although I-III all have the same f-f-e-f-f intervals, they are strikingly different. 'Common

sense' may at first suggest that they ought to be the same, but 'common sense', again, is wrong. The explanation? Tuning II stands a fifth higher than I, and if II were fretted as I it would relate to QCMT not in C, but in F; for III (ditto) it would be QCMT in G. Now MT might in principle be centred on any note of the scale, but this much is certain - they won't mix. If I, II and III were fretted alike and used together the collective result would be no kind of temperament - just cacophony.

Dozens of different tunings were in use (Ganassi: lyra music). Diagram IV (the 'bandora set') is just one illustration of the consequences, out of very many others. With all those tunings, needing different patterns for MT, Ganassi gives just one set of rules for fret spacing. Ian Woodfield, in a letter to me, thinks that Ganassi 'did not know what he was talking about'. He certainly shows no evidence that he understood the practical implications of MT fretting. He was (I submit) aiming quite empirically at fretting which would be tolerable for all his tunings. ET would in fact be equally tolerable for all, and the picture which he gives us is compatible with ET, but certainly not with MT. Mr.Webb however would have us believe that 'any desired temperament can be achieved' by manipulating seven gut frets. It will puzzle him to achieve diagrams I-IV. One of the compromises closer to equal temperament would to be sure have less pronounced undulations, but I fail to see how even the lessened serpentine shapes are to be achieved without glue, tintacks, or magic. It would be quite possible to achieve any desired temperament either with fixed frets in bits and pieces, or by adding frets. These expedients would complicate performance; and of course a change of tuning, in anything but ET, would require that the pattern be altered. No-one who has studied this subject carefully can fail to remark the total absence in the documentary evidence, from Ganassi down to Liddle's exposition in *Play the Viol* of 1989, of any reference or hint that varied MT tunings required such varied fret patterns. A jealously guarded professional secret? With pictorial illustrators wholly in collusion?

This technical evidence alone amounts virtually to proof that ET fretting was the norm. Pictures and documentary evidence confirm beyond reasonable doubt that temperaments were mixed in the past, and that for gut-strung and gut-fretted instruments fretting for ET was normal, indeed apparently universal practice. So it is quite irrelevant to harp on citterns (if I may be allowed a small jest) with their very odd, very variable fretting patterns.

I will not take up even more space to controvert other mistaken opinions in Mr.Webb's paper. I return unabashed to my starting point; I do not know all the answers about historical tuning practice (does anyone?) but I think we fuss too much nowadays about temperament.

Letter

Robert Webb (EMP 7, p3) is right to ask 'if equal temperament was commonly used, then how was it implemented?' Writing of the spinet, Marin Mersenne states 'the division of the tones of the octave into twelve semitones cannot be used on this instrument, because its tuning depends solely on the tension of the strings, unless one assumes very equal and unalterable strings, and one uses weight to hold them to the harmonic proportions of which I have spoken in the tablature of the deaf, which shows the possibility of this effect rather than its reality and existence.' (Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, the books on instruments,* trans Roger E Chapman. (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1957, p 215)

I remember some thirty years ago being told by one of Steinway's most experienced tuners that he had been taught to ensure that first fifths tuned were to be made as flat as possible, in order to be absolutely sure that the final note in the 'circle' did not come out higher than the original. If the fifths then turned out to have been too much flattened, a quick fix could be obtained by stretching the last two or three fifths.

Has anyone checked the 'equal temperament' produced by ear with that of a machine?
Yours sincerely

Maria Boxall

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.

