NEMA NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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

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Interview with Jaap Schröder (1925-2020)

Nicolette Moonen and Robin Kinross

Jaap Schröder (illus.1) died on 1 January 2020, the day after his 94th birthday (he was born on 31 December 1925). Jaap was Nicolette's godfather and teacher on 'modern' violin during her studies at the Amsterdam Conservatoire in the 1970s. Their families lived on either side of the Vondelpark in Amsterdam. Jaap had a French wife – Agnès – and so did her father Frans Moonen, who was also a musician. Both couples had families of three girls. Some of them went to the same secondary school, the Spinoza Lyceum, and they have always stayed in touch.

In February 2012 Jaap came to London to attend to small business matters and stayed three days with us. We took the opportunity of recording the interview that follows. We envisaged this as one of a series of interviews with musicians of the older generation, and our subsequent conversation with Jenny Ward Clarke was published online in 2015 (http://thebachplayers.org.uk/news/jenny_ward_clarke_in_conversation).

This interview took place in the late afternoon and evening of 7 February 2012. As will be evident, Jaap hardly needed prompting to speak about his life. After some time, we agreed to pause and went to have supper in the local pub. But Jaap still had more to tell. We sat down to talk again, turned on the recording machine and did another session.

The recording lay untranscribed for some years. Eventually we made a transcription and sent it to Jaap for his comments and corrections. He was always busy and often travelled, late into his life, and he did not react to it. Some years later on we met again for a meal in Amsterdam, and gave him a printed transcript, asking him for corrections. He glanced at it, remarked on a small error in the transcription, and said that he would look through it and give us detailed corrections. But he never did this.

Now that Jaap has died it feels appropriate to publish this document. The text contains a number of points that are uncertain. If any readers can help to clear these up, please do get in touch. We would also be glad to add photos of the people or music groups mentioned and would welcome help with this.

Beginnings

You trained on what we call the modern violin, like everybody else at the time, and then you somehow got interested in baroque music? What set you off on this journey?

I think part of it was that I am not a student of the Dutch violin school. The Dutch violin school, for people who had some talent, was always Oscar Back. There was Willem Noske also. But apart from [Herman] Krebbers, and [Theo] Olof of course, it was Oscar Back. He was the saint.

Illus.1 As a young man (photo: Schröder family archive)

Even when I was a student, it was still Oscar Back.

And then Jean Louis Stuurop, who suffered from this. He was the last, I think, who was trained by Oscar Back.

So, who did you train with?

I went to the Music School in Amsterdam – so, before the Conservatory, though it was in the same building (Bachstraat 5). I went there for my first lessons with a demoiselle, juffrouw Jung. Then she left, for a Carmelite monastery, and I became a student of Julius Röntgen [1881–1951], the eldest son of the well-known composer, Julius Röntgen [1855–1932]. Not a very good teacher, but a very nice man.

I was playing for fun at home. My mother played the piano very well and with great pleasure, but her parents never allowed her to become a professional. She was born in 1900, so she belonged to that generation … We always listened to her. I usually played with her, and with a few people who came around. I loved playing the violin, with lots of repertoire. It was really chamber music – quartets. I played with different people in town – doctors and so on. In 1943 I graduated from the Vossius Gymnasium, in the middle of the war.

What to do? I was thinking: the violin – playing quartets is one thing, but what are you going to do at university? Well, I thought history or musicology, classics. But the Germans controlled the university. You could not go there unless you signed a declaration of loyalty to them. They were the occupiers, and I didn't want to do that – I couldn't. Since I was already studying with Julius Röntgen,

who was also a teacher at the Conservatoire, I said that as long as the war goes on I will continue the violin. Curiously the Germans never set foot in the Conservatoire. They controlled the university, but the Conservatoire was just 'stupid musicians' – not interesting or dangerous.

So, I simply continued in a more professional way, with solfège and so on. I met a lot of nice people. Willem Andriessen was the director.[1] His brother Hendrik taught analysis, a wonderful man. Ernst Mulder was the harmony teacher. I had a great time, I loved it, and when the war ended, I wanted to finish, which was logical. I had already spent two years there. I finished in 1947. Four years of professional study.

