Nema NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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Welcome to the third issue of the *NEMA Newsletter*, the online publication for members of the National Early Music Association UK, which appears twice yearly. It is designed to share and circulate information and resources between Britain's regional early music Fora, amateur musicians, professional performers, scholars, instrument makers, early music societies, publishers and retailers; and contributions and news items are welcomed. As well as the listings section (including news, events, obituaries, and listings of international conferences and festivals) there is an interview and a number of articles, including work from leading writers, scholars and performers.

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Contributions are welcomed by the Editor, email newsletternema@gmail.com

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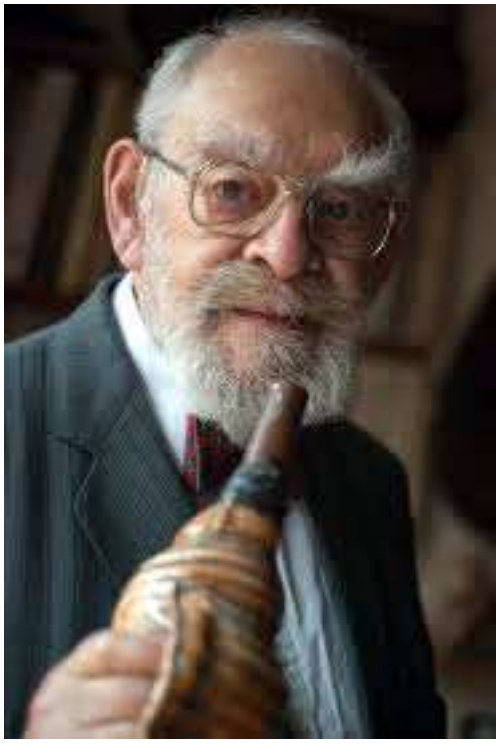
Interview with Jeremy Montagu



Illus.1 Jeremy Montagu, with Japanese conch

Francis Knights: *How did you first get interested in music, and what was your early training?*

Jeremy Montagu (illus. 1): I started at my mother's knee. She had been trained to sing to her own accompaniment. I had piano lessons from an early age but never took to the instrument. We had a gramophone and records, again from an early age: Cesar Franck's Violin Sonata, Rubinstein in Chopin Op.40, the orchestral version of Hungarian Rhapsody No.2 and so on. We walked in Kensington Gardens every day and there were bands on the bandstands. My grandmother had a box at the Albert Hall, in family hands since the beginning – my sister has it still. I have vivid memories of the Henry Wood Jubilee Concert at the age of 10, less vivid of Kreisler, and there must have been many other concerts I went to there pre-war. There was always the synagogue and much of the service is chanted/sung; this could also have been why I've never had trouble with exotic musics, since that also varies from equal temperament and European scales.

I was at boarding school before I was 9 and in those days chapel was compulsory whether one was Christian or not; as a 'non-singer' I pulled out the stops for the organist and got to know all the usual schools-style hymns and chants. In summer 1940 I was evacuated to America. Our hostess there, an old family friend, had permanent seats at Symphony Hall and the opera. I heard Koussevitsky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra many times, and saw the Met in *Tannhauser* with Flagstad and Melchior, and *Faust* with Kipnis. There was also the cinema; I saw *Fantasia* when it first came out, the Marx brothers' *Night at the Opera* and so on.

Then another American friend of the family sent me to his old boarding school, where the music master let us come to his room on Saturday afternoons and hear the Met opera matinees. I sang in the school choir there, too. And we were asked 'Would any one like to play an instrument in the band?' All American schools had marching bands in those days for the football games. I thought it'd be fun to play that thing one pushes out and pulls in, but they said that the war might end any time and I'd go home, so why not try the baritone where one only has to push three plugs up and down. That was easy to play and after my first term I was told 'We've a baritone too many and a horn too few – you would like to change, wouldn't you'. So I did. All off-beats for the horn in a band, good training!

In 1943 I came home to take school certificate so have some experience of Britain in wartime. The school had a horn, left behind by a master then in Burma, so I could go on, and this was orchestral repertoire, not band: Elijah with the local village choir; Egmont, first horn dashed off on a fire-call (we had our own fire service) just as we got to the coda, leaving me to it alone etc.Also, we had a quiet period every day, lying flat on the floor while music was played on the gramophone.

In 1946 I was called up to the Army. After failing War Office Selection Board for officer training from the Gunners I transferred to Education Corps and in due course was sent out to Canal Zone. I used to give music education classes (some yammer, lot of records) both to troops and local civilians as well as our normal courses. Also our Education HQ was in the middle of Port Said, with loudspeakers blaring Egyptian music all day. On leave in Cairo, I found myself passing a building with a plate saying some-

thing to the effect of Institut Fouad Premier de Musique Arabe, so I knocked on the door and asked to be told about Arabic music. They were very kind, a bit surprised to see a British sergeant in uniform, and took me into different classrooms where people were learning qanun, ud, nay and other instruments, showed me their quarter-tone piano from Berlin, and gave me an introduction to Hans Hickmann who was then living in Cairo. He was very helpful, too, and showed me his copies of the Tutankhamun trumpets and told me of the great Congres de Musique Arabe of 1936 or so – I've been trying to get hold of a copy of its report (*Recueil de*…) ever since, without effect (he told me what had happened to it – one Ministry published it but a different Ministry held the stock, so orders never got filled and stock never got sold, so they pulped it).

Then demob from the army and university. I'd always wanted to be a conductor, but the family wanted me to go for law. I agreed to try, with first year economics and second year law (it was a two-year degree in 1948). Economics as taught at Cambridge then had no resemblance at all to modern life or conditions so I spent all my time playing music (orchestras, harmonie groups and so on – I'd picked up a second-hand horn from a music shop in Darlington while in the army – I had hoped to be posted to Germany where one could pick up an Alexander for a packet of cigarettes in those days, but no luck, so it was a Mahillon with piston valves). I'd started conducting the Trinity orchestra (along with Raymond Leppard) when our music don had asked if anyone wanted to try. I had one experience with conducting the CUMS second orchestra, in which I played, which came off as as real performance and after that there was no turning back. Anyway, I did so well in my exams at the end of my first year that they gave me a Special (something between a 3rd and a 4th) and said that either I gave up this music nonsense and did law properly or would be sent down.

That led to a somewhat traumatic summer vacation, and to cut the story short, I wrote in September to the Royal College of Music, who said 'come for an audition next September and start next year', so I wrote to Royal Academy of Music, who said 'come to an audition in November and start in January', so I wrote to the Guildhall School of Music, who said 'come to an audition on Thursday and start next week'. So I went to GSM.

My first study was conducting with Joseph Lewis; my second was horn with Alan Hyde; and third was viola on which I was hopeless – too old at nearly 22 to get my wrist round. Joe Lewis taught conducting with records, but while he stressed the importance of always having a baton in the hand while listening to music at home; I already knew that it was fatal to follow an orchestra. He was a mine of information: 'Sing down the stick', 'tie your stick to the violinist's arm' and so on. Well, I already knew about singing down the stick – if you don't project to the orchestra, you won't get a performance, and I'd done that with CUMS. And once I was waving the stick vaguely while a friend whom I was going to accompany, at his lesson, when his teacher took over, saying 'play it like this' and I at once knew what Bratza was going to do a couple of bars ahead. Conducting, and especially accompanying, is all thought transference.

A group of us started a small conductors' orchestra; we'd get sets of parts out of Westminster Public Library and carve our way through them. The others often said 'Jerry, I've not had time to look at this – would you like to?' Well, I reckoned that if I couldn't read a Mozart or Haydn score faster than a small student band, there was something wrong with me, so I got much more than my share of experience. ('Jerry' is a name I dislike, incidentally – both a domestic utensil in those days, kept under the bed, and our recent enemies). I started my own string orchestra with fellow students on an exchange basis with my synagogue: free rehearsal space in return for free concerts. In those days all students were playing in amateur orchestras to get experience – I was playing in several every week .

By that time, too I'd switched conducting teachers to Aylmer Buesst, a much more serious teacher, and had also been switched from horn to percussion, the same story as at school, 'we've a horn too many and too few percussion – you would like to change wouldn't you, and it'd be so good for your rhythm as a conductor'. I had six weeks to learn to produce a side-drum roll for the first acoustic test in the Festival Hall in 1950, and I was the first person to play under a conductor there because all concerts started then with the National Anthem. It was a disaster – we were doing *Capriccio Espagnol* and when it got to the violin entry, I couldn't hear Leonard Friedman (the acoustics were dreadful) and kept trying to roll softer, which I hadn't the skill to do so the roll kept stopping.

By that time, too, I'd been working for the Boyd Neel Orchestra as platform manager or whatever it's called – putting up the stands, putting out the music, saying, 'it's time to go on', and so on, especially out of town. I got to know all the players, and some of them, Cecil Aronowitz and others, were kind enough to come and play in my own student band concerts to 'stiffen' them. I was also, once my drumming had become tolerable, like a lot of students, playing as a professional in amateur orchestras, and I joined the Musicians' Union in 1950. I'd asked Jimmy Blades to teach me timpani and percussion – he was an angel. After a while I went to Norman Del Mar for private conducting lessons – he was a brilliant teacher.

Illus.2 Jeremy with a Besson handhorn

Eventually, because we were all turning professional, I had to turn my orchestra professional, too. By that time I'd learned a lot about music, and we used to play baroque music in the first half and first or early performances in the second – baroque because I liked it, and early or new to attract the critics. I learned a lot from Jane Clark, my continuo player (we borrowed an original single-manual harpsichord from Fenton House, as one could in those days). All modern strings; there weren't any reproductions in those days, not even bows, but added ornaments, inégale, and so on. We were doing the best we could. I even did a Handel Concerto grosso with Julian Bream on lute for the concertino and Jane on harpsichord for the ripieno. While touring with the Boyd Neel in 1951 I bought my first handhorn – I'd been aware that the thing I was playing was not what Mozart and Beethoven, even Mendelssohn (eg the Nocturne), were writing for. Eric Halfpenny, whom I'd met playing in amateur orchestras, introduced me to Reginald Morley-Pegge, who showed me the French tradition of playing handhorn (illus.2).

Tell us about your performing career.

My professional conducting career finished in 1956 after Gwen produced our first child. Until then I'd first been living with my parents, and what I earned as a player I could lose as a conductor; then after marrying Gwen I could live off her and do the same, but once she had to leave her job to have Rachel I had to feed the family. I went on for many years (till I came to Oxford), conducting amateur orchestras and choral groups as evening classes. I went on a little doing so in Oxford but I'd conduct a group for a term or so and then put in a student to carry it on, since that was how I'd got my own start. I did manage to run a conducting class at the Faculty (unofficial and 'below the line' on the lecture list) because I was professionally trained and student conducting standards were so abysmal.

As a player, once properly trained by Jimmy Blades (he put me into a *L'Histoire du Soldat* that he didn't want to do – Colin Davis was the clarinettist, I remember), I entered the freelance world, picking up work here and there as one does, playing in most of the BBC orchestras as an extra, a number of years with BBC Symphony but often also the odd gig with one of the provincial orchestras. Lots of chamber orchestras as timpanist; *Threepenny Opera* at Royal Court for six months followed by *Good Woman at Sezhuan*, and then *Chant sans Parole* (after-play of the Brecht 'Dustbin play' as we called it), where I first met John Beckett, with whom I later worked with Musica Reservata; a two-week stint in the Gipsy Band in the Lyons Strand Corner House; lots of pantomimes, first at Cambridge Arts Theatre (my first long run – must have been 1951), later year after year at Northampton Rep, then one at Stratford Shakespeare Theatre; touring reviews; regular Festival Ballet tours; stint with the reformation of the BBC Concert Band under Gilbert Vinter – play through one piece for balance, run through the programme and go home, no need to rehearse as we could all play the dots and Vinter was absolutely clear what he wanted; long European tour with American Jose Limón modern dance company in 1957; regular extra for Royal Philharmonic Orchestra in Beecham's last years, normally extra percussion but 9th timpanist in his performance of Berlioz Requiem; and so on.

The great advantage of being a drummer is that one can take all sorts of work, gipsy band one week and Royal Phil the next; one only needs to the know the styles required and it's easy to pick those up if you listen. Then film sessions with Maurice Jarre – he was fascinated with the instruments in my collection and I blew and hit lots of them for him in several films – and others. Again, an advantage as a drummer is that you not only hit things but also blew others as effects – we play anything that the regular members of the orchestra are too posh to do: cuckoos (an Italian opera, can't remember which), rattle chains (*Gürrelieder*), nightingale whistles (Malcolm Arnold's *Sweeney Todd* ballet), chromatic scale of conch shells (Alien); bird warbler (a spider's movement in a Pink Panther film); devil's fiddle (*Magician of Lublin*); Tibetan trumpet (*Passage to India* and *Man Who Would be King*), and so on.

All this plus teaching instruments in schools, conducting amateur orchestras etc, and weekend work at the Horniman (to which I'll return) as Officer in Charge, was my living from 1951 to 1981, when I came to Oxford. Oh, and also fixing players for Denys Darlow – that could be a nightmare, finding enough flutes and oboes for two or even three simultaneous Matthew Passions on one weekend. It all added up to making a living, a bad week here being compensated with a good one there, playing all sorts of music and being able, as we're trained to do, sight-reading anything put in front of us on one rehearsal, or at a recording session putting things straight into the can, quite often on the first take. This is a bit of a summary, and there's lots of stories involved, but I think it covers most of my playing career

Illus.3 Playing the Iron-Age Irish horn

What about your involvement with the Galpin Society and other music organizations?

I got to know Eric Halfpenny in the pub after rehearsals with one of the amateur orchestras with which I played in my later student days. He was the founding secretary of the Galpin Society and this must have been 1951, maybe 1952. In those days, even if one was already playing professionally one would also play with amateur orchestras – the more repertoire one learned the better. I was never frightened of The Rite of Spring as a pro, as many of my older colleagues in the Royal Phil still were whenever we played it – I'd played it all as an amateur, and as long as you got a clear downbeat, and could count, you'd always get through. Eric knew I was interested in instruments (illus.3), especially handhorn, and as I've said, he'd introduced me to Morley Pegge, also a founding member of the Society. Eric persuaded me to join the Society, so I got to know other members. Eric was good at pushing younger members and I soon found myself on Committee, meeting in those days in a back room of a pub in Baker Street – free to meet there so long as we drank.

It was at a Galpin meeting that Michael Morrow came up to me and said 'Can I give you a leaflet for our first mediaeval concert?'. I asked him 'who's your percussion player?'. I played that first Musica Reservata on jazz tomtoms, modern side drum, tambourine and so on. That didn't seem right, when all the others were playing 'period' instruments, so I went to the British Museum (this was long before the days of the British Libary) and looked at some mediaeval manuscripts to see what they were playing. The more I looked, and the more people I asked, they started saying that the only people who could tell me more would be the Galpin Society, and by that time I was the Galpin Society's expert on mediaeval percussion. I knew how drums worked; I had some idea by then of how they were made round the world, so I started to make them.

I'm no real craftsman, so I bought copper mixing bowls in the cookshops in Soho, picked up drum shells from Vic O'Brien (a small dealer and repairer, also in Soho), bought second-hand drum skins (I didn't need full size timpani heads, so one with a split near the edge was fine) to add to my own stock, and bought pre-stretched yachtsman's line from a yacht chandler at the top of Shaftesbury avenue. Vic had glued two tenor tomtom shells together for me to make a deep tabor, Provençal style. The rest was just stitching things together, sewing straps, fixing brackets on shells for the strap, and so on. I'd seen Basque tabors using a fiddle peg to tension the snare, so I adopted that idea. I knew that some nakers were snared and some weren't so I wanted to be able to use them both ways, and I knew that all tabors in the Middle Ages were snared on the batter head. I knew how to lap drum heads on modern instruments – Harry Taylor had described the whole process to me over a litre of beer during an RPO German tour – he was shocked that I didn't lap my own, all drummers of his period did that themselves. When I'd finished all my own instruments I published what I'd done in the Galpin Society Journal to help others.

Later Tony Bingham commissioned Paul Williamson to make mediaeval percussion instruments under my inspection that he (Tony) could sell, giving me one example, if I wanted it, of each as a consultant's fee. Paul was a good craftsman and made much better instruments than I could, and he could learn from all the mistakes that I knew I'd made. I preferred the sound of my tambourines with hammered brass jingles to Paul's, who used cast brass ones. I used his nakers, some of his tabors, but kept my own deep one (that was how we'd met – he couldn't get his snare to lie on the head when he made a deep one). When the Early Music Shop started making their own mediaeval percussion, unlike Tony, they didn't acknowledge what they'd learned from me, and they had theirs made in Pakistan from my Galpin article. I played with Musica Reservata from then on, around 1959 or maybe 58, until I came to Oxford in 1981.

In 1960 Eric Halfpenny asked me if I'd be interested in a year's work at the Horniman Museum as Curator of Instruments while the permanent incumbent had a year's sabbatical. Work as a player was a bit thin then, so I said yes. Eric had influence there, as he and Lyndesay Langwill had been Adam Carse's executors, and of course the Carse Collection was the main instrument collection there, so I got the job. I was able to keep up a lot of my school teaching connection by filling up hours at the weekends as Officer in Charge of the Museum – my colleagues didn't like the regular weekend stints, and I needed the money. I went on doing that weekend job until 1970, sitting in the Library and dealing with questions of any sort, and wandering around the museum from time to time to keep half an eye out. While I was there full time I got to know much more of the ethnographic instruments as well as the Carse, and also I got on well with the Curator, Otto Samson. He introduced me to the Royal Anthropological Institute, and more of that later. I also made a number of contacts with other museum curators. And of course I learned a lot about museum technology, which all helped me get the job at Oxford. I used also to go with Dr Samson to dealers when he heard that there were instruments for sale, and so I got to know them, too.

Around 1965 Eric Halfpenny was asked if he'd become editor of the Galpin Society Journal. He came to me and said 'Time to give back'. He knew how much I'd benefited from the Galpin Society, information from other members, what I'd learned from working at the Horniman, and so on. And so would I please take over his job as Galpin Honorary Secretary. No option with that approach, so I did. Various things happened in my time as Hon. Sec. One was an approach from Sheffield University Student Union for an exhibition of instruments. I explained that the Society didn't have a collection but that I did (more about that later, too) and I was persuaded to set that up for a couple of weeks, which was quite successful – one necessary preliminary was to catalogue just what I had, already about 300 instruments. This was in 1967.

At much the same time, the Society decided to have an exhibition in Edinburgh to celebrate its 21st Anniversary. That was basically planned up there, but I was asked to do the actual mounting 'on the wall'. Perhaps it was a result of that exhibition in 1968 that the Society decided that it should have a collection of its own. Several people gave instruments, and what really got it going was Geoffrey Rendall's bequest of his very considerable collection. This led to a traumatic series of events which I'm not prepared to go into in public, with ensuing legal discussions, but what eventually happened was that the Edinburgh Collection was established under the aegis of the University, now in St Cecilia's Hall, combining the Rendall

Collection etc, with the major Russell keyboard collection that they already had. Another event in my time was our First Foreign Tour (mainly organised by Gwen to Budapest and Prague), which was the first of many other tours to museums all over Europe.

One of the problems that I felt was serious with the Society was that it should be a Society, a group of like-minded colleagues, but while we had a worldwide membership, our only contact points with members were an annual journal, an AGM in or near London, and a bulletin. Eric had always claimed the bulletin as the Hon Sec's territory and had kept it informal – I tried to make it more informal still, as a friendly message from the Society to the membership at large. Some members of Committee felt that it was too informal, 'not conducive to the dignity of the Society' (one of the objectors was a Treasury Solicitor!). I explained my purposes with it, to make people who couldn't get to meetings feel that they were a Society rather than just subscribers to a Journal, but to no avail. So I said that if they didn't like my bulletin they could write their own and I didn't stand for re-election after my five-year stint. Years later they elected me a Vice-President, and since then I've been elected President, an Honorary (ie a non-executive post – the Society has always been run by the Chairman and Committee), but I try to be as active as I can.

After some years, I had missed the contact with members, which had grown up through the bulletin, so I was an easy sucker when Ephraim Segerman and Djilda Abbott asked me to be Hon. Secretary of a group they wanted to form, the Fellowship of Makers and Restorers of Historical Instruments (FoMRHI). A number of professional restorers of instruments objected to our use of that term, so we changed the word to Researchers as we wanted to retain our acronym. I ran that for 25 years, from 1975 to 2000, and I kept the bulletin as informal as I liked, making many friends as a result, and I insisted on publishing a List of Members every year, with a geographical and an instrumental indexes, updating it in every Quarterly, to encourage members to make easy contact with each other when travelling or by correspondence.

What was it like in the early days of the historical instrument movement?

Frustration a lot of the time. We knew what we should be doing – lots of evidence from texts reprinted by people like Dannreuther, Dolmetsch et al, Fritz Rothschild had given a talk at GSM about Bach accentuation, much of which made sense, but we didn't have the equipment. There were people like Dolmetsch playing viols etc, but while one could gather an orchestra from time to time of Galpin members etc, enough of whom had oboes, flutes and clarinets, the orchestral strings were a desert, and even if we had them, how could we persuade professionals to use them? I was giving two or three concerts a year, Bob Dart much the same – nobody could make a living from that. Remember this was 1954 or so. And professionals weren't trained to it either – one had to persuade them to start a trill on the upper auxiliary (Del Mar argued fiercely with me against that in slow movement of Brandenburg 6). I was convinced that when a composer titled a movement in French such as Menuet, Rejouissance, Badinerie, he meant it to be played in French – I had to mark every part with dots and tails, just occasionally getting away with 'swing it gently', and had to write in the grace notes at cadences. I asked my leader, Tessa Robins, 'could we play this without vibrato?' No, she said. Why not? It won't be in tune, and of course she was right – the modern orchestral vibrato covers a multitude of sins.

Some things were growing: Teddy Croft-Murray with Eric Halfpenny, Joe Wheeler and David Rycroft were reviving natural trumpet playing – plenty of natural trumpets around, easy to crook them into D, plenty of French trompes de chasse which I could play as well as a lowish trumpet part with them. In the last year of my string orchestra we were talking about getting bows – not very good ones, but the Dolmetschs were making them of a sort. But the arrival of children to feed cut that off in 1956.

In Musica Reservata we were using a treble rebec (Dolmetsch I think), a tenor rebec 'constructed' from a Sumatran gambus with a wooden belly by Dietrich Kessler, viols and lute (no problems there), recorders – well whatever we had, but when we were on tour in Germany we bought some Bärenreiter 'renaissance' ones. Sackbuts were pea-shooter trombones with an inch or so of the bell cut off. Chris Monk was making serpents and cornetts, but hardly anyone could play either in tune. People had started making crumhorns and they got played in anachronistic things simply because they made a nice noise.

Musica Reservata concerts were successful – we could very near sell out the Queen Elizabeth Hall while the Festival Hall was quarter full because a lot of people were put off by the BBC craze against anything that sounded like a tune – we're getting into the 1960s now. Other ensembles were imitating us, David Munrow and others. But still there was a lack of orchestral strings and people willing to buy them and use them, even if anyone was making them.

By the mid-1970s, FoMRHI was encouraging people to make early instruments and use them, with a lot of practical information from one maker to the others. A Dutch group, Bouwers-Kontakt, was doing the same. And by that time people were beginning to make and to remodel orchestral strings, woodwind players were buying antiques and a few people were making reproductions.

When I went to the Bate in 1981 I organised weekends for players and makers, the makers mostly recorder, but also reed-making for oboes and bassoons – I could ask players to come and teach because I knew so many of them, and we had a spare room and so could save costs by putting them up. And by that time, early music was pretty well established. There'd been an Early Music conference at the Purcell Room, chaired by Howard Brown; John Thompson had started NEMA in the mid-70s and persuaded OUP to publish Early Music, and produce three small books, and we were all getting more knowledgeable and professional players more willing.

Some people were starting to say we were all bogus, and of course to a great extent we were. The ambience was wrong; much of our style was wrong; so was a lot of playing technique – fiddles gripped under the chin and so on, but it's difficult to unlearn a lifetime of technique. But we were doing our best, and in many ways we were more than halfway there. We may have been playing in the QEH and RFH (even once a Prom in the Albert Hall) and not the Hanover Rooms nor the prince's salon, but a lot of the time we were making something very near the right sound, and music is sound, and producing something near the right style.

Of course there were anomalies and there still are. Trumpets with holes like colanders because people don't have time to learn to 'bend' the notes, and because conductors are terrified of the odd cracked note (Crispian Steele-Perkins told me after a concert 'Peter won't let me' so he'd had to use a finger-hole trumpet); baroque horns with hands in the bell (not much of that now); the same oboe being used for Bach and Mozart (how many oboes can you afford to buy?); the same harpsichord being used for a recital of music from two centuries or three countries (how many harpsichords is there room for on one platform or that you can afford to hire?), and so on.

But when we started with Musica Reservata in 1958 or 59 there was nothing like it; just some people playing harpsichord and clavichord, the soft sound of genteel viols, the twitter of recorders, the hoot of church-trained singers. Mediaeval music took off, Renaissance followed, and look where we are now. And it has spread over the world. there's early music ensembles in pretty well every country that plays 'Western' music, and it all really started here. All the Musica Reservata concerts, recordings, and broadcasts are preserved in the British Library Sound Archives, as are those of other groups, and they are still worth hearing.

When did you start collecting instruments?

In 1946, when I bought my own French horn, then in 1947 or 48 when I bought those two instruments in Egypt. Then when I became a percussion player, because I had to have a side drum to practice on and gradually I acquired kit as, when, and where I found it. Then my first handhorn in 1951. All these apart from the two Egyptian instruments were for playing – I played the Brahms Trio on the handhorn with two fellow students.

The real kick-off came in 1961. The Horniman had a policy of not letting its staff give lectures in the museum, because if they were employed there it couldn't pay them for doing so. But after my year was up I was no longer an employee, so they asked me to give a talk. That was a disaster: lights up to show an instrument, lights out to show a slide. Some of the slides were upside down; it was one of the attendants who operated the machine – no computerised buttons in those days and anyway the machine was

up in the balcony and I was down on the platform. So by the time he'd turned the slide over, with a large thumbprint on the slide, and the audience was blinking with the lights, I said Never again: from now on just the instruments.

I'd already learned enough about instruments and their spread and development to plan lectures round music clubs and so on and had found an agent. So, having met a lot of the dealers with Dr Samson, I started to build. Also, within the Galpin Society there was a good deal of swapping and so on. And I had a school-teaching round. Often one school over the lunch hour and another after school. In those days there were junk shops and quasi-antique shops everywhere. On my trips from school to school (there were two or three hours available between each) I never passed such a shop without going in. The owners got to know me and what I was looking for, so they often kept something for me. And when I was driving from home to a gig I also kept an eye open. And sometimes I'd get a tip-off. One Good Friday Messiah, one of the trumpets told me he'd seen an old cornet in its box in a shop at Clapham Junction. Saturday I was in synagogue; Sunday they were closed and on Easter Monday, but Tuesday I was there and so was the cornet, original box and all crooks. Another time I called at a shop and a man was trying to sell the lady some ivory flutes. I asked if I could look at them and saw the name on one of them; I said if she bought them could I buy that one (I couldn't have afforded all of them). Of course it would have been wrong to ask the man directly to buy it from him. It was a Friday again, and I was teaching all day on Monday, but Gwen went round there Monday morning and when I got home, there on my desk was a one-key Stanesby jr ivory flute. Gwen used to say that when I went into a shop, instruments would come crawling out of the walls. One I remember I went into and the man said, 'Can I help you?'. And I said, 'Have you any musical instruments?'. 'Oh no', he said (meaning he had no violins or pianos), but there was a boxwood one-key flute and an African *mbira*, and something else I can't remember. The flute cost £2 10s, and when I showed it to Morley Pegge he was horrified – he'd never paid more than 7/6! So, bless him, he gave me four more! Once, driving Philip Bate down to see Morley we took three hours to get a mile down one road in Croydon – it was littered with shops and we stopped at every one of them – as far as I remember I got one instrument out of the lot of them, plus phoning a pupil to tell her of a pair of timps.

So the collection grew, and I gave many lectures in schools and music clubs all round the country, laying out a long line of instruments and talking about the Origins and Development of Musical Instruments, playing some notes here and there and just showing others. Eventually of course that became a book. The collection grew and grew – that's how I had enough for that exhibition in Sheffield.

I had a big boost when I was a visiting Professor in Iowa. For one thing, each small town had its junk/antique shop, and two or three of us would drive round at weekends, and for another of course I was on local radio and people in the town would know I was interested, and show and offer things. As a result, while I'd taken boxes of slides to illustrate my lectures, plus a few instruments, I came back with 150! Gwen had to hire a van to meet me at the dock (I was travelling by ship, as one could in 1971). I was offered some during the Sheffield Exhibition, too, a Giorgi flute among them, and our best tuning forks are made there (John Walker), actually made by Mr Ragg, who also made Granton knives, many of which I already had in my kitchen.

And of course the more instruments you have, the more you learn about them – there's nothing to match actually having an instrument in your hand. One learns from instruments in museums, too, and in those days you could often ask if they'd open a case and let you handle it, especially when you were there by appointment. We spent one holiday in Gothenburg where there's a wonderful ethnographic museum (pre-arranged visit of course) and they said 'Here's the card catalogue; anything you want to see, just put the card on the table and the instrument will be there tomorrow'. Things like that don't happen any more, but they did then, though even that was exceptionally kind behaviour. I learned an enormous amount in that way, and that's why people come to see my collection because I still make it available like that, as I also did at the Bate because Philip Bate gave the collection so that it could be used both for study and for playing.

Also, the collection has been invaluable for my books. Publishers allot you a certain number of illustrations, and if you're limited to getting pictures from a museum it means one instrument per illustration

(and the cost), though I did once persuade two museums to take a picture with a metre stick and then put two pictures together by matching the two sticks. But with my own collection, I can take one photo with a whole group of instruments and so side-step the publisher by showing far more instruments than their allowance. And of course I used the collection to illustrate my university lectures, taking a suitcase or even a trunk with me, as well as inviting the students home at least once each term to see everything else.

Tell us about your teaching career.

Teaching kids to play instruments is a depressing business on the whole, but it's a living if you get enough of it. Most of the time, no practice, no progress, not much enthusiasm, sometimes reasonable excuses – Dad wanted to watch the telly and made me stop. I had one public school where I taught timpani and percussion all day (boys were responsible for the timetable so that they didn't miss the same lesson each week, though one managed to skive off Latin for most of a year till they caught up with him), the boys were keen and interested, some of them in pop ('had to take the family Daimler, couldn't get the kit in the Jag'), all willing also to play classical, two of them now well-known composers, so that was a good one. One of the other teachers also taught my son piano at another school and we used to moan together that he never practised; they spent their time sight-reading piano duets, and that was a good way of teaching him. At a Girls' Public Day School Trust I taught both brass and timp and percussion. There was one good timpanist, I got her into an amateur orchestra. One good trumpeter who wanted to play natural trumpet – interesting. One totally hopeless, wanted to please Daddy by playing an instrument – had tried several and eventually came to me, surely she could hit a drum. She could hit but she couldn't count four in a bar. Daddy was a colleague so I'd meet him on gigs and told him he was wasting his money, but he said she really wanted to try, so we agreed that some kids you're paid to teach and some you're paid to suffer. The rest were average, and one or two that I've heard from in subsequent years seem to have enjoyed their time with me.

Several back-street state schools had wide differences. At one I taught a group of kids and one went behind my back and nicked the wallet out of my jacket. The school was angry that I'd reported it to the police (the police found my wallet sans money but with everything else). The school expected me to go on teaching that group, including the lad who'd nicked my wallet (he had a record) and was surprised when I refused to go back. Another was totally different. The headmaster knew none of the boys would pass any exams so he encouraged music and drama (one of the boys was in the first production of Oliver). The boys were so keen I started an evening class orchestra for them. The Head asked me to get them a set of steel drums long before these became popular in schools. I found a local bus driver who said if we paid him £10 he could get a batch of oil drums to make a new set, and we could have his old ones – he came into the school and taught the boys to play them. We set up a big local concert with several other schools, a music master wrote a suite for orchestra and steel drums, Schott's were so impressed that they allowed us to transpose bits of Carmina Burana down a tone to make it easier for them (but the local Catholic school pulled out because their kids could understand the words). The concert was a great success – I got Sir Robert Mayer, the founder of the Children's Concerts, to come and he was rightly impressed with what we'd achieved. But the headmaster retired, his successor was doctrinaire (Every boy must pass exams) and the whole thing collapsed. Lots of things happened there, though. Two twins shared a horn and one day they came in with it with the bell folded back like an umbrella – when we got the story out of them, one had been standing just inside their room and the other came in in a hurry, result: one door-bashed French horn. Others, 'please Sir, I dropped my mouthpiece in the road and a car ran over it'; 'please Sir, I dropped my mouthpiece out of the window on the top floor'; please Sir, I can't get my mouthpiece out'. I took to carrying a tool kit. But also 'Saw you on the telly last night, Sir' – a concert in which I'd had a big cymbal crash so was on camera, but there they were, back-street kids, watching a symphony concert. I'd had carte blanche there to pick up any junk violin for less than a fiver – the ILEA couldn't allow them enough string instruments but would repair any that they had.

I taught brass beginners from the Oxford song book – if you start a player on a tune s/he knows, it helps! Several children worked out for themselves how to change fingering for a necessary chromatic. So does playing against a drone for intonation. I wrote exercises, especially for timpani ('Paukendoodles' I

called them) that would cover things they'd need to be able to play. I had always made my own timpani sticks (I had asked Jim Bradshaw, the finest timpanist of my time, for lessons, but he asked me who'd taught me, and when I said Jimmy Blades, he just said 'Ah, very nice' – his brother Bill Bradshaw played with Jimmy, and Jim and Bill had been enemies for years. But he did show me how he made his sticks, which were better than anything one could buy). So when I started a timpanist I sold a kit for ten bob, sticks, heads, knobs, felt and nylon thread, so that they could make their own like mine. And I started carrying a stock of side drum sticks because shops would always try to palm off warped ones to a child and wouldn't let them open a packet and roll them on the counter to check if they were straight. I matched the sticks for pitch, too – every stick has a pitch (like a xylophone bar, though fainter), because if one stick is higher pitched than the other, consecutive strokes will sound different.

And of course I learned all the different ways to get a concept into the head of a child. So that was one sort of teaching. Another was the lectures round music clubs and schools – I was teaching them how music and instruments were universals round the world.

One day someone came to see my collection (I've no memory of how he came, a friend of a friend, I assume) and he asked me why I didn't come and lecture in colleges in USA – 'Invite me' I said, and he did. So I was Heath Visiting Professor at Grinnell College in Iowa in 1970-71. I lectured at other Universities while I was there, as well, and even appeared on the Today Show. What I can't remember (I'm hopeless at dates) is whether this was before or after Bob Dart had asked me to lecture at King's College London. What I taught, and what I cover in my books, is, as above, that music and instruments are a human universal and that instruments travel and develop, changing to suit the local cultures as they go. After a while I moved over to Goldsmith's and taught there. And then John Blacking asked me to come over to Belfast once a year and teach at Queen's, and he sent some of his students to me for detailed work on classification. So after a while I was doing less school teaching and more at university level. I was also examining vivas for PhDs, including one trip to Sweden as Opponent – students there have to defend their thesis in public. This was in Gothenberg, and all the musical instrument big-wigs came over from Stockholm for the occasion – with people like Ernst Emsheimer there I was nearly as frightened as the student! I didn't have to dress up in white tie and tails, though, as they used to, but the Opponent is treated as a very honoured guest.

So I was well accustomed to university lecturing when I applied for the Bate when Tony Baines retired. I had applied the first time, too, but when I heard that Tony had also applied (the Collection then was exclusively woodwind, and he was the world expert on woodwind) I said to Gwen on the morning that I went up for interview 'You know, if they're unkind they might ask me, "As secretary of the Galpin Society" (which I still was in 1968), "who do you think we should appoint?", to which the only possible answer was Tony Baines'. They were kind and didn't ask me that but they did have the good sense to appoint Tony. But I did get the job in 1981, and I lectured three times a week, as well as giving tutorials and supervising graduates for the DPhil. One series of 16 over two terms (we have an eight-week term in Oxford) was on our instruments from the Middle Ages to the present day, illustrated with slides and instruments; another was on the instruments of the rest of the world, which I illustrated with snatches of tapes so that they'd hear the instruments in their own contexts and also hear some of the music, plus slides and instruments. The third series was either on things that interested me or that Faculty Board suggested.

A lot of my colleagues at the Ethnomusicology Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute were very generous at giving me excerpts of tapes from their field work, and it was those, plus bits from the BBC, that I used in my lectures. I forgot to mention the RAI earlier. I'd been elected a Fellow at Dr Samson's introduction at the time of their big Ethnomusicology Conference in 1960 or 61 and I soon found myself on their Ethnomusicology Committee, then becoming its secretary, and also being its representative on RAI Council. I think it was Klaus Wachsmann who'd pushed me into being secretary. He later also asked me if I'd take over running the International Folk Music Council (now the International Council of Traditional Music) as Maud Karpeles wanted to retire. But Maud had always covered her own expenses, including travel worldwide, and I couldn't afford to do that, so I had to say no. As a result, head office moved abroad and it was some years later, when I was at Goldsmith's, that we started a UK branch of ICTM with conferences that Gwen ran – John Blacking always thanked me publicly for run-

ning each conference even though it was Gwen who'd done all the work, but he was a natural mcp, as she said. I also became one of the founding members of his European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, at one stage after his early death becoming its President. I also got involved through ESEM with giving several series of lectures in Barcelona on global Mediterranean music and instruments (those lectures are on my website as free downloads).

The RAI Ethnomusicology Committee was always interesting, though the anthropologists, on the whole, were more interested in the social side (who can marry whom and so on) than the culture such as music, especially not the material culture, such as instruments. I wrote to all the Anthropology Departments in the country, offering introductory talks on music, because students doing field work would hear music all round them, but not one replied. Gradually the Committee metamorphosed into a group listening to each other's fieldwork, with fortnightly meetings followed by a drink and meal, usually in an Indian restaurant. This went on for two or three years, maybe more, until two of our kingpins, Nazir Jairazbhoy and Raymond Clausen, left, Nazir to Canada and then UCLA and Raymond back to Malekula, after which it dwindled away. Recently the Ethnomusicology Committee has been revived, and I've been re-elected back on to it, partly because I was the only survivor from the original Committee and could provide links and memories from it.

One other point from the Bate: as Lecturer-Curator I was entitled to a College Fellowship, but a museum curator isn't a lot of use to a college – I wasn't prepared to teach harmony and counterpoint, subjects that I'd been no use at in my own student days. There was a number of us in that position of limbo – the great advantage of a Fellowship is that anything one wants to know is available around the college, and if not in college through someone who knows someone. So I asked Philip Bate if he'd be willing to nominate me as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, which he kindly did. Eventually the powers at the University got tired of our complaints at the lack of college affiliations and they launched a mopping-up operation in which we could choose a college and the colleges could choose from among us, and I became a Fellow of Wadham College, which I still am as an Emeritus, being now beyond the retirement age. The teaching I now still do is partly through my books and other writings, partly at long range, answering emails from all over with queries about instruments, and partly with short courses here for people who particularly want to study particular aspects of instruments in detail, especially classification of instruments or world instruments outside their own local areas.

And of course there are always conferences, where one gives a paper, which again is a form of teaching, though I've been doing less of that in the last year or so – travelling is tiring as one gets older. One regular for a number of years has been ANIMUSIC, a Portuguese society in imitation of the Galpin Society, which I helped to establish. Another is CIMCIM, the musical instrument branch of ICOM (the International Council of Museums) of which I've been a member for many years, though that's sometimes further away than I want, or can afford, to travel.

Why teach? There are two good reasons: one is that there's little point in learning unless you pass it on. Some people hold on to their learning – this is my research, my learning, my craft skill. They are the thieves of learning, they've learned from others but they keep things to themselves. They're like the people who'll steal a Picasso and stash it away in a cupboard so that only they can see it. The other is that the only way you can thank the people who've taught you things, is to do the same – pass it on, teach it to others.

What were your ambitions for the Bate Collection, as Curator?