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***Early Music Review* no 66 December 2000**

Reviews: So (ed) *Music in theAage of Confucius*

McKinnon: *The Advent Project: the later 17c Creation of the Roman Mass Proper*

Judd: *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes*

Caraci & Tibaldi (ed): *Intorno a Monteverdi*

Hayer (ed): *Lully Studies*

Stockigt: *Jan Dismas Zelenka*

Dürr: *JSB St John Passion: Genesis, Transmission and Meaning*

Richards: *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*

Catanzaro & Rainer: *Anton Cajetan Aldgasser Thematic Catalogue*

***Early Music Today* vol 8 no 6**

Jeremy Barlow: *William Taylor and Ardival Harps*

John Kitchen: *Construction and Working of Organ Pipes*

Reviews: ed Kemal & Gaskell: *Performance & Authenticy in the Arts*

Blackburn: *Composition, Printing and Performance*

Carter: *Music. Patronage & Printing in Late Renaissance Florence*

***FoMRHI Quarterly* 101 October 2000**

L Jones: *Ottavino Spinet Plan & Manual (RWC) Review*

L Jones: *De Clavichordio III proceedings Review*

Chris Barlow: *Pythagorus vs Euclid (in Arnaut's Clavisimbalum)*

Chris Barlow: *The Clavisimbalum of Henri Arnaut de Zwolle*

E Segermann: *Late 16c French Picture with Instruments*

E Segermann: *Knowledge, Belief, Catlins...*

E Segerman: *Monteverdi's* violini piccoli alla francesca & viole da brazzio *(Boyden) review*

L Jones: *Restoration of Hass Clavichord, Oxford Bate*

***Goldberg* May/June 2000**

Catherine Cessac: *Charpentier*

***Lute News* No 56**

Mimmo Perruffo: *Gut Strings*

David Pinto: *John Dowland: Tears and Equivocations*

Judy Tarling: *Classical Rhetoric in the Renaissance*

***Lute Society of America Quarterly* #35/2**

Elizabeth Brown: *Learning to play well with others*

Betsy Small: *A Plaine and Easy Introduction to Newe Lute Musicke: Part 2*

Mike Peterson: *An Extended-Neck Lute Lesson with Stephen Stubbs*

***Musica Antiqua* 17/4 November 2000**

Godelieve Spiessens: *De Antwerpse vioolbouwer Aegidius Vaeckemans*

Greta Harnen: *Vioolmuziek in het Di Martinelli-fonds*

Bruno Bouchaert: *Een tweede koralentstichting in de collegiale kerk van Sint-Petrus te Rijsel (16c)*

E Baeck & H Baeck-Schilders: *Peter Benoit en het kunstenaarsmilieu rond dr. Paul Gachet*

Godelieve Spiessens: *De Antwerpse Stadsspeelman & vioolreparateur Joannes van Meerschen*

***Recercare* xi 1999**

Saviero Franchi: *Stampado ed editori musicali a roma 1550-1608*

Tony Chinnery: *A Celestini Harpsichord Rediscovered*
Tim Carter: *Singing* Orfeo: *on the Performers of Monteverdi's First Opera*
Noel O'Regan: *Music in the Liturgy of San Pierro in Vaticano 1605-1621*
Franco Bruni: *Prassi musicale, liturgica e cerimonali alla cattedrale di Malta trasei e settecento*
Peter Williams: *Some Thoughts on Italian Elements in Certain Music of J S Bach*
Rainer Hayick: *Vespermusik an San Pietro in Vaticano um die Mitte des 18J*
Linda Lopinto: *Per un'analise statistica dell'aria metastasiana*
Furio Muccichenti: *Armodio Maccione organaro (1576ca-1629)*
Agnese Pavanello: *Il "Trillodel diavolo" di Giuseppe Tartini nell'edizone di Jean Baptiste Cartier*

***Recorder Magazine* vol 21/3 Autumn 2000**

John Suddaby: *"Domestic" publishers of Recorder Music in the UK*
Anthony Rowland-Jones: *Seven at a Blow*

***Studi Musicali* XXIX 2000 No 1**

L dela Libera: *Repetiori ed organici, vocale strumentali...Roma 1557-1630*
P Gargiulo: *Il teatro per musica di Andrea Salvadori (1613-1630)*

***Viola da Gamba Society Newsletter* no 111 October 2000**

Review: Imke David: *Die sechzehn Saiten der italienischen Lira da gamba*
Review: *Music by Förtsch (1652-1732)*

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of The National Early Music Association
Held in The Friends Meeting House, Ealing on Saturday 25 November 2000

Present: Council Members- P Holman, J Bence, A Rowland-Jones, J Ranger, J Beeson, C Goodwin, M Windisch (reporting) and approximately 20 NEMA members.