I was out almost every night playing string quartets. There was this Wim ter Meulen [?], a banker, who had a beautiful house on the Jan van Goyenkade, and I played for years and years with him on the second violin. He was not a very good player. He played a beautiful instrument, an Amati violin. I remember that his technique wasn't up to standard. Also, he would smoke a pipe while playing. He was also the host of the many foreign quartets that came to play at the Concertgebouw. For example, the Trio Pasquier were his guests – I went with my father to those concerts – and the Quatuor Calvet. Joseph Calvet had a second ensemble after the Second World War. There had been a famous Quatuor Calvet, which disbanded in 1940 before the beginning of the war. But these were younger people and it was a very good quartet.

So, Calvet stayed with Wim ter Meulen, and listened to our playing and gave us hints and so on. It was very nice. I don't remember the details, but I talked with him about what I admired – his playing and Pasquier's – and he said: 'Oh I can help you if you want a scholarship to get there.' That was the Maison Descartes [now the Institut Français des Pays-Bas], and he knew the people there. Thanks to his help I got a scholarship to go to Paris for a year. So, you see it is a completely different picture from the virtuoso-trained people who were only playing the Tarantella by Wieniawski…

But I thought that the Paris Conservatoire very much trained people in that way, as soloists.

Probably, but I was at the École Jacques Thibaud.

And was the programme different there?

It is a school especially for violinists and pianists – Marguerite Long and Jacques Thibaud. It still exists. I got a teacher: Jean Fournier, the brother of Pierre. He was a good teacher. I heard him play a bit and later I met him in Salzburg. He gave me the French repertoire especially: the Saint-Saëns Concerto, more Isaye, Lalo's 'Symphonie espagnole' and then finally the 'Tzigane' by Ravel. And then at the end of that year I was permitted to represent the school with the pianist of that year, Daniël Wayenberg. We played the Ravel 'Tzigane'. I got the first prize. I was happy, but I still had in mind that I wanted to get to know the Pasquiers. And I met them several times. Jean, unfortunately, did not really teach. He was playing. They made long concert tours outside France. They went almost every year to America. Fortunately in that year 1948/1949 he was not very much away from Paris and he was willing to have me; so I came to his home for lessons. Sèvre Ville d'Avray, between Paris and Versailles (I would get to know that train-line very well). By then, of course, the scholarship was no longer there. My father was quite willing to help. I stayed at the Cité Universitaire, at the Dutch College and I didn't spend much money. I was thin as a string bean.

I would like to see photos from that time!

I did eat well. I didn't suffer at all. My father said at that time: 'How do I send you money?' To change guilders into francs was still strongly regulated. And then providence intervened again, because the Quatuor Calvet had a young cellist, Manuel Recassens. I have never heard of him since. He was a good cellist, and a nice fellow. And Recassens had discovered a wonderful cello at Max Möller's.

So, he had to go to Amsterdam.

He wanted to buy this cello. We are probably talking about much more money than I needed. But, in any case, my father would pay Recassens in guilders and he paid me in francs. So, that's how he financed me for the second year.

I was there two years, and enjoyed it tremendously. Jean Pasquier's way of handling the bow, of talking with the bow … I am not at all a Dutch violinist in that sense.

Of course, that's it. Are there old recordings of Pasquier?

I have an old recording at home – I have to listen to it again: Adagios and Fugues by Bach/Mozart. And they certainly recorded the Mozart Divertimento. I haven't listened to that since I was in Paris. It may well be that I feel that I have developed or changed since that time. Though I am still inspired by what I learned from him.

Interesting that you say he had this way of talking with the bow.

I always looked at his bowing when he was playing. It was so marvellous – his flexibility. It was not a question of power.

Was Oscar Back very much about power?

Well, not especially power, but in any case his style of playing was so different. It was based on the Central-European style. It was very different. And that taste – I didn't care for it at all.

So, that got you started in Paris.

That's how I became a different violinist, and I combined this with my love of Baroque chamber music – Telemann and Vivaldi. At my secondary school there was a music club, and we came together. There was a flute player, Hans Mackenzie, who later became a vicar. I remember my mother becoming furious because Hans played the flute in our house and the condensation water from his flute fell in the sugar –

Not nice! So, you discovered Telemann already during secondary school?

Sure. And some French music – 18th-century music. Of course that was possible. And then Mozart Sonatas with my mother.