Well, initially was to get it sorted out. When I arrived at the beginning of July in 1981 it was all lying on a bare concrete floor with bare plaster walls, humidity dangerously high in the 90s, too many windows with dangerous light levels. We were moving into the new building where the Bate still is today, and the builders were still working all around us. I had the display area to sort out with showcases; I had an office to get sorted (that's been taken way from us since my time and is now used by a different Faculty member, meaning that the Bate Library, all Morley Pegge's, Tony's, and later Philip's books, are now in store and inaccessible); I had a workshop to get fitted out (which is now the Bate Office as well, so no room for lathes and things anymore); and I had to get the instruments up on the wall. I'd hoped to get a

fair of amount of my collection in as well, as an introductory display of the initial history of instruments, but I found there was no space for that, and all I could do was to fill a few gaps, so there's only about 200 of my instruments down there on loan.

Illus.4 Welcoming visitors to the Bate Colllection

Eventually we got it all sorted, having found a local shop-fitting firm to make the cases – we couldn't afford the prices quoted by the museum outfitters. I put showcases in front of most of the windows and so got light levels down to a tolerable level; we got the humidity down to a safe level, though being partly subterranean we still have to keep an eye there, not helped by floods caused by incompetent architects who don't know that straight lines of pipes can expand and contract as temperature changes, or that pumps can fail. So at last I got it all set up, taking Bob Barclay's advice that a), due to gravity, all instruments should be supported underneath, not from above; and b), since the Faculty could not afford beautiful museum quality fittings, that common garden iron wire covered by shrink-tube would protect the instruments just as well. I got every instrument mounted so that it could be lifted out with one hand so as to support it with the other at its bottom in case joints slipped apart – just one instrument needed a screw removed.

A further ambition was that Edgar Hunt had given Tony seven years to raise the funds to buy his collection. Edgar kindly gave me a further year to go on trying. I went to the Vice-Chancellor to tell him what we were at risk of losing. He said 'Have you tried the Equipment Fund?'. I did, it worked, the Faculty chipped in, and when I went to see Edgar and collect, he kept saying 'Have you got one of these?', and, bless him, he kept adding things to what he'd initially offered.

Wider ambitions were to fill some gaps over the years (Tony Bingham was enormously kind, giving us long periods to raise money to buy things); to raise money to buy instruments that we had on loan that owners eventually needed to sell; to create a Friends of the Bate; to get people to draw plans and measured drawings; to open the Collection for more days in the week and longer hours; to make recordings of some of our instruments; to take photographs and produce postcards; to provide Guides and Catalogues (all those to raise funds to create a Purchase Fund, which we didn't otherwise have); to get the Collection used more; to get the local community from beyond the University to visit the Collection; and to get the Bate better known both within and beyond the University. All these were successful, but in the end the last was perhaps tactless – there grew a feeling in the Faculty that the tail was wagging the dog, that the Bate was becoming better-known than the rest of the Faculty's work.

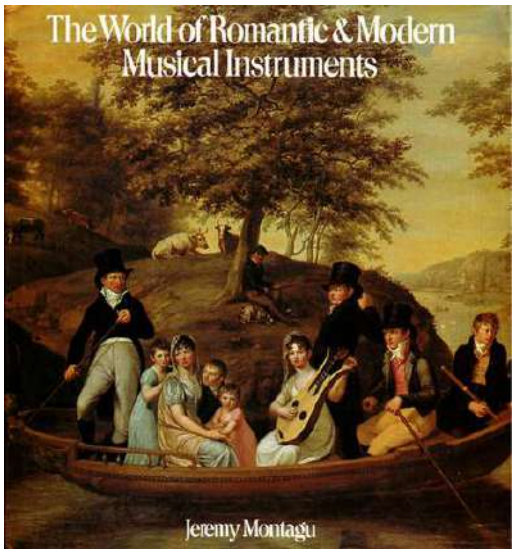
Students did use the instruments more. There were playing groups of various sorts; there were the various weekends with both students and outsiders; there were meetings with special interest Societies such as the British Clavichord Society, the Galpin Society, and others; Thames Valley Early Music Forum met first in the Bate; after we were given our Javanese Gamelan that was played weekly with players from within and without; students were studying organology and sitting exams in the subject; we did have plans and drawings for sale; we did have recordings and postcards for sale; we do have a Friends, and the Friends have established a Purchase Fund and have contributed more than generously to appeals in emergencies. We do have far more visitors than we did, but nothing like the numbers that the major University museums attract, but we are a special interest. And we are not one of the University Museums – we are a Faculty Collection and this limits us in some respects.

In 1995 I came to retirement age (67 in those days). My successor was tragically short-lived, but her successor, Andy Lamb, has achieved great leaps and bounds above what I achieved. My great failure, since I

retired, is that while Philip gave the Collection on the basis that the instruments would be used and that there would be a Lecturer/Curator, that last has been allowed to lapse, and since my retirement there has been no organology teaching within the Faculty; the Faculty has felt that it had other needs, that the funds available should be spent on other subjects and other administrative posts, and that the University has subjects in greater need than the study of musical instruments. Horace Fitzpatrick raised enough money, a few thousand pounds in the mid-1960s to cover the then cost of a Lecturer; today the endowed cost is well over a million for a Lecturer, and that is why Andy is the Collection Manager, or words to that effect, and not the Lecturer/Curator.

Tell us about your many publications. What has driven your reearch interests?

Initially I was encouraged by Eric Halfpenny to write an article for the Galpin Society Journal on some unusual wooden-shell timpani I'd bought during our long European American modern dance tour, and then another on an equally unusual Indian horn in the Horniman. Then Bill Fagg at the British Museum encouraged a couple of articles in the RAI's lesser journal MAN (which he edited), correcting his classification and terminology on some African instruments at the BM. So there I was, already established in the way I would go on, writing as much about European as ethnographic instruments – I emphasise again that instruments are an universal. This is why it is the ethnomusicologists who are the true musicologists – they see music and instruments as a worldwide whole in society, whereas our conventional musicologists concern themselves with only one small corner of the world, and even then with only minor aspects of the music itself, mostly ignoring its place in society.



Illus.5 'Romantic and Modern'

Then I was approached by an agent, who'd had a request from a publisher, and was asked to write a book on the other main subject that has concerned me since: the instruments of the Middle Ages. Perhaps this came to me because, being large and bearded, I was a very obvious performer of that music. Anyway, that was my first book, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments*. The publishers dillied and dallied with it so much that David Munrow's very different book on the subject came out first and lost me a lot of UK sales, but due to simultaneous publication in America and Australia mine sold well, so much so that I was contracted for three more, abbreviated as *Baroque and Classical*, *Romantic and Modern* (illus.5) and *Antique and Ethnographic*. *Med & Ren* had been hacked out three times, top to bottom, on a manual typewriter, but its sales had been good enough to cover an electric machine for the others – I was taught that submissions to a publisher should be clean – no manuscript emendations cluttering the page, which is why the whole was typed out every time. *Rom & Mod* had not sold so well, so *Ant & Ethn* got cancelled, but I had an agent and they fought and I got paid!

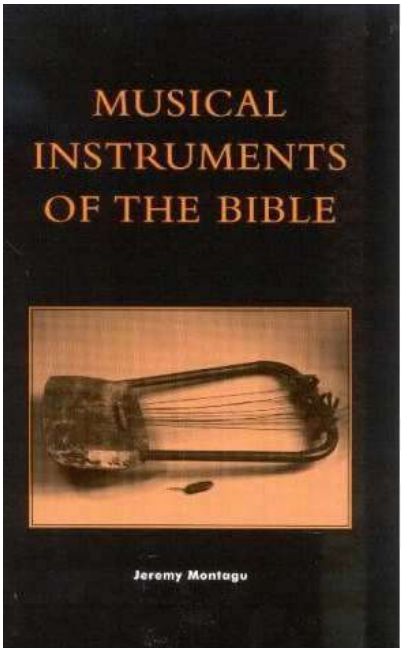
After I'd written *Med & Ren* but before it was published, John Thomson asked Jimmy Blades and me to write a couple of small books on Early Percussion, Jimmy to write the history (though in fact I'd written a draught of the chapter on that subject for him for his own major book on Percussion) and me on the playing of it, and a second book just of mine on making the instruments (when OUP took that out of print, I bought up the remainder and *Making Early Percussion Instruments* is still available from me and from the Bate).

Rom and Mod was published in 1981, which is when I was appointed to the Bate (no doubt partly on the strength of those books), so for lack of time, both teaching and running a museum are more than a full time job, that was my last book until I retired, but there was time to write articles, for Early Music (including the regular Saleroom reports as well as articles such as that on Beverley Minster), the GSJ, and various others, as well as my Guides and Handbooks for the Bate. It was while I was at the Bate that the

Amstrad personal computer became available – I'd wanted to write guides etc, and to produce them 'in house' at A5 size, four A4 pages on one A4 sheet, just as we did FoMRHI Quarterlies, which meant multiples of four pages of text, less one for a title page, but the idea of writing seven or fifteen pages and having one word too many was a real no-no. But a computer would solve that problem, so I bought one, and typed out my first Guides at home, and then the Faculty bought me a second so that I could work on them in the Bate as well. So I was the first person in the Faculty to get computerised, and later the first to get on line, and that helped a lot with our international connexions.

Shortly before I retired, I was asked to write a book to accompany a large collection of photographs of English church carvings of musicians that had been photographed by an American who had spent many years travelling around the country to take them all. He had recently died and his widow was a friend of a publisher whom I'd met while teaching in USA. So I got Gwen to write the church history side of it while I wrote about the instruments, just we had done together on Beverley Minster, the greatest collection of church carvings of instruments in this country. After *Minstrels and Angels* was published I got Mrs Nicewonger's permission to deposit the collection of photos (they were all 35mm slides, which had complicated the publication process) to the National Buildings Record, where I presume they still are (now in Swindon).

Other books followed. Yale asked me to write the first book in their series on musical instruments, designed to replace the old Benn series which had been written by those I consider my teachers and forefathers, Morley Pegge, Philip Bate, Lyndesay Langwill, Geoffrey Rendall, who in their turn had been successors to and friends of Canon Galpin. So that was *Timpani and Percussion Instruments*. I wrote, too, my *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (illus.6), a book designed to elucidate just what were all those terms that appear there. From the Middle Ages onwards, with the writings of the Pseudo-Jerome, people had used their imagination to try to explain what all these Hebrew (and Aramaic for Daniel and the Targumim) terms meant. I included a quadri-lingual index of the Hebrew/Aramaic, Greek (for the Septuagint), Latin (for the Vulgate), and English (AV/King James) names, and used my own knowledge of Hebrew, of archaeology, of etymology, and of ethnography to do my best to sort them out, though there are still terms that can only be guesswork, often due to just one mention in the Bible.



Illus.6 Musical Instruments of the Bible

Then I was approached by a publisher to revise the great Curt Sachs book on the *History of Musical Instruments*, which he'd written in 1940 after arriving in New York as a refugee from Hitler. That book had been based on two earlier books of his, written in 1917 and 1925, *Geist und Werden* and the *Handbuch*, and while some of it was out of date even in 1940, much of it was badly out of date in the 1980s. I said 'No – it's a classic and it shouldn't be touched, but I'll write you a new one'. So that was my *Origins and Development of Musical Instruments*, my first really worldwide book, for Timpani and Percussion, while it had included some ethnographic instruments, was obviously meant to cover mainly our instruments and playing. That sold well enough that they were open to more, so I suggested 'Horns and Trumpets of the World', which they accepted as an idea, but the writing of it was interrupted by a request from Laurence Libin to be one of the area editors for a revised edition of the *Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* – I had written some entries for Stanley Sadie in the 1984 edition and some for the main *Grove Dictionary*. I'd also written the instrument entries for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Arts* and for a recent update of the *Oxford Companion to Music*, and much earlier for an *Everyman Encyclopedia*, as well as a chapter in a general book on mediaeval instruments.

I felt that it was a duty (as well as compliment) to work for *Grove*, so 'Horns and Trumpets' was put aside (the publishers weren't pleased, but accepted my reasons). So for the next four years I was commissioning articles from people all over the world to write about the instruments of their areas, to update entries

as best I could for areas where I could find no one willing (there were some surprising refusals, sometimes due to the inadequacy of the fees we could offer, occasionally due to personality clashes between an original author and a potential reviser), and also to write the entries myself for areas where I had special knowledge or interest. For example, I had written a potential update and revision of the Hornbostel & Sachs 'Classification of Musical Instruments', which had been meant to be a basis for international discussion, but having been published in 1914 this had never happened – my version had become the basis of the current ICOM version (except for the electronics, which is way out of my field).

After *Grove* was done, during which I had made many friendships, especially with Libin, I went back to my publisher and asked if they'd still be interested in *Horns and Trumpets*, and luckily they were. That, like *Origins and Developments*, was on a world basis. And then it was followed by *The Shofar*, the biblical ram's horn, which I'd blown in my London synagogue for many years and had always been a special interest. Unfortunately, personnel had changed at my publisher and they made something of a mess of that, omitting the general index and ignoring proof-corrections, so I was less than inclined to go back to them next time. Jeff Nussbaum of the Historic Brass Society, of which I'd been a member since its beginning, had suggested that I wrote a book on *The Conch Horn*, saying that I knew more about it than anyone else. It's a very specialised subject, even more so than the Shofar, and I couldn't find a publisher, so my son is sorting it out and will be putting it on my website as a free download, and maybe if there's enough interest as print-on-demand.

Illus.7 At home, in the office

There's a lot of other things there on my website, including articles that have appeared in some of the more obscure periodicals (not *GSJ* nor *Early Music*, since these are easily available), some conference papers, some lectures, my autobiography, and my one excursion into fiction (some entertaining and fairly ribald stories about a dragon called Wendy, with a lot of musical references, initially written to entertain my mother in her last illness). I'm still writings things to go up there (illus.7), and they're all free downloads.

Jeremy Montagu was born in London in 1927, and is aFellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London; a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute; and an Emeritus Fellow of Wadham College, University of Oxford. His website is at www.jeremymontagu.co.uk

Ex Qvo? Vt Qva? Where have we come from? Where are we going?

Derek Adlam

Music may be a universal factor of all human life, inseparable from us throughout our entire evolution from remotest times, but today we find ourselves in an unprecedented and extraordinary position. For most of us, our prime interest is Western Art Music, a term which covers a period of, let us say, about fifteen hundred years. To grossly oversimplify, our western musical art evolved by a smooth, Darwinian progression. Monophonic, modal liturgical chants introduced from the eastern church by St Ambrose gradually gave way to vocal polyphony. Instruments came to be used in imitation of voices and to elaborate the function of rhythm. A tonal harmonic system gradually evolved, becoming ever more elaborate, a system that ultimately allowed huge musical edifices to be built, a system whose boundaries were continually tested until, tested to the limit, that system disintegrated. In its place, innovative composers created highly organised atonal languages which had their moment in the sun, then faded; *musique concrète* fabricated from non-musical elements came and went; minimalism, with its migraine-like doggedness enjoyed its vogue. Some of these methods have left classic works which remain in the repertoire, but generally they have died away, leaving composers writing free-form, formless, aural-landscapes which can be exciting, even beguiling, but seeming to have no universal musical language with potential for further evolution – like *son et lumière* performances, but without la lumière. I am reminded of Beecham's quip that the British don't much like music, but they absolutely love the noise it makes. If we look now for a modern, common musical language, then perhaps we find it only in pop music, a simple language, easily assimilated, undemanding – and often very, very loud to conceal its banality.

Now, this might just be an effect of my age, but I have an inescapable sense that a period of musical evolution has come to an end, that Western Art Music has reached its culmination, that at best we are hearing the Grand Finale. But here's the extraordinary thing, and a phenomenon that makes us different from countless earlier generations: we can now call on as much music from before our own times as is allowed by the survival of necessary material from the past – the scores, the knowledge of performance praxis, the instruments and so on. And we have the technical means for accessing over a century of recorded performances across an astonishingly wide historical perspective, all at the highest level of accomplishment – we don't even have to perform the music ourselves or engage a performer to do so. We can draw on this vast gamut of musical art for our own necessary musical expression and pleasure, which by the very nature of performance is a creative and constantly renewed process and practice. And this is a phenomenon which can continue in perpetuity.

The revival of early music in the late 19th century was one consequence of composers' ever-increasing testing of the tonal system's potential combined with an increasing grandiosity: paradoxically, old music provided something new, and it was less challenging than the latest gigantic symphonic masterpiece or operatic *gesamtkunstwerk*.

Survival and Revival

It is a commonplace to say that in the past, music heard in palace, church or opera house was newly composed. Like most generalisations, it is only partly true, for musical survivals from the past certainly remained in use, particularly in cathedrals and churches – and, at least from the 16th century, we have had musical antiquarians. An outstanding 18th century example was Thomas Tudway, whose patron Edward Harley, the great collecting 2nd Earl of Oxford, commissioned from him an extensive collection of English church music from the Reformation to the death of Queen Anne. It is likely that Harley was more interested in the manuscripts than the music, and perhaps intended a characteristic act of generosity after Tudway's ejection from his degrees and academic posts as a result of his obsessive compulsive disorder in making puns – the final straw being one impugning Queen Anne's religious faith. But such antiquarianism didn't necessarily lead to performance, though there were well known and notable exceptions. Commemorative performances of Handel's *Messiah* in 1784 in Westminster Abbey marked the 25th anniversary of the composer's death and established a tradition of such performances. This anti-

quarian strand grew throughout the 19th century: we must remember Ignaz Moscheles' recitals at the Hanover Square Rooms in the 1830s, when he played a Shudi-Broadwood harpsichord to great acclaim. We must not overlook the influential enthusiasm of the 'Bachists', including Abraham Mendelssohn, who acquired many Bach autographs from C.P.E. Bach's estate for donation to the Berlin Sing-Akademie, and we must never forget Felix Mendelssohn's maternal grandmother Bella Itzig Salomon. Taught by Bach's pupil Johann Philipp Kirnberger, it was she who commissioned a professional copy of the autograph of Bach's *St Matthew Passion*, giving it to her 14-year-old grandson as a Christmas present in 1823 . Its performance under the 19-year-old Mendelssohn's direction followed in Berlin in 1829 – given, incidentally, in aid of the Berlin School of Needlework for Destitute Girls, perhaps to guarantee a substantial audience. These hugely influential performances of Handel and Bach went far beyond mere antiquarianism in their musical significance. They laid essential foundations for much of what was to follow.

The modern British revival as we understand it can be said to begin with Arnold Dolmetsch. He had been raised as a practical craftsman in his grandfather's piano- and organ-making establishment, and was a gifted violinist. He studied in Brussels with Vieuxtemps, his interest in early instruments stimulated by his discovery of a viola d'amore which he restored and played, and the presence of the great instrument collection of the Brussels Conservatoire. Already at the Conservatoire there were classes exploring and exploiting these instruments. Dolmetsch came to England as one of the first students of the newly founded Royal College of Music under the brilliant Sir George Grove. As a young violin teacher at Dulwich College from 1885, seeking repertoire for his young pupils, he stumbled on great quantities of unknown, disregarded manuscripts and prints of early music in the libraries of the Royal College and the British Museum. His interest was not primarily antiquarian, but he was out of sympathy with much music of his own times, describing it as mere noise. Attracted to the musical language of his new discoveries, he transcribed some of these early works for his pupils, and began their publication. He also recognised the need for appropriate instruments. His post at Dulwich College must also have played its part, for another member of staff already owned a restored 18th century spinet which he would have known.

His discovery of this early music repertoire, and his strong reaction against the more radical contemporary musical developments – the 'noise' – led him in a very particular direction. As a creative musician, even as a composer (he wrote in a gently persuasive, Romantic manner), he wished to take the art forward, and he applied the same way of thinking to his instrument making. His earliest instruments followed their historic models quite closely, the series of clavichords made in London in the mid-1890s being notably successful. But as his confidence grew, he sought to 'improve' his instruments, to go beyond historical models as if he believed their evolution had been interrupted by 19th century error and extravagance. Dolmetsch wanted them to be more dynamically 'expressive' to meet the needs of his own, modern musical aesthetic.

In the 1890s, he already had considerable experience in renovating antique keyboard instruments. Three from that decade immediately come to mind: the English pseudo-Ruckers at Ham House, a Thomas Blasser two manual harpsichord of 1744, until recently part of Richard Burnett's Finchcocks collection, and a 1773 Pohlman (London) square piano then (and still remaining) at Osterley Park House. All have (or had) sometimes quite radical Dolmetsch interventions seeking to improve the instruments, the most startling being the perplexing, apparent 'conversion' of Pohlman's ivory natural key facings to ebony .

Illus.1 Dolmetsch harpsichord

His first new harpsichord of 1896 (the 'Green Harpsichord', illus.1) might best be described as a creative interpretation of a classic instrument, but one attempting to reflect a viriginal's tonal qualities. Ultimately it was destined to be the first instrument to receive his patented new harpsichord action – which didn't actually pluck the strings at all, and was a financial, musical and mechanical disaster. Other 'improvements' were the application of clavichord bebung (vibrato) to a harpsichord, and the addition of pedals facilitating rapid and continuous changes of registration during performance (though pedal control of registers was certainly not without historic precedent), all things contributing to the 'monotony of constant variety' with which we were familiar in performances of the 1950s and 60s.

Driving all these developments was Dolmetsch's powerful sense of self-belief, which would persuade him that he was in the right even when clearly wrong, though we must acknowledge that Dolmetsch's rare recordings as a performer show him to have been a sensitive, insightful and gifted musician. I believe the determination to improve things as he found them was based on a belief that the art of music, and by implication the art of musical instrument making, had to move forward, to continue an evolutionary process especially where, as in the instance of the harpsichord, its progress had been interrupted. This refusal to follow historical precedent exactly in instrument making shaped the movement for many years. In turn, it profoundly influenced the art of performance, a state of affairs continuing until the reforms and developments largely prompted by the appearance of a cluster of exceptional talents, many of them British, in the 1950s and 60s. Even then, new instruments made strictly after historical models were still rare, though one particular prophet, Martin Skowroneck, had made his first harpsichord in 1953, and one or two performers played antique instruments whenever possible. There seemed to be a general lack of awareness of the qualities of historic instruments, even a refusal to accept they had potential to serve as models for new, practical, reliable concert instruments. Performance in its earlier, post-war phase was also frequently negative its approach. It often seemed inhibited by a fear of perpetuating late 19th century, romantic bad habits. There were so many things apparently forbidden that players ended up doing almost nothing, with results that were too often constrained, monochromatic and without rhythmic life. It took time for gifted performers immersed in musical scholarship to develop an instinctive language that brought the music vividly to life.

There were signs in the wind, however: in 1950s Britain there was a growing awareness of the Organ Reform Movement. Strongly resisted by traditionalists immersed in Anglican cathedral music (some things never change), the movement nonetheless gained momentum through two series of BBC Third Programme recitals by Geraint Jones on early Dutch and German historic organs broadcast in 1956 and 1959, the commentary by Cecil Clutton. Here was an unknown world of brilliance, colour, vitality, clarity and theatricality – and historical truth. These broadcasts were a revelation, and clearly showed a path I wanted to follow. As a child I had been drawn instinctively to the decorative arts, early music and musical instruments – though I had almost no actual access to any of the latter until my first, life-changing encounter with the instruments of Fenton House (illus.2) at the age of 16, shortly after the house first opened its doors to the public. At 18, an unlikely chance saw me enrolled at the Guildhall School of Music, placed with a piano professor whose own tuition was only two removes from Franz Liszt, and an early music tutor (a great innovation for a UK conservatoire in 1956) who had been a pupil of the great Bach pianist Edwin Fischer. Thrilled though I was by Debussy and Ravel (I wanted to know more about their French pianos...) and important though the harpsichord became to me, I also wanted to play early piano music on appropriate instruments – not realising at the time that this was a radical ambition. I was already aware that one of the strengths of any early instrument lay in its limitations. The performer is driven to explore and exploit all that it has to offer, to learn to use it expressively to its limits, in order to come as close as possible to what a composer had in mind.

Illus.2 Fenton House, Hampstead

I was led by repertoire – the music – rather than organology, despite my intense interest in instruments. It was a driving ambition to master musical languages that drove me towards appropriate media – the

instruments, but only particular instruments. For however fascinating an instrument might be, if it has no significant repertoire then it remains a curiosity, a backwater in the stream of musical events. I wanted to play Haydn. I decided to attempt the restoration of a late 18th century English square piano by Longman & Co. This turned out to be a remarkably fine instrument, the action worked reliably and accurately, and my ear told me how the tone quality had to work for the music. This instrument was, in terms of Haydn's keyboard writing, another musical revelation – though I was unaware that, as far as we know, Haydn during his Esterhaza years did not have access to a piano. Instead he composed at, and probably wrote primarily for the clavichord, though performances would often have been on a harpsichord . This fact raises questions about the importance of the Viennese harpsichord of the period. These must have existed in huge numbers, but are now very rare. It is an important keyboard instrument type of which most of us are entirely ignorant.

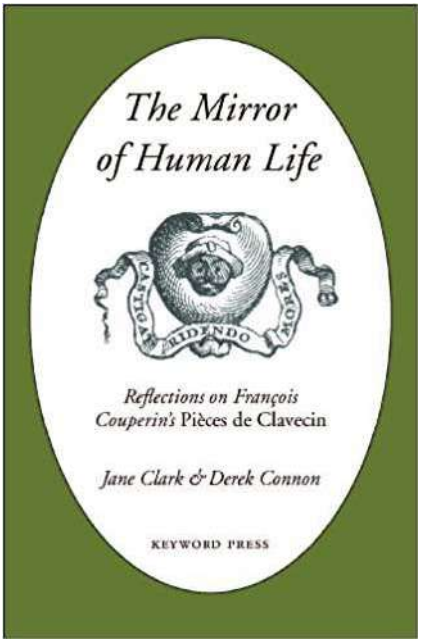
In 1962, again through chance, I stumbled on an article in *House & Garden* magazine on the career of Mr C. F. Colt, who apart from being a manufacturer of modular cedarwood houses then becoming internationally popular, from the mid-1940s had become a voracious collector of keyboard instruments, particularly early pianos. In course of time I became the curator/restorer of this huge collection. It became a kind of laboratory for me, a voyage of discovery that proved the value of such collections. In 2017 we heard of the death of Mr Colt's widow Lore Colt at the age of 101, bringing to mind the continuing importance of that collection, despite its current obscurity. With dismay we now hear of the proposed dispersal of the collection later this year.

We had to wait until a 1968 London recital to hear a new harpsichord made after an 18th century French model by William Dowd (though the first Hubbard and Dowd harpsichords date from the early 1950s), but still the European market for modern harpsichords was dominated by factory-made, series instruments of no historical merit. At the first Bruges harpsichord competition of 1965, the associated instrument exhibition was dominated by German series makers who, on being asked to comment on the basic philosophy of their work said that 'we have our own ideas'. They feared to be seen as mere copyists. A hint of what was to come was indicated by an excellent replica of the two-manual 1734 Hass harpsichord in the Brussels Conservatoire collection by Knud Kaufmann – but in a profound irony, he also exhibited an instrument after Pleyel's Landowska model, iron framed, with a touch heavier and more intractable than any modern concert grand piano. Kurt Wittmayer, a series instrument maker, also showed a two manual instrument derived from a Ruckers model. This was used in an evening recital by a distinguished German player (and jurist) who, at the conclusion, announced that though interesting 'such experiments were not for her'. The greatest value of that first Bruges competition in 1965 was to bring together players and makers in a kind of informal conference. The extraordinary value of the bridges built then was demonstrated three years later in 1968 at the second competition: a revolution had occurred – the accompanying exhibition was now dominated by young makers working in a variety of historic styles. The series-makers were in retreat, and importantly, the historic instrument makers were pushing the performers into a more historically aware manner of playing.

Scholarship and book-learning

A distinguished performer and conductor of renaissance and baroque music who also vigorously promotes the work of other talented musicians has stated that 'book learning is often interesting, it's a curiosity, but it's never really important to performance.' Few will agree with that! It is true that without instinctive musicianship, we have nothing, but the musical score before us on the desk is not the music; it is a set of instructions, a code, information like a series of zeros and ones. As performers we have to discover and break that code. Book-learning makes us informed musicians and knowledgeable makers. Scholarship, historic praxis and so on, all the obsessions of musicologists, organologists and other relevant scholars of musical science and art, are essential informants and foundations, the firm ground on which we stand. Having absorbed as much knowledge and ability as we can, made it our own, then we are free to forget the book-learning, and depend on instinct, personal judgement and the freedom of artistic creativity as performers and makers.

To consider two examples of the value of book-learning: Jane Clark and Derek Connon (illus.3) have studied the elusive, allusive titles of François Couperin's solo harpsichord music. A distinguished editor



Illus.3 Clark and Connon

of Couperin wrote '...it is surely a useless diversion of the performer's energy for him to worry about the identity of this or that obscure personage... the picturesque or programmatic elements should never be allowed to take precedence over the pure musical values inherent in these works'. But confronted by Couperin's cold score on the page alone, are we really so self-confident that we can discover all the secrets, the 'pure musical values' the page might contain without assistance from other, outside sources? For me, following Clark and Connon's discoveries, the pages of Couperin's *Ordres* now teem with actors and actresses, characters from the Commedia dell'arte, courtiers and courtesans, all portrayed in Couperin's witty, sly, amused, loving commentary on his life and times. Who would have thought that the title La Bandoline refers to a glutinous hair lacquer made from boiled quince seeds? It was an ingredient in the construction of fashionable ladies' vertiginous coiffures so top-heavy that the wearer had to walk with extreme care, even supported by attendants for fear of toppling over. Now we understand the stiff, careful angularity of Couperin's caricature and play accordingly. That manner of performance truly is not obvious from the cold, printed score, however sensitive we might be to 'pure musical values'. To know that some of Couperin's darkest pieces are associated with King James II and VII's gloomy, impoverished court-in-exile at the Château of St Germain-en-Laye, the courtiers hungry, so short of money that the clothes they wore became increasingly tattered – all this extra-musical information helps us enter Couperin's world of imagination. We even come to understand that Couperin's designation 'Ordre' for his suites is probably derived from the Classical orders of architecture, so implying an architectural organisation in these groups of pieces. To reject these extra-musical insights suggests a belief that anything akin to programmatic or illustrative music is an inferior genre, that there must be pure, or impure music.

And what of supposedly unschooled Haydn? 'Papa Haydn, the merry little peasant', described in 1812 by his biographer Giuseppe Carpani as 'an illustrious idiot'. What of this illustrious idiot? - at five, he enrolled at Vienna's St Stephen's Cathedral choir school, remaining a student there until he was 17 years old. He received the usual liberal arts education grounded in Latin and rhetoric, as well as tuition in music theory, composition, violin and keyboard. He studied the work of his contemporaries Wagenseil, Gluck and particularly Nicola Porpora, whose accompanist and general factotum he became from 1753 until about 1758. During his lifetime he built up a substantial library. Apart from books on music theory, reference works and general literature, the topics included philosophy, poetry, history, travel, science and even the occult. He was a member of several literary salons in Vienna – all placing him in the context of the Enlightenment movement. Haydn was particularly influenced by the work of the poet Gellert whom he regarded as a hero, and through whose work he absorbed much of the thought of the philosopher Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury. It is particularly under Gellert's and Shaftesbury's influence that Haydn developed his technique of examining and expanding his musical materials as if they were moral propositions subjected to the procedures of rhetoric – including humour and jesting – in order to reveal their moral strength and quality. All this learning was central to his musical language, but worn with such grace and ease, his works so transparent and accessible that after his death he came to be underrated and undervalued, the 'merry little peasant' of ill-informed legend.

Instrument collections

Both for musicians and organologists, it is impossible to over-emphasise the importance of collections of musical instruments, whether public or private. They provide the technical information and standards instruments makers need for their own work and reconstructions, and they provide performers with insights available through no other means. And very importantly, they demonstrate the almost bewildering diversity of media available to musicians drawn to early music. There is so much variety. It has been a singular disappointment of my own lifetime that it proved impossible, through state indifference, to see

the establishment of a British national collection equal to the great public collections found in Europe and America, though even some of these are now threatened.

There are, of course, important public and private instrument collections in Britain, some more accessible than others, but in recent years we have seen the dispersal and scattering of some of singular importance. I saw the establishment of Peter Thornton's musical instrument Gallery at the Victoria & Albert Museum (Illus.4). I had written, about 1960, and no doubt impertinently, to the Director complaining of the absolutely disgraceful conditions under which their musical instrument collection was then stored. Though relatively small, this was one of the core collections of the Museum from its foundation. A first purchase of an instrument was made in 1856, and the collection grew through general acquisitions until the purchase of Carl Engel's instruments shortly before his death in 1882. To my surprise, my letter was not ignored. I was invited to meet Delves Molesworth, Keeper of Furniture and Woodwork, and his newly appointed assistant Peter Thornton, who had recently moved from the textiles department of the Museum. At the first of two long discussion meetings, I was shown the architectural model of the new display gallery which was to be infiltrated into the architecturally splendid but rather useless Costume Court. Considerable advice on the display and some possible restoration of keyboards had been given by Raymond Russell, who wrote a first catalogue of the collection in 1968. Later, additions were made to the collection, the most distinguished being the Antoine Vaudry harpsichord of 1681. Restoration of a number of keyboard instruments to concert standard was undertaken. In Howard Schott's 1985 revision of the catalogue, Peter Thornton wrote of his regret that 'the Museum still has no trained musicologist on its permanent staff [or] a full-time specialist curator... present circumstances still do not permit the Museum to bring forward the musical qualities of its instruments to any great extent. It is hoped that the increasing interest... will eventually lead to the provision of adequate staff...'. Following this early success, in time we saw the cessation of concerts featuring the instruments, the gallery become progressively inaccessible through lack of security staffing and then its closure and removal in 2010. At the time of the dispersal despite a torrent of protests, the V&A announced that musical instruments had no part in a museum of the decorative arts. Now, in 2017, they have changed their tune, stating that 'The V&A has some of the most beautiful instruments to be found in any public collection in the world...' Well, see how many you can find when you next visit the museum. I am, of course, perfectly aware that the Horni-

Illus.4 Theuewes claviorganum at the V&A

man Museum now has a number of V&A instruments on loan.

Missing instruments, rare voices

At the beginning of my own career, it seemed enough for the entire harpsichord repertoire to be played on a harpsichord, any harpsichord, the bigger and louder the better. Rarely was any serious attempt made to match music to instrument in terms of type and period. We have now moved on from that situation since keyboard instruments of many types and styles are available to us – or are they? And why should this be so important?

Just limiting myself to keyboards, what important instrument types are seldom available to modern British musicians, where an appropriate and substantial repertoire has survived? I could begin with high renaissance Italian harpsichords, particularly those having just one unison and one octave register, not necessarily at 8-foot pitch. The great Elizabethan and Jacobean English repertoire would be well served by 'unimproved' Ruckers harpsichords with one unison and one octave register, or even instruments at 5-foot pitch - but these are not easily available. It would be good to have English harpsichords of this period, and we certainly have Malcolm Rose and Goetze & Gwynn's admirable interpretation of the V&A's Lodewyk Theeuwes claviorganum of 1579 (Illus.4) to suggest what has been lost. But how many such replicas are available to us? Claviorgana were once more commonly found than one might suppose, but that is now an excessively rare voice. There are many surviving English 17th century rectangular virginals (Illus.5) to refer to – but how often do we hear them taken as seriously as they warrant? We possess a

Illus.5 The last Adlam Burnett muselar made at Finchcocks after Ioannes Ruckers 1611 (Vleeshuis Antwerp)

great quantity of wonderful English music for viol consort. It was understood that viols would commonly be supported by an organ – a small viol organ, of which a surprising number survive. These instruments are a distinctive and characteristic type, and indispensable to the texture of the music. It is quite rare to hear an organ present in viol consort performances, and even rarer to hear an exactly appropriate instrument. What of Germany? Early German harpsichords are regrettably rare, yet the repertoire is vast; surviving instruments are often highly distinctive in tone quality and musical resource – but how often do we have the opportunity in England to hear German keyboard music played on a copy of a Mietke, a Fleischer or a Hass? What of the lautenwerk, the gut-strung harpsichord? An exotic, but one which J. S. Bach owned and used. It might never have had an extensive solo repertoire, but I am convinced it was a valuable continuo instrument, and would be so again if made available. And then there

are pianos. It should seem essential to any student of the keyboard to have access to instruments after Christofori, Ferrini or Gottfried Silbermann, pianos representing the earliest phase of its development and of astonishing sophistication and musical resource. But where shall we find these? We are now fortunate to hear Mozart on early Viennese pianos, but do we hear Mozart on the right kind of piano? Viennese pianos survive in considerable numbers, but are notoriously difficult to date. Early collectors' instinct to date their prizes earlier than they really were has misled us for years. As Michael Latcham has shown, most of the Viennese pianos copied and used now in performance are later in type, tone and resource than the repertoire we hear on them. This is not just a question of sound quality, dynamic range and character, but concerns the relationship of performer to an instrument, its resources and limitations – informed performance grows out of this relationship.

The value of disputation

Let us encourage the creative value of argument, argument based on knowledge and research, even when the latter throws up conflicting evidence leading to differences of opinion. A recent, rather argumentative discussion on BBC Radio 3 concerned vibrato. The modern, insufferable, unceasing, wide operatic wobble among singers (sometimes so extreme as to nullify pitch) is clearly inappropriate in early music – and I believe, in any music of any period. The effect is monochrome, all expressive variety of vocal colour lost. There is historic evidence for the cultivation of an even, pure vocal tone entirely without vibrato, but there is contrary evidence to suggest matters were not so simple. A tremulant or 'shaking stop' was present in 16th century Italian organs, and was thereafter found across Europe particularly in association with a Vox Humana reed stop. Does that not tell us something? We should also note the ubiquity of celeste flue ranks in organs, two slightly de-tuned pipes beating together. All were attempts to mimic the human voice – with its slight undulation. We find a similar vocal 'colouring' described by C. P. E. Bach in clavichord bebung – with an interesting refinement: the note is to be struck and once the fundamental pitch is established, the vibrato may begin. If that isn't a vocal technique, then I don't know what is. So, which is it to be? Vibrato or no vibrato? Discuss...

The early music movement in Britain might have reached a pivotal moment, if only because the cluster of talents of the 1960s which played such an important role in it, is inevitably fading away. Through their work and what followed from it, the early music revival has become a vital part of our current, cultural, musical landscape. It is the means by which we have access to the great panorama of music of the past which has become part of our musical present. If we have a sense that the centre of gravity of the early music movement has to some degree moved away from Britain, that some of the early drive, ambition and excitement has faded away, this should be no cause for pessimism. The movement is not only British: marvellous things are happening now across the globe, events which feed into our musical lives and experience, and which should take us with confident steps forward into the future.

Derek Adlam's career has encompassed keyboard instrument building, restoration, performing and scholarship, and he is now based at the Welbeck Estate.

The Hans Frei lute at Warwick

Adam Busiakiewicz

Illus.1 The Hans Frei lute at Warwick

The best way to compare is to play it often. Then you will see that you will find no other that bears comparison with regard to its melody, its harmony, its loudness and its softness.

Written in 1645, this quotation praises lutes made in Bologna during the 16th century. Despite the passing of nearly one hundred years since their construction, lutes from this city were briskly traded amongst well-to-do players and collectors till at least the eighteenth century. Royal lutenist Jacques Gautier was even said to have played on a Bolognese lute which was worth a staggering one hundred pounds. Coincidentally, this is the same price that his master King Charles I was paying Sir Anthony Van Dyck for single full-length portraits.

Illus.2 Original and copy, held by the author

It just so happens that the resting place of one such lute (illus.1), by one of the greatest Bolognese luthiers, is in the Warwickshire County Museum. Constructed in c.1550, this instrument is convincingly attributed to luthier Hans Frei. Frei's instruments, alongside Laux Maler's, were and are considered to represent the pinnacle of the lute design and construction in the sixteenth century. Original lutes by Frei and Maler are incredibly rare; the few that do often survive as mere fragments. Scarcely more than five of Frei's have survived,

a paltry figure, which makes the tally of Vermeer's 34 existing paintings seem large.

Despite the instrument's importance and rarity, the Warwick Frei Lute has been kept in storage for several decades. To coincide with the museum's one million pound Heritage Lottery Fund facelift, this extraordinary instrument has finally found a permanent home in the galleries, which opened in February 2017. To celebrate this momentous occasion, a special sold-out event took place on the 16 November 2017 in the museum. A lecture, explaining the instrument's significance, was accompanied by live music performed on a faithful reproduction of the Frei lute made by Stephen Barber and Sandi Harris (illus.2), and several lute songs performed with the assistance of soprano, Faith Waddell.