1. Apologies for absence received from several people.
2. The previous minutes were accepted but reference to (Tom?) whom no-one could identify should be deleted

3. Chairman's Report. The Chairman delivered the Report of the Council. The new president Christopher Hogwood sends his apologies for not being able to attend but hopes to play an active part in NEMA business. It was sad to record the death of June Yakeley. Our financial situation was slowly improving; we now had a far better control over income and expenditure thanks to the Treasurer. We were carrying out proper budgeting. The loan from the Early Music Network had been repaid. We hoped to get an additional £1,200 to £1,500 additional a year from Gift Aid. The Yearbook was in excellent health thanks to the able sub-committee. *Early Music Performer* has had its ups and downs. Articles were not being regularly submitted and the Chairman was unable to devote as much time as was needed to it. However, Ian Harwood was going to help to ensure a flow of suitable articles. The winter issue will contain an artice by Anthony Rowland-Jones and will contain an article on the origin of the word 'Recorder' plus a report of the AGM day. Ashgate had agreed to print the papers of the 1999 conference and these will be available for purchase at special rates for NEMA members in 2001. The Council is committed to trying to organize events which are not duplicated elsewhere. The AGM day is probably going to be repeated next year. The York conference has been put back by a year due to an unfortunate coincidence of accidents. Jo Wainwright was going to assist but James Merryweather who had taken over the organisation from Peter Holman had unfortunately suffered a bereavement. The next conference will now be in 2002 as part of the York Early Music Exhibition

4. The Treasurer's Report was delivered by Mark Windisch and accepted by those present. Acceptance of the unexamined accounts for 1999/2000 was proposed by Anthony Rowland-Jones and seconded by Joanna Renouf. No objections.

5. The possibility of raising subscriptions was tabled. The Treasurer suggested that since a number of members had signed Gift Aid forms and he would be pursuing those members who had failed to update their standing orders to the correct level, and since the projection of expenditure could be funded out of expected income levels subscriptions should remain at £19.50 for 2001. This was accepted.

6. The following officers who were required to resign because they had come to the end of their time limit according to the constitution offered themselves for re-election: Peter Holman, Keith Bennett, Stephen Cassidy, Glyn Russ. Their re-election was proposed by Ian Harwood and seconded by John Briggs. No objections.

7. It was proposed that Kathy Avdiev should be approached to replace Ann Allen who was responsible for selling advertising. She has not yet agreed but seems to be willing. Ann Allen has had to go abroad for study reasons but the Council thanked her for her considerable success. The new appointment will be finalised in Council.

8. Mark Windisch proposed that Castle Cary VAT Services should again be asked to examine the accounts. This was seconded by Jane Beeson and accepted.

9. The Educational Project to commemorate the late president J Mansfield Thomson was now being moved forward by John Bence and Jon Ranger. They were not yet ready to report but hoped to do so at the next AGM.

10. The Chairman stated that he was pleased with the AGM day in the new format which included a workshop and concert as well as the Margot Leigh-Milner lecture. Joanna Renouf thought that publicity could have been improved. It was agreed that Ealing had better possibilities for travelling than central London. John Bence will suggest another venue in Ealing which might be even more suitable.

11. The Chairman asked for members of NEMA to feed back comments on *Early Music Performer*. The title had been chosen to reflect interests of performers but he would like to know if it satisfied the requirements of members.

AGM Playing Day

A Playing day was arranged to start off the proceedings. The work chosen was Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610 and the conductor Philip Thorby.