Röntgen left during the war. He had family behind the IJssel Line. It became very difficult in 1944. The winter was coming and the Germans were not leaving. We had this hope in September 1944 that the allied troops would succeed in Arnhem – the famous troop landing over the bridge. Well, that was a disaster. The Germans had more troops than was imagined. So instead of being liberated

in September, we had the most terrible winter of the war. Julius Röntgen just managed in time to get to family in Overijssel, behind the IJssel, where there were more things to eat. So then his students were taken over by Jos de Klerk, the Belgian teacher. He was a very solid teacher, a technician. I am grateful to him, for his teaching. He did not have a musical profile. But that was before I went to Paris.

Do you feel that the Paris years were the really formative ones?

Yes, for the musical side. Of course with De Klerk I studied the Brahms Concerto and Chausson's 'Poème' – what a wonderful piece! I played it for my final exam. When I came back in 1949, Agnès was in the picture

When did you meet Agnès?

Well, that is a special story. I was living in Paris. Agnès had a sister, Madeleine, who was married to a Dutchman, André van Dam. On 23 December 1948, Agnès took the train to Rotterdam, and I sat in the same train going to Amsterdam. So, I didn't meet her in Paris. We went back to Paris after Christmas and met again there. And then of course I went to Versailles and met her parents: very nice people, but rather conservative, I would say. So Agnès had a different education from me. L'abbé [Daniel] Joly, the priest there, married us in 1950.

I am very much connected with that. L'abbé Joly used to invite famous people – theological specialists such as the Dominican Yves Congar, who was the special advisor at the Concile, and Henri de Lubac, who was a Jesuit. These people were suspect in Rome. Teilhard de Chardin came, invited by l'abbé Joly. It was an incredible atmosphere of intellectual enthusiasm. I still stick with this.

We were engaged in the spring of 1949. Agnès was already studying medicine. We had planned the wedding for 1950. During that year I had to look for a job. I was lucky again, because I found that the Radio Kamer Orkest [radio chamber orchestra] needed a section leader, which I accepted. For one year I was leader of the second violins. Then I got an offer to join the Kunstmaandorkest under Anton Kersjes. Then the RKO was sad that they had lost me, and they asked me back with a better salary to be the concert master.

I was still living with my parents on the Rooseveltlaan. When we married, at Christmas 1950, I had managed to find – it was difficult – a little attic apartment in the Admiraal de Ruiterweg, with an old lady who had these rooms available. Fortunately that lasted only a couple of months, because then we were able to move. My brother-in-law, André van Dam, who had married Agnès's sister, knew Herbert Perquin [actor and cabaret artist] and his wife and they were leaving for another home and they had lived in the centre of town, Olofsteeg 4. And that was fantastic. The house dated from 1659 – close to the station, because I went to Hilversum every day, so I walked 5 minutes. We had a wonderful time there and two of the girls were born there, though not at home. Cécile was born in 1959 and by then we were already in de Gerard Brandtstraat.

So I continued my work with the orchestra, but was asked fairly soon – yes, that was by juffrouw Schill [Maria Elise Schill], head of the Nederlands Impresariaat, which organized a violin competition for young people. At first I didn't care for it, but then finally my father said 'why don't you do it?' So, I participated – I don't know what I played – and I didn't win the first prize, but the

second. The first prize went to a violinist who went to America, Kees Kooper. In the jury was Nap de Klijn and he picked me because they needed another second violin in the Nederlands Strijkkwartet (illus.2).

Ah, that's how that started.

Illus.2 The Netherlands String Quartet and Paul Godwin: Jaap Schröder, Nap de Klein, Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp, Paul Godwin, Isaac Stern (photo: Schröder family archive)

It's curious how the right moment comes for the right thing. Johan van Helden was the second violin, and for some reason he left the quartet. So, they needed another violin. And oddly these three musicians – Nap de Klijn, Paul Godwin, and Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp – were about 20 years older than me. But I was very happy to accept that. I was still with the orchestra. Each of us had his own job. We rehearsed in Bussum, where Boomkamp lived, in the evenings, after the orchestra. Perfect, because with the radio orchestra there were never concerts in the evening. So, I spent many evenings in Boomkamp's house. He had a a big room with all these instruments, which he later sold to the museum. I was a member of the Quartet from 1951 or 1952, and then already in the second year we came to England for the first time. After 1952 we came many, many times. So, when I tell details I don't always remember the right chronology.