Of particular interest was the explanation of the lute's current arrangement, which was seemingly adapted (possibly in the seventeenth century) from a six-course lute to an eleven-course baroque lute. The neck, and fine decoration, probably dates to this period, showing that the instrument was admired and played for centuries after its initial construction. The instrument's murky provenance was also discussed, having only surfaced at auction in 1947. Its final owner was Eric Halfpenny (illus.3), a founding member of the Galpin Society, who had acquired the instrument and eventually sold it to the Museum in 1964. Curator Jocelyn Morris had worked alongside Halfpenny since the 1950s to create a new collection of historical musial instruments, which resulted in several small exhibitions on the subject. It is clear that Halfpenny often played the instrument, and was pictured in the 1950s doing so in gallant fashion. From a lonely locked cupboard in the museum stacks, the Warwick Frei lute is now safely cradled behind glass for visitors and enthusiasts to enjoy and marvel at.

Illus.3 Eric Halfpenny playing the Frei lute

Joining NEMA

The National Early Music Association of the UK has existed since 1981 to bring together all concerned with early music and to forge links with other early music organisations in the UK and around the world. NEMA also acts to represent musicians in the early music field to outside bodies, when required. Whatever your interest in early music - amateur or professional, scholar or performer, listener, instrument maker or CD buyer - you should join NEMA.

For a modest annual subscription, Members have access to an online database with all the information previously printed in the yearbook, and twice times a year receive NEMA's journal *Early Music Performer* and the NEMA *Newsletter*, which brings the most important new scholarship to practising early musicians and keeps readers up to date with the latest news from the world of historically informed performance.

The NEMA Early Music Database is the essential resource for the early music enthusiast. There is a Directory section giving sources of information, societies, music publishers, providers of performing material, concert promoters and artists' agents, record companies, early music fairs and courses, including summer schools. It has a Buyers' Guide to some 600 makers of early musical instrument worldwide, and a Register section includes names and addresses of over 400 individuals, including details of their instruments and interests.

http://www.earlymusic.info/membership.php

Straight-tone singing through the Long 18th century

Richard Bethell

In this article, I will support my statement during Radio 3's broadcast on 6 August 2017 of 'Throw a wobbly': 'If you take the historical record for the long 18th C, vocal vibrato was very rare indeed, almost non existent'. My position is mainly sourced from some 2,300 reviews of singers' voices over the long 18th century, defined as the period from 1650 to 1829, plus other pedagogical evidence. These views are controversial, with some dissenters. Thus, Frederick Neumann asserted: 'To my knowledge nobody has so far produced genuine evidence that singers before 1800 were expected to sing without vibrato. Sporadic attempts to unearth such evidence have not been convincing'.[1] Similarly, David Montgomery claims in his polemic *The Vibrato Thing*: 'Singers, as we know, probably always had used continuous vibrato in their natural sound, and not a single historical source presents evidence to the contrary'.[2]

Without getting embroiled in definitional issues (always problematic, given that terms used changed their meanings over time), I've used the term 'vibrato' to mean pitch oscillation and 'tremolo' in cases where one can't be certain whether the effect is pitch oscillation or intensity pulsation.

I start by putting tremolo in context with what was expected from vocal sound, and how it was described. I examine the compelling evidence for ubiquitous straight tone singing from the pedagogy, descriptions of singers' voices, comparisons with instrumental sound, and evidence from observers including Charles Burney and the Mozarts. I then crush the threadbare retardants put up by defenders of modern continuous vibrato. Finally, after a brief diversion on tremolo use c.1600, I summarise my conclusions.

Vocal sound: desired outcomes

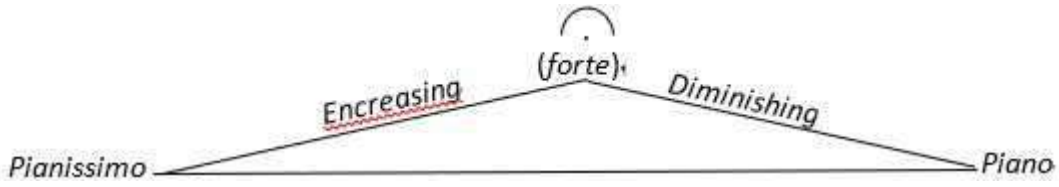
All treatises during the long 18th century sought the same sound (see Table 1). Like the Bible's commandments, these include both MUSTS and DONTS. The first rule, *a good portamento di voce*, is fundamental. Other precepts mostly explored particular attributes, or failings, of this quality. Thus, a good portamento, by definition, excludes guttural or throaty tones (known today as laryngeal development), and vibrato, *and* forcing, *and* shrieking on high notes:

1. Good *Portamento di voce*: pure, clear, steady, even, pleasing, sweet, sui generis, NATURAL voice
2. Vocalise clearly and evenly through the whole register, with open and clear vowel sounds, and clear articulation of the words
3. No guttural/throaty/fat tones, or (at the other extreme) nasal tones
4. No involuntary or continuous tremolo/vibrato, although occasional intentional expressive use generally allowed
5. No shrieking or howling on high notes, or forcing high in chest voice - instead, develop a well-joined falsetto
6. Sing in time and exactly in tune
7. Develop the flexibility required to negotiate rapid passages
8. Deliver indispensable ornaments well, especially the shake and the *messa di voce*.

Table 1: Eight precepts for best vocal sound

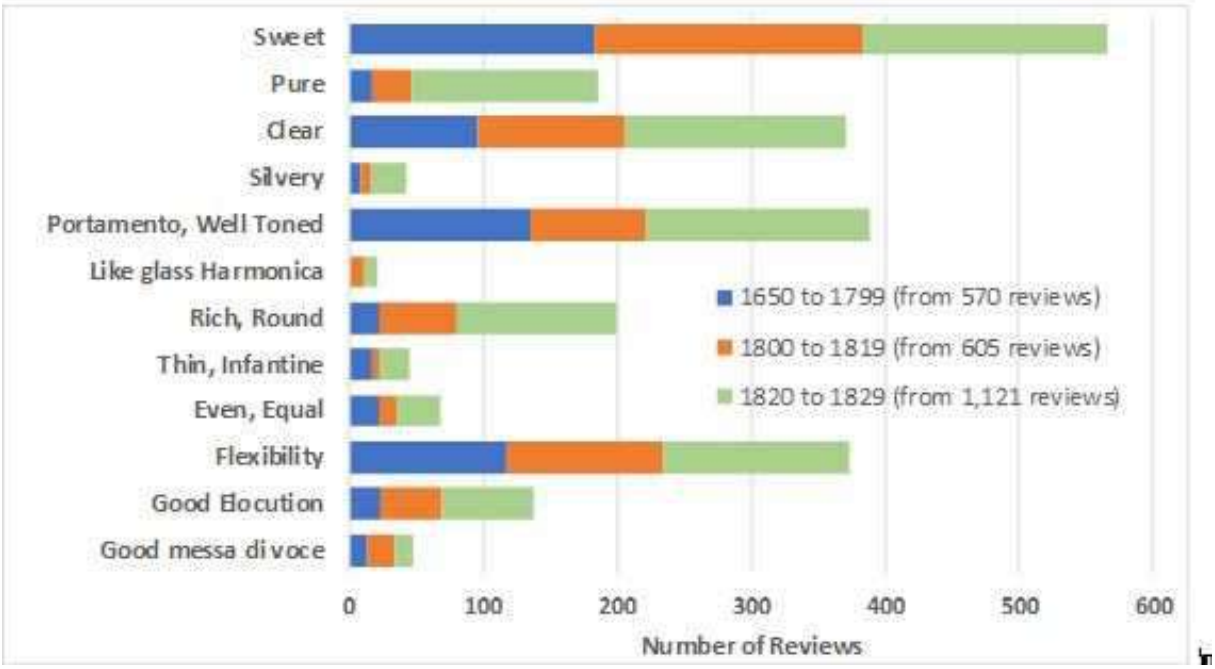
A good shake and *messa di voce* (often illustrated by the diagram at Illus.1), while strictly speaking ornaments, were always viewed as essential for good vocal sound. But, there was more to portamento di voce than simply avoiding faults. An article on the poetry and music of the Italian opera stressed that beauty of sound is the singer's aim, in defining the *aria di portamento* as 'a denomination expressive of the carriage (as they thus call it) of the voice. This kind of air is chiefly composed of long notes, such as the singer

can dwell on, and have thereby an opportunity of more effectually displaying the beauties and calling forth the powers of his voice; for the beauty of sound itself, and of voice in particular, as being the finest of all sounds, is held by the Italians to be one of the chief sources of the pleasure we derive from music'.[3]



Illus.1. Messa di Voce

I now relate how singers' voices were described. As Illus.2 shows, voices were assessed as sweet 566 times in 2,296 reviews. The 'sweet' category includes close synonyms, such as exquisite, lovely, delightful and grateful, plus gustatory terms like luscious, delicious, melting and sugary. On occasion, critics sound like today's fastidious judges of fine foods and wines. After praising the natural tone of castrato Pacchierotti's voice as interesting, sweet, and pathetic, Charles Burney savoured its taste as 'superior to the generality of vocal sweetness, as that of the pine apple is, not only to other fruits, but to sugar or treacle. Many voices, though clear and well in tune, are yet insipid and uninteresting, for want of piquancy and flavour'.[4]



Illus.2. How voices were described during the long 18th century

The ubiquity of sweetness in vocal descriptions has been noted before, for example, at a 2014 conference on 'Music in 18th Century Britain'. I asked the speaker 'What implications do your findings have for historically informed singing?' She ducked it with the response: 'That's a political question!' Obviously, the correct answer is that singers must sing early music sweetly, without screeching or bellowing.

Voices were also described as *pure*, *clear*, either *rich* or *thin*, and having a good *portamento*. The last category includes some near synonyms such as: Well-toned, fine or legitimate method, Italian, Best school, Good quality, Free from defects, Polished, Refined, Firm, Steady, *purezza Argentina*, *metallo di voce*, Granite, Crystalline, Smooth or suavity, Bell-like, Flutey, Mellifluous, Liquid, Ductile, Angelic. Richard Bacon wrote on *silvery*: 'One of the most constant defects in the formation of the voices of amateurs is the adoption of

a thick guttural tone, instead of the "purezza argentina", the brilliant silvery quality of which the Italians speak in such rapturous terms'.[5]

Pedagogical evidence supporting default straight toning

Given the copious evidence I have on file, I've only space for some highlights, confirming that major authorities through the mid/late baroque and early classical periods disapproved of vocal tremolo, although they usually liked tasteful ornamental or expressive use.

Greta Haenen noted in *New Grove*: 'A particularly clear early injunction against it [tremolo] was given by Christoph Bernhard (Von der Singe-Kunst, oder Maniera, c1649): "Fermo, or the maintenance of a steady voice, is required on all notes, except where a trillo or Iardire [cadential trill] is applied. It is regarded as a refinement mainly because the tremolo (sic) is a defect . . . Elderly singers feature the tremolo, but not as an artifice. Rather it creeps in by itself, as they no longer are able to hold their voices steady. If anyone would demand further evidence of the undesirability of the tremolo, let him listen to such an old man employing it while singing alone. Then he will be able to judge why the tremolo is not used by the most polished singers, except in ardire"'.[6]

Roger North declared [*Notes of Me*], around 1695: 'It is rarely observed, but let it pass for a truth upon my word, that the greatest elegance of the finest voices is the prolation of a clear pure sound'.

Pierfrancesco Tosi, in his *Opinioni,* disapproved of tremolo in all its manifestations, except as an ornament. First, the *messa di voce* must be delivered in straight voice: 'Let them be taught to sustain the notes without letting the voice waver or hesitate [titubi, o vacilli], and if the teaching begins with a note of two measures length, the profit will be greater; otherwise the inclination which beginners have for moving the voice, and the fatigue of steadying it, will accustom them to not being able to sustain, and they will indubitably have the defect of fluttering [svolazzar] which is always in use by those who sing with the worst taste' (p.17). He adds later: "The trill has many defects which must be avoided . . . the goat-bleat causes laughter, for it is borne in the throat like a laugh" (pp.28, 29). He allows a 'half trill' as an ornament: 'The necessity for a trill obliges the master to hold the scholar's application to exercising it on all the vowels, on all the notes he possesses, and not only on the white notes but on the black as well, where with the increase of tempo [progresso del tempo] he may learn the half-trill [Mezzotrillo], the mordent, and the promptitude of forming them while being in the midst of the velocity of Passaggi' (p.29). The pitch oscillating vibrato made Tosi feel sick: 'He will not hear without nausea the invented emetic style of him who sings like the waves of the ocean, provoking the innocent notes with vulgar pushing of the voice; disgusting defect, and rude [incivile], but having been brought from beyond the mountains it passes for a modern rarity' (p.104). In his 1743 translation, Galliard explained that 'beyond the mountains' meant France. It is hard to understand how Stark, faced with this 'ocean wave' evidence, managed to conclude that 'Pierfrancesco Tosi did not make reference to the vocal vibrato'.[7] Finally, Tosi castigates the repeated note form of the *tremolo*, a kind of *trillo*, which seems to have gone out of fashion since it was recommended by Caccini and employed by Monteverdi: 'What will he not say of one who has found the prodigious artifice of singing like the crickets? Who should ever have dreamed before the fashion came in, that ten or twelve eighth notes [quavers] in a row could be minced one by one with a certain tremor of the voice, which came in some time ago under the name of Mordente fresco. / Perhaps an even stronger impulse will compel him to detest the invention of laughing singing, or singing like hens when they have laid an egg. Will there not be some other small animals worthy of being imitated in order to place the profession in more ridicule?' (p.105).[8]

Tosi also lavished extravagant praise on some of his peers (female sopranos as well as castrati) besides his younger contemporaries Bordoni and Cuzzoni. It is inconceivable that any of these singers contravened Tosi's rules on tremolo or vibrato.

Like Tosi, Mancini allowed expressive vibrato in the theatre, although he is clear that this is only one of several varied effects, all to be used at the "proper time", and certainly not continuously.

After quoting Manfredini's comment 'How many times have I heard singing to the heart, without

hearing a trill', Mancini commented that 'this quality of voice and singing shines brilliantly in the place where sinners gather for eight days to hear spiritual exercises' but concludes that 'such a voice will never be suitable for the theatre, because in the scene it will need at the proper time the solidity, the spinning, the sudden decrescendo of the voice...and then these should be united to brio, agility of the voice, vibrato [vibrare], detached notes [distaccare], the drawing back [ritirare], strength, and appropriateness of expression, etc., in sum a perfect complexity of such varied things by which the artist, who assumes the burden of a principal part, is in a position to gain suc -cess in any character whatever'.[9]

Mancini also emphasised that recitative should be spoken, not sung, ruling out tremolo: 'Now the cantilena of the one and the other of these recitatives [both secco and instrumentato], however intoned, should always be loosened in such a manner that it resembles a perfect and simple spoken declamation. Thus it would be a defect if the actor, instead of speaking the recitative with a free voice, should wish to sing it, tying the voice continuously, and not think of ever distinguishing the periods and the diverse sense of the words by holding back, reinforcing, detaching and sweetening the voice, as a gifted man will do when he speaks or reads'.[10]

Tosi's insistence on pure, sweet, firm singing was echoed for at least 100 more years by subsequent authors, including Charles Burney (fl.1745-1814), John Ernest Galliard (English translation, 1743), Johann Quantz (fl.1719-1752), Johann Friedrich Agricola (German translation, 1757), Anselm Bayly (1771, 1777), James Nares (1778), Johann Adam Hiller (1780), Richard Edgcumbe (1783-1828), William Gardner (1786-1828), Giuseppe Aprili (1797), Joseph Corfe (1799), Charles Smyth (1810), Jean Jousse (1815), Richard Mackenzie Bacon (fl.1818-1828), Thomas Cooke (1828) and Maria Anfossi (1837). Here are a few examples:

First, **Johann Quantz**, virtuoso flautist, excellent composer and experienced musical director, defined what good singing involved, in terms indistinguishable from Tosi's treatise: 'The chief requirements of a good singer are that he have a good, clear, and pure voice, of uniform quality from top to bottom, a voice which has none of those defects originating in the nose and throat, and which is neither hoarse nor muffled. Only the voice itself and the use of words give singers preference over instrumentalists. In addition, the singer must know how to join the falsetto to the chest voice in such a way that one does not perceive where the latter ends and the former begins; he must have a good ear and true intonation, so that he can produce all the notes in their correct proportions; he must know how to produce the portamento (il portamento di voce) and the holds upon a long note (le messe di voce) in an agreeable manner; hence he must have firmness and sureness of voice, so that he does not begin to tremble in a moderately long hold, or transform the agreeable sound of the human voice into the disagreeable shriek of a reed pipe when he wishes to strengthen his tone, as not infrequently happens, particularly among certain singers who are disposed to hastiness. The singer must be able to execute a good shake that does not bleat ... He must not express the high notes with a harsh attack or with a vehement exhalation of air from his chest; still less should he scream them out, coarsening the amenity of the voice'.[11]

Charles Smyth asserted that tremulousness was incompatible with a good portamento: 'A good portamento implies also that the notes be properly sustained. He who sings tremulously and makes that kind of close shake which old-fashioned violin and bass-players were so fond of, fails egregiously as to portamento. In order to acquire the faculty of sustaining notes, without which your good voice and ear will never conduct you to excellence, practise daily the sustaining about twelve notes of the ascending and descending diatonic major and minor scale, beginning at any pitch which is not too low for your voice, or would carry you beyond its natural or artificial com pass. / I will now indulge a little playfulness of fancy. / Your notes must resemble in shape a barley corn <>; begin pianissimo, swell gradually till you arrive at fortissimo, and then gradually diminish till you have reduced the sound to pianissimo. The voice must neither be tremulous, or fluctuate as to pitch. If you enquire of the greatest professional singers that ever enraptured the public, they will corroborate my theory, by confessing to you how much time it was necessary for them to bestow on this most essential branch of the vocal art. Be patient. Nothing great is to be atchieved [sic] by idleness'.[12]

Richard Mackenzie Bacon expounded on pure tone: 'By pure tone in singing I mean to describe that which neither partakes too strongly of the lips, the mouth, the nose, the throat, or the head, but which comes freely from the chest, and is delivered justly (without undergoing any perceptible alteration) from that particular place in the passage which we learn by sympathy, and which we perceive to be exactly the same in well-taught singers instructed according to the Italian method. A tone so generated and so emitted is the pure, natural voice'.[13] Two years later, Bacon further explained, 'In the practice of these simple solfeggio, I have in view only the production and sustaining of pure even tone, and the power of swelling and diminishing—in short, the command of the chest and of the organs employed in intoning and articulating notes and passages of the simple structure which is most commonly employed in airs of a declamatory or pathetic cast. Arrived at this point—and certainly not till he has arrived there—I should recommend the pupil to commence the practice of the shake. And if I were asked why I so long postpone this most indispensable attainment [the practice of the shake]—I reply, because I would suffer nothing to interfere with the few but grand and primary elements of the great style, which I have enumerated above. Above all things, it is important to preserve the power of sustaining, without the slightest tremulousness, an equal tone. This must be fixed and confirmed by practice, to such a degree of certainty, that not even the affections of the mind should be able to cause any considerable alteration. It should become a habit, otherwise the diffidence and fear which are always apt to assail the singer will too often paralize his efforts and nullify his powers. The practice of the shake, if begun too early, I consider is more likely to generate the trembling I deprecate than any thing else.—Therefore it should come the last'.[14]

Vocal qualities of named singers

These accounts of admired voices are incompatible with any form of tremolo or vibrato:

Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (c.1743) was praised thus by Giambattista Mancini: 'a noble and gracious portamento; a clear and exquisite pronunciation; a sounding of the words according to their true sense; the adaptability to distinguish one character from another as much through a change of facial expression as with appropriate gestures; complete intonation, which did not vacillate in even the most fervent action [e finalmente una perfettissima intonazione, che non vacillò mai anche nel fervore dell' azione più viva], were excellences so singular in her, and so perfectly guided by her art, that she remained the one perfect mistress'.[15]

Colley Cibber praised **Catherine Tofts**: 'The beauty of her fine-proportion'd figure, and exquisitely sweet, silver Tone of her Voice, with that peculiar rapid Swiftness of her Throat, were Perfections not to be imitated by Art or Labour'.[16]

William Gardner wrote: 'SOSTENUTO Is the power of sustaining the voice upon any note, so that the sound is continued to the end without the least wavering. This important qualification is admirably shown in the voices of **Knyvett** and **Vaughan'**.[17]

Bacon noted: 'But **Miss Carew**'s voice is deficient (and in that particular comparatively), in volume alone, for it is well toned and well formed. Her ductility is truly admirable; there are no breaks or flaws in the tone'.[18]

Bacon wrote: 'When I hear such a singer as **Miss Stephens** or **Mrs. Salmon**, the power of ductility seems carried to its utmost. There are no roughnesses, no breaks--the metal is drawn out exactly, and if we could run it along between the finger and the thumb, or pass the nail over the surface, it would be as even, as smooth, and as polished to the touch as it is brilliant to the ear'.[19]

Expressive or illustrative tremolo use was sometimes praised, as in the following examples:

Roger North praised the castrato **Nicolini**, in terms suggesting that the tremolo occurred in the middle of a *messa di voce*, against Tosi's rule: 'And the swelling and dying of musical notes, with tremolo not impeaching the tone, wonderfully represents the waiving of air, and pleasing gales

moving, and sinking away'.[20]

Frederick Lampe also dissented from Tosi in encouraging vibrato use during a *messa di voce*: 'yet by Art we are experimentally taught, that the Duration is made sweeter, more beautiful and delightful, by encreasing of Loudness, which is called swelling of a Sound, and the Decreasing into Softness, which may be called the dying away of a Sound, and if accompanied, with an Undulation or Waving, strike the more'.[21]

Johann Hiller praised castrato **Giovanni Carestini** (c.1747) for his expressive *Bebung*: 'Now a word about vibrato [*Bebung*], which arises when one does not permit a long sustained tone to sound firmly, but rather allows it to fluctuate without changing the pitch. On string instruments it is done most easily by the rocking back and forth of the finger which is placed on the string. It is more difficult for the singer if he simply wants to bring it out with his throat; some make this easier for themselves by moving their lower jaw. Carestini did this often and always with success'.[22] Hiller's violin example suggests a slight pitch vibrato. But I have it on the authority of falsettist Nicholas Clapton [with whom I discussed the matter on Facebook's Performance Practice Research group] that moving the lower jaw could not have produced a pitch vibrato, although 'it might look very odd to anyone not accustomed to it'.

Tremolo was favoured for expressing shivering or intense feeling, or other special effect: 'The Tremando, or Tremolo, Is a quick reiteration of the same note, to express a trembling sensation. This effect in the early writers was confined to the voice. Purcell introduces it in the Frost Scene of King Arthur, upon the words 'What power art thou?' Bartleman gave this passage with a tremulous motion of the voice, representing the shivering effects of cold. The same thing, as applied by Handel in the oratorio of Joshua, to express the trembling nations, falls miserably short of what the words import, and possesses more the ridiculous than the sublime. In the Chaos of the Creation, it admirably represents a sudden convulsion, or shaking of the earth; and in another part of the same work, when softened into a pianissimo, it reminds us of the buzz and whirl of insects. The voice has nearly surrendered this grace to the instruments, as possessing greater power of expression; yet there are passages of intense feeling, in which the tremolo adds greatly to the effect of the voice. In Purcell's song of Mad Bess, at the words, 'Cold and hungry am I grown', it may be used with great success; and who that has ever heard Braham in Jephtha's Vow, can forget his incomparable delivery of the words 'horrid thought?' We need no other instance of the power of the tremolo, when so applied, to depict the workings of the soul'.[23]

Bacon reported that Angelica Catalani 'sung slowly, in a voice so slightly as to be scarcely tremulous, "And they were sore afraid"'.[24] There are other examples of expressive tremolo by Catalani.

Giuditta Pasta was praised by *Freeman's Journal*: 'There is one passage which Madame Pasta gives with peculiar effect—When the reviving Juliet breathes the name of her loved Romeo, the tremulous and convulsive interrogatory, "Qui me chiama?" attests of itself the merits of Madame Pasta as a vocalist and an actress'.[25]

But tremolo was sometimes condemned in a few cases where it might be justified by the dramatic context, illustrating how straight tone was viewed as the norm and tremolo the unwanted exception:

The *Morning Chronicle* admonished John Braham when he 'sang "Deeper and deeper still", with great pathos; but his performance was, perhaps, rather too theatrical. The tremulation of the voice, while suffering under a strong passion, is natural in ordinary recitation, but it is injudicious in musical declamation; in fact it destroys the music'.[26]

In 1826, Mary Anne Paton resigned from a role requiring her to sing tremulously as an old woman, and wrote a letter to the *Morning Chronicle* to explain why: 'I took the part of the White Maid, and did not discover, till the rehearsals convinced me, the difficulties of representing melodramatic and pantomimic business, and singing a song (totally unconnected with the part) in

a tremulous voice, as an old woman. I then certainly did (word for word, as minutely stated in the paragraph in question) represent to Mr. Fawcett my total inability to render the part effective; nor did I imagine my secession from it of great importance to the Theatre, as no comment was made upon it, nor any anxiety shewn to remove the difficulty of which I complained'.[27] I suggest that her objections were artistic and image/ reputation related, and certainly not because she was un able to sing tremulously, given that only two years later she was actually praised by the *Yorkshire Gazette* for ornamental/expressive vibrato: 'She possesses considerable power, with great sweetness, and we were much struck with her very fine close shake'.[28]

The *Athenaeum* took Maria Malibran severely to task for her portrayal of an old lady: 'Madame Malibran commits an error in judgment when she thinks it necessary to fill out the personification of an elderly lady by palsying and disguising her voice ... As for the fault attributed to Madame Malibran, we are disposed to dwell upon it, because it is rather characteristic of her, and because it is in itself dangerous, and might in its consequences do injury to the whole fabric of operatic performances. . . And then, even if the performer were as tender, as Madame Malibran is, of the scenic truth, there would be no necessity for the quavering voice and tottering limbs, which, without question, interfere with the due effect of the music. The age of Fidalma is left at the mercy of the performer, and Madame Malibran makes her a sexagenarian to give scope for her own powers of acting such a part. But if she were two hundred years old, we should still object to her being allowed to show any decrepitude of voice, any shrillness or quaintness of intonation, that serves to prop an immaterial illusion, by the sacrifice of almost every thing which makes an opera worth hearing'.[29]

Vocal qualities compared to instrumental sounds

Singers' voices were frequently compared to instruments, during a period when instrumental sound was generally tremolo and vibrato free, as it has become during recent HIP decades. An early example was Jeronimo in 1705. Charles d'Ancillon described this castrato as having 'a voice so soft, and ravishingly mellow, that nothing can better represent it than the Flute-stops of some Organs'.[30]

The sopranos of Elizabeth Billington, Josephine Fodor-Mainvielle, Miss Carew, Maria Caradori-Allan, Mrs. Oldmixon, Maria Malibran, Virginie Blasis and Laure Cinti-Damoreau resembled the flute or flageolet. For example, Bacon praised Josephine Fodor-Mainvielle's voice: 'the clear intonation and command of which exceeds the purest tones of a first rate flute …'.[31] The falsettos of Charles Incledon, William Pearman and Domenico Donizetti were also noted as flute-like.

The oboe-like singing of Francesca Le Brun and Giuseppina de Begnis was noted. The former was described: 'travelling with her husband, an excellent performer on the hautbois, she seems to have listened to nothing else; and at her return to London she copied the tone of his instrument so exactly, that when he accompanied her in divisions of thirds and sixths, it was impossible to discover who was uppermost'.[32]

The singing of Angelica Catalani and Mr Sapio was recorded as trumpet-like, with the latter's voice characterised as 'a trumpet with a silver sound'.[33]

According to one source, John Braham produced a clarinet-like sound. It was also noted of Mrs Frederica Weichsell (Elizabeth Billington's mother) that 'her voice was powerful, strictly harmonious, and resembled the tone of a clarinet'.[34]

A number of singers had pure bell-like voices, including Henrietta Nina Sontag. Henry Pleasants reported a quote on her voice: 'The voice was neither full nor strong, but pure as a bell, clear as a pearl, silver-bright, mellifluous, particularly in the middle, flexible, distinctly articulated and of seductive sweetness'.[35]

Vocal sound compared to the glass harmonica

But the instrument compared most often compared to the voice was the 'musical glasses'. The first was noted by Samuel Pepys's in his diary entry for 23 February 1669: 'we homeward to the Glass-House, and there shewed my cozens the making of glass, and had several things made with great content; and, among others, I had one or two singing-glasses made, which make an echo to the voice, the first that ever I saw; but so thin, that the very breath broke one or two of them'.

Charles Burney was responsible for the first printed reference to Benjamin Franklin's vocally analogous glass harmonica, quoting from a letter by Metastasio, the most highly regarded librettist in Europe, who certainly understood singing: 'The bearers of this most reverential address, are two English young persons, travelling under the conduct of their worthy parents, in order to give testimonies at Naples of their several abilities in music; their names are Miss Mary, and Miss Cecilia Davies: the first performs with admirable skill on an instrument of new invention called the Armonica. It is composed of glasses of different sizes, revolving, by means of a pedal, on a spindle. These glasses, forming a regular scale of tones and semi-tones, being delicately touched with wet fingers during their revolution, produce the most uncommonly sweet and celestial tones imaginable; particularly in pathetic strains, for which the instrument is eminently calculated. The other sister, who is possessed of a very pleasing and flexible voice, sings extremely well, with much art and natural expression; and when accompanied by her sister on the Armonica, she has the power of uniting her voice with the instrument, and of imitating its tones so exactly, that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish one from the other.'[36]

The reader should be aware that the glass harmonica couldn't produce a vibrato of any kind. This is confirmed by an old *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article which drew attention to some performance restrictions associated with the Musical Glasses: 'The open shake, or trill, is another unhappy operation upon musical glasses; which can only be performed by the alternate pulsations of two continued sounds, differing from each other only by a note or semitone. But as these pulsations thus managed cannot be distinct, the result is far from being pleasant; nor is there any succedaneum for the close shake, which in the violin is performed by alternatively depressing the string to the finger-board, and suffering it to rise without entirely removing the finger from it, and which, by giving the note that tremulous sound produced by the human voice affected with grief, is a grace peculiarly adapted to pathetic and plaintive airs'.[37]

From the end of the 18th century, the voices of some of the most celebrated singers of the time were likened to the glass harmonica, without any pejorative implications. Besides Cecilia Davies, they included Angelica Catalani, William Pearman, Samuel Harrison, Miss Povey, Eliza Salmon, Catherine Stephens, Giovanni Velluti (the last important castrato), Giuditta Pasta, Clara Novello, Laure Cinti-Damoreau and Euphrosine Parepa Rosa. I have space for two examples:

> Richard Mackenzie Bacon described Samuel Harrison's voice: 'It must yet be admitted to have been pure in the most complete sense of the term...If we may be permitted to compare the human voice to any known instrument, we should certainly say, that Mr. Harrison's in some measure resembled the richest and deepest sounds of the musical glasses, well played, in a good room, and the analogy is brought nearer by the way in which the tone was produced'. Bacon concludes on a hypnotically soothing note: 'the analogy is brought nearer by the way in which the tone was produced. The performer on the glasses gives birth to his melody by a touch that apportions the gradations from soft to loud and from loud to soft again, in the finest possible manner. No Passion ruffles, no violence disturbs the smooth and delightful flow. It falls upon the ear like the light of a summer's moon upon the eye, soft and soothing, while the balm of the air through which it glides, seems but a part of the sensation itself awakens'.38
>
> A friend of Eliza Salmon, quoted in *New Monthly*, wrote: 'There was something in the musical-glass-like tone of her voice that went at once to the soul; something in the exquisite brilliancy and facility of her passing shake, that not only procured a willing pardon for all faults, but made the hearer doubt whether what would have been musical sins in other less-gifted singers, partook of the nature of sin in Mrs. Salmon. She seldom appeared to be imbued with any deep feeling herself, while one tone of her clear mellow voice would draw a tear from many a stern eye, or drive him

who was too proud to weep to the resource of his snuff-box'.[39]

All these singers were quite capable of producing an expressive tremolo if they wanted to. I gave some examples earlier. Instances of involuntary tremolo are rare. The *Morning Post* critiqued Catherine Stephens twice, at the end of a busy diva's career of 22 years: she 'gave the first line of her solo admirably, and would have been equally charming in the other but for a tremulous roughness in a few of the upper notes, which in some measure marred her exertions'[40] and 'intonation was to-day again very tremulous and hard, and consequently she did not leave so favourable an impression upon her audience as she created on Saturday'.[41] The *Theatrical Inquisitor* had a slight reservation about the voice of Elizabeth Billington, aged 45, nearing the conclusion of 27 years on the stage: 'The powers of this exquisite singer, whose last season is now running, seem in no way impaired by age, except that her voice gets a little reedy'.[42]

Charles Burney's testimony

From the time he arrived in London (autumn 1744) until his death in April 1814, Burney always took great interest in the voices and styles of singers. He travelled through much of Europe in the early 1770s with the aim of collecting materials for the accounts of his visits and his History, all of which contain full details of performances attended and of the many singers he heard, good or bad. Descriptions of singers' voices also appear in his letters and articles for *Rees's Cyclopaedia*. First, Burney explained what he expected from vocalists: 'Good singing requires a clear, sweet, even, and flexible voice, equally free from nasal and guttural defects. It is but by the tone of voice and articulation of words that a vocal performer is superior to an instrumental. If in swelling a note the voice trembles or varies its pitch, or the intonations are false, ignorance and science are equally offended; and if a perfect shake, good taste in embellishment, and a touching expression be wanting, the singer's reputation will make no great progress among true judges. If in rapid divisions the passages are not executed with neatness and articulation; or in adagios, if light and shade, pathos, and variety of colouring and expression are wanting, the singer may have merit of certain kinds, but is still distant from perfection'.[43] A sarcastic condemnation of tremolo usage can be found in his *Cyclopaedia* article: 'TREMBLANT, in Music, the name of a very disagreeable stop in large church-organs on the continent. Its name describes its effect. In general, a steady tone in a voice or wind-instrument capable of sustaining a note, is the most essential requisite; but in the tremblant stop there is a perpetual quivering, such as we sometimes hear in the streets by the vielle and barrel-organ'.[44]

There's no question that, if a frequent or constant tremolo was the norm (as claimed today), Burney would have supplied full details. But both must have been uncommon, because his accounts only include a single clear reference to vibrato or tremolo singing, plus two possible accounts, all pejorative, as per below:

> The first was of an unnamed falsettist in an Amsterdam synagogue: 'One of these voices was a falset, more like the upper part of a bad vox humana stop in an organ, than a natural voice. I remember seeing an advertisement in an English newspaper, of a barber, who undertook to dress hair in such a manner as exactly to resemble a peruque; and this singer might equally boast of having the art, not of singing like a human creature, but of making his voice like a very bad Imitation of one. . . . But though the tone of the falset was very disagreeable, and he forced his voice very frequently in an outrageous manner, yet this man had certainly heard good music and good singing. He had a facility of running divisions, and now and then mixed them with passages of taste, which were far superior to the rest'.[45] The 'peruque' analogy makes clear that this falsettist used a pitch vibrato.
>
> The delivery of high notes 'with a kind of beat', could be a tremolo/vibrato: 'the singing here [in Leipsic] is as vulgar and ordinary as our common singing in England, among those who have neither had the advantage of being taught, nor of hearing good singing. There is just the same pert snap in taking the high notes, which they do with a kind of beat, and very loud, instead of a messa di voce, or swell'.[46]

> The following 'trilling' reference might indicate vibrato, as Burney normally described trills as shakes: 'I was more disgusted than ever, at hearing French music, after the exquisite performances to which I had been accustomed in Italy. Eugenie, a pretty comedy, preceded Silvain, an opera by M. Gretry: there were many pretty passages in the music, but so ill sung, with so false an expression, such screaming, forcing, and trilling, as quite made me sick'.[47]

Counsel for the Defence of vibrato singing

The reference most frequently cited is Wolfgang Mozart's on Joseph Meissner, quoted in full:

> 'Meisner, as you know, has the bad habit of making his voice tremble at times, turning a note that should be sustained into distinct crotchets, or even quavers—and this I never could endure in him. And really it is a detestable habit and one which is quite contrary to nature. The human voice trembles naturally—but in its own way—and only to such a degree that the effect if beautiful. Such is the nature of the voice; and people imitate it not only on wind-instruments, but on stringed instruments too and even on the clavier. But the moment the proper limit is overstepped, it is no longer beautiful—because it is contrary to nature. It reminds me then of the organ when the bellows are puffing. Now Raaff never does this—in fact, he cannot bear it'.[48]

Most commentators take the 'human voice trembles naturally' passage as Mozart's permission to indulge a modern vibrato. Thus, Neumann asserted: 'we have the testimonials of Praetorius and Mozart to the effect that the vibrato is a natural component of a desirable voice'.[49] James Stark concluded that 'There can be little doubt that both Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart considered vocal vibrato to be a natural and desirable quality unless it took a faulty form',[50] although he fails to mention Leopold's qualification in his *Violinschule* to the effect that 'because the tremolo is not purely on one note but sounds undulating, so would it be an error if every note were played with the tremolo. Performers there are who tremble consistently on each note as if they had the palsy. The tremolo must only be used at places where nature herself would produce it; namely as if the note taken were the striking of an open string. For at the close of a piece, or even at the end of a passage which closes with a long note, that last note would inevitably, if struck for instance on a pianoforte, continue to hum for a considerable time afterwards. Therefore a closing note or any other sustained note may be decorated with a tremolo [tremoleto]'.[51] Similarly, Wolfgang's observation that vocal tremolo is imitated on wind instruments, stringed instruments and the clavier needs to be interpreted appropriately. First, in all these cases, the ornament is selective and not continuous. Second, the pitch waver is narrow, whether it involves half covering an adjacent hole on the flute, the left hand's movement on the violin's finger board, or the fractional sharpening of the occasional single note produced by the clavichord *bebung*. Surely neither Leopold nor Wolfgang would have tolerated the continuous minor third wide pitch fluctuations heard today.