There was a very good response from NEMA members and a sprinkling of people who had read the advertisements in Early Music Review and Early Music Performer. One lady came over from France. We seemed to attract quite a few instrumentalists: curtals, cornetti, bowed strings, a sackbut and a prized theorbo. Clifford Bartlett played Peter Holman's lovely chamber organ with great skill.

Amongst the singers we had a good turnout of sopranos and altos but were a little thin in the manly department. By dint of persuading a somewhat reluctant male alto to sing tenor the parts were just covered.

Philip concentrated on Item 2 Dixit Dominus and Item 6 Laetatus Sum.

Philip's understanding of the underlying structure of the work is so profound that all present were quickly swept up with enthusiasm and gave of their very best. People seemed to enjoy the day very much and quite a few would be very keen to attend another such event.

Concert by The Sweelinck Ensemble.

It has become customary for the NEMA AGM to incorporate a concert by one of the prize-winning groups of the Early Music Network Competition, jointly funded by the Early Music Network and NEMA. On this occasion we were privileged to have The Sweelinck Ensemble comprising Lisette Wesseling (soprano), Debbie Diamond and Petra Kovacs (violins), Francisco del Amo (viola da gamba) and Martin Knizia (organ).

The concert comprised four works by Heinrich Schütz, and others by Samuel Scheidt, Dario Castello and Dietrich Buxtehude. They specialize in virtuoso works of the 16th and 17th centuries, in particular Heinrich Schütz. The group led by Martin Knizia performed all seven pieces beautifully, with impeccable ensemble, and the audience was treated to an extraordinary concert of great musical sensitivity.

Margot Leigh-Milner Lecture for 2000 delivered by Richard Maunder

This material forms the article published in this edition of *Early Music Performer*

SUMMARY OF MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF NEMA

Held at 70 Baker Street 6:30 p.m. on Wednesday 10th January 2001

Present Peter Holman (chair) and 16 members of the Council

Apologies Christopher Hogwood and two others

2) The minutes of the meeting of 20 September were accepted and signed

3) Matters arising

The Radcliffe Trust is to be approached for a request for funding after the 2002 Conference proposals have been decided. Kathy Avdiev has been approached to assist in marketing NEMA advertising and publications. Data protection coverage is in place and will be renewed in 2002. The Wingfield Conference drive by A Rowland-Jones was successful in arousing interest in NEMA.

4) Finances

4.1) Mark Windisch reported that the NEMA bank balance was currently about £1,000.

4.2) Standing order payments had been made at the beginning of January. Several members were still operating on incorrect payment levels. All members are requested to ensure that their standing orders are for £19.50 for full members. Those SO payees who have paid the incorrect amount will receive an invoice for the difference.

4.3) Only 29 gift aid forms had been completed and sent to the Treasurer. Members will be re-circulated and requested to fill in a form if they have not already done so

5) Events

5.1) The 2000 Early Music Exhibition had been a success. Many members had collected yearbooks thereby saving postage and quite a few new members had joined. The date of the 2001 Exhibition is not yet known with any certainty.

5.2) The 2000 AGM-Workshop day had gone as planned. The Workshop had attracted quite a number of people and the AGM had easily been quorate. There will be a report in *Early Music Performer*. Richard Maunder's talk will be printed in full. The Sweelinck Ensemble had provided an excellent concert. Thanks are due to the Early Music Network for sharing costs of the group with NEMA.

5.3) The next AGM will take place on 24 November 2001. It is hoped that the Early Music Network will again provide a group from the finalists in their competition and share costs. The Chairman asked for and received some suggestions for another workshop and for subjects and speakers. He will follow up these suggestions. Ealing will again be the venue but a larger hall is being sought. In 2001 publicity will be more widespread and provided earlier.

5.4) Peter Holman will ensure that plans for the 2002 Conference are put in hand. He is already in touch with Delma Tomlin of the York Early Music Centre about assisting. Calls for papers will be made at the beginning of the academic year.