So, I started with the quartet and that was wonderful: especially the later repertoire with Paul. I was sitting next to him. Paul Godwin was a wonderful musician. He was of course from the Central-European background [originally, Pinchas Goldfein]. He was the most marvellous 'Stehgeiger'– a

stand-up violinist. He had a career in Berlin in the 1920s. He was a child prodigy and studied in Budapest with Jenö Hubay, and then went to Berlin. He was a buddy of Gregor Piatigorsky, they studied together, and they were thrown out of the conservatory together because they had jobs outside the institution. Later on we visited Piatigorsky, in Beverley Hills, Los Angeles. It was wonderful.

Paul had a way of playing. It was of course not at all the French school, but it was so … part of my inspiration came from him. He survived the war because his wife was not Jewish. He himself had to work at Schiphol, carrying stones and so on. The other Dutch people who had to work there knew him, of course, because he was famous, and they took as much as possible from his hands. So he came out of the war. Nap de Klijn asked him to play the viola in the quartet, which he had never done, but he was a wonderful viola player – wonderful. Then in the radio we got a contract for different ensembles. The VARA [Vereeniging Arbeiders Radio Amateurs] engaged him. For years he had these regular ensembles: the Waltz ensemble, the Hungarian, the Russian – all that.

And his wife Friedel recorded many of these and after the VARA label issued a number of recordings, LPs. And then my friend Henk Knol, who was the viola player in the RKO, made many of the arrangements for Paul for what you needed: two violins, viola, cello, and piano. The pianist was an old friend of Paul who was also from Eastern Europe, from Vilna, Isja Rossican. He was a Tonmeister in the radio, but a fantastic pianist and a nice fellow. I loved them a lot. So besides the orchestra, I had the quartet and I had these recordings with Paul. Every two weeks we had a programme to record in the VARA studio and they were always half-hour programmes, which we worked on for six hours. So, in six hours we produced a half-hour programme with short numbers. You never heard it?

I don't think so, but I would love to hear this.

As a young fellow, Paul was in Berlin. He was not only an excellent player, he was successful: he had orchestras in four different hotels. So with his car and chauffeur, he travelled from one hotel to another, to the next orchestra, and played again, also for the dancing, and during the night he made recordings. He made thousands of recordings for Polydor. They must still be somewhere. He made a career with that in the 1920s. And he married the daughter of a violin dealer; as a wedding present his father-in-law provided him with a Strad. That was fantastic.

Now we come to the terrible thing. The Nazis came and he had to flee. More than that: before this, his father-in-law, who was a Nazi, obliged his daughter to divorce the Jewish Paul. So, he had to disappear from Germany in 1933. He could have made a fortune. Of course, he had a fortune there, but he had to flee without much money, though he took the Strad with him. All his life he played that Strad, which is somewhere in Holland now, part of a collection of instruments that was supervised by Everard van Royen. So, then he came to Holland and played in Western Europe – he played also in Belgium and in France, in the spas, where there was entertainment music. And in the Kurhaus where there was entertainment with Dutch musicians. That was first level – playing this music with his Strad. I have learned a lot from him.

I am glad that with the Nederlands Strijkkwartet we recorded Mozart and Haydn. It was an excellent quartet. We had a lot of success in America. But the best we did was the Dvorak, I thought. It is our only recording of romantic music which has survived. We travelled in Europe, we went to Germany:

Paul found back some old friends in Berlin. He was happy to do that. And we went to England every year. Our first trip to America was in 1958. In fact it was a trip that was organized by an American, Columbia Artists Management, for Nap and his wife. This was a pianist, Alice Heksch: a wonderful pianist and a wonderful woman. She had died of cancer just before we went. Nap had played a couple of recordings with her, and concerts in Western Europe, and had this invitation to come with her to the States. It couldn't happen. They changed the contract – he offered the quartet. So the quartet came in February 1958 and after that we went almost every year.

We had a great career in America. I know most of the States – I love America. At that time of course the whole situation was different. I lived through many historical moments. When Kennedy was shot I was travelling between Boston and New York State, and I saw the flags going down. I thought: 'What is happening?' Then a few days later when Jack Ruby was murdered, I saw that on television in New York. So many, many things I lived through there.

How would you travel there?