One question which pro-vibratoists never ask is, what singers and instrumentalists did the Mozart family like, and why? Fortunately, nearly 1,000 pages of letters by the Mozarts have come down to us, making it clear that both Leopold and Wolfgang liked to hear pure vocal and instrumental sounds:

> Wolfgang wrote to his sister: 'Aprile, primo uomo, sings well and has a beautiful even voice. We heard him in a church, when there happened to be a great festival'.[52] Although this is not especially informative, Schubart reviewed him: 'In him the art and nature were marvellously combined . . . he sang with the purity of a bell up to E above the treble stave [*recte* soprano clef], and had a profound knowledge of vocal technique, as well as a warm and sympathetic personality'.[53]

> Both Leopold and Wolfgang admired Agujari's voice, encompassing 3½ octaves: 'In Parma Signora Guari [Lucrezia Agujari, 1743-1783], who is also called Bastardina or Bastardella, invited us to dinner and sang three arias for us. I could not believe that she was able to reach C sopra acuto, but my ears convinced me. The passages which Wolfgang has written down occurred in her aria and these she sang, it is true, more softly than her deeper notes, but as beautifully as an octave stop in an organ. In short, she sang the trills and the passages exactly as Wolfgang has written them down, note for note. Further, she has a good deep alto down to G'.[54]

Leopold wrote: '[Anna] De Amicis is our best friend. She sings and acts like an angel and is extremely pleased because Wolfgang has served her extraordinarily well. Both you and the whole of Salzburg would be amazed if you could hear her'.[55] Burney praised 'her voice and manner of singing, exquisitely polished and sweet. She had not a motion that did not charm the eye, or a tone but what delighted the ear' (p.479).[56] He added later: 'De Amicis was not only the first who introduced staccato divisions in singing on our stage, but the first singer that I had ever head go up to E flat in altissimo, with true, clear, and powerful real voice' (p.481).[57]

Wolfgang wrote: 'She [Mlle Kaiser] has a beautiful voice, not powerful but by no means weak, very pure and her intonation is good. Valesi has taught her; and from her singing you can tell that he knows how to sing as well as how to teach. When she sustains her voice for a few bars, I have been astonished at the beauty of her crescendo and decrescendo. As yet she attempts the shake but gently; it will be all the more brilliant when she will force it, for it is certainly more easy in the latter way'.[58] A month later, Wolfgang added: 'It is true that for a person who had only been studying for three months she sang surprisingly well, and she had, in addition, a very pleasing and pure voice'.[59]

Wolfgang enjoyed the playing of oboist Friedrich Ramm 'who plays very well and has a delightfully pure tone. I have made him a present of my oboe concerto [identified in a footnote as K314], which is being copied in a room at Cannabich's, and the fellow is quite crazy with delight'.[60]

Wolfgang wrote: 'She [Aloysia Weber] sings indeed most admirably and has a lovely, pure voice. The only thing she lacks is dramatic action; were it not for that, she might be the prima donna on any stage. She is only sixteen…She sings most excellently my aria written for De Amicis with those horribly difficult passages'.[61] After critiquing Catterina Gabrielli's coloratura singing, Wolfgang added a month later: 'She [Gabrielli] was not capable of sustaining a breve properly, and, as she had no messa di voce, she could not dwell on her notes; in short, she sang with skill but without understanding. Mlle Weber's singing, on the other hand, goes to the heart, and she prefers to sing cantabile'.[62]

Leopold wrote: 'What is particularly remarkable is his ability [Carlo Besozzi, oboe] to sustain his notes and his power to increase and decrease their volume, without introducing even the very slightest quiver into his very pure tone. But this messa di voce was too frequent for my taste and has the same melancholy effect on me as the tones of the harmonica, for it produces almost the same kind of sound'.[63]

In contrast to his praise for Friedrich Ramm, Wolfgang wrote scathingly about oboist Johann Christian's intensity tremolo: 'Why, each ritornello lasts a quarter of an hour; and then our hero comes in, lifts up one leaden foot after the other and stamps on the floor with each in turn. His tone is entirely nasal, and his held notes like the tremulant on the organ. Would you ever have thought that his playing is like this? Yet it is nothing but the truth, though a truth which I should only tell to you'.[64]

On the other hand, the following passage in Wolfgang's letter to his father suggests that expressive tremolo was probably used by Ademburger as Belmont in the aria 'O wie ängstlich, o wie feurig' in *Die Entführung*: 'Would you like to know how I have expressed it—and even indicated his throbbing heart? By the two violins playing octaves. This is the favourite aria of all those who have heard it, and it is mine also. I wrote it expressly to suit Adamberger's voice. You see the trembling—the faltering—you see how his throbbing breast begins to swell; this I have expressed by a crescendo'.[65]

Other retardants put up by the status quo defenders

The 'Cuzzoni-like Warble'. This phrase is routinely trotted out by defenders of vibrato singing during the baroque, because they assume, without citing any evidence whatsoever, that Burney's reference to

Francesca Cuzzoni's 'native Warble' constitutes proof of her vibrato. It was brought up in our 'Vibrato Wars' discussions on Facebook's Historical Performance Research group, which you can download from NEMA's website. But if you look at what Burney actually wrote ('A native warble enabled her to execute divisions with such facility as to conceal every appearance of difficulty'[66]), it is clear that he is referring to her ability to negotiate rapid passages, not to vibrato. Burney used the term again to describe Elisabeth Duparc's voice: 'it was for the natural warble of this singer that Handel composed his English airs of execution, such as 'Sweet Bird', in Milton's Pensorosa'.[67] 'Warble' is an imprecise and sometimes facetious term which cannot be used to prove such assumptions. Instead of commenting 'she sang sweetly', reviewers were more likely to write 'the fair cantatrice warbled her dulcet tones'.

'Tosi became increasingly out of date and irrelevant from 1700 onwards'. Comments like this recurred in our Facebook discussions. It was noted that Tosi was aged 70 when his book was published, and that his teaching reflects the practices of yesteryear, especially given his frequent pejorative references to the 'moderns', usually compared adversely with the refined singing he was used to in the previous century. Thus it is sometimes argued that Tosi's comment about beginners 'fluttering', being unable to sustain a steady sound through the *messa di voce*, which was always done by those 'who sing with the worst taste', was just his opinion, and that others (especially 'moderns') with different opinions liked it. While there were instances of tremolo use during the *messa di voce*, the assumption that such singers 'with the worst taste' used continuous vibrato is fatally weakened by two facts: (1) No named 'vibratoists' from the 18th century have been identified, apart from a couple of trembling 70-year old divas attempting comebacks, and, (2) the fact (already noted) that Tosi's teaching was widely espoused, translated and quoted at length by subsequent authorities for at least 100 years. As Burney accurately noted: 'Though this elementary tract has been written more than fourscore years, no work of the same kind has been produced in Europe since its publication, but upon Tosi's model, and in confirmation of his precepts'.[68]

'Vibrato singing is and always was the gold standard'. Stark noted: 'The presence of vibrato in modern voices is pervasive. In 1921 Thomas Edison purported to have found only twenty-two singers out of 3,800 who did not have the vocal tremulancy which he called tremolo',[69] adding: 'Vocal tremulousness has been an important component in good singing since at least the early Baroque period'.[70] It is indeed virtually impossible to discover any recent non-vibrato operatic singing, and therefore why baroque and early classical opera is never sung properly today. There are some exceptions. For example, amateur singers in early music fora workshops hardly ever inflict vibrato on the listener. As shown by a survey I completed in 2009,[71] only 5% of early music lovers preferred the standard one-size-fits-all operatic voice in Handel's arias; these results were truly astonishing as they revealed the huge gap between what informed listeners want and what they actually get. There is even a tiny number of classical singers who, either by some fluke or rare outbreak of good taste, occasionally deliver non-vibrato sound, sometimes inspired by historically informed (non-vibrato) playing on flute, oboe, cornett and strings. This reminds me of an exchange in our 'Throw a wobbly' programme. Each participant chose a vocal recording for discussion. Mine was Dominique Visse singing Dowland's 'Sorrow Come' quite beautifully, with no vibrato but excellent *messa di voce*. One contributor, I think Janice Kelly, commented 'he's trying to be a viol, not a singer'. A NEMA colleague observed that, if I'd been quicker witted, I would have made the obvious rejoinder: 'But that's the whole point, as there must be some sonic commonality between voices and viols, so often used together'. Also, the 'gold standard' viewpoint ignores vocal practice in new genres emerging in the 20th century, including jazz, folk and pop musics, which are anarchic in character and less rule-bound than classical territory. During my research into these genres, I have discovered that, for some of the best pop vocalists, straight (and sweet) tone is a quality marker, usually accompanied by high/neutral larynx timbre (un-disfigured by laryngeal development), forays into extended register (falsetto) regions, room sized volume (often with only light accompaniment by piano or guitar) and absence of shrieking on high notes. Where the music is sad (or, to use Tosi's term, 'pathetic'), their singing is sometimes characterised by a directness, emotional honesty and personal vulnerability appealing to the heart. For examples, listen to Ray Charles and Betty Carter in 'Baby It's Cold Outside' or 'Whiskey Lullaby' from Brad Paisley and Alison Krauss. A few popular singers even pass Tosi's tests and would have been perfectly acceptable in his time. I hope to discuss such developments in a future article. In the meantime, readers can listen to many examples in my Spotify playlists,[72] or similar YouTube playlists.

Some red meat for the vibrato defenders

I would be less than honest if I failed to mention the only 18th-century treatise published in England advocating frequent vibrato. The author was William Tans'ur,[73] a teacher and composer of hymns and psalmody. In his editions of the *Musical Alphabet or The Musical Grammar* (1746 and 1772 respectively]) he wrote: 'An Accent is a sort of wavering or quavering [in the 1772 edition 'quavering' was replaced by 'Shaking'] of the Voice, or Instrument on certain Notes with a stronger, or weaker Tone than the rest, &c. to express the Passion thereof: which renders Musick, (especial Vocal) so very agreeable to the Ear; it being chiefly intended to move and affect; and on this the very Soul and Spirit of Musick depends; by reason it touches and causes Emotions in the Mind, either of Love, Sorrow, Pitty, or any other Passion whatsoever, &c.—And this is what is called the Accented, and Unaccented Parts of the Measure; which the Italians call Tempo-Buono, or Time-Good and Tempo-Cattivo, or Time, or Measure-Bad: that is to say, the good, and bad Parts of the Measure /Scholar. In what Parts of a Bar of Time is the Accented Part of the Measure? /Master. In Common-Time, the first Notes of the beginning of a Bar, and the first Notes of the last half of the Bar is the Accented Part; that is, the 1st and 3d Crotchet of every Bar; the rest being the Unaccented Parts: But, in Tripla-Time (where Notes go by three and three) the first of the three is the Accented Part, and the rest the Unaccented. / The Accented Parts should be always as full of Harmony as possible, and as void of Discords as may be, in order to render the Composition the more affecting: But the Unaccented Parts may consist of Discords and the like, without any great Offence to the Ear, &c. This being a Part of Musick that few, or no Authors have very rarely mention'd; although it is the whole Ornament and Spirit of every Composition, especially when any Person performs alone'.

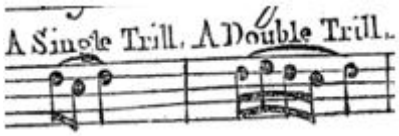
Tans'ur's views were echoed by subsequent North American composers/ arrangers of psalmody:

> **John Arnold**, in the *Complete Psalmodist* (1753, 1761 and 1779): 'Accent, a certain Modulation, or Warbling of the Sounds, to express the Passions, either naturally by the Voice, or artificially by Instruments. / Accented Part of a Bar, is the Beginning of the first Half, and the Beginning of the latter Half of a Bar, in Common time; and the Beginning of the first Part of a Bar, and the Beginning of the third Part of the Bar (the second Part being unaccented) in Triple Time'.
>
> **Jacob Kimball**, of Boston, in *Rural Harmony* (1793): 'ACCENT is a certain modulation or warbling of the sounds, in order to express the passion naturally with the voice. / Accented parts of the bar are, for common time, the first and third parts; for treble time, the first part only; for compound time, the first and fourth parts of the bar; and emphatical words should be set to those parts; but it will also happen, that such words will occur in other parts, and the accented parts have words of no emphasis, in which cases, every one must feel the propriety of the music's bending to the words, and that the general rule for accenting must be neglected; and from hence, may be inferred, that the doctrine of accent is designed more for the use of the composer, than of the performer'.
>
> **A. Stevenson**, of Montreal, in the *Vocal Preceptor* (1811): 'An Accent is a sort of wavering, or shaking of the voice, or instrument, on certain notes, with a stronger or weaker tone than the rest, &c. to express the passion thereof...' - the rest of this passage copies Tans'ur, word for word.

Note Jacob Kimball's sensible modification of Tans'ur's rules, enabling 'modulation or warbling' to be neglected for unaccented words. There can be no question that composers and singers of opera, oratorio and concert music, plus their audiences and critics, would, besides excoriating virtually continuous vibrato, have rejected (1) metrically generated approaches to expressive tremolo, and (2) any idea that accented parts of the bar should be 'void of discords', especially as suspensions generally coincide with accented notes. Tans'ur was a marginal figure, ignored by both Charles Burney and Richard Edgcumbe. He was mainly concerned with psalm singing, outside the sacred music mainstream. An article called 'Musical Education of the People'[74] distinguished psalmody from what might be termed 'proper music': 'Certain it is, that in this country the science of music shrouds itself up in an aristocratic exclusiveness, and is confined to the concert-room, the theatre, or the singing-club. Places of worship are scarcely to be added to the list; for the rude state in which too generally parochial psalmody still remains, can hardly be classed as music'.

As you might expect, some psalmodists did not share Tans'ur's views. These include North America's foremost 18th century composer, William Billings.

> **William Billings**, of Boston, in the *Singing Master's Assistant* (1778): After defining 'A Single Trill' and 'A Double Trill' (Illus.3), Billings adds: 'N. B. Many ignorant Singers take great licence from these trills, and without confining themselves to any rule, they shake all notes promiscuously, and they are as apt to tear a note in pieces, which should be struck fair and plump, as any other. Let such persons be informed, that it is impossible to shake a note, without going off of it, which occasions horrid discords; to remedy which evil, they must not shake any note but what is marked with a Trill, and that according to rule, which may be easily learned, under a good master'.



Illus.3, William Billings, 'A Single Trill' and 'A Double Trill'

> **Simeon Jocelin** and **Amos Doolittle**, of New Haven, in *Chorister's Companion* (1782): 'Of Tuning and Forming the Voice./ . . . Let the voice be clear and smooth as possible, neither forcing the sound through the nose, nor blowing through the teeth with the mouth shut; . . . a trembling in the voice is also carefully to be avoided. All high notes should be sounded soft, but not faint; . . . the low notes full, but not harsh; . . . let all be done with ease and freedom, endeavouring to cultivate a musical voice; observing for imitation, the sweet sound of the violin, the soft melody of the flute, and the tuneful notes of the nightingale'.

Thomas Billington,[75] an English composer of sacred and secular music, although probably not part of the West Gallery psalmody tradition, would have agreed: 'The performer should also come immediately upon the Note with Firmness, and, as I may say, a kind of Confidence; and not to introduce Trills and Beats, and a kind of Tremulus on every note, which is the bane of all singing, so that before the note in question is well ascertained, he is, through necessity, carried to the next note, which shares the same fate as the former, and so on to the end of the piece'.

Introduction of tremolo/vibrato in the early decades of the 19th century

In my paper for the 2009 York conference,[76] I identified several innovating tremoloists, including Anna Maria Tree, Madame Bonini, Feron, Shutz and Meric Lalande, working in the third decade of the 19th century. I found more in recent research, mostly disapproved of. All, Mrs Dickons apart, were minor figures of no threat to the established straight-toning order, albeit they could suggest an underlying trend:

> Giuseppe Siboni received only faint praise in 1806 from Richard Edgcumbe: 'The male performers with Catalani were for the most part of a very inferior description, and fit only for second singers. The first exception was Siboni, who sung well, but with a thick and tremulous voice: he staid however only a short time'.77

> Mrs. Dickons's unpleasant reediness could have been a rapid tremolo: 'Mrs. Dickons is the best we have after Braham, and is perhaps as correct a one as any living; she has also considerable power, and may be called upon the whole a very useful and effective singer, a pitch above mediocrity … To us, besides her unpleasant reediness of voice, there is a coarse, flaunting air in her very best manner; and on no account should she ever undertake to be fascinating'.[78]

> Fenner discussed Signor Geni, who debuted in 1815: 'The Chronicle thought him "a very fine tenor". But five months later, "the tremulous tones of Geni were but indifferent vehicles of the rage of the headstrong Emperor" (Times). In 1816 he appeared as Orosmane in Zaira; "though Geni may certainly boast no common skill in music, we cannot perceive so striking an improvement in his organic power."'(Times). In Selvaggi he "discovers every day a more

consummate knowledge of music, and makes us regret . . . the want of freshness and steadiness in his tones" (Times). We hear no more of him'.[79]

Miss Byrne was critiqued for tremulousness and reediness, e.g.: 'the first song, "Virgins are like the Fair Flower in its Lustre", was executed in a tremulous tone, which, though appropriate enough to the sentiments expressed in the poetry, was evidently not the result of intention'[80] and 'has one considerable defect in the quality of the louder tones, which are reedy'.[81]

Charles Lamb's description, in one of his *Essays of Elia*, suggests that Mrs Blacket's voice, as well as being a novel oddity, featured a wide pitch vibrato: 'The shake, which most fine singers reserve for the close or cadence, by some unaccountable flexibility, or tremulousness of pipe, she carrieth quite through the composition; so that her time, to a common air or ballad, keeps double motion, like the earth—running the primary circuit of the tune, and still revolving upon its own axis. The effect, as I said before, when you are used to it, is as agreeable as it is altogether new and surprising'.[82]

The *Morning Post* dismissed Mr Benson's singing: 'He has evidently musical knowledge, but neither his voice nor his style are likely to secure to him much success as a theatrical singer: The former has a ceaseless tremor, and the latter is marked by a mouthing delivery'.83

How much scope is there for vocal tremolo/vibrato in music performed around 1600?

After focussing on the long 18th century, I'll look briefly at this earlier period. Our 2018 NEMA conference, 'Vocal Sound and Style 1450-1650', will surely tackle this key performance practice issue, on which the musicological jury is still out. Comments by Ludovico Zacconi, Michael Praetorius and others suggest that some vocal tremolo or vibrato was practised around 1600, though whether this was just gentle trembling, some variation of the trillo or a pitch oscillation is not clear from the pedagogy. In my view, alternatives to straight tone could assist expression in monody and solo song but apply less to ensemble music, where oscillating vibrato is likely to injure pitch and contrapuntal clarity. Taking a holistic view, let's consider how Monteverdi wanted his exquisite motet 'Duo seraphim clamabat' to sound. Here, words and music 'clamabat' for pure, clear, sweet, and, of course, angelic sound, i.e. fairly soft by modern standards, especially given that he was accustomed to performing his music in small spaces. I suggest that three voices like Samuel Harrison's, described earlier, but unheard in 200 years, would fit the bill. Unfortunately, what we invariably hear is wobbly, plummy bawling by one-size-fits-all operatic tenors. By the time the third singer enters, the full 'three tenors' treatment is being inflicted on us *forte* from wide open mouths, as if they were belting out some climactic scene from *La Traviata*, vandalising Monteverdi's sublime creation, and often submerging the instruments (typically bass viol, chamber organ and lute) to near inaudibility. Monteverdi will be turning in his grave, because in his famous letter about the text Alessandro Striggio wanted him to set for *favola marittima Le Nozze di Tetide*, he complains that the music will have to be accompanied by the 'coarsest wind instruments on the stage', adding 'I leave judgment on this error to your refined, impeccable taste: but because of it three chitarroni would be needed instead of one, three harps instead of one, and so on; instead of singing elegantly the singer would have to force his tone'.[84]

Conclusions on vocal performance in the Long 18th century

Just consider for a moment the key attributes of the long 18th century vocal soundscape compared to the operatic "one-size-fits-all" hegemony now in force (Table 2):

Vocal Sound Feature	*Long 18th Century*	*Now, since 1920*
Voice type	Natural Voice	Made Voice
Best voices praised as	Sweet, pure, clear	Vibrant, exciting
Ideal Tone	*Portamento di voce*	Singer's formant
Laryngeal Development	Forbidden	Integral to singer's formant
Falsetto Register	Commonly used	Very rare
Vibrato	Occasional expressive use OK, but Straight Tone was the norm	Continuous and up to a major third wide
Messa di voce	Essential and quite frequent	Rarely used
Trill (performance of)	While always difficult, was well delivered by the best performers	Usually performed badly
Volume	Natural Variation	*Sempre forte*
High Notes	Soft	*Urla Francese*

Table 2. Classical vocal sound: hegemonies compared

Most vibrato studies have reviewed its application by vocal and string performers. I have mostly ignored the latter, for the very good reason that today's best string players have done their research and usually perform 18th century repertoire in a historically informed way. We have come a long way since the Amadeus String Quartet dominated the field with their ugly, strenuous, stentorian (concert-hall sized) performances, with continuous wobbling or juddering on all long notes. By contrast, listen to the Chiaroscuro Quartet's beautiful sound in classical string quartets, room-sized, using only occasional delicate vibrato. Other historically aware string quartets include Armida, Eroica, Emergence, London Haydn and Quatuor Mosaïques. A few even seem to use authentic instruments and dispense with chin rests. I found some of these groups on YouTube's Historically Informed Videos.

But classical singers are trapped in a time warp. There is urgent need for reform. The sheer weight of evidence, much of it given in this article for the first time, will compel the objective reader to conclude that straight tone singing, with selective vibrato, was the norm through the long 18th century in all genres (operatic, sacred and concert singing), with one exception. The latter relates to the eccentric advocacy by some psalmodists of metrical vibration on the first and third beats of a 4/4 bar and the first beat of a 3/4 bar.

My readers will notice that the two periods are diametrically opposed. In my opinion, what has happened is a most regrettable process of degradation from beauty into ugliness. I have already referred to my 2009 survey, showing that 95% of early music lovers dislike the one-size-fits all operatic voice. Many of these, like me, probably give 18th-century opera and even oratorio performances a wide berth, undermining their economic success. But, why have I picked on vibrato as the most egregious problem? I think Fred Gable put it well: 'The extent to which vibrato is employed and its size and speed can so obscure other elements of a performance that our very perception of a work can change simply on this basis'.[85] As Gable suggests elsewhere, avoiding vibrato would also encourage the singer to seek dynamic variation and do something with longer notes, such as the *messa di voce*. This begs two questions: (1) Is it possible to get back to the long 18th century vocal sound? I think it is. And (2), how do we get there? I'll leave these questions to a follow-up article.

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Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752): Composer, performer, bibliophile, theorist, teacher and Organist of Charterhouse

Graham Matthews

Born in Berlin in 1667, Johann Christoph Pepusch (illus.1) was the son of a Protestant clergyman. His early promise as a musician – indeed, he was something of a child prodigy – is indicated by his employment as harpsichordist at the early age of fourteen to the court of Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg. The story is told that 'he was sent for to court, and by accompanying one of the ladies who sang before the queen [Electress Sophie Charlotte], recommended himself so effectually, that he was immediately appointed to teach the prince the harpsichord, and that very day gave him a lesson'. Pepusch continued in the service of the court, subsequently developing abilities as a teacher and composer, until he witnessed an event of such injustice that he left the country. Frederick III, Elector from 1688, commanded the beheading of an officer in his service without trial in such a peremptory manner that Pepusch determined to put himself under the protection of a government founded on better principles. Consequently, he headed for London; and in London he was to remain for over fifty years. Precise dates are unrecorded, but there seems to be general agreement amongst writers that this move was made via Holland, where some of the composer's instrumental pieces were published. There was to be no patron in London. Employment had to be sought. This was accomplished by playing in the Drury Lane theatre band and served to provide a modest but steady income. It has been pointed out that 'since his experience of theatre music was at first likely to have been rather limited, he set about establishing his London reputation in the field he knew best – instrumental chamber music'. Teasing out the several strands in his musical and personal life leads to instances of overlapping when the long life of Pepusch is considered. This can be seen in particular from the first two decades of the 18th century. At the same time as producing many instrumental pieces - as many as about 250 have been conjectured - he was responsible for works for the theatre and for the church as well as writing secular cantatas and odes; from the start of the century he also acted as a teacher. In the instrumental sphere he quickly made his mark. A newspaper advertisement from 1704 makes reference to 'that Eminent Master Mr John Christopher Pepusch' in composing '3 several New Entertainments of Musick' for instrumental ensemble. For the theatre he composed in 1707 the recitatives and added some additional songs for a *pasticcio* – an early form of opera in England – *Thomyris, Queen of Scythia.* For the church he provided anthems for James Brydges, Earl of Carnarvon (later, Duke of Chandos), from about 1716 at Cannons [also known as Canons] Park, his patron's country estate at Edgware to the north of London.

Tickle-Fiddle Gentlemen

The enduring appeal of Pepusch's instrumental music is evidenced in a recording issued in 2014 with the title, 'Concertos and Overtures for London', performed by a chamber group of nine strings with two oboes, a trumpet, bassoon and harpsichord, titled collectively – and intriguingly – 'The Harmonious Society of Tickle-Fiddle Gentlemen'. The soubriquet was adopted by its founders in 2006, taking the name from a description of the musicians who played at a remarkable series of public concerts, organized by a charcoal merchant, Thomas Britton (1644-1714) in Clerkenwell, in which Pepusch took part. It was Ned Ward, a publican and also one of the so-called 'coffee-house poets' of the 18th century, a personal friend and neighbour of Pepusch, who coined the droll 'Tickle-Fiddle' description of the Britton 'Society' in his 'Compleat and Humorous Account of all the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster'. That a 21st-century ensemble should adopt a title from an earlier period bears comparison with the present-day Academy of Ancient Music, founded by Christopher Hogwood in1973; he took this title from the original Academy, which lasted from 1726 to 1792. As will be seen, this is particularly relevant as Pepusch was a founder member of the 18th-century Academy, and its director from 1735.

The recorded Tickle Fiddle programme is topped and tailed with overtures, the other items being first recordings of six concertos for various combinations of instruments. We are to understand from the CD insert notes by Robert Rawson, leader of the ensemble, that one of the recorded items, a 'Concerto Gross del Sig. Pepusch', is essentially a violin concerto of historic importance: 'This work is probably the

earliest concerto in England to survive complete – all the more amazing that this is its first ever recording'. The two overtures are to works that have great interest for scholars. The programme opens with the Overture to *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), by far the composer's most enduring and successful work for the theatre. The Overture to the masque *Venus and Adonis* (1715) concludes the recording, highlighting what is regarded as the finest theatre work of the composer's early period, up to 1720.

The Musical Coalman and the Academy of Ancient Music

Illus.1 Johann Christoph Pepusch, portrait by Thomas Hudson

In the history of secular concert life in London, Britton may be regarded as a pioneer. Despite coming from yeoman stock, lacking any connection with the court or the church, he initiated a decades-long recital series held in his own property. From as early as 1678, to his death in 1714, weekly music meetings were held on a Thursday in a long narrow room over the coal merchant's store in Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell, to which professional musicians and amateurs from all ranks of society were drawn. At first the concerts were free, with coffee at a penny a time. Later on a subscription series was initiated at an annual cost of ten shillings, approximately £60 at the present day. As well as being a charcoal merchant – 'the Musical Small Coal Man' - having a regular round in the City streets, he had a separate existence as a concert promoter and a bibliophile, as a lover of literature and a collector of musical instruments. His collection included as many as twenty stringed instruments and a 'Rucker's virginal thought to be the best in Europe'. Even an organ was to be found in the cramped upper chamber. Performers at the concerts included Handel and Pepusch, the latter writing a trio sonata entitled 'smalcoal'. A reasonable conjecture is that Pepusch could have known Charterhouse at this early period, being within easy walking distance of Aylesbury Street. We are to find him installed in Charterhouse as organist from 1737. The death of Britton in 1714 may understandably have resulted in the discontinuance of the Clerkenwell meetings, but some of those who had first come together at the Thomas Britton concerts are thought to kept up their enthusiasm to the extent that they formed the core of a later group of musicians who founded The Academy of Ancient Music. The Academy was originally known as The Academy of Vocal Musick; the change was agreed to early in its history. 'Ancient' at this time was held to refer to composers 'such as lived before ye end of the fifteenth Century'. Subsequently this was amended to 'Sixteenth Century'. The inaugural meeting was held on 7 January 1726 in an upper room at the Crown Tavern, opposite St Clement Danes Church in the Strand; included amongst the thirteen original members, most of whom were professional musicians, was Pepusch. At the Academy's private concerts the stated aim was to achieve live performance of works from earlier periods. The original arrangement was to meet fortnightly on Friday evenings. A great deal of attention was given to building up a library of music. 'In a short time', one scholar puts it, 'they had acquired a unique collection of printed and manuscript volumes of music by early English and European composers whose compositions had fallen out of use by the end of the seventeenth century'. As with the Britton concerts, Handel was involved on occasion; however, it was Pepusch who has been described as the main intellectual force, being 'critical to the entire school of thought that centred around the Academy'. He was 'a true musical scholar, combining curiosity about the musical history and theory of earlier ages with a practical interest in the perform-

ance of early music'. In his own personal collection he acquired the highly important manuscript volume of mostly English keyboard music from about 1562 to 1612 now known as the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, an item regarded as invaluable by all students of the period. Its survival is directly attributed to Pepusch. It is recorded that, in this period, on 9 July 1713, Pepusch took his DMus degree at Oxford University, matriculating from Magdalen College. His academic exercise, a large-scale ode in honour of Queen Anne, does not survive. After the event, the Doctor - arrayed in his academic finery - had his portrait painted by Thomas Hudson (1701-1779).

Early English opera

As far as opera is concerned, from his early years in London, having a place in the Drury Lane band, Pepusch came to know the tradition that had developed by the early 18th century of musical stage works which represent stepping stones along the way towards fully developed opera in England. These included the Italian *pasticcio* and the English masque. A *pasticcio* can be characterized as a type of early opera which linked together contributions by several composers. *Thomyris* had linking recitatives composed by Pepusch with arias by such Italians as Alessandro Scarlatti and Buononcini, amongst others; a further contribution by Pepusch is thought to be part of the overture. A masque would feature spoken links between musical items – vocal and instrumental, possibly to include dance – with usually one named composer and librettist. In 1714 Pepusch became musical director at Drury Lane for two seasons. His highly regarded masque *Venus and Adonis* did much to establish the composer's reputation in the London musical world. The Italianate style and structure found to be apparent here is to be discovered in many of his works. As a composer of vocal music, in addition to the *pasticcio* and the masque, in 1710 Pepusch produced a collection of *Six English Cantatas*, the first of its kind to be published in England. According to the poet John Hughes (1678-1720), who provided the texts, the cantatas were written to demonstrate the desirability of setting English words in the Italian style of composition. A cantata was generally a through-composed sectionalized vocal and instrumental work, with arias linked by recitative, a genre to which Pepusch seemed well suited. Only a handful of composers attempted the composition of cantatas to English texts. Pepusch, no doubt owing to his strong connection with the concert rooms and the theatre, was the most prolific of them, and is said to have been the most successful. One of the 1710 set, *Alexis* ('See! From the silent grove Alexis flies'), was very popular during his lifetime; it survived well into the 19th century.

Cannons and the Duke of Chandos

A consideration of Pepusch as a composer of church music (illus.2) carries the narrative forward into the 1720s. As so often with the composer, the historical record often lacks verifiable precision, but it has been established with some certainty that Pepusch was director of music at Cannons at the time of the employment there as resident composer from August 1717 to February 1719 of none other than the greatest composer of the period by far in England, George Frederick Handel (1685-1759). It has even been said the presence of Handel conferred considerable status on his patron. This may well have been a state of affairs appreciated by James Brydges, as he aggrandized the estate he inherited, forming a palatial Palladian mansion on the scale of Blenheim Palace, creating 'extremes of ostentation to emulate the household arrangements of royal and ducal courts of Europe'. A further increase in status would no doubt have been achieved by his employment of a private orchestra – 22 performers by 1721 – and the maintenance of a choir and a comprehensive music library. In the relatively brief period that Handel was resident composer he must have made a considerable impact, producing the eleven so-called 'Chandos Anthems', a Te Deum, two masques and the first version of *Esther*, his 'earliest essay in English oratorio, a genre he was to create'. Handel left his employment at Cannons in February 1719 to become musical director of the Royal Academy of Music, a company founded to establish regular seasons of Italian opera in London, not to be confused with the renowned academic institution founded in 1822. Pepusch was appointed to his post as director in about 1716; he was responsible for selecting chapel music, auditioning the musicians, ordering the finances, maintaining discipline and supervising welfare. But he certainly needed his London home in Boswell Court, Carey Street, as he was also director of music at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, under the management of the dancer and actor John Rich (1692-1761). This arrangement resulted in a peripatetic existence which is thought to have continued for a total of about fifteen years. Unlike Handel's Cannons-period compositions, none of those produced by Pepusch for the

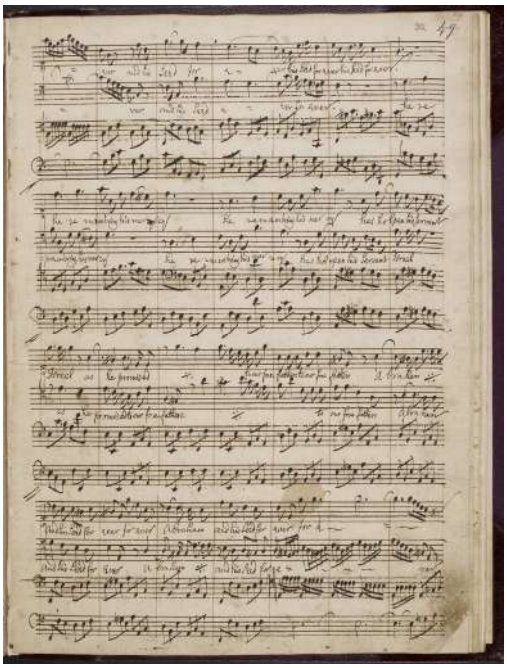
church has survived in the general repertoire; they included a number of extended verse-anthems and a Magnificat setting, but all have fallen out of use.

A 1723 Ode and *The Beggar's Opera*

It is in the field of theatre music that Pepusch has achieved lasting fame, through his contribution to the greatest commercial theatrical success of the century, *The Beggar's Opera*, first heard in 1728. In the period up to 1728 he was involved, in the main, just with revivals and the occasional newly composed aria. An exception was the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* 1723, 'The Union of the Three Sister Arts'. This work, with its English text combined with Italian musical style, where Music (of the three arts of Music, Poetry and Painting) is elevated to the highest level, achieved several performances, including one for Pepusch's own benefit in 1725; arias from it were subsequently published separately. An examination of the score reveals the character of the text setting in that, following the purely instrumental overture, solo arias and duets follow, with some contributions for a conventional chorus; the setting is continuous with no orchestral interludes. The first performance was at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where the manager was the John Rich who had appointed Pepusch director of music. It is in this theatre, with this manager, that a few years later we find 'one of the greatest success stories in the history of the London stage', the presentation of *The Beggar's Opera.* The poet and dramatist John Gay (1685-1732) had the completely original idea of presenting a comedy satirising the established fashion for Italian opera which had arisen in London, at the same time poking fun at public figures, in the context of a sardonic vision of contemporary society, featuring 'the thrills and spills of the lowest of London's lowlife'. Into the spoken play Gay interpolated as many as sixty-nine airs, taken from traditional anonymous broadside ballad tunes, items plundered from contemporary songwriters and even adaptations of Handel melodies, all with his own words. There is some evidence that Gay first intended that the airs should be sung unaccompanied; however, it was decided that accompaniments were needed, the provision of which is thought to have been undertaken by Pepusch or his pupils. There is little doubt that it was Pepusch himself who produced the Overture. Such was the success of the undertaking that a quip gained wide currency: the venture made Gay rich and Rich gay. The initial success led to repeat performances, as many as sixty-two in the first season, exceeding all previous records, and leading to a craze for so-called 'ballad opera' with several imitators. The popularity of the work persisted even into the 20th century, being the model of Bertolt Brecht's 1928 version, with Kurt Weil providing the musical settings, and here again, proving to be 'one of the most important works in the history of musical theatre'. At least three versions were produced in England, the best known being that of Benjamin Britten in 1948; 'It is part of our great national heritage', was Britten's opinion of the original work.

The Academy of Ancient Music's seminary and the Royal Society of Musicians

Moving on into the 1730s, we find that Pepusch added to his labours that of directing a music school. Sir John Hawkins (1719-1789), in his celebrated five-volume *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), gave some attention to The Academy of Ancient Music. He noted that, in about 1735, 'the managers . . . determined to make the Academy a seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of music and the laws of harmony'. Dr Pepusch 'generously undertook the care of their instruction . . . and succeeded so well in his endeavours, that many of those his pupils became afterwards eminent professors in the science'. His position at the Academy enabled him to exert his scholarly influence and learning over an entire generation of English musicians. Indeed, one scholar has written in a recent study that 'The foundations were laid by these musicians … for a new culture in which great music of the past took a central role in, indeed often took precedence



Illus.2 A Magnificat by Pepusch

over, contemporary works in the repertoire performed; thus over time a canon of 'classical music' gradually came to be established'. Hawkins was a member of the Academy from the 1750s. He has been described as 'a great champion of both the Academy and the English musical tradition'; he paid tribute in writing to 'the truly learned Dr Pepusch'. Director until his death in 1752, Pepusch was succeeded by his pupil Benjamin Cooke, who throughout his life offered significant support to several charities, including The [Royal] Society of Musicians. In 1767, 'In grateful Respect to his Memory', members of the Academy raised an impressive wall monument to their erst-while director, which is now to be found on the Charterhouse Chapel organ loft staircase. Sadly, although the lapidary inscription begins, 'Near this Place Lye the remains of Johann Christopher Pepusch', there is no extant record of the precise burial place. It has been noted subsequently that the inscribed date on the monument as 1710 for the establishment of the Academy is – unaccountably – incorrect, as the first meeting is known with certainty to have been held in 1726. The Academy was eventually disbanded in 1792, soon to be followed by a regrettable dispersal of the library, according to Hawkins, 'perhaps the most valuable repository of musical treasure in Europe'.

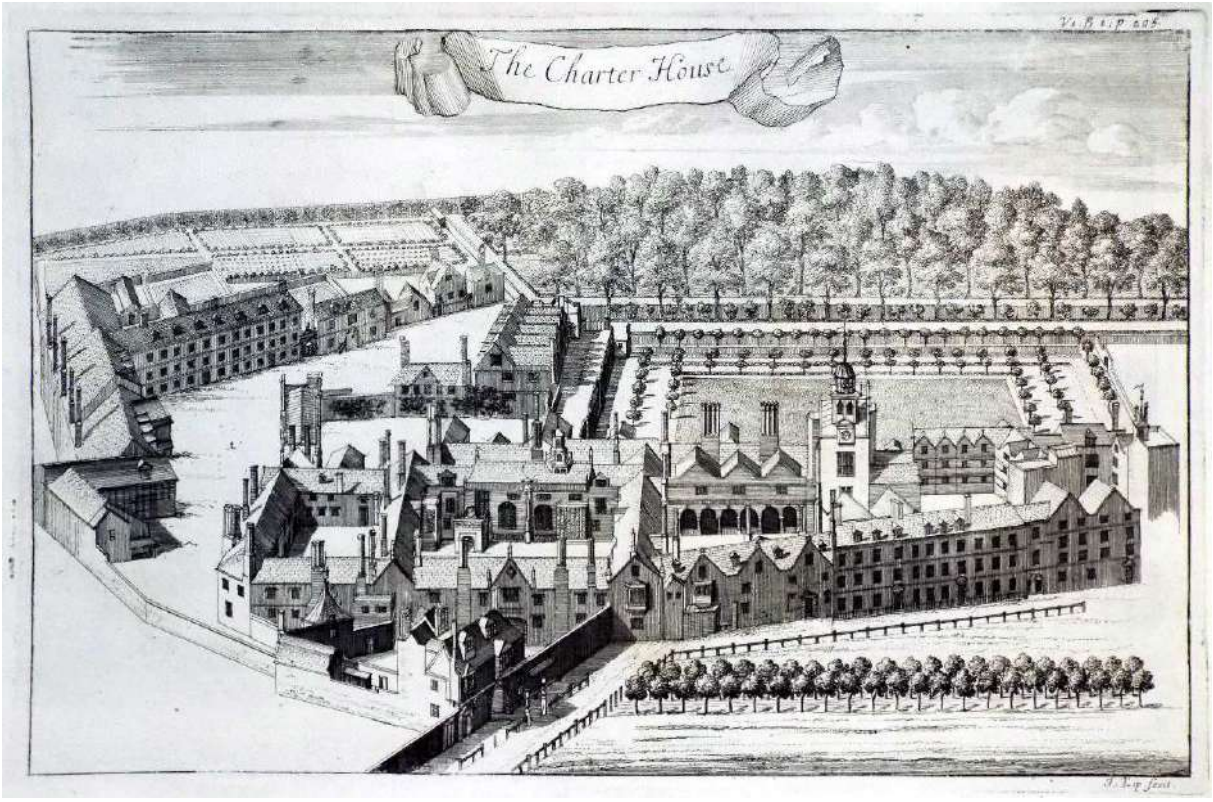
Later in the 1730s Pepusch was involved with a society which is still to this day offering support when in need to musicians, not with an educative function but providing practical assistance in everyday living. In 1738 Handel noticed the destitute state of the wife and children of one of his former oboists, who were reduced to begging outside the Haymarket Theatre; this prompted him to institute a fund 'for the Support of Decay'd Musicians' which proved to be the origin of The (Royal from 1790) Society of Musicians. Amongst those who signed a 1738 Declaration of Trust, together with Handel and many distinguished musicians, is found the name of 'Dr. Pepusch'. The Royal Society of Musicians, Britain's longest established musical charity, has elected to membership several of the Organists of Charterhouse (illus.3), who are listed on a plaque in the Chapel near the foot of the organ loft staircase. Included in this list is the name of Pepusch, as he was appointed organist in 1737.