6) Publications

6.1) Yearbook. Chris Goodwin will mail out the NEMA brochure for the 2002 Yearbook. David Fletcher has already approached Delma Tomlin who has agreed to provide administrative support again. Last updates should be completed by end July. Chris Goodwin will approach exhibitors at the Early Music Exhibition who are not already included so that might be included in the next Yearbook. He and David Fletcher will update the form.

6.2) *Early Music Performer*.

The next issue is nearly ready for publication. Peter Holman has obtained the agreement of Ian Harwood that he would assist as far as his time allows with *EMP*. Initially this would mean just proof reading. The future articles will cover instrument makers and it is hoped to get an article from Jon Dixon.

6.3) The 2000 Conference Proceedings are currently being edited by Peter Holman and Jo Wainwright and should be ready in early spring.

6.4) Jon Bennett (son of Keith) has done quite a lot of preparatory work on the new website. The current website is accessible through www.earlymusic.net/nema

A vote of thanks is recorded to Jon Bennett for the work he has put in.

7) Educational Initiatives. Much preparatory work has been done by John Bence and Jon Ranger. They are to continue to develop the theme. Andrew Pinnock made some suggestions on ways in which access to public funds may be reached to facilitate this initiative. Members of Council made some suggestions re terminology and design which will be followed up.

7.2) Peter Holman thought that the York Early Music centre and Delma Tomlin should be involved in carrying this forward. It is important if a peripatetic workshop is considered to ensure that it is able to cover as much of the country as possible and not just one or two large cities. Jon Ranger will talk to Glyn Russ about EMN interest in this aspect.

7.3) Peter Holman will arrange to talk to the new Chair of the Early Music Network to ensure that the Education initiatives of both organisations keep in touch with one another.

8) Any Other Business.

8.1) Anthony Rowland-Jones proposed that Annette Heilbron should be made an Honorary Life Member of NEMA. This was accepted by Council and will be put to AGM for ratification.

8.2) It was suggested that Delma Tomlin should be invited to NEMA Council meetings. This was accepted. Dates of next meetings: 11 April, 17 July