We flew with KLM. The first time, it was special, of course. We got articles in the paper: 'Dutch ensemble going to America'. We went first to New York and then on from New York. In fact our first concert was in Canada, in Ottawa: Ladies Music Club. We travelled by car. It was all organized of course. The whole trip was scheduled by the management. So, we had to pick up a car and drive to all these concerts; and longer distances by train. I loved train rides. So, we started in Ottawa, then in Quebec, in February – it was winter – and then in New York in Carnegie Hall. So, we had a very good start in the Carnegie small hall. And we met the Amadeus Quartet many times – we were friends with them.

The Netherlands representative was Max Tak. He was a violinist and organizer and representative of the Dutch government. He was a member of the Concertgebouw Orchestra for a certain time, while he also had his own orchestra, like Paul Godwin, but on a much lower level: he played in Tuschinski [the movie theatre in Amsterdam]. By then the cinema was no longer silent, it was with music during the film or before the film. Max Tak and his orchestra were well known. We knew him before we came, and then he helped us there and did a lot of things for us. The famous story is about Mengelberg. One day he was in a talkative mood and during the intermission he said said to Max: 'Ah, Mr Tak, I know about all you are doing here, in the Tuschinski and all that. I think you are wonderful. Also I wonder: How do you manage with the schedule here in the Concertgebouw – the rehearsals, I mean. When do you sleep?' And Max answered: 'During the rehearsals!'

We sometimes rehearsed in Paul Godwin's house in the Achillesstraat near the Stadium. His wife Friedel died [in 1971]. He had remarried a German woman just before he had to flee. She was from Posen, East Germany, which is now Poznan in Poland. A very warm-hearted, kind person. They didn't have children, but he loved children – he loved our children. And then she died. But then he was really a child. He was just working for his music. He worked night and day to perfect his fingerings and this whole repertoire with tango, csárdás, and all that.

So, that was a wonderful career with the Netherlands String Quartet, between 1952 and 1969.

I started then to play with Frans Brüggen. He was playing the recorder, of course, with lots of success. We played together in school concerts. In Holland there was an organization for these little

half-hour concerts, with explanations. So with a small car we travelled to all of them. This was with Janny van Wering [harpsichord player] first of all. And then I was asked to participate in some concert by Utti [Gustav Leonhardt] and his group. This started at the end of the 1950s, I think. The Leonhardt Consort, with Marie Leonhardt and some other people you may know.

I had known her [Janny van Wering] because many Dutch musicians came to Paris to the Dutch house where I lived. So I knew Theo Bruins [pianist and composer] that way. He came to Paris to study with one of the famous teachers [Yves Nat]. He died too young. And Gerard van Blerk with whom I studied in Amsterdam; he was a very good pianist. He told me that he was asked by a doctor in Amsterdam, who was an amateur violinist, to come and play some repertoire with him. So they played Mozart, Beethoven – you name it – for a year or more. The doctor always called him and said: 'Next time, so and so'. Then one time, he didn't get any call. So he said: 'Maybe he is ill – I will call him'. And so he called the doctor and said: 'Sorry to ask you, but are you all right?' The doctor answered: 'Oh, I am fine, but we have played the whole repertoire. We have played everything.' Yes, that's the amateur mentality. The little book *Das stillvergnügte Streichquartett* [by Ernst Heimeran and Bruno Aulich] gives funny stories about how amateur string quartets work together, and then an appraisal of all the quartets in the repertoire. Of course we all knew that book.

My first quartet was at the gymnasium. I came to the school in 1937. So in 1939 I played my first quartet, with the physics teacher, who was a cellist, and two former students of the gymnasium, Conrad Muller, who became a professor of theology, and Dick Scheltinga Koopman, the co-rector of the Spinoza Lyceum.

I do remember him. He was mad about music, Scheltinga Koopman.

Yes, he was a good violinist. So, that was my very first quartet: the G Major of Mozart. But I knew the whole repertoire already, playing with all the doctors, so it was not a problem. We were better than just amateurs. And when I came to the conservatoire, of course I wanted to make a quartet again.

In those years I played with Bouw Lemkes, second violin, and Pem Fransen [?] was an old friend, he was the eternal student, a medical student. He did all kinds of things except studying. And he played the viola: he was asked everywhere, of course, because there were no viola players. And Françoise Vetter, the cellist, a very gifted girl, a strange person. She has lived in the USA, and has been in different orchestras, also in the National Symphony in Washington. Then she moved to South Africa and has been playing there. When she came to Holland a number of years ago she came to see me again. We had a very good quartet.