Organist of Charterhouse

With the influence of his pupil the Duchess of Leeds, and bearing in mind that the Duke of Chandos – his former patron – was from 1721 a Governor of Charterhouse, Pepusch was elected to his new post as resident organist of Charterhouse on 2 December 1737. One scholar has it that, 'Before the end of the month, the Pepusch family had moved into the organist's apartment, which adjoined the music gallery in the Great Hall'. No such 'apartment' exists nowadays. The move was made from Fetter Lane, where they had lived for three years. There were three members of the family: Pepusch, his wife and their son, setting up home in the all-male stronghold of schoolboys and retired men established in 1611, numbering approximately 80 and 40 respectively in the early 18th century. Early on a sadness was that the son, who had become a pupil at the school, died prematurely, the more so as he had displayed considerable musical talent at an early age. Pepusch's wife had a musical background as a highly regarded soprano, her professional name being Margherita de L'Epine, often referred to as Signora Margherita. She had a part in *Thomyris* – mentioned above – and so was known to Pepusch early in the century, having achieved success in London from at least 1707. Margherita was born in Italy in about 1680 and was in the vanguard of the many opera singers who sought their fortune in England in the early 1700s. The important point has been made that her success 'induced her to remain in London, and thus she became associated with the establishment of Italian opera in England'. She married Pepusch in 1718, and is said to have brought him considerable wealth from the high fees she had been able to command. Margherita predeceased her husband, her death being recorded in *The London Evening-Post* as being on 8 August 1746. She was 'privately interr'd in the Charterhouse Burying-Ground'; in Charterhouse no record of time or place now corroborates this event.

In this later Charterhouse period, 1737 to 1752, Pepusch maintained connections and pursued interests beyond the merely local. It must have been gratifying for him to realize what has been described as 'his burning ambition' to join some colleagues from the Academy of Ancient Music and achieve in 1746 the high distinction of election to a Fellowship of the Royal Society. The paper presented by Pepusch to the learned and prestigious scientific body was titled 'Of the various Genera and Species of Music among the Ancients', indicating an interest in esoteric matters which occupied his mind and reinforces the claim that Pepusch was the main intellectual force behind the Academy until his death. John Wesley, former

Scholar of Charterhouse and subsequently founder of Methodism, visited Pepusch in Charterhouse on 13 June 1748. Pepusch asserted in conversation with Wesley 'that the art of music is lost; that the ancients only understood it in its perfection'. Dr Stephen Porter, the present Archivist, notes that Pepusch was visited at Charterhouse 'as an oracle' by both students and senior figures in the profession. Notable amongst the latter was 'the indefatigable musical diarist' Charles Burney (1726-1814). Burney referred to Pepusch in his comprehensive *A General History of Music* as 'This profound musician' who was 'the most learned musician of his time in the music of the sixteenth century'; both progressed in London musical life as teachers, players and composers. As well, both were writers, as Pepusch had published a pedagogical treatise 'Containing the Chief Rules for Composing in Two, Three , and Four Parts, Dedicated to all Lovers of Musick', his *A Treatise on Harmony* in 1730.



Illus.3 Charterhouse, London

Being organist, Pepusch had his Charterhouse Chapel duties, the organ being the post-Restoration instrument installed in 1662 on the 1626 organ gallery, said to be of six ranks only, and previously having been installed in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall in the 1630s. This instrument was acquired from John Hingeston, who was at the Restoration Charles II's 'Keeper and Repairer of his Majesties Organs'. An unusually large-scale organ voluntary of several movements by Pepusch is to be heard on occasion nowadays in recitals, or movements from it, as - in the opinion of its editor - 'It would seem that Pepuch's voluntary is an amalgam of almost all the available voluntary styles and registrations of the period, and the diversity and length of certain movements makes them suitable for performance individually, for example "Trumpet" or "Stop Diapason"'. However, on examination, little is to be found beyond the formulaic, often with elementary figures worked to their limit. It is the concluding fugue that has some convincing musical life and purpose. The registrational requirements of the complete voluntary greatly exceed what would have been available to Pepusch on the Chapel organ of his day.

Voluntaries by pupils and associates of Pepusch are often included in present day recital programmes: Boyce, Cooke and Greene, Nares and Travers are names that recur. One writer has traced his influence forward into the 19th century, for example, Pepusch to Nares, then to Thomas Attwood, then to Thomas Attwood Walmisley. All these names are known in our Cathedrals nowadays. This matter has been summarized succinctly as 'Though Pepusch's own church compositions were soon forgotten, his teach-

ing and example lived on in English church music through the work of his pupils and their successors, almost all of whom became leaders in the development of English cathedral music in the nineteenth century'.

At the advanced age of 85 and in failing health Pepusch made his will, and signed it on 9 July 1752, just eleven days before his death in his Charterhouse rooms on Monday 20 July. The name of John Travers appears three times in the will, and it is touching to read of the disposal of personal items as well as the books and music which were evidently so important to him. A Chapel funeral service followed on 23 July, at which attended 'Gentlemen and the children of the Academy of antient musick . . . together with some of the Choristers of St. Pauls'. Further details of the service are not known, neither is the place of his burial beyond the contemporary record that 'His corpse was interred in the Chapell of the Charter House'. Records of the period have not survived the depredations of war.

Graham Matthews is Organist of the Charterhouse

Music from the Grand Tour

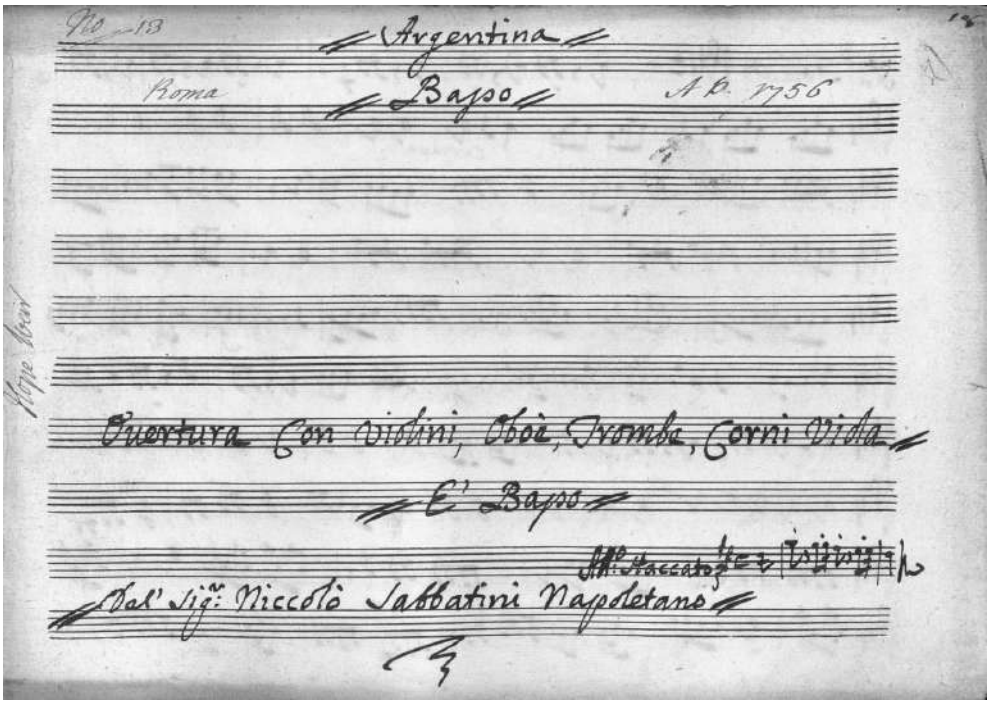
Chris Nex

There have emerged from the Reid Music Library at the University of Edinburgh two collections of manuscript parts of music, apparently gathered in the middle years of the 18th century. These collections are now all held by and accessible through the Centre for Research Collections in the Main Library of Edinburgh University. The first of these (at shelf-marks W13 and W16, in two boxes) consists of 25 sinfonias and overtures, apparently collected by Charles Hope-Weir (1710-1791). The second (at shelf-marks D52-54) is a collection of about 40 trios featuring the flute, believed to have been owned by General John Reid (1721-1807) himself. Both collections have music generally in three-movement form, with the title and composer most fully given on the cover of the bass part.

The collections give rise to several questions, the answers to which could shed more light on life and music in Europe, or more specifically Scotland and Edinburgh, at the time. There seems to be little information on Charles Hope-Weir's involvement with music, but he must have had some purpose in collecting such a substantial and focussed repertoire. Does the presence of the collection in the Reid Library indicate a relationship between General Reid and Charles Hope-Weir? The latter was Muster General (Scotland) from 1744-1759, and both he and Reid were Hanoverians. One of Charles' motives in making the grand tour was to visit his son William, then finishing his education in Pisa and Göttingen. William joined the first regiment of Dragoon Guards in 1756. The Reid collection appears to have been collected in much the same way as the Hope-Weir collection, but there is little indication of how or when.

The Hope-Weir Collection

This consists of parts, dated between 1753 and 1756 and with a location, presumably where collected. The music is mostly for an ensemble of two horns, two violins, viola and 'basso', with the addition of pairs of oboes (with flutes) and trumpets in some cases. The composers are largely those for the opera of that time, but little of their instrumental music seems to have survived. The name 'Hope-Weir' is written on the title page of each together with a number in the same hand, along with other numbers. Below is an example (illus.1). 'Argentina' presumably refers to the Teatro Argentina in Rome, depicted in a painting by Panini (1747) now in the Musée du Louvre.



Illus.1 Argentina

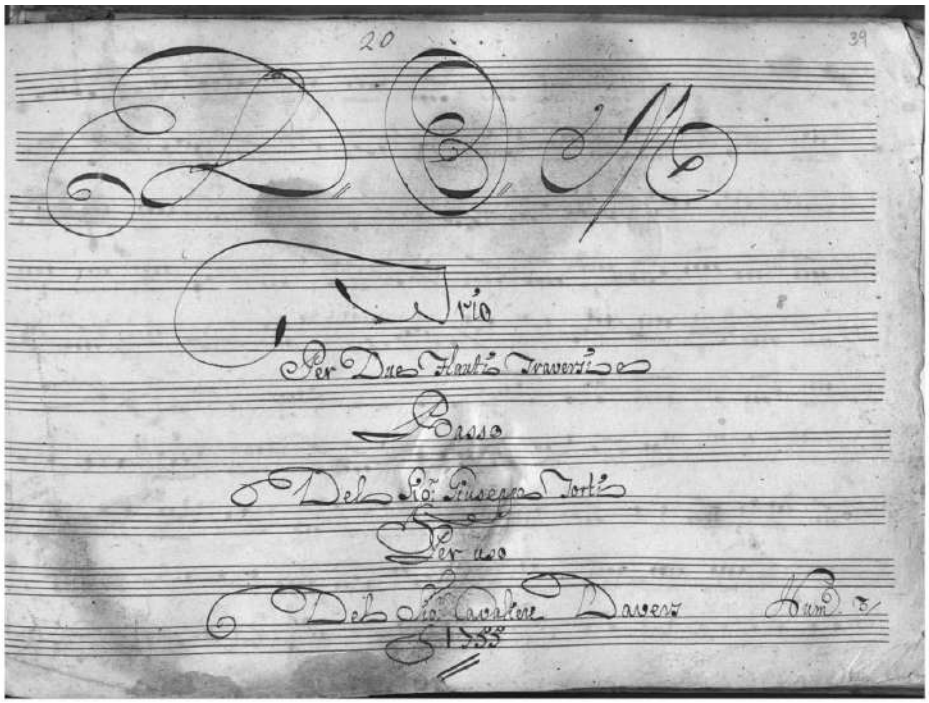
Most of the music is in the key of D, and in three movements (Allegro – Andantino – Allegro, the latter often in triple time) with the wind tacet in the middle movement. The exceptions are the two pieces where the oboists take up flute or piccolo in the middle movements.

In addition to the 25 overtures or sinfonias there is in one box an aria (at W13(1)) by J. C. Bach (known in Italy as 'Don Giovanni Bach'). This is a manuscript score of 'Non temer bell idol mio' for soprano with oboe, two violins and basso. There is a staff labelled 'viola', but blank throughout. As J. C. Bach is known to have been in Italy, indeed in Milan and Bologna, at the same time as the collection is dated (See e.g., Karl Geiringer, *The Bach Family*), it seems reasonable to assume that the aria was copied for Hope-Weir and brought back to Scotland in the same collection in which it is now found.

Charles Hope-Weir was the second son of Charles Hope, First Earl of Hopetoun, and embarked on a grand tour during 1754-1756 when, as a Member, he was given leave by parliament to be abroad (see www.historyofparliamentonline.org). In 1754 he was joined in Brussels by the young Robert Adam with his brother James, the celebrated architects and designers. The brothers had been working on Hopetoun House for Charles' brother John, the second Earl of Hopetoun. James returned via Antwerp that year while Charles and Robert continued to Italy. Robert stayed on in Italy until 1757 but Charles left Robert in Rome in September 1755, travelling to Viterbo and Florence. He later returned to Britain via Germany, which might account for Dresden and Hanover appearing in the list of cities (dated 1756) after the Italian cities which form the bulk of the places cited on the music. This was a Grand Tour significant for the development of British architecture and style, and has been relatively well documented. (See for instance the biography of Robert Adam by Roderick Graham, *Arbiter of Elegance*, published by Birlinn in 2009.)

Appendix 1 gives the list of compositions with modern spellings of the composers' names. The collection is complemented in Edinburgh University Library by a substantial part of the 'Periodical Overtures' published by Bremner from 1763, together with publications for similar forces by Thompson, Longman, Walsh and others. These are in the form of the instrumental parts, with generally two copies of the bass part, and one of each of the others, almost all for an ensemble of pairs of oboes and horns with four string parts.

The Reid collection of trios



Illus.2 Trio by Torti

This consists of parts with little identification of where or when collected. It comprises music suitable for flutes, with evidence that it was intended for two flutes and basso. There are two significant sets of six trios with no composer given, with parts explicitly headed 'traversiere', 'violino' and 'violoncello'. Some of the music has been located in published or other manuscript collections, but much seems to be unknown. The movement structure is much the same as in the Hope-Weir collection but the keys are more varied. A summary table of the collection is given in Appendix 2 and a thematic index in Appendix 3. The cover of the trio by Torti above (illus.2) has more information than most of them.

John Reid had a distinguished military career, and was also a flute player and composer. Some of his marches and flute works were published during his lifetime, one of which is a 'Highland March' for two flutes or violins and bass, with the composer given as 'Captain Reid'. It was published around 1765 by Bremner in a collection of *Airs and Marches*, copies of which exist in Edinburgh University Library CRC (shelf mark Mus.S.524), and in the British Library. It was matched with words and is still in frequent use by the Scottish regiments as 'Garb of Old Gaul', arranged for military band from the earliest version for two pairs of oboes and horns with basso (again published by Bremner in 1781), through to the full military band of the present day. He endowed the professorship of music in Edinburgh, and his collection of books and music started what has become a very significant resource.

In both collections the manuscripts are quite clear, although there are numerous copyists' errors with wrong notes, and displaced measures in some parts. Some of the repertoire is being minimally edited and typeset, and is available from the author: to date the trios by Massa (Reid 13), Pergolesi (Reid 14), Torti (Reid 19,20), anon (Reid 26-31), and from the Hope-Weir collection, Nos. 2, 4-8, 10-12, 14-16 and 21. The Bach aria is also typeset. It is hoped to make the rest available in due course.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Jenny Nex and Elizabeth Quarmby Lawrence for making it possible for me to explore the music in the CRC of Edinburgh University Library and for all the staff there for their cheerful assistance. It is hoped that scans of both manuscript collections will soon be made available through the Edinburgh University website.

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Appendix 1. Hope-Weir Collection of manuscripts in the CRC of Edinburgh University Library. The last column gives the numbers on the fronts of the basso parts.

Shelf	Composer	Title	Key	Location	Date	Parts	No.
W13(2)	Baldone G B	sinfonia a sei strumenti	D	Pisa	[1753]	2hn,2vn,viola in violino,basso	1
W13(13)	Prota T Napolitano	sinfonia con violini e basso	G	Pisa	[1756]	2vn,basso	2
W13(6)	Gazia F Lo Spagnoletto (Garcia-F)	sinfonia a piu stromenti	D	Rome	[1754]	2ob,2hn,2tpt,2vn,va,basso	3
W13(5)	Costanzi G B	ouvertura con violini, oboe obligati, viola, corni, trombe e basso	D	Lucca	[1755]	2ob&flautino,2hn,2tpt,2vn,va,basso	4
W13(3)	Calandra detto Frazia N	sinfonia con violini, oboe, corni, viola, e basso	D	Venice	[1755]	2ob,2hn,2vn,va,basso	5
W13(4)	Chocchi G (Cocchi)	ouvertura con violini, viola, corni e basso	D	Bologna	[1755]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	6
W13(7)	Auzisicchio A	ouvertura con violini oboe corni viola e basso: Argentina	D	Ravenna	[1755]	2ob,2hn,2vn,va,basso	7
W13(12)	Latilla G	ouvertura con violini viola corni e basso	D	Milan	[1755]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	8
W16(3)	Latilla G	overtura con violini, viola, corni e basso	D	Pisa	[1755]	2tpt,2vn,va,basso	9
W16(4)	Casali G B	sinfonia con violini, oboe, corni, viola e basso	D	Parma	[1754]	2ob,2hn,2vn,va,basso	10
W16(2)	Casali G B	sinfonia	D	Rome	[1755]	2ob&fl,2hn,2vn,va,basso	11
W16(9)	Da (di) Capua R	overtura con violini, oboe, corni, viola e basso	D	Florence	[1755]	2ob,2hn,2vn,va,basso	12
W16(13)	Sabatino N Napoletano	overtura con violini, oboe, trombe, corni, viola e basso: Argentina	D	Rome	[1756]	2ob,2hn,2tpt,2vn,va,basso	13
W16(1)	Martino Gio B (Sammartini)	overtura con violini, viola, corni da caccia e basso	F	Pisa	[1754]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	14
W16(5)	Scolari G	sinfonia con violini, oboe, corni, trombe, viola e basso	D	Naples	[1753]	2ob,2hn,2tpt,2vn,va,basso	15
W16(6)	Abos G	overtura con violini, viola, corni e basso	D	Ferrara	[1755]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	16
W16(11)	Perezz D (Perez)	overtura con violini, oboe, corni, viola e basso	G	Rome	[1755]	2ob,2hn,2vn,va,basso	17
W16(12)	Perezz D (Perez)	overtura con violini, oboe, viola, corni e basso	D	Rome	[1755]	2ob,2hn,2vn,va,basso	18
W13(10)	Jomelli N	ouvertura con violini viola corni e basso (No.3)	D	Rome	[1755]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	19
W13(8)	Jomelli N	ouvertura con violini corni e basso	D	Rome	[1755]	2hn,2vn,basso	20
W13(9)	Jomelli N	ouvertura con violini corni viola e basso	D	Turin	[1755]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	21
W16(8)	Scalabrini P	overtura a due corni, due violini e basso	D			2hn,2vn,basso	22
W16(7)	Lampugnani G B	overtura (sinfonia) a due violini, due corni, viola e basso	D	Dresden	[1756]	2hn,2vn,va,basso	23
W13(11)	Jomelli N Napolitano	ouvertura con violini viola trombe e basso, tutti obligati	D	Hanover	[1756]	2tpt,2vn,violetta,basso	24
W16(10)	Prota T Napolitano	sinfonia a violini, viola, trombe e basso	D	Hanover	[1756]	2tpt,2vn,violetta,basso	25

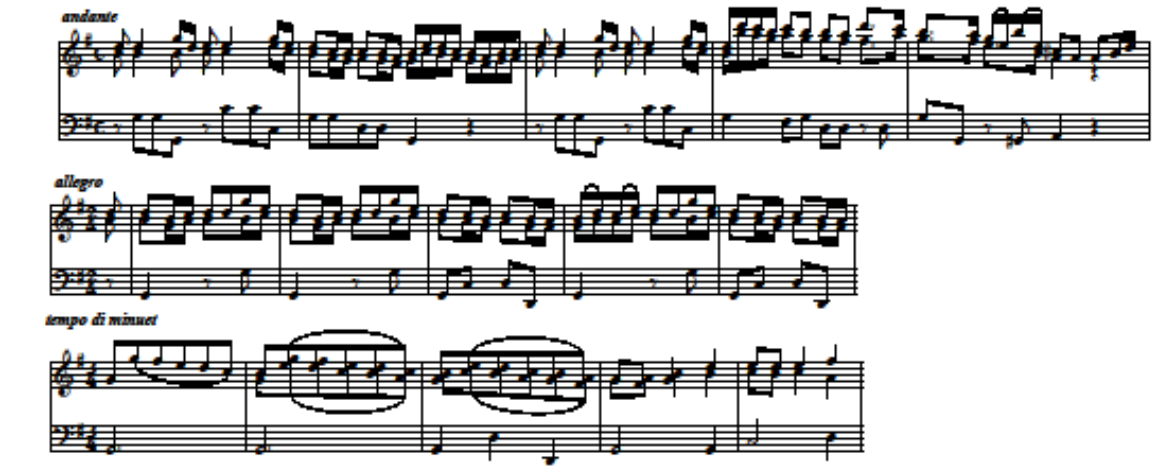
Appendix 2. Trios from the Reid Collection at cupboard shelfmark D 52-54 of the CRC collection of the Library of Edinburgh University. The parts are bound in sets of each part. The number in the first column gives the index within the part. Generally the bass part is shelved at D52, the primo part at D53 and the secondo part at D54.

	composer	title (usually from bass part)	key sig	movements – tempo and time	comments
1	Androux G G	Sonata da camera a due flauti traversieri e basso del sig Gio. Giacomo Androux	G	andante C – allegro 2/4 – tempo di minuet 3/4	same as Terry pub No.1
2	Androux G G		C	andante 2/4 – allegro ₵ – tempo di minuet 3/4	same as Terry pub No.5
3	Androux G G		E	andante 2/4 – allegro C – tempo di minuet 3/4	
4	Androux G G		G	andante 2/4 – allegro C – tempo di minuet 3/8	
5	Androux G G		D	andante 2/4 – allegro C – tempo di minuet 3/4	
6	Androux G G		F	andante C – allegro 2/4 – tempo di minuet 3/4	
7	Androux G G		F	allegro C – andante 3/4 – allegro 3/8	
8	Androux G G		B flat	allegro 2/4 – largo 12/8 – allegro 3/4	
9	Androux G G		G	andante C – presto 2/4 – allegro 3/8	
10	Androux G G		G	adagio 3/8– allegro moderato C – adagio 3/4 – allegro 2/4	
11	Androux G G	Violino primo on first part	D	adagio C – allegro 2/4 – adagio 3/8 – allegro 2/4	
12	Androux G G		C	andante moderato C – allegro 2/4 – arioso C – tempo di minuet 3/8	
13	Massa	trio a due flauti traversi e basso dell sigr Massa	G	andante 2/4 – allegro C – allegro 3/4	
14	Pergolesi J B	concerto a dui violini e basso del signeur Juan Baptista Pergolese … Milan	D	allegro ?itoso ₵– largo C – allegro 3/8	C Cudworth attests as overture to Il Flaminio (damaged)
15	Jomelli N	trio by Jomelli (parts labelled violins)	C	laghetto C – allegro 2/4 – minueto 3/4	1st 2 mvts as Budapest 1
16	Campioni C A	sonata per due traversieri e basso 1766 3	C	andante 3/4 – allegro 2/4 – minue 3/8	Tho Hill incer. in corner Hummel pub Op.V No.3
17	Campioni C A	sonata per due traversieri e basso 1766 2	D	andante 3/4 – allegro moderato 2/4 – minue 3/4	Tho Hill incer. in corner Hummel pub Op.V No.2
18	Quantz J J	Sonata by Sigr Quantz (on flute 1 part)	G	andante C – allegro 2/4 – adagio C – allegro 3/4	QV 2: Anh.27 in imslp.org
19	Torri G	trio per due traversiere e basso del Sigr Giuseppe Torri	D	allegro C – andante 2/4 – allegro 3/4	
20	Torri G	trio Per Due Flauti Traversi e Basso Del Sior Giuseppe Torri Per uso del Sio Cavaliere Davers 1755	G	allegro 2/4 – largo 2/4 – allegro 2/4	Very sim. to Concerto in G D-KA, Mus.Hs.953 (Dr.I. Bieńkowska)
21	Prota T	sonata per due traversieri e basso del sigr Tomasso Prota 1764	C	allegro C – andante 2/4 – allegro 3/8	not in Opus 1 publication
22	unknown	(violino primo, violino secundo, cembalo)	G	presto 2/4 – largo modenato 3/4 – allegro 6/8 in 1st part: presto 2/4 – largo andante 3/4 – allegro 6/8	
23	Stalder JP	serenata a due flauti o violini col basso obbligato	D	tempo di minuetto 3/4 – minetur 3/4	
24	Stalder JP	serenata a due flauti o violini e basso del sig. Stalder	G	tempo di minuetto 3/4 – trio 3/4	title on 1st part, titled flauto
25	Stalder JP	serenata a due flauti o. violini col basso obligato del sig'r Stalder	D	tempo di minuetto 3/4 – trio 3/4	1st part titled flauto
26	unknown	sonata I (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	D	andante C – presto ₵ – allegro 3/4	
27	unknown	sonata II (traverso, violino, violoncello)	G	andante 6/8 – allegro (presto in flute part) 2/4 – allegro 3/4	
28	unknown	sonata III (traverso, violino, violoncello)	C	andante 3/8 – allegro 6/8 – allegro 3/4	
29	unknown	sonata IV (traverso, violino, violoncello)	D	andante C – allegro 2/4 – allegro 3/8	
30	unknown	Sonata V (traverso, violino, violoncello)	G	andante C – presto 2/4 – allegro 3/8	
31	unknown	sonata VI (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	F	andante 3/8 – allegro ₵ (C in violin part) – allegro 3/4	

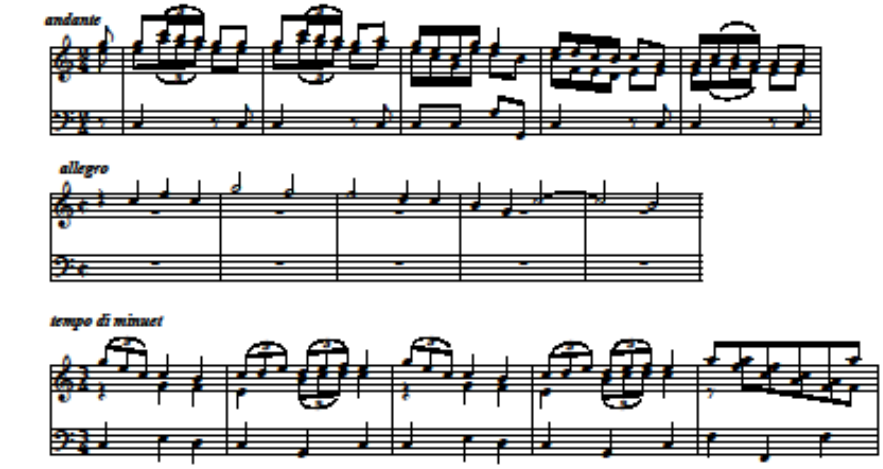
32	unknown	sonata I (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	A	andante C – allegro (C in basso part) – allegro 3/4	cover pages marked E
33	unknown	sonata II (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	G	andante C – allegro 2/4 – allegro 3/4	cover pages marked E
34	unknown	sonata III (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	F	andante 6/8 – allegro ₵ – allegro 3/4	cover pages marked E
35	unknown	sonata IV (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	C	andante C – presto (allegro in fl) 2/4– allegro 3/4	cover pages marked E
36	unknown	sonata V (traversiero, violino, violoncello)	G	andante 3/4 – allegro 2/4 – prestissimo (allegro in violin part) 3/8	cover pages marked E
37	unknown	sonata VI (violoncello, violino, traversiero)	D	andante C – allegro C (₵ in fl part) – allegro 3/4	cover pages marked E
38	Breunich M	sonata per due flauti traversi, e basso del Sig: Michele Breunich (flauto primo, flauto secondo, basso)	C	andante moderato C (andante in fl1&2) – allegro C – arioso (F) 3/8 – tempo di minuet 3/8	
39	Breunich M	sonata per due flauti traversi, e basso del Sig: Michele Breunich (flauto primo, flauto secondo, basso)	G	allegro 2/4 – siciliana adagio 6/8 – allegro 2/4	basso part missing 2 pages
40	unknown	sonata a due traversi e basso (traverso primo,*absent*, basso)	D	allegro 2/4 – largo 2/4 – allegro 3/8	
41	unknown	(*absent*, violino secondo,*absent*)	G	andantino 2/4	
42	Sammartini G B	Symphonia a primo, secondo e basso del Snr Gio Baptista Sn martini de Milano (on primo part)(violino primo, violino secondo, basso)	G	allegro C – andante 2/4 – allegro 3/8	primo lacking 2nd and 3rd movements
44	Sammartini	Trio traversiere e violino col basso (flauto, second dessue, basso) Martini on primo part	G	allegro non tanto 2/4 – andante (adagio in 1st,2nd part) 2/4 – allegro 2/4	
45	Heyman	andanta a tre del singr Heyman (in 2nd part) (flauto traverso, basso ,*absent*)	G	andanta 3/8 – allegro 2/4 – menuet alternative 3/4	
46	Stalder	Del sigr Staldero (flauto primo (bass clef), flauto secondo (bass clef) ,*absent*) title on primo part	C	ariose 2/4 – menuetto 3/4	
47	Emanuele	Trio del sigr Emanuele (*absent,absent*, basso)	C	allegro C – minuet 3/8	

Appendix 3. Thematic listing of the manuscripts at cupboard shelfmark D 52-54 of the CRC of the Library of Edinburgh University

1. Sonata da Camera a Due Flauti Traversieri e Basso Del Sig: Giocomo Andreux [*published by George Terry as the first of a set of six*]



2. [*published by George Terry as the fifth of a set of six*]



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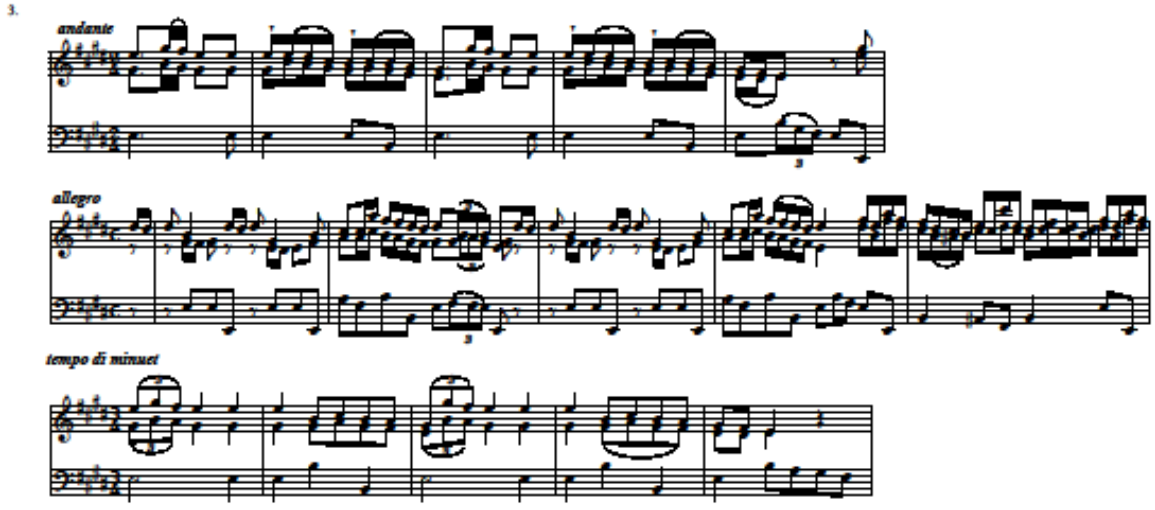

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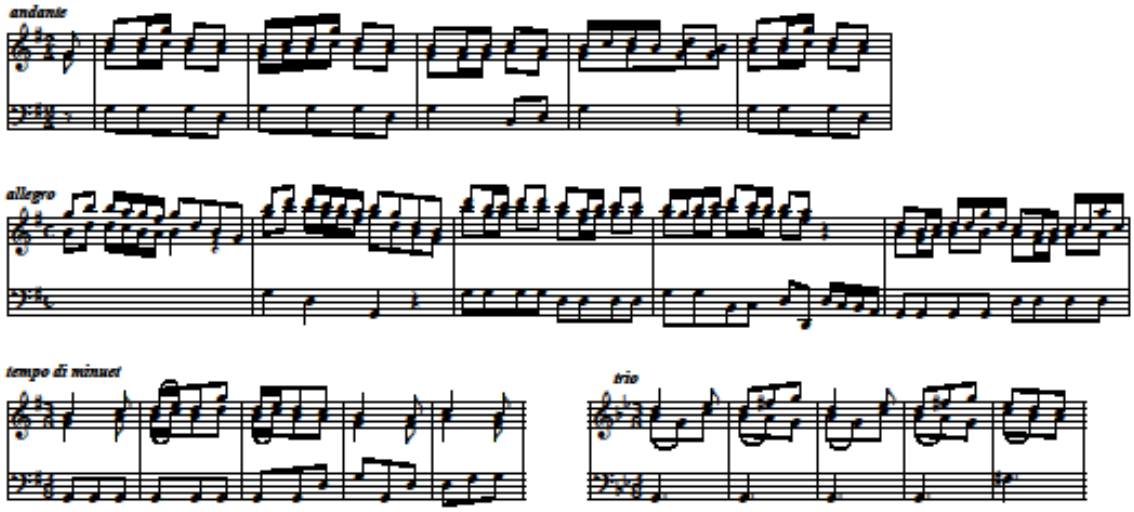
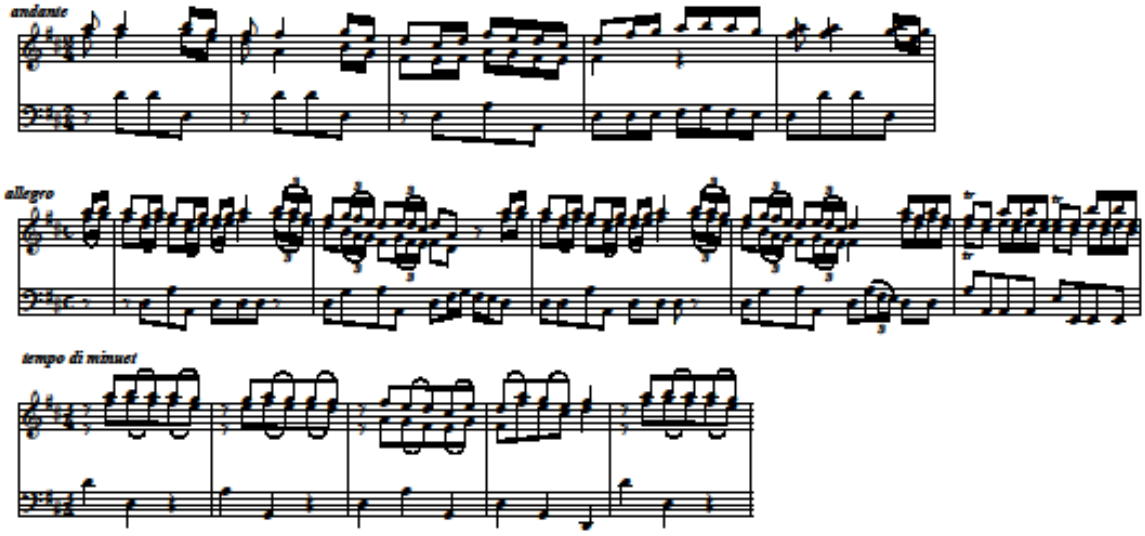
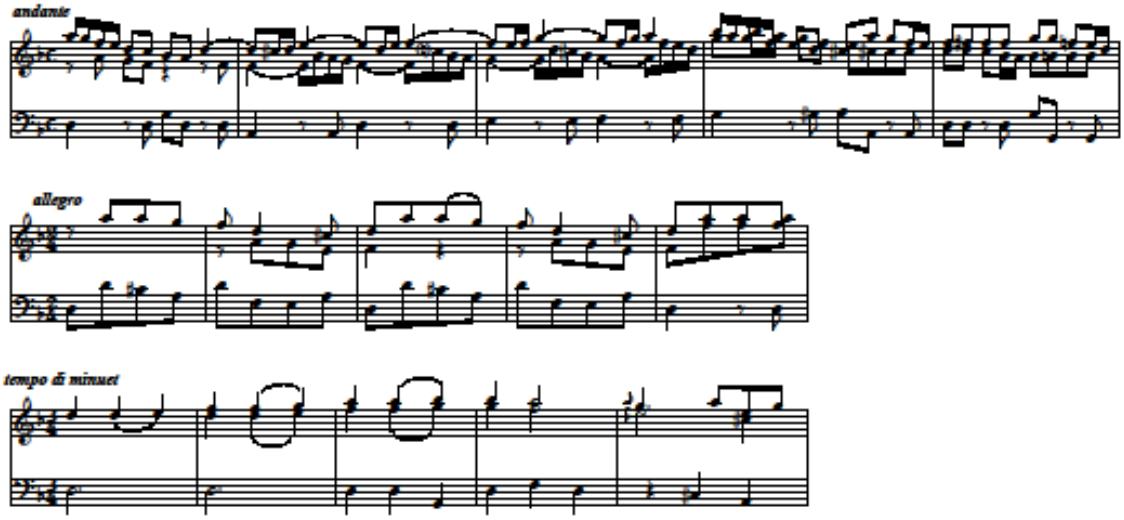

andante
allegro
tempo di minuet
trio

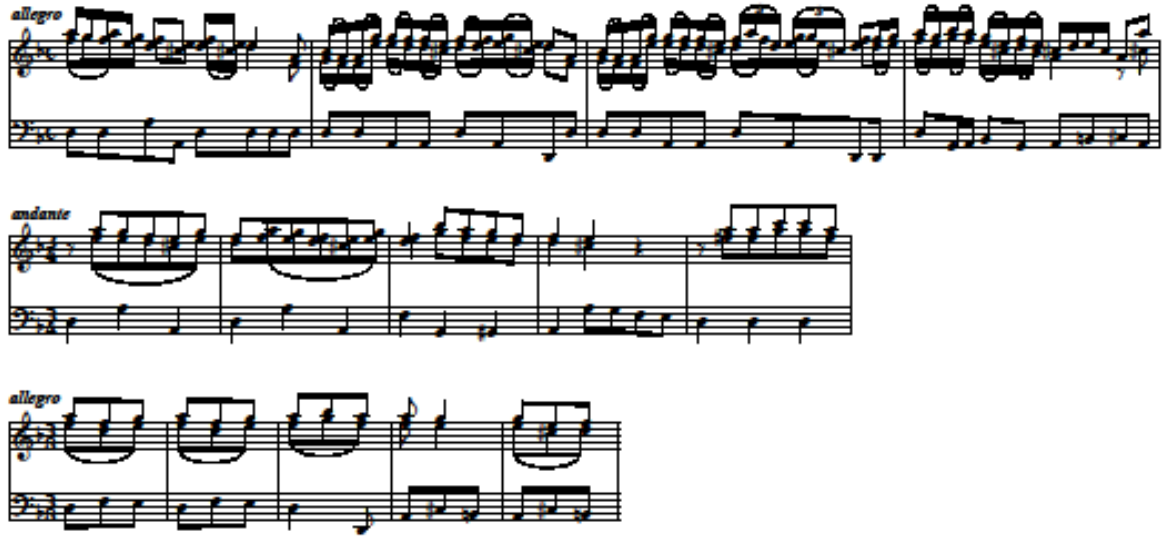
5.