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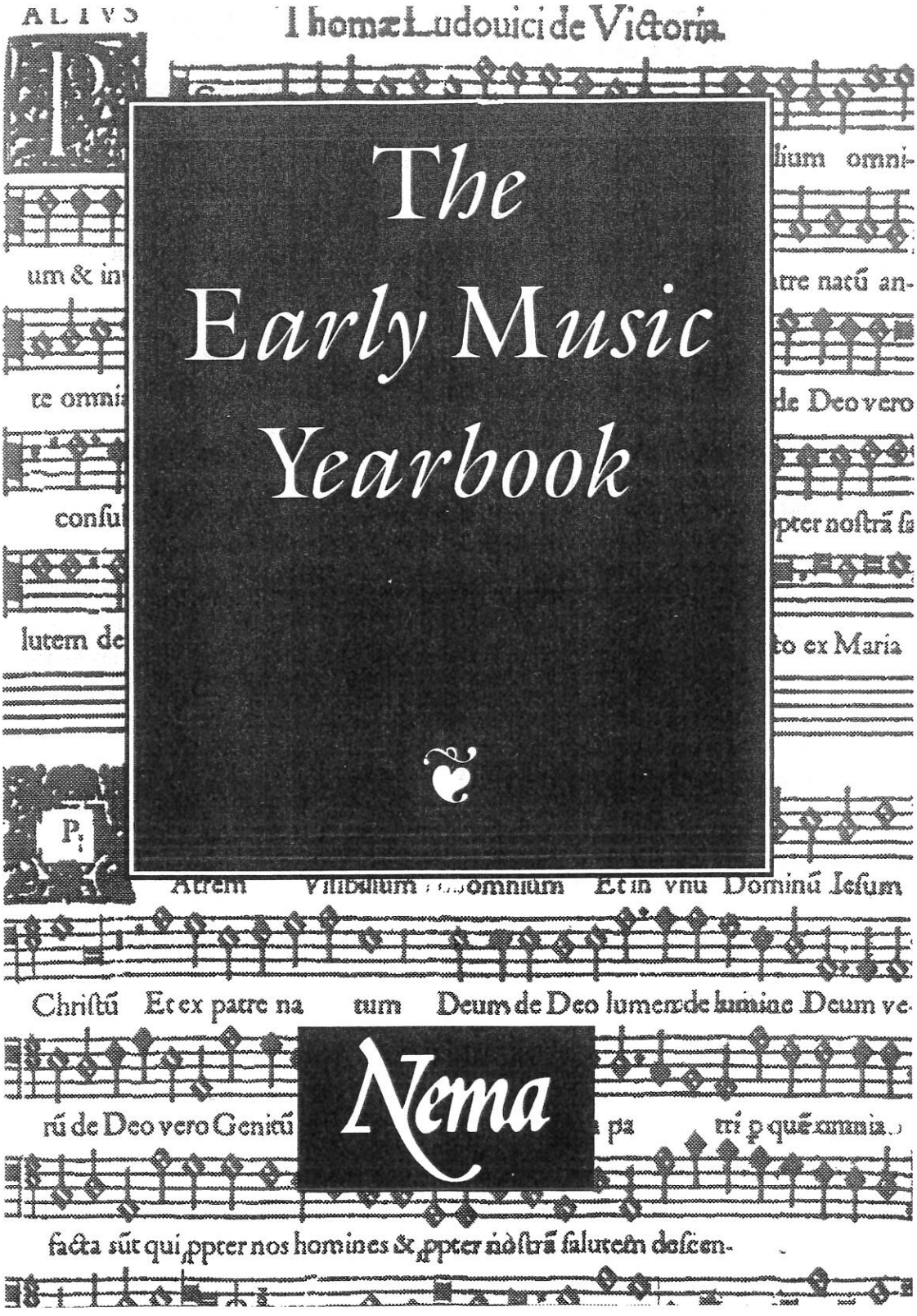

. . . YOU SHOULD BE IN IT

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NATIONAL EARLY MUSIC ASSOCIATION

Registered Charity No. 297300

Register of Early Music Year 2001 Registration Form

Please read these instructions carefully before completing the questionnaire

This form is for new entries only: those who are already in the Register will be sent a proof copy of their entry for amendment. Use a separate form for **each** individual **or** ensemble. (This form may be photocopied as required). Activities should be indicated by circling the relevant code number(s) overleaf and adding "p", "c", "b" &/or "t" as appropriate (see below).

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Please enter your name exactly as you wish it to appear in the Register (e.g. Mr J Smith; J Smith; Mr John Smith; John Smith; etc). 700 codings should **not** be used by individuals.

Ensembles

Please enter the name and address of your principal contact. 700 codings **only** should be used - do **not** enter the individual instruments of your ensemble.

Makers

Please use codings 970 - 979 only; these categories have been made deliberately broad, since the "Buyers' Guide" section of the Yearbook contains detailed lists of instrument types & models available (please send us your current catalogue or price list for inclusion in this section). Please do **not** use codings for individual instruments - these refer to performers and teachers only.

Performers and Makers

p = professional (forms a significant part of livelihood) c = competent amateur; b = beginner; t =teacher

Advertisers

Please ring Chris Goodwin on 01483 202159 to ask for a rate sheet for the Yearbook.

The **Register of Early Music** is published every year as part of the NEMA **Early Music Yearbook**. The address list is occasionally made available to other organisations (mainly publishers) for one-off mailings which will be of interest to those in the world of early music.

To order a NEMA Yearbook at the special discount rate please complete and return the form, together with your payment (including the appropriate postage and packing). Members of the **National Early Music Association** receive a free Yearbook as well as the **Early Music Performer** quarterly so for a modest extra cost you could simply join NEMA.