andante
allegro
tempo di minuet

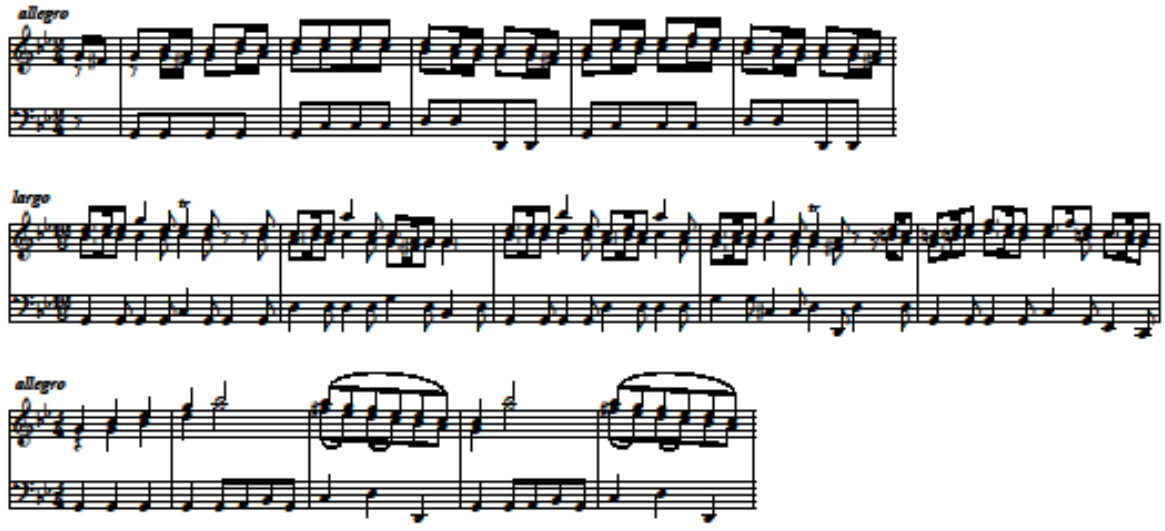
6.


andante
allegro
tempo di minuet

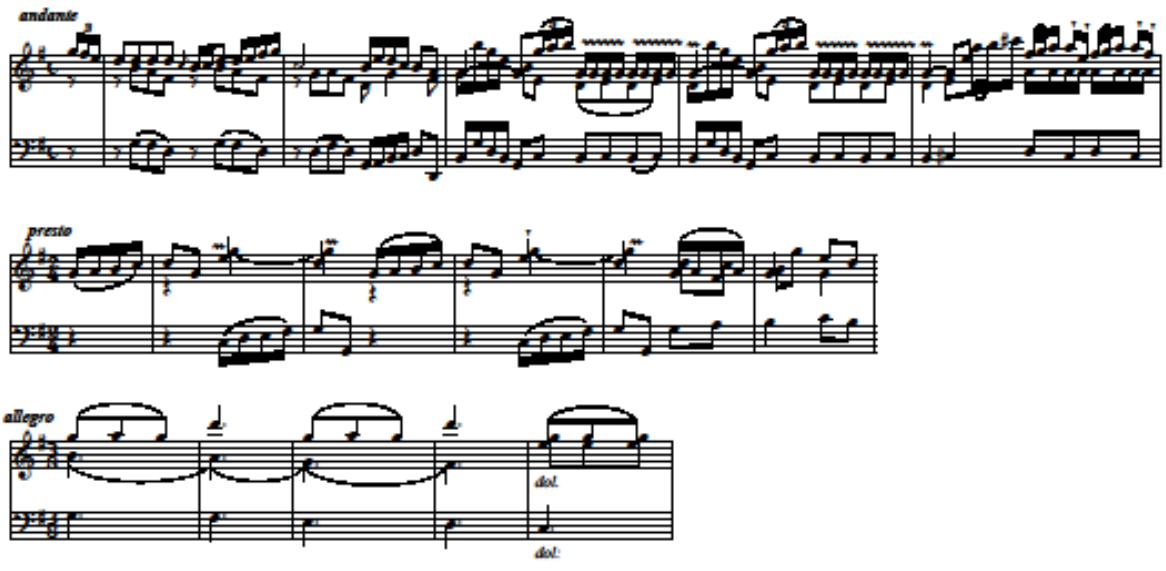
7.


allegro
andante
allegro

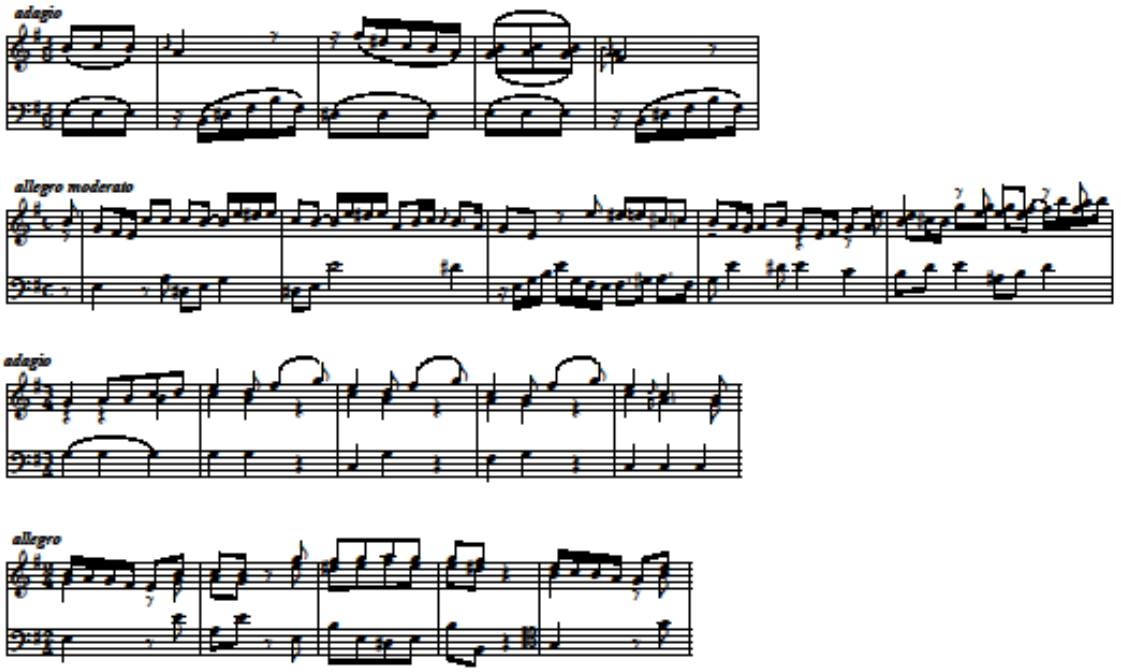
8.


allegro
largo
allegro

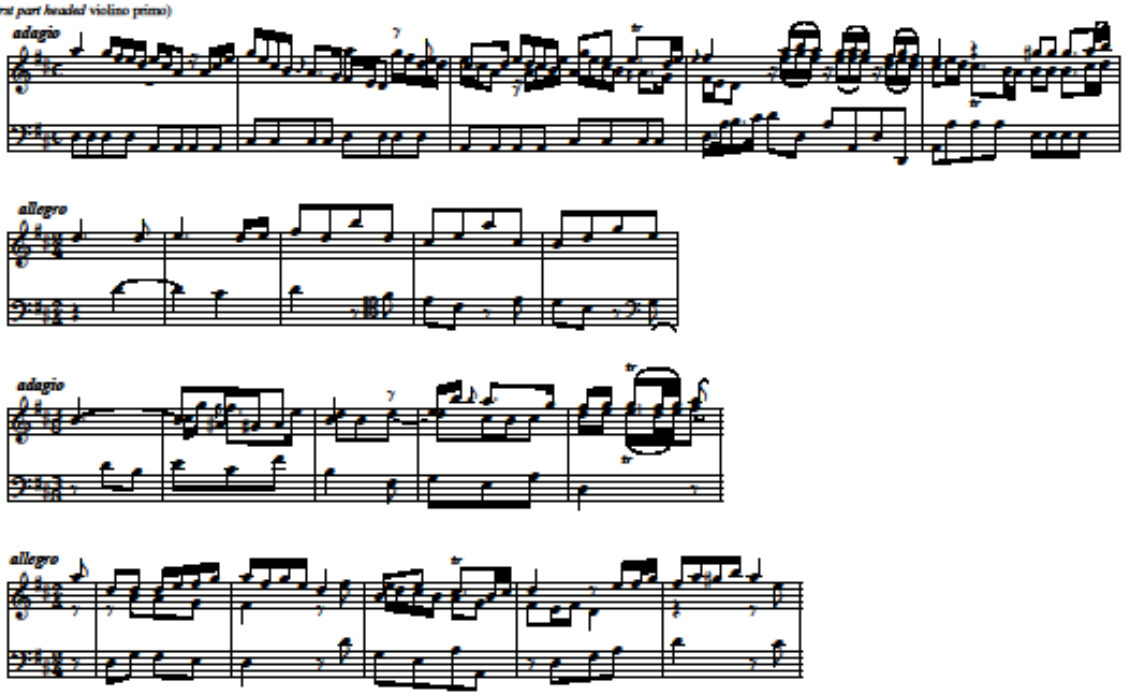
9


andante
presto
allegro
dol.
dol.

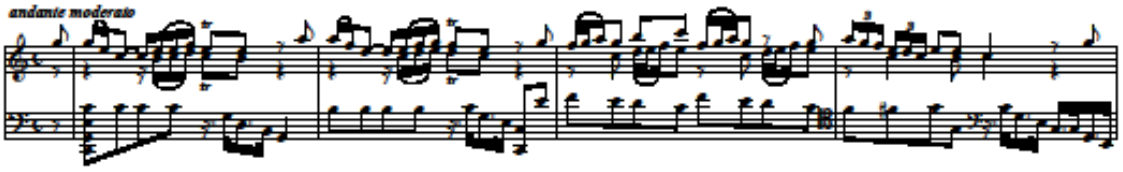
10.

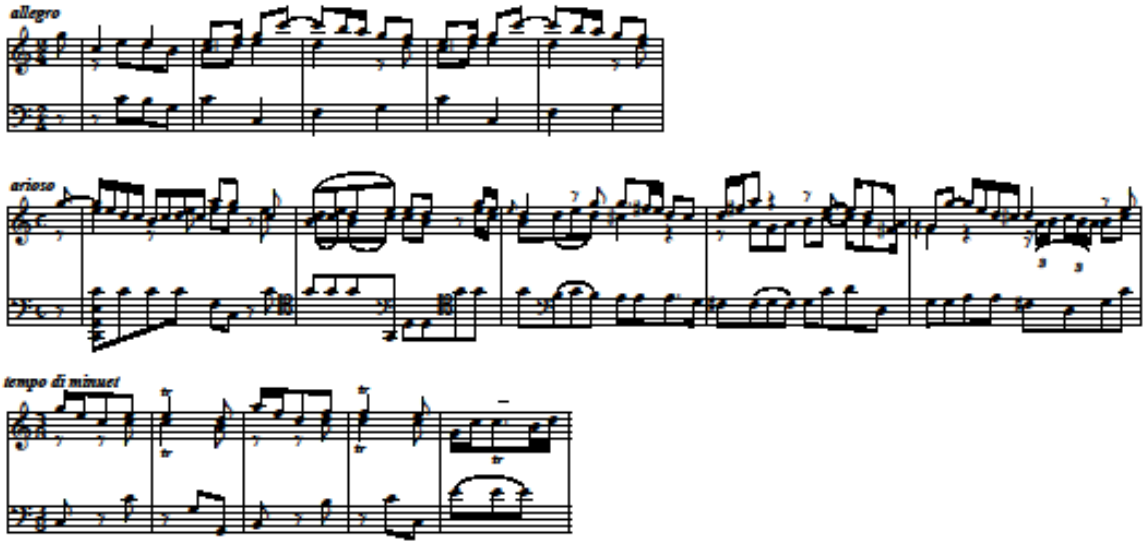


11. (*first part headed* violino primo)

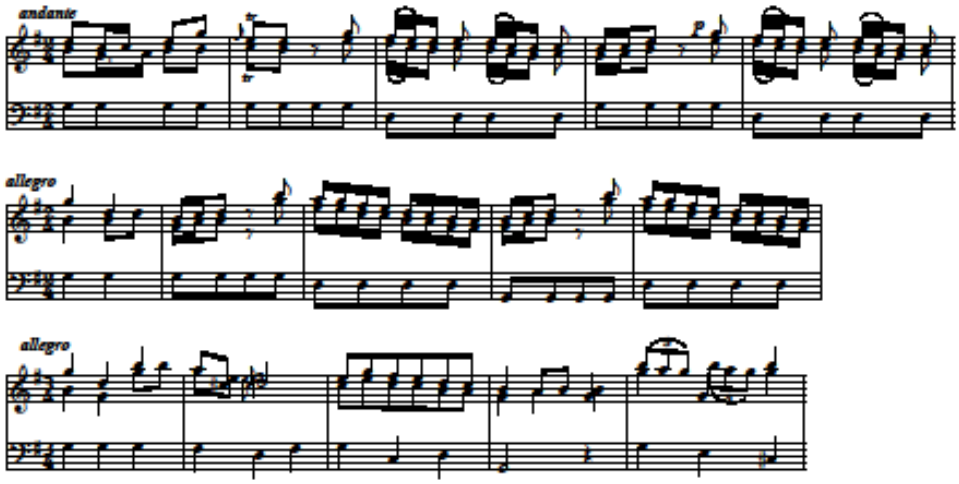


12.

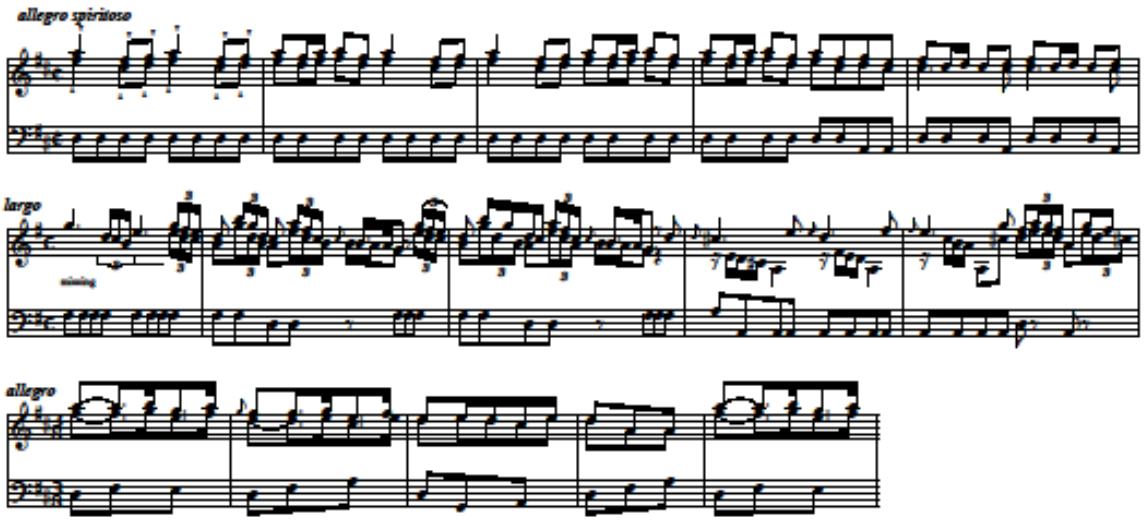




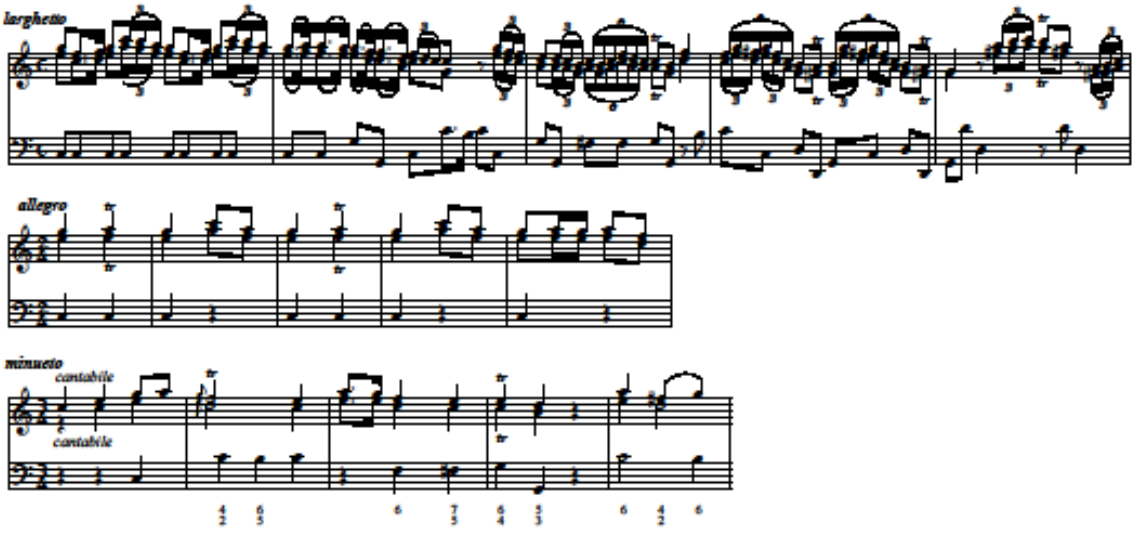
13. Trio a Due Flauti Traversi è Basso Dell Sigr. Mazza



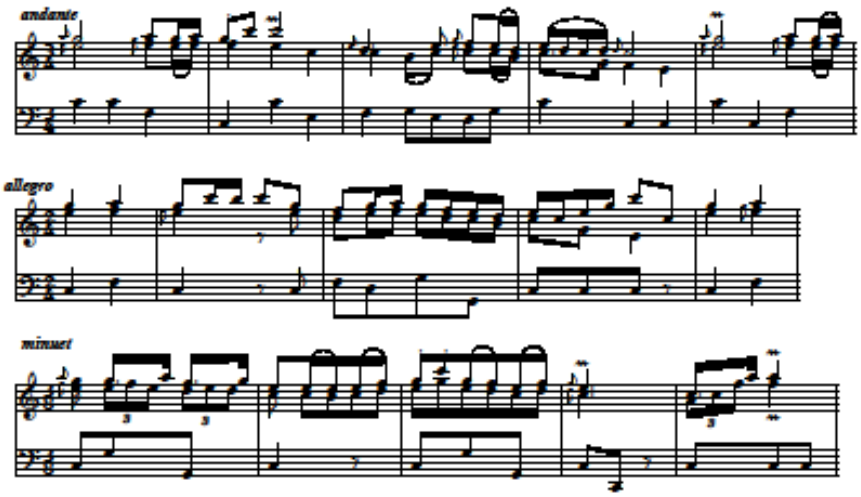
14. Concerto à dui Violini è Basso Del Signeur Juan Baptista Pergolese Pertenece à Dn Cyprian Calderon y Milan [*sinfonia to Il Flaminio*]



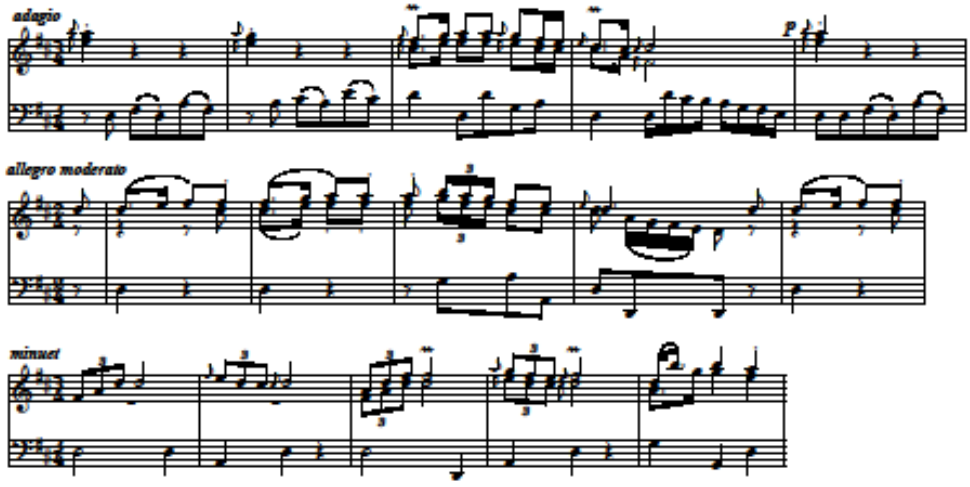
15. Trio by Jomelli (parts headed Sonata Violino Primo, Sonata Violino Secundo, Sonata Basso) [*movements 1 & 2 published by Walsh as the first 2 movements of number 5 of a collection of 6*]



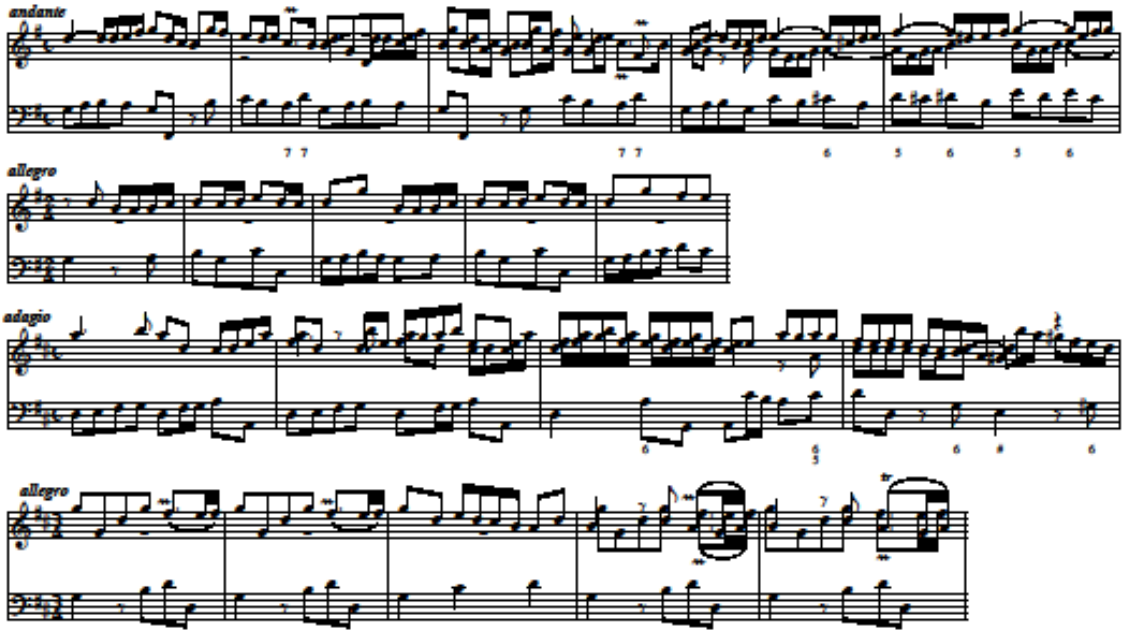
16. Sonata Per Due Travenieri e Basso Campioni 3 [*first 2 movements published by Hummel as those of sonata III in a set of 8, Oeuvre V*]



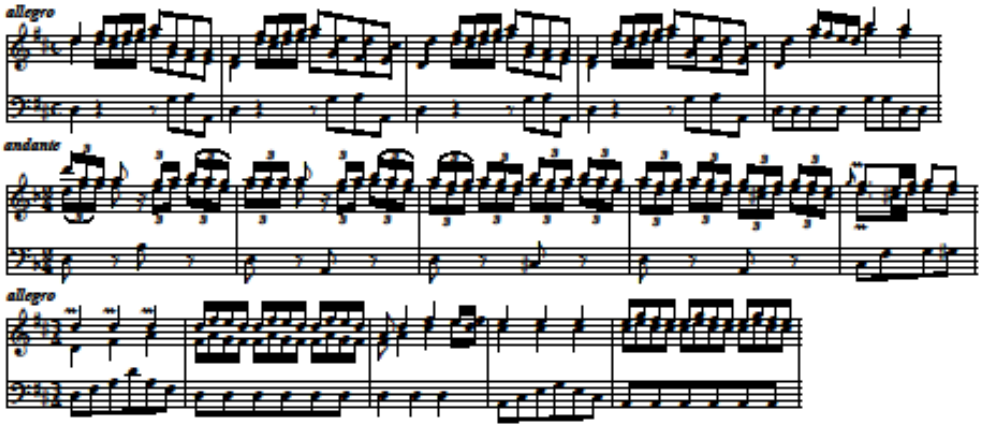
17. Sonata Per Due Travenieri e Basso Campioni 2 (Basso inscribed Tho Hill 1766) [*published by Hummel as sonata II in a set of 8, Oeuvre V*]



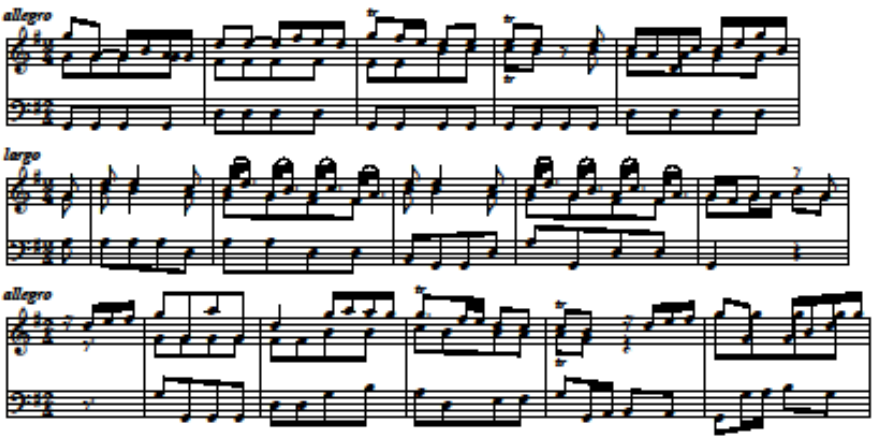
18. Sonata by Sigr. Quantz [*Johann Joachim Quantz QV2: Anh27 manuscript in Dresden*]



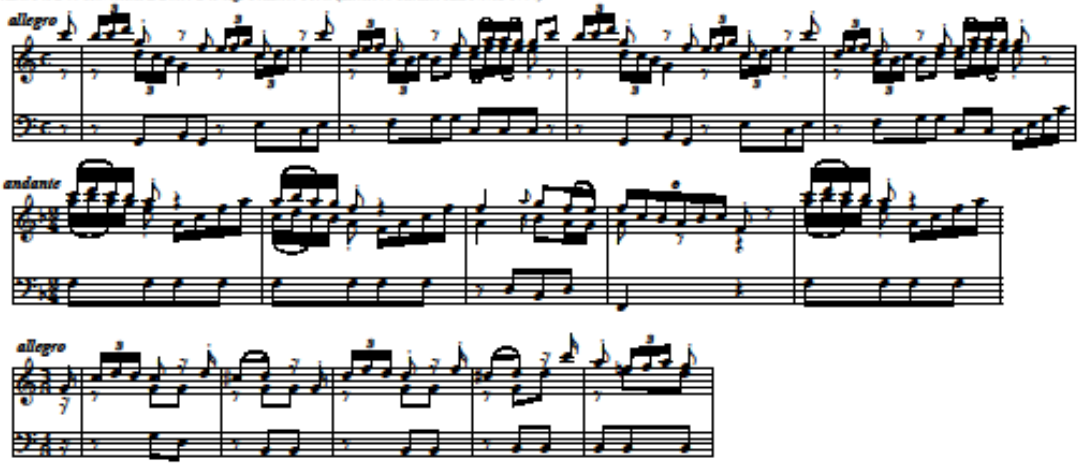
19. Trio Per Due Traversiere e Basso Del Sigr Giuseppe Torti



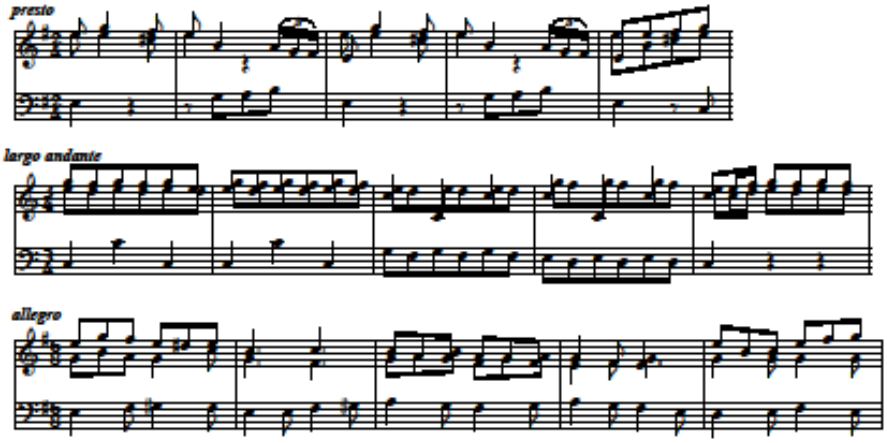
20. DEM Trio Per Due Flauti Traversieri e Basso Del Sigr. Giuseppe Torti Per uso Del Sigr. Cavaliere Devers 1755 (Num 3 at foot of page)
[*A version of a concerto in G, D-ICA, Mus.Hs.953: Dr. I. Bienkowska*]



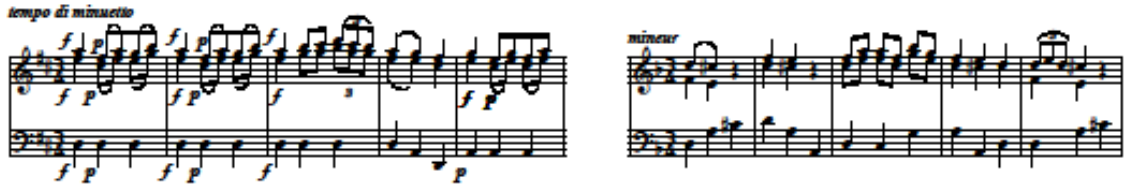
21. Sonata Per Due Traversieri E Basso Del Sigr Tomaso Prota (inscribed Thomas Hill No.12 1764)



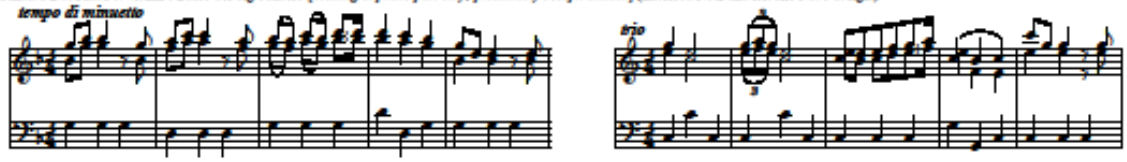
22. Sonata [*no composer*] (parts headed violino primo, violin secundo, cembalo) [*the cembalo part of the third movement might need the tenor clef at the beginning*]



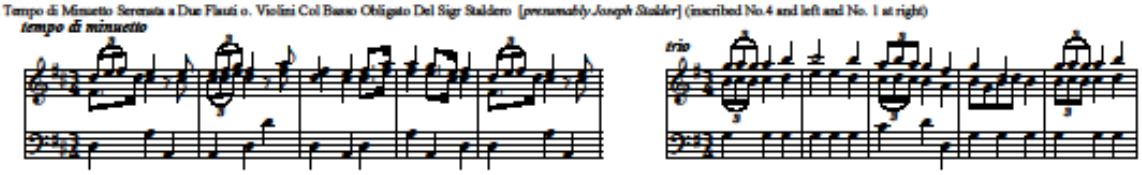
23. Serenata à Due Flauti o. Violini Col Basso obligato (inscribed No.3 at left and No. 4 at right) [*no composer, but handwriting as nos. 24 & 25, so probably Joseph Stalder*]



24. Serenata a Due Flauti o. violini e Basso del Sig Staldero [*heading in primo part only; presumably Joseph Stalder*] (inscribed No.2 and left and No. 3 at right)

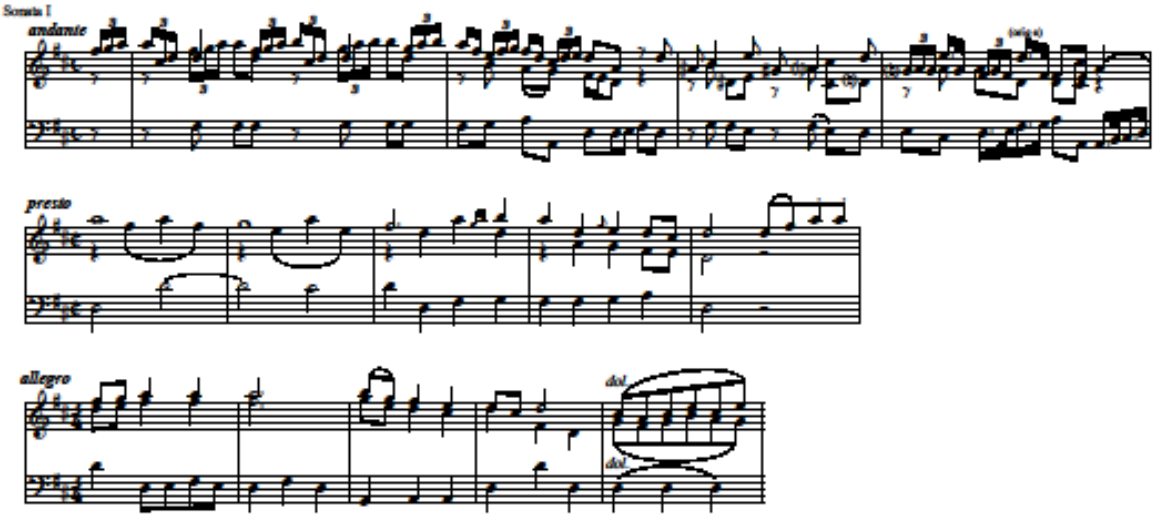


25. Tempo di Minuetto Serenata a Due Flauti o. Violini Col Basso Obligato Del Sigr Staldero [*presumably Joseph Stalder*] (inscribed No.4 and left and No. 1 at right)

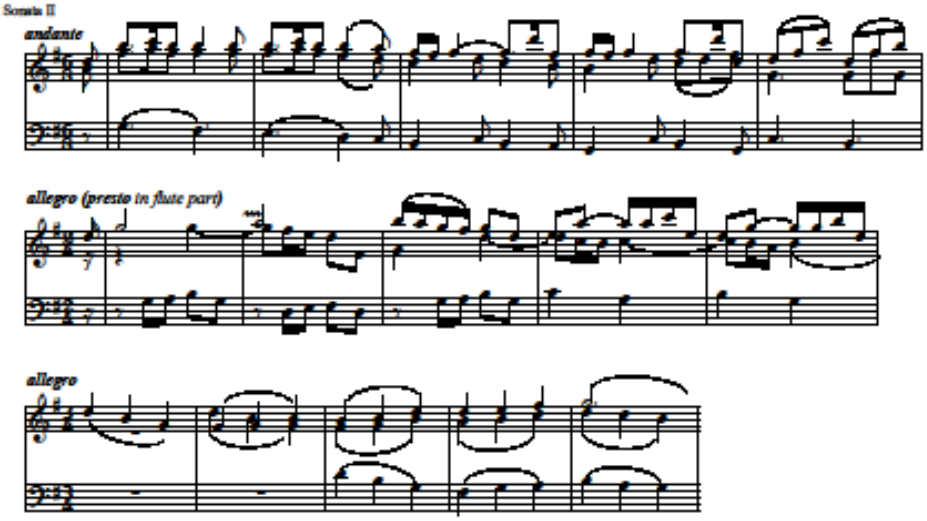


26. - 31. [*a set of six sonatas without attribution*] parts entitled traversiero, violino and violoncello

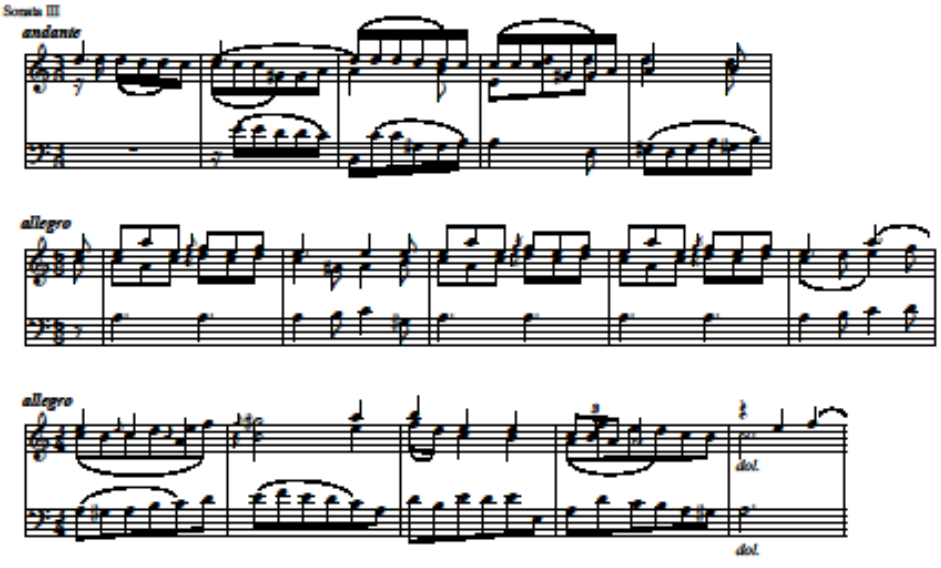
26. Sonata I



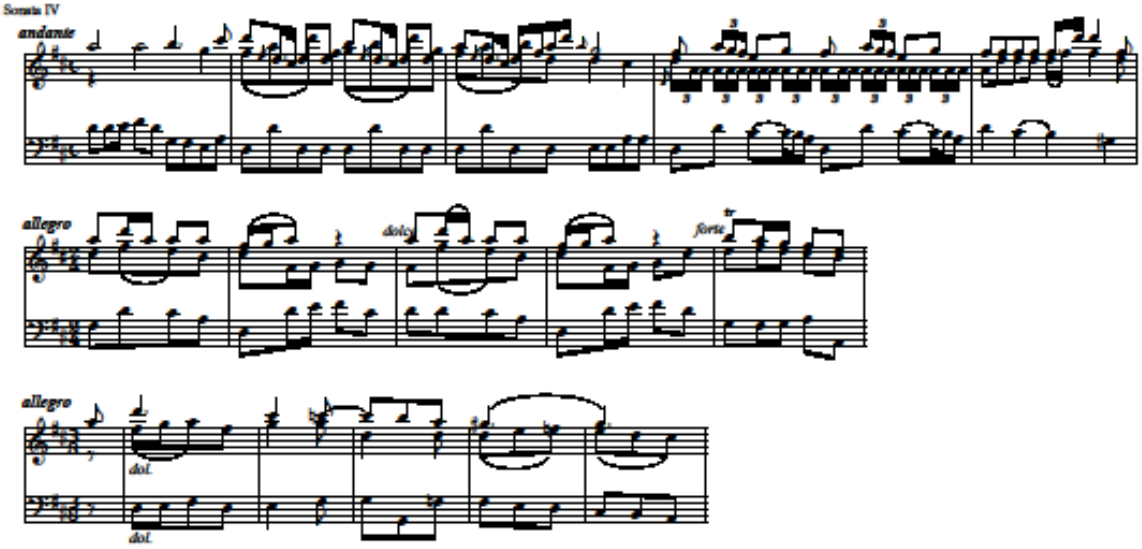
27. Sonata II



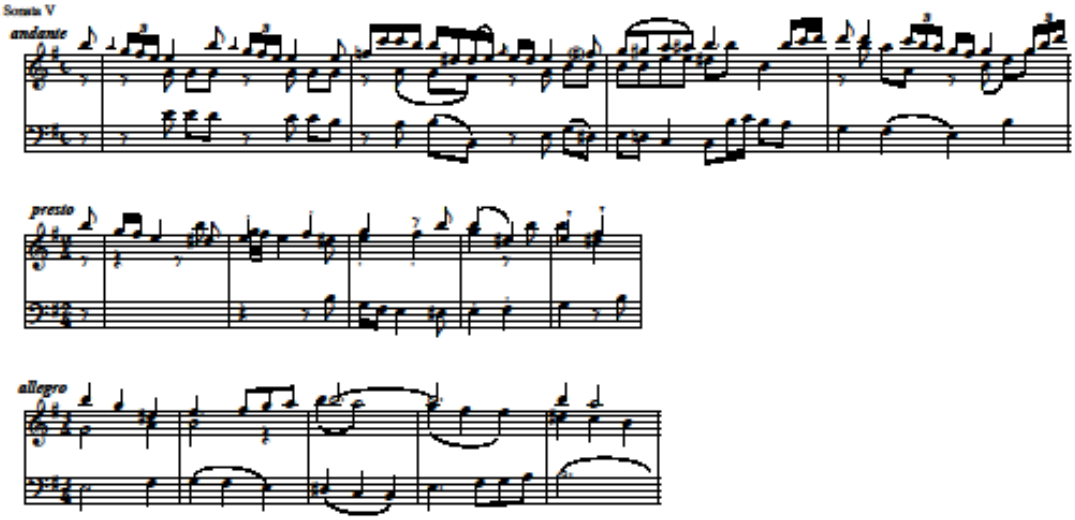
28. Sonata III



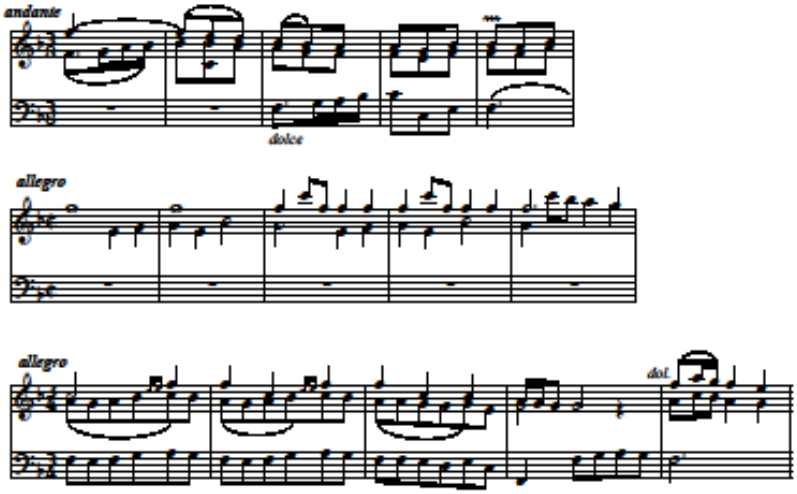
29. Sonata IV



30. Sonata V

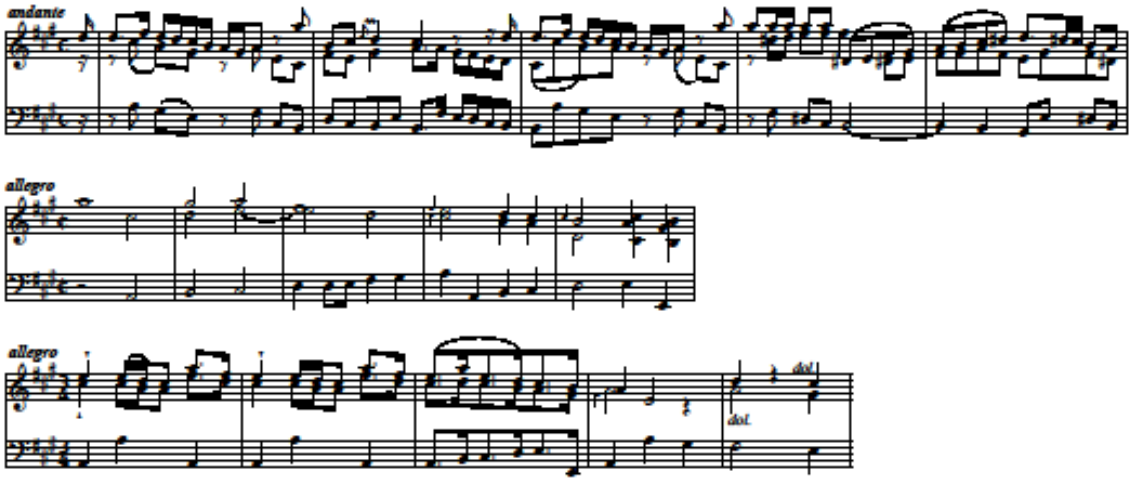


31. Sonata VI

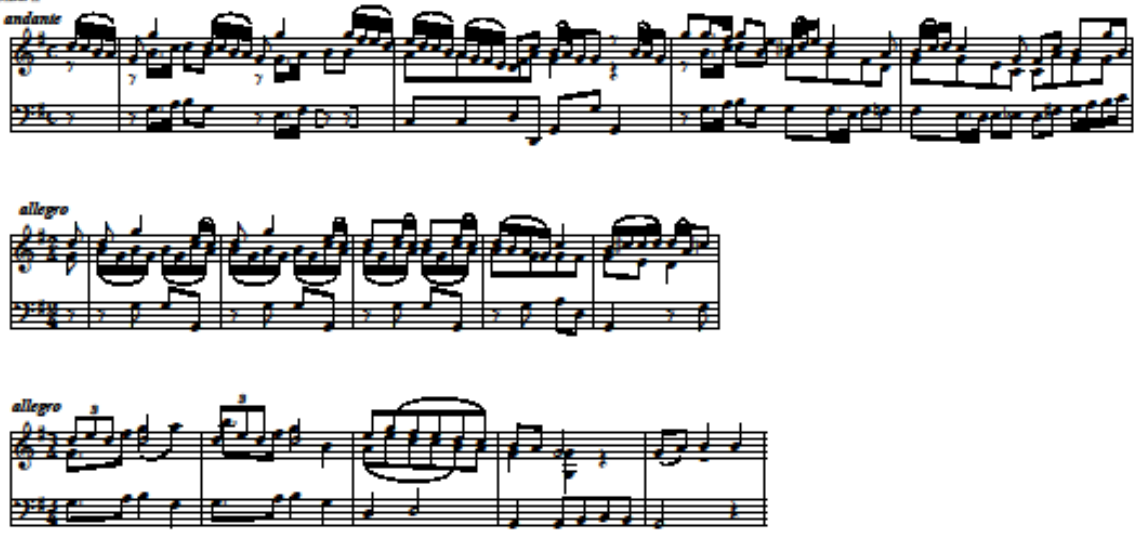


32. - 37. [*a set of six sonatas without attribution*] parts entitled traversiero, violino and violoncello