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A INDIVIDUALS

Style or Title (optional)

Mr | Mrs | Miss | Ms | Other

First Name or Initials (as preferred)

Surname

B ENSEMBLES

Title of Ensemble

Name of Contact

Address

Post Town

Telephone 1.

County (other than London)

Telephone 2.

Country (other than UK)

Post Code

Signed:

Date:

E-mail

000 VOICE
011 Soprano
012 Mezzo-soprano
013 Contralto/female alto
015 Male alto/countertenor
016 Tenor
017 Baritone
018 Bass
019 Self-accompanied singing
021 Gregorian chant
100 KEYBOARD
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111 Organ-positive
114 Regal
120 Barrel organ
130 Harpsichord
131 Spinet
132 Virginals
140 Clavichord
150 Early piano
160 Celeste
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192 Tuning (harpsichord/piano)
193 Continuo playing (figured bass)
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216 Viol (bass)
217 Violone
218 Viol (baroque)
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222 Lirone
223 Baryton
225 Viola d'amore
226 Lyra da braccio
228 Arpeggione
230 Violin (classical)
231 Violin (baroque)
232 Violin (renaissance)
233 Viola (renaissance)
234 Viola (baroque)
235 Viola (classical)
236 Cello (baroque)
237 Double bass (baroque)
240 Violoncello piccolo
241 Cello (classical)
242 Double bass (classical)
243 Bass violin/Basse de violon
246 Pochette
248 Hardanger fiddle
250 Rebec
252 Lyra da braccio
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267 Bowed psaltery
270 Hurdy-gurdy
271 Vielle à roue
272 Symphony
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330 Mandoline
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341 Ceterone
342 Orpharion
343 Bandora
344 Penorcon
345 Stump
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353 Guitars (classical/romantic)
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356 Gittern
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373 Harps (baroque)
374 Harps (double)
375 Harps (triple)
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381 Harps (folk)
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400 Flutes (folk)
402 Flutes (renaissance)
403 Flutes (baroque)
404 Flutes (classical)
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412 Recorders (renaissance)
413 Recorders (baroque)
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415 Gemshorn
416 Folk whistle pipe
417 End-blown flute
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419 Flageolet (English)
420 Reedcaps
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422 Cornamuse/Dulzaine
423 Kortholt
424 Rauschpfeife
427 Hornpipe/pibcorn
430 Shawm
441 Racket (renaissance)
442 Racket (baroque)
442 Curtal/Dulcian
443 Sordun
451 Oboe (baroque)
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727 Recorder choirs
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729 Renaissance strings
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731 Mediaeval chamber ensemble
732 Renaissance chamber ensemble
733 Baroque chamber ensemble
734 Classical chamber ensemble
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912 Musicology (renaissance)
913 Musicology (baroque)
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920 Publishing
923 Music copying
924 Music calligraphy
925 Music setting (type)
927 Translation
928 Writing/criticism
930 Lecturing
931 Lecture recitals
932 School teaching
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938 Museum curators
939 Language coaching
940 Organising
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946 Artist management
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958 Organology (keyboard)
959 Organology (stringed insts)
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969 Case making
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976 Percussion
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978 Decoration
979 Keyboard (organ)
980 Instrument plans
981 Bow makers
982 Reed makers
983 String makers/suppliers
984 Instrument-making supplies
985 Instrument maintenance (keyboard)
986 Instrument maintenance (other)
987 Instrument hire (harpsichord)
988 Instrument hire (organ)
989 Instrument hire (other)
991 Recording (engineering)
992 Video production
993 Historic costume advice
997 Stage direction
998 Liturgical reconstruction

Categories: **p** = professional (forms a significant part of livelihood); **c** = competent amateur; **f** = fair; **b** = beginner; **t** = teacher 1999\CODES