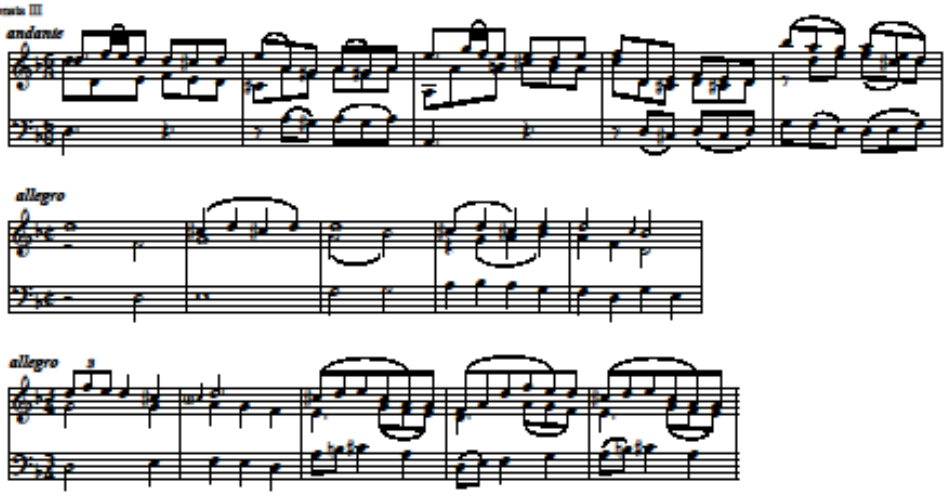
32. Sonata I



33. Sonata II

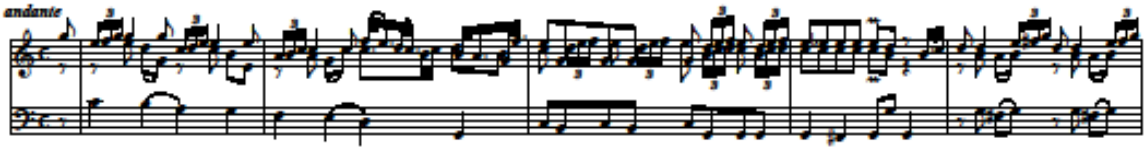


34. Sonata III

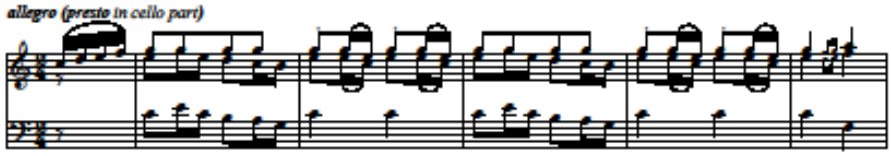


35. Sonata IV

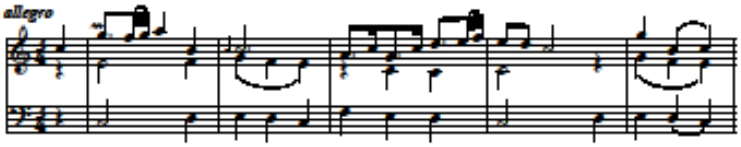
andante



allegro (presto in cello part)

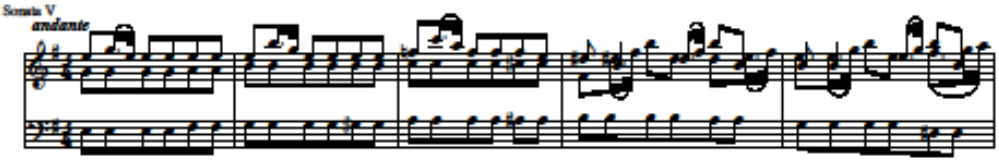


allegro

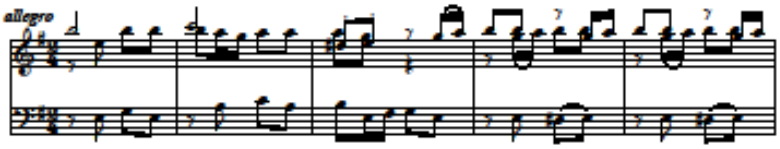


36. Sonata V

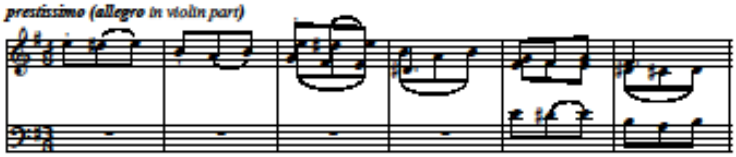
andante



allegro

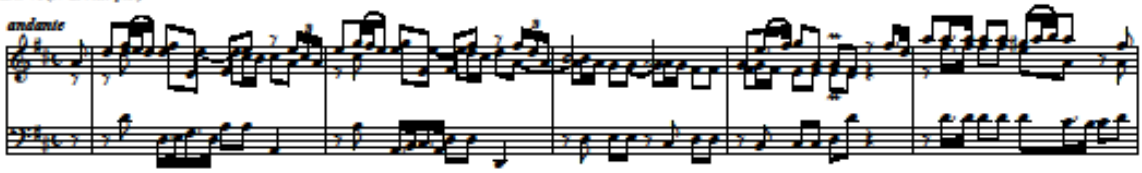


prestissimo (allegro in violin part)

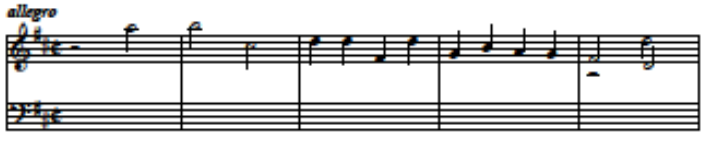


37. Sonata VI (IV in cello part)

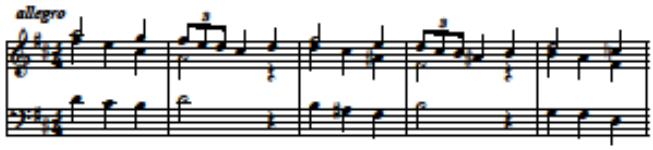
andante



allegro

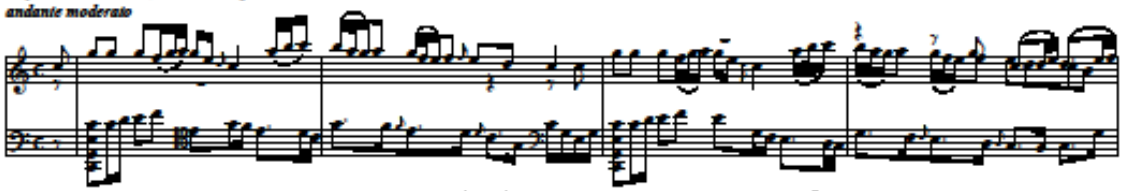


allegro

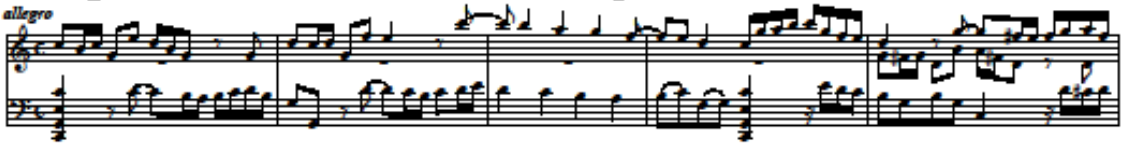


38. Sonata per due Flauti traversi, e Basso Del Sigr: Michele Breunich

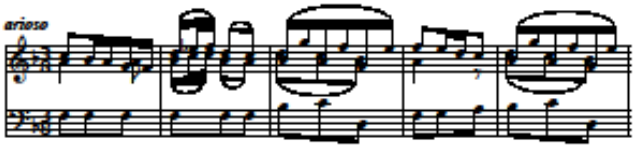
andante moderato



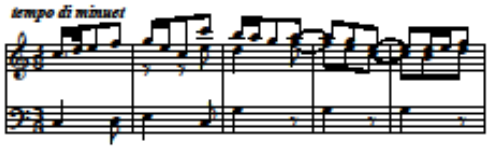
allegro



arioso

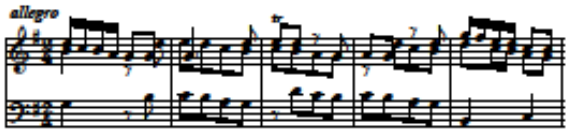


tempo di minuet

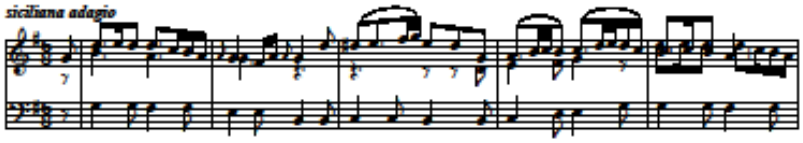


39. Sonata per due Flauti traversi, e Basso Del Sigr: Michele Breunich

allegro

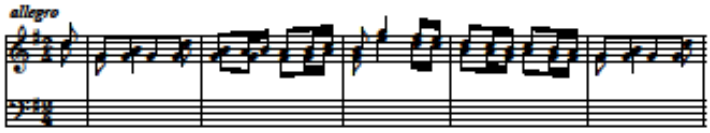


siciliana adagio



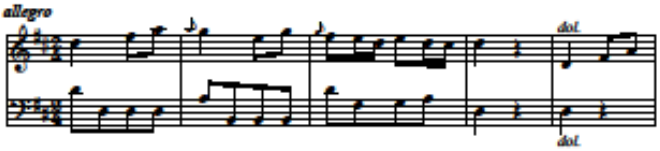
[*basso part missing from bar 8 onwards*]

allegro

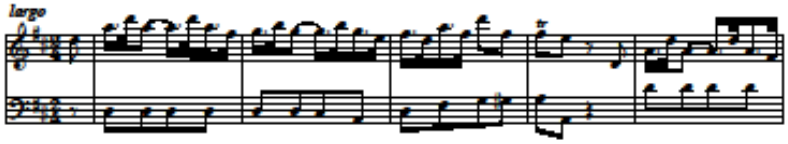


40. Sonata a Due Traversi é Basso [*composer not given; lacking the second part*]

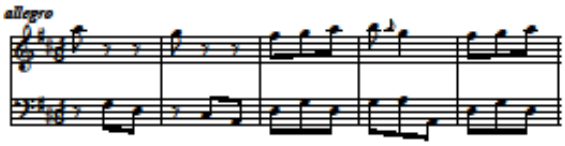
allegro



largo

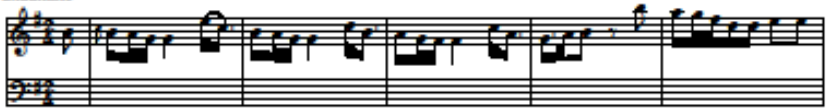


allegro



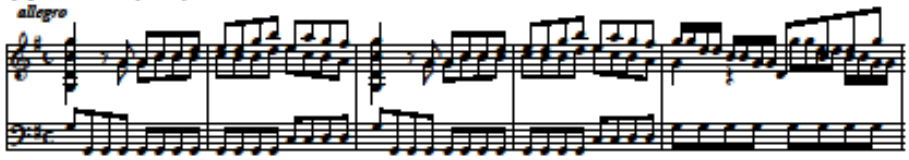
41. Violino Secondo [*untitled, composer not given; second part only*]

andantino



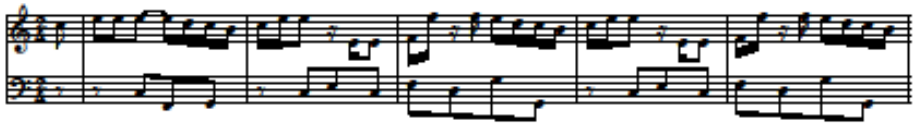
42. Symphonia à Primo Secondo è Basso Del Sre Gio Baptista Sn. martini de Milano/ Pertenece á Dn. Cyprian Calderon y Milan [*presumably G B Sammartini; primo part incomplete, title page similar to that of No. 14*]

allegro

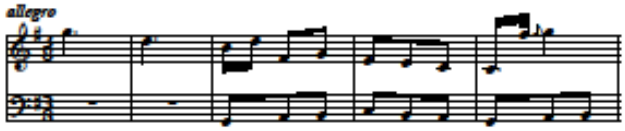


[*primo part of mvts 2 & 3 missing*]

andante



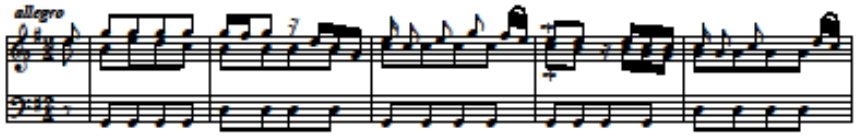
allegro



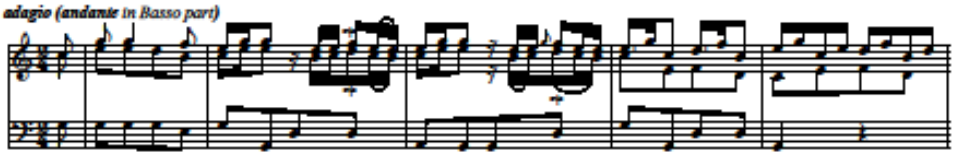
43.absent

44. Trio Traversiere e violino Col Basso (MARTINI *at head of primo part*) (*No 5 at top left*, Venise 17 *at bottom right; second part titled* Second dessus) [*in the second movement the Basso part contains a different number of bars from the violin parts*]

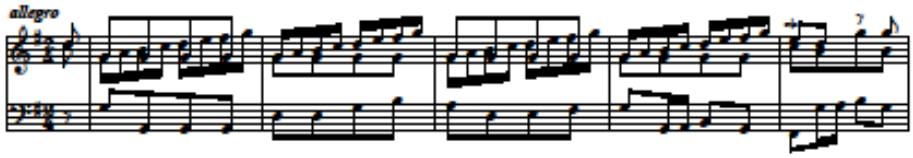
allegro



adagio (andante in Basso part)

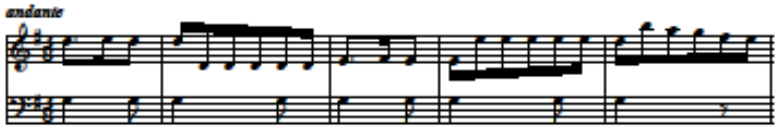


allegro

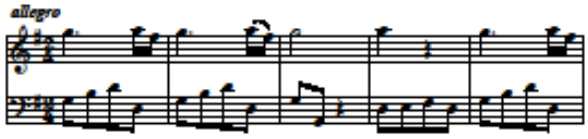


45. a Tre (Flauto Traverso *and* Basso *parts only*); Del Sigr Heyman

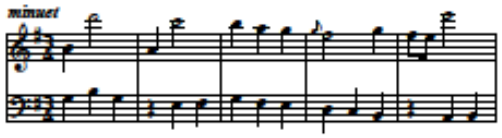
andante



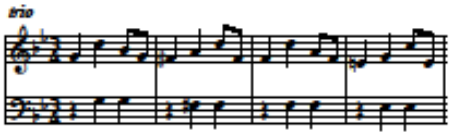
allegro



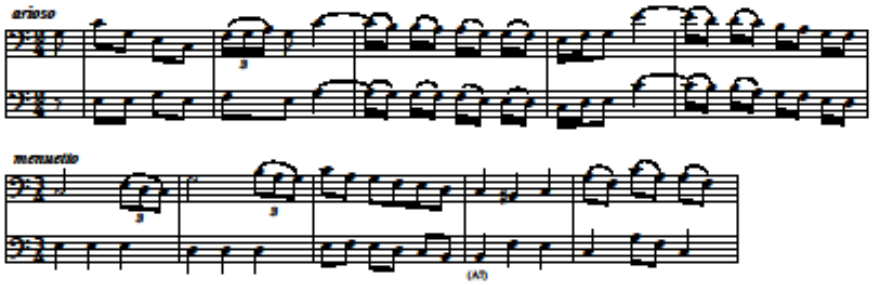
minuet



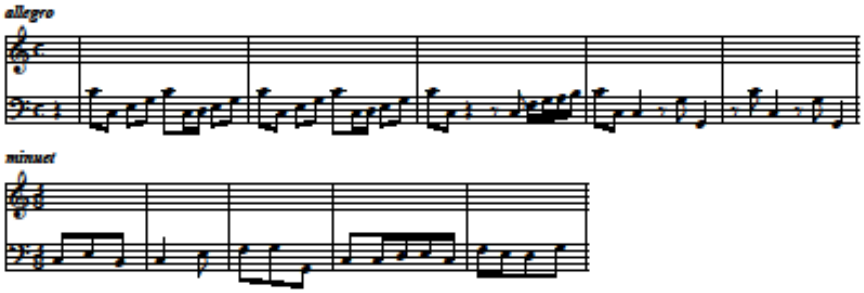
trio



46. del Sigr Staldero (Flauto Primo *and* Flauto Secondo parts *only*) [No.10 *at top left*, No.13 *at top right*]



47. Trio del Sigr Emanuele (Basso part *only*)



Composer Anniversaries in 2018

John Collins

Jacob Arcadelt (c.1505-68) was a Franco-Flemish composer who composed both sacred and secular vocal music, his principal legacy being his collection of Madrigals. Three intabulations for keyboard, perhaps made by Claudio Veggio, have survived in the MSS at Castell' Arquato, tentatively dated as mid 16th century although possibly earlier, and have been edited by H. Colin Slimm in Keyboard Music at Castell' Arquato for American Institute of Musicology CEKM 37-3. In addition to an Organ Mass this volume contains some excellent ricercars and other intabulations.

Ferdinando Richardson (1558-1618) is the pseudonym used by Ferdinand Heybourne, a pupil of Tallis. 11 pieces by him have been listed by Virginia Brookes in British Keyboard Music to c. 1660, including an Alman, three Pavans, three Galliards and four Variatios to some of these, which have been preserved in two main sources including the Fitwilliam Virginal Book – eight pieces - and the Wray MS (British Library MS 30485) – five pieces - with some overlapping. The Alman, Pavan and Galliard in A minor and the Pavan and Galliard in D minor, each with its Variation, have been edited by Alan Brown and included in Musica Britannica volume LV, *Elizabethan Keyboard Music.* Richardson also set a Pavan and Galliard by Thomas Morley which is in Tisdale's Virginal Book, edited by Alan Brown for Stainer and Bell in their Early Keyboard Music series K24. Alan Brown has also tentatively suggested that a setting of Dowland's Lachrymae Pavan in ms 30485 was by Richardson; it is included in MB LV and also in John Dowland keyboard music edited by Christopher Hogwood for Edition HH, HH074.

Robert Bateman (d.1618). Two keyboard pieces by him, both Masks, are known and have been edited by Hilda Gervers as nos. 2 and 3 in English Court and Country Dances of the Early Baroque from MS Drexel 5612 for American Institute of Musicology CEKM44.

Casper Hässler (1562-1618) was the elder brother of Hans Leo Hassler and worked in Nuremberg. Only one piece by him has survived, a Fantasia a4 in C in three repeated sections. Originally edited by Ernst von Werra in 1903, it is included as no.14 in *German Organ and Keyboard Music of the 17th century* II, edited by Siegbert Rampe for Bärenreiter BA8427. The two volumes in this series contain much little-known music and are well worth investigating.

Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634), Italian theorist and composer from Bologna. He composed much vocal music but his main achievements were in the field of providing instructions and pieces for organ. The theoretical treatise *Conclusioni del suono dell'organo,* published in 1609, is available in facsimile from Aranldo Forni. His most useful work for today's player, *L'Organo Suarino*, which gives vast amounts of useful information as well as short pieces suited to the non-professional player, went through several editions, the 1st in 1605 Op.13 contained 19 pieces (13 Sonatas, four Capricci and two Ripieni), the 2nd edition of 1611, Op.25, contained a further 18 pieces of various genres. The 3rd edition of 1622 and 1638 contained a further five new pieces including four Sonatas and a Gloria, resulting in 42 pieces in total in the three editions. A facsimile with introduction by Giulio Cattin has been published by Frits Knuf, Amsterdam. The 1605 edition has been edited by Edoardo Bellotti for Il Levante Libreria as TA31. 39 pieces have been edited by Raimund Schächer for Cornetto Verlag CP128. A volume of Canzone alla Francese Libro Segundo of 1596 contained 14 pieces of which the 11 in four parts have been intabulated for keyboard by Alessandro Bares for Musedita BA 1 20. The Moderna Harmonia Op.26 contained 15 Canzonas in two parts, Two Fantasias in 4 parts and a Magnificat in concerto à4 voci, of which the Canzonas and Fantasias have been edited in open score by Alessandro Bares for Musedita BA 1 OR. Banchieri also contributed two Ricercars to the second part of Diruta's *Il Transilvano* 1609, which are included in the modern edition of the pieces from the two parts, edited by Tamás Zászkaliczky for Editio Musica Z8608, Budapest. One further Ricercar Tertii Tono is in MS 1581, Munich, and has been edited by Clare Rayner as No.69 in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Ms Mus 1581 for American Institute of Musicology, *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* vol.40 pt III. This piece was printed originally as 'Fantasia Decima Nona' in *Fantasie ovvero canzone alla framcese per suonate mell'organo et altri stromenti musicali, a Quattro*

voci, 1603, which collection was edited by André Vierendeels for Schott's,Söhne Mainz ANT12. 22 Pieces have been edited by Enrico Capaccioli in 22 Composizioni per organo for Edizioni Carrara EC3187

Giles Tomkins (1587-1668). One Corante by him is known and has been edited by Hilda Gervers as No.68 in *English Court and Country Dances of the Early Baroque* from MS Drexel 5612 for American Institute of Musicology CEKM44.

Abraham van den Kerckhoven (c.1618-1701/2) was organist of St Catherine's, Brussels from c.1632, and also chamber and court organist to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. His surviving keyboard pieces are contained in a large MS now at the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I in Brussels; this MS is dated 1741 and was signed by Jacobus Cocquiel. It contains some 364 pieces, comprising a large number of Versets on the Eight Tones, settings of the Salve Regina and an Organ Mass along with Fantasias and separate Fugas; many pieces were left unascribed, and a few were ascribed to other composers, maybe from the same circle or later. A partial edition with selected items was edited by Jos Watelet as *Monumenta musicae Belgicae* II which has been reprinted and published by B-Note Musikverlag BM14876. A facsimile edition of the complete MS has been produced by Godelieve Spiessens. A selection of five Fantasias, Versus 1 Toni and two Fugas has been edited by Ewald Kooiman for Harmonia in the series Incognita Organo no. 32, HU3699. The complete contents of the manuscript have been made available on IMSLP with tables of analysis and an introduction.

Albertus Bryne (c.1621-68) was organist of both St Paul's cathedral and Westminster Abbey. Some thirty keyboard pieces attributed to Bryne, all but one Voluntary being dance movements, have survived in ten MSS, the modern edition edited by Terence Charlston for Norsk Musikforlag contains invaluable information about performance practice of the period, including fingering, ornamentation, rhythm, tempo and ties, which can be applied to Bryne's successors Blow and Purcell as well as the anonymous pieces by the post Restoration composers. The edition includes an audio CD with exemplary recordings of the pieces by Terence Charlston and an interactive CD-Rom containing the full edited text, transcripts and images of all ten mss and printed sources.

François Couperin 'Le Grand' (1668-1733) composed chamber and choral music but is far better known for his four books of harpsichord works published between 1713-1730 and his treatise on playing it, in addition to which he also published two Organ Masses in 1690, *Pièces d'orgue consistantes en deux messes, l'une à l'usage des Paroisses pour les Festes Solennelles, L'autre propres pour les Couvents des Religieux et Religieuses.* They contain verses for the Kyrie, Gloria, Offertoire, Sanctus, Benedicus and Agnus and Deo Gracias. The volume has been edited by Paul Brunold, Kenneth Gilbert and Davitt Moroney for Oiseau Lyre as Oeuvres complètes III. There are other editions edited by Norbert Dufourques for Schola Cantorum (two volumes). A facsimile has been published by Fuzeau.

José de Nebra (1702-68) was born in Calatayud and worked in Madrid. He left operas, zarzuelas, dramas as well as masses and vocal music. Like many of the Spanish composers of the 18th century, a complete edition of his keyboard music is much needed. Modern editions include the following three volumes in the series Tecla Aragonesa published by the Institución Fernando el Católico Zaragoza. Volume I (*Joseph Nebra Tocatas y Sonata para órgano ó clave*), edited by Roman Escalas, includes three Tocatas, a Sonata and a Grave, volume III (Joseph Nebra Obras inéditas para tecla), edited by María-Salud Álvarez, includes three Sonatas, three Tocatas and an Obra para órgano. In Volume VII (Músicos Aragoneses en Valencia en el siglo XVIII), edited byVicente Ros, there is a Pange Lingua.

Niccolò Pasquali (1718-57). Born in Cosenza, Italy, he settled in London from about 1743 and wrote many songs and an opera as well as sets of Sonatas for violin, 2 violins and viola, and Overtures for French Horns. His treatise *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* published in 1760 and 1765 contains much useful information on contemporary performance practice including fingering and ornaments. A digitised version is available on IMSLP. Two Sonatas from *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany… Book Second* c.1765 have been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin AMM65, A further treatise entitled *Thorough Bass made easy* was published in 1757 and is also available on IMSLP.

Wenzel Raimund Johannes Pirck (1718-63) was a pupil of Fux and worked as court organist in Vienna, where he published two *Trattanimenti* in 1757. Two multi-movement Divertimenti and two Parthias are in a MS in Vienna. Laura Cerutti has edited all six pieces for Cornetto Verlag CP302.

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-95) was a German theorist, critic and composer. He published several important treatises including *I Principi del Clavicembalo, Abhandlung von der Fuge* and *Die Kunst das Klavier zu spielen*. His numerous compositions for keyboard include *Sei Sonate per Cembalo* 1755, edited by Raimund Schächer for Carus Verlag CV18.002/00 and by Laura Cerutti for Armelin, Padua AMM10. The *Fughe e Capricci* 1777, which contains a prelude, two Capricci and seven Fughe, has been edited by Martin Weyer for Forberg F25048 and is available as a facsimile from Fuzeau and from Broude Brothers, New York as PF 142. The *Versuch in figurirten Choräle sowohl für die Orgel als für das Clavichord* I, which contains 21 pieces, and the *Zweiter Versuch in Figurirte Choräle …. Part II* .1792, which contains a further 15 pieces, are available as facsimiles from Broude Brothers, New York as PF136 and 137. Other works best suited to stringed keyboard instruments appeared in prints and anthologies, several of which are also available in modern editions.

Joseph Aloys Schmittbaur (1718-1809). Born in Bamberg, he worked in Rastatt and Karlsruhe. He composed symphonies, concerti, vocal music and some 50 pieces for keyboard. His Vierundzwanzig *Vor- und Nachspiele - Für Orgel* have been edited by Rudolph Walter for Carus Verlag CV91.088/00.

Fedele Fenaroli (1730-1818). A pupil of Francesco Durante, he became Maestro di Capella in Naples in 1762. He wrote mainly sacred vocal music, but a few organ pieces have survived and these have been edited in four volumes by Maurizio Machella and published by Armelin, Padua as AMM2, 3, 56 and 60. Volume I contains six short one-movement Sonatas, a two-movement Sonata, and a one-movement Sonata which may be connected to the following Fuga, which has been completed by the editor. Volume II contains 14 Versetti in various unconnected keys. Volume III contains an 'Apertura per Organo' and six three-movement Sonatas, of which the central movement is in the tonic minor. The fourth volume is unnumbered and contains a Trattenimento and a Pastorale.

Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818). German musicologist and theorist, who is often regarded as the founder of historical musicology, for it is with him that the study of music history and theory became an academic discipline with rigorous standards of scholarship. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Johann Sebastian Bach, whose music he did much to popularize. He also wrote the first biography of Bach (in 1802), one which is of particular value today, as he was still able to correspond directly with Bach's sons Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, and thereby obtained much valuable information that would otherwise have been lost. He published many theoretical writings. Laura Cerutti has edited the *Sechs Klaviersonaten* of 1778 for Cornetto Verlag CM574. The *Sechs Klaviersonaten nebst einer Violin-und Violoncellstimmezur willkürlichen Begleitung der zwoten und vierten Sonata* of 1779 is on IMSLP, as is the *Vier und Zwanzig Veränderungen furs Clavichord oder Fortepiano auf das englische Volkslied 'God save the King'*.

Elizabeth Billington (1765-1818) was an English child prodigy. The collection *Three lessons for the harpsichord or piano forte by Elizabeth Weichsell a child of 8 years of age* has been edited by Barbara Harbach for Vivace Press VIV1814. *Six progressive lessons for the harpsichord or piano forte …op 2* is available as a facsimile from Performers' Facsimiles, Broude Brothers, as PF194. Her collection of *Six Sonatas for the piano forte or harpsichord … Op 2da* has also been edited by Barbara Harbach for Vivace Press VIV1815.

Carlos Baguer (1768-1808) was organist of Barcelona cathedral, and composed symphonies, concerti, flue duets and much religious vocal music. Although he left many keyboard works in MSS very few are available in modern editions. Those available are *Siete Sonatas edited by Maria Ester Sala* for Union Musical Española 22055 and *Tres Sinfonías para Tecla* – possibly arrangements for keyboard of Symphonies composed by Baguer himself rather than Haydn, to whom they are attributed in the MS - also edited by Maria Ester Sala for Instituto Español de Musicología, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Benjamin Carr (1768-1831) was born in London and studied with Samuel Wesley and Samuel Arnold. In 1793 he moved to America, working in Philadelphia as a singer, teacher, organist and composer. He published pieces for piano, songs and works for the stage, but only one Voluntary has been listed. It has

been edited by J. Bunker Clark in Anthology of *Early American Keyboard Music 1787-1830 Part 1* for AR Editions A001, which volume contains a further three pieces by Carr and 14 more pieces by nine composers.

Francisco Cabo (1768-1832) was born in Naquera (Valencia province) and worked in the cathedrals of Orihuela, and Valencia from 1796, succeeding Rafael Anglés in 1816. He composed vocal music and left 19 organ works in MSS comprising Versos, Pasos and Sonatas for specific feasts in the liturgical year, the majority of which are annotated with the year of composition. These pieces, which demonstrate a pronounced Romantic approach, have been edited by José Climent for the Sociedad Española de Musicología, Madrid.

Bartolomeo Franzosini (1768-1853). He left a Pastorale in A which has been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin AMM75 and is also included in Itinerari *Italiani volume X L'Organi in Piemonte tra '700 e '80* edited by M.Rossi and G. Vessia for Edizioni Carrara EC4583 and in *Organum Italicum Volume III* edited by A. Macinanti and F. Tasini for Edizioni Carrara EC4654. His *Nove Danze per Organo* have been edited by Riccardo Zoja for Armelin AMM278

John Collins is organist of Christ Church, Worthing and specialises in researching the English, Italian and Iberian repertoires along with the lesser known Central Europeans. He writes reviews of scores and CDs as well as articles on composers for several European and American magazines.

REPORTS

Up to date with early keyboards

Medea Bindewald

A mild day in early September, the quiet surroundings of the Murray Edwards College in Cambridge, an international crowd of about 30 people gathering in a bright room, an Italian harpsichord awaiting to serve for demonstrations – such were the circumstances welcoming the delegates of the 2017 NEMA conference, and it is a pleasure to let my mind wander back attempting to summarise an inspirational event.

Illus.1 Derek Adlam's keynote speech

The symposium, entitled 'Early Keyboard Instruments – Repertoire, Use and Design', had attracted presenters from the UK, the Netherlands, Portugal, Norway, Poland and Mexico. It seemed more than appropriate that the keynote speech was given by an expert in the field of historical keyboard instruments, Derek Adlam (illus.1), eminent both as a performer and instrument maker, who provided an historical overview of the Early Music movement, enriching his talk (printed in this issue of the *NEMA Newsletter*) with references to personal experiences and encounters. His positive attitude towards the future of the Early Music movement provided a great starting point for the following talks.

The opening paper, 'From Venice to Chichester via London and Bath: the Travels of an Italian Giga' by Andrew Woolley (FCSH/NOVA, Lisbon), examined a Gigue attributed to Handel in an English keyboard manuscript of the 1770s. Pablo Padilla (National University of Mexico) and Dan Tidhar (Wolfson College, Cambridge) presented their innovative method of using computational analysis to distinguish and identify musical styles, an interesting approach that will arguably become an important means of complementing conventional musicology in the domain of authorship and attribution of musical works.

In 'Putting Piano-Hammers inside a Guitar', Daniel Wheeldon (Edinburgh University) shared his findings about the manufacture of the 'pianoforte guittar' in 18th century London. A sound sample of this rare instrument was greatly missed. However, no modern reconstructions of a pianoforte guittar, let alone recordings, exist to date. Wheeldon's presentation was followed by Eleanor Smith's gripping talk 'On the Road to Euridice: Claviorgans in Sixteenth Century Florence'. 'Editing the Buxheim Organ Book: Intersections of Performance Practice, Compositional Practice, and Digital Musicology', by Frauke Jürgensen (Aberdeen University), offered fascinating insights into the process of an editor's decision-making. The undertaking of creating a digital edition aims to provide a performance-orientated score that can be modified according to the user's needs and wishes. Arrangement and improvisation was the subject of a pair of papers delivered by Mario Sarrechia (Amsterdam) and Stephan Schönlau (University of Manchester) - '*Pour ung Plaisir* - French Chansons in 16th Century Keyboard Intabulations' and 'Improvised madness: Folia Grounds in English Keyboard Sources, c.1675–c.1705'.

Of great interest, especially for continuo players, were two papers discussing paradigm shifts in basso continuo practice. After Christian Kjos (Norwegian Academy of Music), supported by soprano Catherine White, had given a demonstration of his elaborated, indeed soloistic continuo realisations in 'Releasing the *Loudie* - Harpsichord Accompaniment in G. F. Handel's Continuo Cantatas', Aleksander Mocek (Cracow Academy of Music) widened the perspective by raising questions of a philosophical and psychological dimension in 'Continually in Doubt because of Informed Freedom – Some Cases of Para-

digm Shifts and Paralyses in the Evolution of Artistic Freedom in Basso Continuo Theory and Practice'. In the following discussion it was generally agreed that a future conference solely devoted to the subject of basso continuo would be most welcome. An enlightening paper by Kris Worsley (Royal Northern College of Music), on 'The Dynamics of Impassioned Melodic Performance: a Lost Style of Rough Improvisation for the Clavichord and Fortepiano', concluded the conference, inspiring the delegates to suggest equivalences to bowing techniques of string instruments.

Two tea breaks and a lunch break offered opportunities for informal talk. It was great to catch up with Mimi Waitzman, deputy keeper of musical instruments at Horniman Museum and Gardens, and learn about plans regarding future performances on the instruments of that collection, which now includes some historical keyboard instruments from the former Finchcocks Collection. I had a chance to talk to Andrew Woolley, a specialist of English keyboard repertoire, who had been amongst the first people to purchase my new CD with works by the London composer Jacob Kirkman, nephew of the famous harpsichord maker of the same name. It was a pleasure to be introduced to the renowned clavichord maker Peter Bavington. Last but not least, seeing Christian Kjos again after many years brought back pleasant memories of our studies at the Schola Cantorum in Basel. Unfortunately, I had to miss Dan Tidhar's concluding performance of J. S. Bach's *Goldberg Variations* in the evening (illus.2). Credits must be paid to NEMA chairman Francis Knights for his superb organising.

Illus.2 Concluding recital, in which Dan Tidhar played Bach's Goldberg Variations

Eighth Johann Sebastian Bach Dialogue Meeting

Thomas Cressy

Last summer, in the grand and inspiring 16th-century Madingley Hall in Cambridge, Bach Network's Eighth Johann Sebastian Bach Dialogue Meeting took place. This was the second time that we had held such a meeting in these beautiful surroundings, but 2017 marked a new stage in the history of Bach Network when the former name 'Bach Network UK' was changed, dropping the 'UK' to reflect the incredibly high international interest from scholars and performers from all around the world: Europe, Japan, North America, Australia and beyond. This meeting proved to be another inspiring success in true Bach Network fashion – six days (10–15 July) full of discussion and debate between the world's leading scholars of Bach's music in a relaxed, inclusive, supportive and friendly atmosphere, accompanied by presentations of cutting-edge research and scholarly performance.

Illus.1 Choral session with Suzi Digby

After a fascinating tour of the gardens and grounds, and a wonderful ad hoc choral session, led by Suzi Digby (illus.1), the meeting officially opened with a round-table discussion on 'Bach and God' between Michael Marissen, Bettina Varwig and Jeremy Begbie, inspired by Marissen's recent publication. This dealt with the implication of Bach's librettos' mentioning Muslims, Jews, and Catholics, and how we can see the political and theological context of early 18th-century Lutheran Saxony and indeed the challenges this raises for modern Bach scholarship in light of such religious polemic views that are still relevant in discussions of Bach's mu-

sic as universal and transcendental of its original context. This was followed by a virtuoso performance and analysis of Busoni's transcriptions of Bach's *Ten Chorale Preludes* on piano by Chiara Bertoglio, revealing how Busoni characterised aspects of organ performance in his dynamics and piano textures. Both of the opening sessions provided much food for thought for the barbeque that followed.

The next day opened with a presentation encapsulating much of our thoughts from the night before; Andrew Parrott (illus.2), Fred Fehleisen and Daniel Melamed provided a discussion on the debates around ways forward for performers and scholars to collaborate for mutually beneficial results – are these disciplines too fundamentally different, do musicologists merely provide clues on the composer's intentions and urtext editions, or is there nothing but the performer's personal interpretation of the piece? This was a memorable and heated discussion, which stayed in our minds throughout the remainder of the dialogue meeting. Immediately afterwards was Christine Hausmann's talk on how technology and musicology have conspired together to create 'Bach Digital', and how such technology and digitised Bach sources are leading the way in philological Bach research.

Illus.2 Andrew Parrott

As always, these dialogue meetings provide an outlet for early career researchers to present their work in the ever popular 'Young Scholars' Forum'. I again presented findings on the Japanese reception of Bach's music here, focusing on the interpretations of Bach's music by Japanese Samurai, and six other scholars presented on topics dealing with consolation in Lutheranism and Bach, the theme of poverty in Bach's sacred cantatas, Bach and the recorder, theory and musical form in the Brandenburg concertos, permutation fugues and counterpoint in Bach's music, musicological analysis and Bach cantatas. Moderated by Stephen Rose, these varied topics sparked much enthusiasm and helpful discussion that has become characteristic of these sessions.

Illus.3 Calov Bible book launch
All photographs © Alan Shepherd

Later that day, Albert Clement and Dingeman van Wijnen's launch of the Calov Bible Facsimile (the first published edition of Johann Sebastian Bach's annotated personal copy of the three-volume Bible, illus.3) created expectation and excitement among the delegates, which many of us took with us to the local village pub for dinner and wine soon after. The painstaking lengths that were taken to provide high-quality images of each page of the original for publication was an impressive feat, which we were honoured to be among the first to view.

The final day of the presentations started extremely well, with Michael Maul, Robin A. Leaver and Barbara M. Reul's discussion on Michael's recent discovery and analysis of church documents and school records highly indicative of Bach's delegation of Cappellmeister duties to his student Gottfried Benjamin Fleckeisen – suggesting Bach withdrew from this role for two whole years, for several possible reasons discussed. This theme of new source discoveries continued with Stephen Roe's presentation on the recent discovery of J. C. Bach's manuscripts in Russia and Stephen Crist's talk on the Lorenz Mizler sources resurfacing at Yale University. The day finished with an excellent example of exactly how such source studies and musicology can be of benefit and use to performers: Yo Tomita and pianist Daniel Martyn Lewis's collaboration in dealing with Bach's quaver-beaming practices in relation to performance, with David Schulenberg as respondent. Yo's analysis found prevailing trends and practices in how Bach beamed quavers, suggesting that the beaming of notes could have implications for the phrasing of these notes in performance, displayed exquisitely by Daniel; although David had his doubts on the significance of the beaming practices, everyone was in agreement that such studies can

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The success of this meeting was in no small part thanks the organisation of the Dialogue administrator Charlotte Bentley (Cambridge University) and chair of Bach Network Ruth Tatlow, supported by the Bach Network council and trustees. These discussions will be continued in a small way at the Biennial Baroque Conference in Cremona in July 2018, and more deeply at the Ninth Dialogue Meeting in July 2019. As these meetings are inclusive of anyone with an interest in Bach's music (from musicologists to students, music teachers to music enthusiasts, church organists to concert performers), and members of the National Early Music Association would be most welcome to attend. We hope to see you there in 2019!

John Marsh's house organ

Francis Knights

Illus.1 The 'Marsh' organ of 1783

The house organ (illus.1) belonging to diarist and amateur musician John Marsh (1752-1828), built by John Hancock in 1783 for Marsh's home at Nethersole House in Kent, then moved to his Chichester house in 1787, is well known from his journals. However, its whereabouts after his death seemed mysterious until recently, when it transpired that the 18th century organ now in St Mary's Church in Bleasby, Nottinghamshire (illus.2), was the very same instrument. This had been known locally for more than a century, but not among the wider organ fraternity until 2015 - more a case of an organ being mislaid, than lost. A British Institute of Organ Studies one-day conference at the church on 8 July 2017 offered a valuable opportunity to see, hear and hear about the organ, in the hands of the most expert possible guides. This was also the moment for the launch of Martin Renshaw's new 248-page book on the Marsh organ, as well as a chance to acquire modern editions of Marsh's numerous organ works.

John Marsh was trained as a lawyer, but devoted most of his time to music, composing some 350 works, including more than three dozen symphonies. His interests were wide, and he published on astronomy, religion and ge-

ometry as well as on music. His activities as a concert organizer in Salisbury, Canterbury and finally in Chichester show him to have been a key figure in late 18th-century provincial music-making, and we know a vast amount about these activities thanks to his 37 volumes of unpublished journals. Marsh's second son was the clergyman and poet Edward Garrard Marsh (1783–1862), who plays a part in the story of Marsh's organ, inheriting it on his father's death and taking it around the country to his various incumbencies.

Illus.2 St Mary's Church, Bleasby

The BIOS Register (http://www.bios.org.uk/resources/npor.php) gives a current summary of information about the organ, which was built by Hancock in 1783, rebuilt by Gray & Davison in 1869 and restored by Cousans in 1988. It arrived at Bleasby Vicarage in 1863 with the incumbent (John Marsh's grandson), and was moved to the church next door in 1869. The current (Gray & Davison) specification is: Great - Open Diapason 8', Clarinet Flute 8', Clarabella 8', Keraulophon 8', Stopped Diapason Bass 8', Principal 4', Fifteenth 2', Sesquialtra (II); Swell - Open Diapason 8', Lieblich Gedact 8', Principal 4', Oboe 8', Tremulant; Pedal - Grand Bourdon 16'. The two manuals (illus.3) were originally separate and on opposite sides of the case.

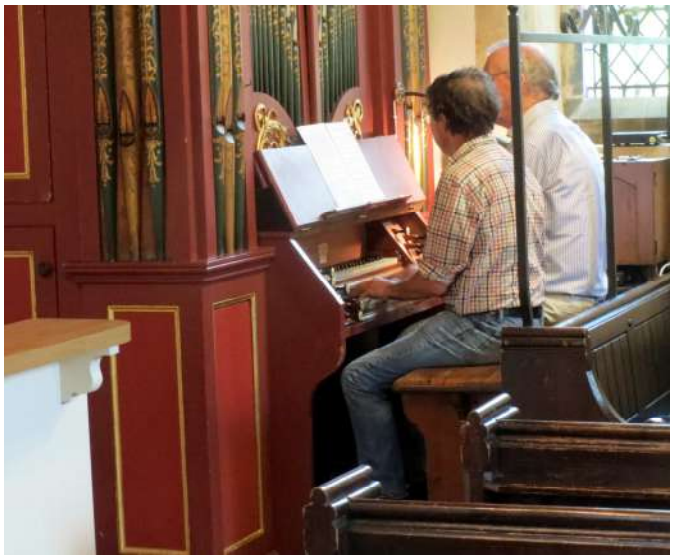
Illus.3 Keyboards of the Hancock organ

John Hancock was part of a London keyboard-making family, which includes Thomas Hancock (his surviving instruments include a 1720 harpsichord and at least one spinet, dated 1732; the later Hancocks have been assumed as descendants, although there is no certainty of this); John [Crang] Hancock (organ and spinet builder, c.1746-d.1792 or later); and his brother James [Crang] Hancock (harpsichord, piano and organ builder, c.1747-1820). James is described on a surviving Crang & Hancock organ in New York as 'nephew and successor' to John Crang (1710-c.1775, London organ, harpsichord, spinet and claviorgana maker). Despite the recent discovery of John Crang's will of 1770 there remains some confusion about the identity of the family members (there were two John Crangs and two John Crang Hancocks, for example, and a piano maker called just Crang Hancock, who was actually the older John Crang Hancock), although individual nameplates on surviving organs, harpsichords, spinets and pianos seem authentic enough. All of this leaves us with disappointingly little information about John Hancock and his instruments after the death of Crang in about 1775, although the Bleasby organ shows him to have worked solidly within the Georgian organ tradition, and to have been a craftsman capable of imaginative solutions to the unusual design problems that Marsh appears to have set him.

Brian Robins, who must know more about John Marsh than anyone, began proceedings with a detailed and engaging biographical and personal description, which gave us an excellent sense of the man and his musical interests in 'An encounter with John Marsh, gentleman composer'. This was followed by Martin Renshaw (illus.4), who took the listeners through 'The history and archaeology of John Marsh's house organ', speaking fluently without notes for more than an hour yet covering a fascinating amount of detail about the organ, its design and context, and some recent restoration activities. The opened case was available for inspection, enabling a view of some of the ingenious

Illus.4 Martin Renshaw

mechanisms hidden within. David Shuker then took up the story, with the help of a map showing 'The Perambulations of John Marsh's house organ' as it travelled around the Midlands and Southern England in tow with John and Edward Garrard Marsh, finding seven different homes during its life.



Illus.5 Concluding duets by John Marsh

Given BIOS's fundamental interest in the care and restoration of historic organs, the open discussion section that followed, led by Dr Alan Thurlow, formed a very appropriate conclusion. Issues around restoration ethics, funding and the liturgical use of the instrument were discussed, with input from members of the church community in whose care it remains. The conclusion seemed to be that maintaining the instrument in its current Gray & Davison form was desirable, at present. As a grand finale, the organ was put through its paces by Richard Hobson and Martin Renshaw (illus.5) in some of Marsh's music for two players at one organ, including his arrangement of Handel's Hallelujah chorus.

A 'new' discovery like this is very rare, and the opportunity to see and hear a significant historic organ under such expert guidance was a chance not to be missed. The conference was a model of how such things should be done, so warmest congratulations to all of the speakers and organizers.

References

1. Martin Renshaw, *John Marsh: A Most Elegant & Beautiful Instrument: The Organ* (2017), available from SOTP http://www.signofthepipe.com/page34a.html.
2. For the musical content of these diaries, see Brian Robins (ed), *The John Marsh Journals—The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)* (Stuyvesant, NJ, 1998) and *The John Marsh Journals—The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1802–1828)* (Stuyvesant, NJ, 2013)
3. For more information, see Donald H. Boalch, ed Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440-1840* (Oxford, 3/1995), pp.78-9 and 350-1. Fortunately a short but very important recent article has shed new light on Crang & Hancock: see J. D. C. Hemsley, 'Crang & Hancock, the Eighteenth-Century London Organ-Builders', *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 60 (2007), pp.229-232.

Vocal Vibrato

John W. Briggs

For vocal singing in early music there have been two great controversies. One is pitch (for 'he that toucheth pitch shall be defiled') and the other is vibrato. Not too much has been heard about vocal vibrato in recent years, but as early music and period performance have 'gone mainstream', the question has refused to go away – and arguably become more important. NEMA's own Richard Bethell raised the issue at the NEMA Conference in 2009 and will do so again at the forthcoming one in Brighton later this year.

And so it was that BBC Radio 3 decided to give the issue wider coverage, in an interval feature chaired by Louise Fryer entitled 'Throwing A Wobbly' and broadcast on 6 August 2017 during the BBC Proms. This took the form of a panel discussion comprising Peyee Chen (soprano), Janis Kelly (soprano, and chair of vocal performance at the RCM), John Potter (tenor, formerly of the University of York), Helena Daffern (science researcher at the University of York) and Richard Bethell (Secretary of NEMA). I greatly enjoyed the 20-minute programme, but it was presumably edited from a longer discussion as it was difficult to discern a consistent direction to the argument.

To pick out some of the threads of the discussion: Richard stated his case that from his research vocal vibrato was not found in the long 18th century – it only came in during the late 1820s. There was a revolution in the 1860s partly caused by the size of the opera houses, but also by changes in the musical style, and vibrato had become universal by 1880. But he claimed that even in 1900 the vibrato employed was less (and less wide) than that of today. Richard said that in the 18th century singers employed *messa di voce* rather than vibrato (even as an ornament), and illustrated this with a recording of Dominique Visse doing just that in a Dowland song. Richard cited vocal treatises from the 18th century (particularly Tosi) and gave examples of singers being compared to Benjamin Franklin's glass armonica. John Potter was sceptical about written sources (before recording.)

I was disappointed at Janis Kelly's intransigent insistence on the necessity for vibrato (although not surprised – it seems de rigueur in the RCM opera programme.) Her position was neatly undercut by Peyee Chen singing Handel's 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' with and without (much) vibrato. It was revealing that Kelly thought that Peyee singing without vibrato was 'quite boy-ish' (perhaps this meant that it was appropriate for Bach, as all his sopranos were boys?) and that vibrato was essential to show character in the female voice. She seemed to think that Handel's oratorios were religious texts, and not relevant to opera singing. John Potter, on the other hand, described Peyee's example of singing with vibrato as sounding rather like a generic modern soprano. It was also revealing to hear Kelly's choice of her beloved teacher singing with a uniform and unvarying vibrato, which I would have thought inappropriate for Mendelssohn's *Nachtlied* (or anything else, for that matter.) She also claimed that vibrato had been essential for verismo opera, and that it was necessary to give expression to the voice and acting.

Helena Daffern explained the technicalities of voice production and vibrato (and how it is measured), but also claimed that it is impossible to sing a pure tone. She pointed out that opera singers sing with a vibrato wider than that of the orchestra in order to be heard. Peyee Chen chose a recording of Sarah Vaughan as an ideal example of the appropriate use of vibrato in jazz. John Potter chose a recording of June Tabor to illustrate singing slowly without resorting to vibrato.

The discussion thus seemed to be (or to have been edited to seem to be) a debate between Richard Bethell and Janis Kelly on the extremes, with the other participants adopting more fence-sitting positions. Richard claimed that his survey of early music listeners revealed that only 5% liked opera singers with prominent vibrato in baroque repertoire. The programme had been introduced with a selection of 'vox pops' that showed a clear bias against excessive vibrato. I suppose the supporters of vibrato will feel that they have been stitched up by the BBC, and its notorious 'balance'.

Correspondence

Dear Sir

Jonathan Ranger is mistaken about the origins of NEMA (*NEMA Newsletter*, vol. i/2 (2017), pp.32-33). NEMA's origins lie in the ground-breaking 1977 conference 'The Future of Early Music in Britain', the papers from which were edited by our founder, John M. Thomson and published the following year by OUP. The conference brought together for the first time performers, scholars and instrument makers, amateurs and professionals (a constituency already catered for in print by the then four-years old *Early Music* journal). In subsequent years, the organising committee of the Conference went on to arrange other conferences on more specific subjects where participants from divers backgrounds could compare ideas. However, by 1981 it became evident to the Committee that it would no longer be possible to obtain funding for further conferences without being constituted into an official body.

Hence, a public meeting was convened at which the National Early Music Association was formed and a Standing Committee was elected to draw up a constitution, to be presented to the first AGM the following year. Apart from organising conferences, one of the early aims of NEMA was the revival of the *Register of Early Music*, which had been started in 1971 by Christopher Monk and Eric Hedger. John Thomson had recognised the importance of the Register and, on being appointed as editor of *Early Music* in 1973, ensured its inclusion as an integral part of the journal. Sadly, OUP eventually decided that the Register had served its purpose, and discontinued it.

The first edition of NEMA's revived *Register* appeared in December 1987 with over 400 entries, and included a short directory section. The second edition, the following year, was expanded to over 600 entries, and included a Buyers' Guide to makers and suppliers of instruments. The Register and Buyers' Guide grew rapidly over the next six years, and under the chairmanship of Christopher Page (who also launched our journal, *Leading Notes*) the 7th edition was reconstituted as *The Early Music Yearbook* for 1993.

It is heartening to those of us who were in at the beginning (and it would have gladdened the heart of John Thomson) to see that, after 36 years, NEMA is still flourishing, continuing its original aims of organising conferences, maintaining the *Register of Early Music*, and generally enabling dialogue between the varied constituent parts of the early music scene. Especially significant in this respect is the arrival of a new *Newsletter*, for which NEMA and especially Francis Knights must be commended. Now that *Early Music* has become yet another peer-reviewed academic journal (compare its original issues!), the *Newsletter* is to be valued as a place where all those involved in early music can freely exchange ideas. Long may it continue!

Simon R Hill
(Standing Committee and Council of NEMA, 1981-1985;
Deputy Chairman 1985-1990; Secretary 1990-1996)

News & Events

NEWS

Paul Badura-Skoda celebrated his 90th birthday on 6 October 1927.

Jeremy Montagu celebrated his 90th birthday on 27 Dec 2017.

The Royal College of Organists has appointed **Stephen Farr** as its new Chief Examiner.

Peter Croton is the new President of the German Lute Society (Deutsche Lautengesellschaft).

Luke Green has been appointed the ne w Artistic Director of the Rameau Ensemble.

Benjamin Bayl has been appointed an Associate Director of the Hanover Band.

Barbara Law is the new editor of the *Recorder Magazine*, published quarterly by Peacock Press.

The **Utrecht Early Music Festival** has received a 2017 EFFE award from the European Festivals Association.

His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts marked their 35th Birthday with a special concert on 27 October 2017 at St John's Smith Square, London.

Pieter-Jan Belder has finished his complete Fitzwilliam Virginal Book recording.

Indiana University Press have launched a new annual journal called ***Historical Performance.***

The first **Hastings Early Music Festival** took place in November 2017.

Julian Perkins has made a number of YouTube videos of the historic keyboard instruments in The Cobbe Collection at Hatchlands Park.

The **British Museum** has posted more than a 100 images of their historic citole on their website.

The **CIMCIM** webpage cimcim.icom.museum has been revised.

The revised **International Musicological Society** website is now at https://musicology.org.

The new **MINIM-UK** museum musical instruments resource is available at www.minim.ac.uk.

The first **International Chopin Competition on period instruments** will be held in Warsaw from 2-14 September 2018.

OBITUARIES

Jürgen Ammer (4 April 1945-20 June 2017), harpsichord maker, has died at the age of 73.

Stephen Bonta (5 September 1927-14 July 2017), Professor of Music emeritus at Hamilton College, New York, has died at the age of 89.

Shirley A. Mathews (1947-30 September 2017), harpsichordist and teacher, has died at the age of 80.

Kenneth Mobbs (1925-29 October 2017), former Lecturer in Music at Bristol University and instrument collector, has died at the age of 92.

Michel Chapuis (15 January 1930-12 November 2017), former chapel organist at the Palace of Versailles, has died at the age of 87.

David Greer (1947-21 November 2017), former Professor of Music at Durham University, has died at the age of 80.

Rohan Stewart-MacDonald (1975-13 December 2017), musicologist and pianist, has died at the age of 42.

Ernest Sanders (1919-13 January 2018), Professor Emeritus of Music at Columbia University, has died at the age of 99.

Early Music Fora & Events

Websites

Border Marches Early Music Forum, http://www.bmemf.org.uk/

Early Music Forum of Scotland, http://www.emfscotland.org.uk/

Eastern Early Music Forum, http://www.eemf.org.uk/

North East Early Music Forum, http://www.neemf.org.uk/

North West Early Music Forum, https://nwemf.org/

Midlands Early Music Forum, http://memf.org.uk/

Southern Early Music Forum, https://sites.google.com/site/southernearlymusicforum/home

South West Early Music Forum, http://www.swemf.org.uk/

Thames Valley Early Music Forum, http://www.tvemf.org/

Events

Tutors and venues are given where known. For up-to-date information, see the Fora website.

4 March 2018 TVEMF
Music by Samuel Scheidt. William Carslake, Amersham

10 March 2018 BMEMF
Senfl and his Contemporaries. Grace Barton, Lion Ballroom, Leominster

10 March 2018 MEMF
Handel, Dixit Dominus. David Hatcher, St Nicholas' Church, Warwick

17 March 2018 NEEMF
Fifteenth-Century music and dance. Gaita, Friends Meeting House, Darlington

18 March 2018 EMFS
Playing day and workshop. Flanders Recorder Quartet, St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh

18 March 2018 SEMF
Handel for chorus and orchestra. John Hancorn, Smarden, Kent

24 March 2018 NWEMF
Music from the early 15th century. Don Greig, Morley Green Club, Mobberley Road, Wilmslow

24 March 2018 SWEMF
Workshop for Voices and Instruments. St John's Church, West Bay, Dorset

14 April 2018 NEEMF
NEEMF Northern performing day. Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle

14 April 2018 SEMF
A polychoral tour of Europe. Alison Kinder, Bosham

15 April 2018 TVEMF/EEMF
Charpentier, Te Deum. Julian Perkins, Benslow, Hitchin

21 April 2018 NWEMF
The music of Giovanni Croce. Roger Wilkes, Morley Green Club, Mobberley Road, Wilmslow

21 April 2018 SWEMF
Renaissance Wind Instruments. Tim Bayley, Parliament Room, Gloucester Cathedral

28 April 2018 MEMF
Dominique Phinot. Paul Spicer, Dorridge Village Hall

28 April 2018 SWEMF
Monteverdi Madrigals. Tim Mirfin, St Thomas of Canterbury, Thorverton, Devon

29 April 2018 NEEMF
NEEMF annual 'day out'. Temple Newsam, Leeds

29 April 2018 TVEMF
Baroque chamber music day. Peter Collier, Burnham

5 May 2018 NEEMF
Lully and Rameau. Aljosa 'Josh' Skorja, Guiseley Methodist Church

5 May 2018 SEMF
Top tunes of the early Renaissance. Lizzie Gutteridge, Bexleyheath

12 May 2018 BMEMF
Anne Boleyn's Songbook. David Skinner, Bridges Centre, Drybridge House, Monmouth

12 May 2018 SEMF
Myd Myne Songe. Stef Conner, Easebourne

19 May 2018 MEMF
Lions of St.Mark's. Jamie Savan, St George's Church, Rugby

19 May 2018 TVEMF/EEMF
Victoria: Laetatus sum. Philip Thorby, Epping

19 May 2018 SWEMF
English rounds, catches and madrigals. Venetia Caine and Clare Griffel, Westbury Leigh Community Hall

26 May 2018 NWEMF
Franco Flemish music. William Carslake, St Martin's Chapel, Lancaster

9 June 2018 NEEMF
Workshop for small unaccompanied vocal groups. Deborah Catterall, Clements Hall, York

9 June 2018 MEMF
Italian Concertos. Teresa Caudle, Knowle Village Hall

9 June 2018 SWEMF
Will Kemp, His Journey from London to Norwich. Alison Kinder, St Andrew's Church, Backwell

10 June 2018 BMEMF
The Myth of Venice - music and the sound of power'. Gawain Glenton, Burton Court, Leominster

10 June 2018 TVEMF
Hieronymus Praetorius. Patrick Allies

16 June 2018 NWEMF
Peter Phillips. Peter Syrus

16 June 2018 SWEMF
Joint Meeting with Viola da Gamba Society. Jonathan Rees, Bristol Music Club, 76 St Paul's Road, Clifton

23 June 2018 SEMF
Choral workshop. David Allinson, St Gregory's Centre for Music, Canterbury

30 June 2018 EEMF
Iberian polyphony singing day. David Allinson, Cambridge

7 July 2018 MEMF
Verse Anthems. David Hatcher

8 July 2018 NEEMF
Gabrieli and friends. Alison Kinder, Bishop Middleham Village Hall, County Durham

22 September 2018 NWEMF
John Taverner. David Allinson

22 September 2018 SWEMF
Voices and Instruments. Matt Kingston, St John's Church, West Bay, Dorset

22 September 2018 MEMF
Angels: Dering, Guerrero, Sweelinck, Hassler. Patrick Craig

29 September 2018 NEEMF
Untutored workshop for voices and viols. Clements Hall, York

29 September 2018 SWEMF
Baroque Playing Day. Sylvia Davies and Dick Little, Cheddar First School, Hillfield, Cheddar

6 October 2018 SWEMF
Workshop. Brian Northcott, Exeter School, Exeter, Devon

6 October 2018 TVEMF
Italian music for voices & instruments. Andrew Griffiths, Ealing

27 October 2018 NWEMF
Crequillon and Lambert. Deborah Catterall

27 October 2018 NEEMF
AGM and works by Peter Philips. John Bryan

24 November 2018 NWEMF
Christmas/Advent. Alison Kinder

16 December 2018 TVEMF
Christmas workshop and lunch. Patrick Craig, Amersham

16 February 2019 NWEMF
Cardoso Requiem. Rory Johnston

11 May 2019 SWEMF
Joint Workshop with BMEMF. David Allinson

18 May 2019 TVEMF
Workshop for singers. David Allinson

Societies, Organizations & Events

The Academy of St Cecilia, http://academyofsaintcecilia.co.uk/Home/index.shtml

Bach Network, http://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/

Benslow Trust, http://www.benslowmusic.org/
4 March 2018
Try a Viola d'amore Day, with Elizabeth Watson
5-8 March 2018
Springtime Recorders, with Alyson Lewin and Caroline Jones
14 April 2018
Benslow Baroque Opera: Rameau, Les Indes Galantes
4-6 May 2018
Harpsichord playing with a French accent, with Penelope Cave
5 May 2018
Natural Horn Day, with Anneke Scott
11-13 May 2018
The Seventeenth-century String Band, with Judy Tarling and Annette Isserlis
14-16 May 2018
Advanced Harpsichord accompaniment, with Robin Bigwood
14-17 May 2018
Gregorian Chant for all, with John Rowlands-Pritchard
21-24 May 2018
Heinrich Schütz, with Peter Bassano and Jeremy West
25-27 May 2018
Voices and Viols, with Alison Crum and Peter Syrus

18-21 June 2018
Baroque String Orchestra, with Theresa Caudle and others
15-20 July 2018
International Viol Summer School, with Alison Crum and others
16-18 July 2018
Trio Sonatas, with Emma Murphy and others

British Clavichord Society, http://clavichord.org.uk/Home.html
30 June 2018
Adrian Lenthall (clavichord) and AGM, Artworkers Guild, London

British Harpsichord Society, http://www.harpsichord.org.uk/, http://handelhendrix.org/
Concerts at the Handel House, 25 Brook Street, London
8 May 2018
Tom Foster (harpsichord)
13 June 2018
Julie Pumir (harpsichord)
10 July 2018
Oliver John Ruthven (harpsichord)

British Institute of Organ Studies, http://www.bios.org.uk/
28 April 2018, Christ's Chapel, Dulwich
AGM

Cambridge Academy of Organ Studies, http://www.cambridgeorganacademy.org/

Cobbe Collection, http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk/events/
24 April 2018, Hatchlands Park, Clandon
Tour of the Collection with Alec Cobbe

East Anglian Academy of Early Music, http://www.eastanglianacademy.org.uk/
8 April 2018
The Gesualdo Six, Church of St Michael the Archangel, Framlingham
26 May 2018
Crispian Steele-Perkins, Church of St Michael the Archangel, Framlingham
17 June 2018
Academy Chamber Choir, Church of St Michael the Archangel, Framlingham

Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historic Instruments, http://fomrhi.org/

The Friends of Square Pianos, http://www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk/
7 April 2018
Clavichord Day, Chelveston

Galpin Society, http://www.galpinsociety.org/

London Handel Society, http://www.london-handel-festival.com/

The Lute Society, http://www.lutesociety.org/
31 August–2 September 2018, Lute weekend, Utrecht Early Music Festival
8 September 2018, Dutch Church, London
17 November 2018, Dutch Church, London

National Centre for Early Music, http://www.ncem.co.uk/

Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, http://plainsong.org.uk/

Royal College of Organists, https://www.rco.org.uk/

Scottish Lute and Early Guitar Society, https://scottishluteandearlyguitarsociety.wordpress.com/
10 March 2018
SLEGS meeting, Edinburgh

Society of Recorder Players, http://www.srp.org.uk/
14-15 April 2018
SRP Festival, Barton Peveril College, Eastleigh, Hampshire

Viola da Gamba Society, http://www.vdgs.org.uk/
7 April 2018, West Oxford Community Centre, Oxford
Spring meeting and AGM

CONFERENCES

Musical Culture in the Wars of Religion, 1550-1650
17-18 March 2018, St Catharine's College, University of Cambridge. Contact LeJeune1598@gmail.com

Musicology in the Age of (Post)Globalization
3–6 April 2018, Barry S. Brook Center for Music Research and Documentation, New York City
Contact: TFruhaufgc.cuny.edu

Material Cultures of Music Notation
20–22 April 2018, Utrecht University
Website https://notationcultures.com/

Internationales Festival der Laute Wolfenbüttel
4-6 May 2018, Deutsche Lautengesellschaft, Wolfenbüttel, www.lautengesellschaft.de

Professionals and Amateurs: The spirit of *Kenner und Liebhaber* in keyboard composition, Performance and Instrument Building
9-12 May 2018, University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, MI, USA. 7th Annual Meeting of the Historical Keyboard Society of North America (HKSNA), www.historicalkeyboardsociety.org

American Musical Instrument Society 2018 Meeting
23-26 May 2018, Moravian College, Pennsylvania
Contact: lelibin@optonline.net

Inside, Outside, and in Between: Institutionalization in Music History
6-8 June 2018, Music Centre Helsinki
Website http://sites.uniarts.fi/fi/web/inst2018/home

Authorship in Historical Keyboard Music
7-9 June 2018, Lisbon, Portugal, Third International Conference on Historical Keyboard Music, http://authorship-in-keyboard-music-2018.webnode.com/

XXIst century challenges to the history of 18th century musical aesthetics
11-12 June 2018, University of Turin
Website https://xviiithcenturymusicalaesthetics.wordpress.com/

The Anatomy of Polyphonic Music around 1500
27-30 June, 2018, Cascais, Portugal. Website http://the-anatomy-of-polyphonic-music-around-1500.webnode.pt/

Lasting impressions. Music and Material Cultures of Print in Early Modern Europe
28–30 June 2018, University of Salzburg, Austria. Contact moritz.kelber@sbg.ac.at

International Medieval Congress
2-5 July 2018, University of Leeds, Website https://www.leeds.ac.uk/ims/imc/imc2018_call.html

Society of Renaissance Studies Biennial Conference
3-5 July 2018, University of Sheffield. Contact srs2018@sheffield.ac.uk

Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference
5-8 July 2018, Music Department, Maynooth University, Ireland. Contact MedRen2018@mu.ie

18th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music
10-15 July 2018, Pavia University, Cremona, Website http://musicologia.unipv.it/cremona2018/

Theory, Technology, Methods: Museums' Interpretation of Traditional Music
10–16 September 2018, Wuhan and Shanghai, China. ICOM International Committee for Museums and Collections of Music. Contact secretary@cimcim.icom.museum

Vocal sound and style, 1450-1600
20-21 October 2018, Brighton. NEMA Conference 2018. Website http://bremf-nema-conference-20185.webnode.com/

Perspectives on Historically Informed Practices in Music
10-12 September 2018, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford. Contact c19hip@music.ox.ac.uk

Royal Musical Association Annual Conference 2018
13-15 September 2018, University of Bristol. Contact: Guido.Heldt@bristol.ac.uk

François Couperin: a 350th anniversary symposium
9–10 November 2018, Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, UK. Contact graham.sadler@bcu.ac.uk

Handel and his music for patrons
24–25 November 2018, The Foundling Museum, London. Handel Institute Conference. Contact helen.coffey@open.ac.uk

Ars Antiqua III: Music and Culture in Europe, c.1150-c.1330
30 November-2 December 2018, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Complesso Monumentale di San Micheletto, Lucca, Italy. Website http://www.luigiboccherini.org/AA_III.html

Royal Musical Association Annual Conference 2019
4-6 September 2019, University of Manchester and the Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester. Contacts: thomas.schmidt@manchester.ac.uk and Barbara.Kelly@rncm.ac.uk.

FESTIVALS

20-24 February 2018, Keble Early Music Festival, http://www.keble.ox.ac.uk/about/events/kemf

17 March-16 April 2018, London Handel Festival, http://www.london-handel-festival.com/

27 April-15 July 2018, Indianapolis Early Music Festival, www.emindy.org

10-21 May 2018, Handel Festspiele Göttingen, www.haendel-festspiele.de

11-19 May 2018, London Festival of Baroque Music, http://www.lfbm.org.uk/

25-27 May 2018, Galway Early Music Festival, www.galwayearlymusic.com

24-27 May 2018, Beverley and East Riding Early Music Festival, http://www.ncem.co.uk/?idno=229

25 May-10 June 2018, Handel Festival Halle, www.haendelfestspiele.halle.de

10 May-13 October 2018, Leicester Early Music Festival, www.earlymusicleicester.co.uk

18-21 May 2018, Tage Alter Musik Regensburg, www.tagealtermusik-regensburg.de

5-10 June 2018, Stockholm Early Music Festival, www.semf.se

6-10 June 2018, English Haydn Festival, www.haydn.org.uk

8-17 June 2018, Das Bachfest Leipzig 2018, www.bach-leipzig.de

8-24 June 2018, Aldeburgh Festival, https://snapemaltings.co.uk/season/aldeburgh-festival/

8-24 June 2018, Connecticut Early Music Festival, www.ctearlymusic.org

14 June-21 July 2018, Aston Magna Festival, www.astonmagna.org

22 June-1 July 2018, Stour Music, http://www.stourmusic.org.uk/

6-14 July 2018, York Early Music Festival, http://www.ncem.co.uk/?idno=228

7-14 July 2018, Madison Early Music Festival, www.madisonearlymusic.org

8-22 July 2018, Amherst Early Music Festival, www.amherstearlymusic.org

14-28 July 2018, Carmel Bach Festival, www.bachfestival.org

17 July-27 August 2018, Innsbruck Festival of Early Music, www.altemusik.at

3-12 August 2018, Musica Antigua Festival, www.mafestival.be

24 August-2 September 2018, Holland Festival Oude Musiek, www.oudemuziek.nl

26 October-11 November 2018, Brighton Early Music Festival, http://www.bremf.org.uk/

9-16 June 2019, Boston Early Music Festival, www.bemf.org

Call for Contributions

BREMF/NEMA Conference 2018
'Vocal Sound and Style, 1450-1650'
20-21 October 2018, Brighton

This international conference will be run jointly by the National Early Music Association and the Brighton Early Music Festival. It will be the first in a series, each timed around two years apart. The 2nd and 3rd (possibly with different co-sponsors) are likely to be "Vocal Sound and Style 1650-1830" and "Vocal Sound and Style 1830-1920". All would share common objectives, which are: (1) to generate fresh research on each period, (2) to stimulate innovative approaches to informed performance practice based on the research, and (3) to encourage the same training for both professional and amateur vocalists as that given to players of period instruments.

The first of these conferences will focus within the early modern period from roughly 1450-1650 which saw the performance of polyphony in both secular and sacred contexts, the increasing demands made of singers in the expression of text, the rise of solo song, recitative and opera, and the consequent development of new vocal techniques and ornamentation. This period covers some of the most exciting developments to have taken place in the history of vocal music, with the emergence of the first great vocal celebrities, both men and women, and some of the first treatises and accounts that deal specifically with vocal style, colour and technique.

The conference will be designed, not as a talk-fest for academics, but to appeal to the widest possible public, with workshops attracting solo and choral singers (both amateur and professional), students and the general musical public, as well as academics. It is expected that the conference will attract heads of institutions' vocal studies as well as private singing teachers.

It is envisaged that draft papers, vocal illustrations and information on themed sessions will be disseminated a month or so before the conference, and public discussion invited on social media. While it is not possible yet to indicate fee levels, there will be discounts for early booking, NEMA members, members of sponsoring organisations, and people registered to attend Festival events.

Submissions

The conference committee invites proposals for papers, workshops, lecture recitals and themed sessions such as round table discussions, of interest to amateur singers and instrumentalists, as well as professionals. Paper presentations will be up to 20 minutes, with 10 minutes for discussion. Lecture recitals will be up to 25 minutes for lecture and performance, leaving up to 10 minutes for discussion. Workshops, round table discussions and other themed sessions will be from 1 to 2 hours, of interest to amateur singers and instrumentalists, as well as professionals. Delegates might include Festival attendees, members of the National Early Music Association, the UK Early Music Fora, and members of sponsoring organisations.

Topics

- New research papers on renaissance and early baroque pedagogy, e.g. sources by Conrad Von Zabern, Francinus Gaffurius, Pietro Aaron, Gerolamo Cardano, Emilio Cavalieri, Hermann Finck, Giovanni Bovicelli, Giulio Caccini, Vincenzo Giustiniani, Giovanni Maffei, Michael Praetorius, Lodovico Zacconi, Luigi Zenobi and others.
- Ornamentation technique and style, e.g. covering the *trillo*, *messa di voce*, rapid diminutions, tremolo (pitch and/or volume?), etc.
- The modern singer: singing music from many periods.
- Revisiting the past: Can recent discoveries about vocal function via modern technology enlighten our understanding of singing in the past?

- Instrumental participation/substitution in the vocal repertoire, as well as volume and tonal balance between voices and instruments.
- Singing recitative: rhythm, metre, text declamation, rhetoric and appropriate ornamentation.
- Decisions on choral or ensemble (one to a part) realisation of multi-part compositions.
- Tempo and the Tactus.
- Dynamics and phrasing.
- Lecture recitals covering any of the above, with illustrations from sacred and/or secular sources.
- Workshops might feature music by Palestrina, Josquin des Prez, Cipriano de Rore, Giaches de Wert, Monteverdi and Michael Praetorius.
- Round table discussion on the question: Where did aspiring singers learn their art; exclusively on the job or in acknowledged or less formal schola?

Submission information

Send a proposal of no more than 500 words as an email attachment to BREMF Artistic Director Deborah Roberts (deborah@bremf.org.uk), with copies to Festival Producer Cathy Boyes at BREMF (cathy@bremf.org.uk, telephone 01420 86267) and NEMA secretary Richard Bethell (richardbethell@btinternet.com, tel 01293 783195), before 14 April 2018. Include in the body of the email the author's name, paper title, institutional affiliation or city of residence, technical requirements, contact details including phone number(s) and e-mail address, plus a short biographical note of up to 100 words on the speaker. Indicate whether the proposal is for a paper, lecture recital, workshop or other group event. Submissions will be acknowledged by email only.

Brighton Early Music Festival
Deborah Roberts, Artistic Director, deborah@bremf.org.uk
Cathy Boyes, Festival Producer, cathy@bremf.org.uk, tel 01420 86267

National Early Music Association
Richard Bethell, richardbethell@btinternet.com, tel 01293 783195