After 1945, when we could travel again, we played a few exchange concerts with the quartet, as representatives of the conservatoire, with Gent and I think with Brussels. The one thing that I remember is the Quartetsatz by Schubert (which we have just recorded with the Skálholt Quartet). That was really the best I had done until then. Then I went to Paris. No chamber music. The only chamber music I did in those two years was with a gamba player, Jean Schrick. (His son [also Jean?], I knew later. He is a baroque violinist who lives in Angoulême.) But this Jean Schrick was eager to invite me to his home and to play baroque music. But that was all.

Of course, with hindsight you can see the Trio Pasquier. They played in Paris, but they were not that successful. I mean, they were not playing everywhere in France. They made yearly trips to the USA and in Amsterdam they played regularly, but not that much in France.

Often people are more known outside their own country.

Yes. But still there were some well-known quartets. The Loewenguth Quartet was a very good quartet. And then the Pascal Quartet with Léon Pascal. He was the viola player. He was also the viola player in the first Calvet quartet. That broke up in 1940 and then later he started with the Pascal Quartet. When I was in Paris I heard many different quartets.

There was also the Hungarian String Quartet with Zoltán Székely, who was a Hungarian violinist but he lived in Amsterdam. He taught at the Conservatory. I bitterly regretted that I was not a student of his, because I admired his playing – a fantastic player, but not only that. Later I knew him very well: such a modest and unassuming virtuoso; living for his quartets. He had married a Dutch girl from a very wealthy family. He was the same age as Paul Godwin. Perhaps they knew each other in Budapest – I don't know. He was after the same Strad violin, before it went to Paul, but he had a wonderful Strad in any case provided by his wife. They played in Paris: Salle Gaveau, a good music hall.

My utmost admiration went to Pasquier and then to Zoltán Székely. But now when I listen to recordings – not Pasquier recordings, because I don't have them – but the Hungarian String Quartet: they are a fantastic ensemble, and especially for the tone production. When I listen to a modern string quartet, I think: no … don't do that, be more sober. But Székely was the best I could imagine at that time. I loved him, because he was talking about the music, not about his career. You know, the Bartók violin concerto was written for him. He played with Bartok in Hungary when he was a young man. Bartók had chosen him for concerts there.

Bartók lived in Paris and then he composed his violin concerto for Székely, who was in Amsterdam teaching. But he refused to come to Amsterdam, because he didn't get along at all with Mengelberg: too different in character. So Székely was studying this violin concerto. Maybe he went to Paris once and then continued working on it. Finally he called Bartók and said: you have to come, because in the first movement there is a whole section that goes until the recapitulation, which has some things that are not violinistic. You should change that – and so on. Bartók from Paris answered him: 'I am not coming, but I give you permission to do whatever you like'. And so, in fact there are at least eight bars in the Bartók violin concerto before the recapitulation, which were written by Székely. But he never let it be known. Until I bought a book in Canada, in Banff where he lived, written by a cellist from nearby Edmonton, and who interviewed Székely and who wrote a book about Bartók and Székely. I learned this from that book. Székely was also a composer. He wrote a sonata for violin solo, and more than that.

That's why probably Bartók felt he could safely say 'you change it'.

Yes. Székely travelled with his quartet, and then after the war he settled. He became quartet in residence in Boulder, Colorado, and he travelled from there through the whole of America, until the time when they stopped. One after the other, they left or died. Székely settled with his wife in Banff, which is a wonderful place: the Canadian Rockies. And Banff became a music centre with a school

and a festival. I have been there several times to teach and play and met Székely then on a private basis. We always talked Dutch together. He was such a wonderful fellow.

He was 93 when he died. His wife died before him. She was an Alzheimer patient and he took complete care of her, while he was still coaching ensembles there. He was the maestro living there: a revered master. So, we talked about all kinds of things. He knew a bit about my career. He said: 'I will tell you something interesting. What I do every day now – I work on the Bach solo Sonatas. All these problems …' And he started to share it with me. This man was such a wonderful personality, besides being a wonderful player.

Now go back to yourself!

So the Netherlands String Quartet went on until 1969. And then Friedel died and Paul was getting into a deep depression. He was a child. He never read a book. He hardly read the newspaper. His music was everything. So, when she died he was lost. And the man who took care of him was Everard van Royen – whom you know – of the Muzieklyceum, the professional music school, and the other conservatoire in Amsterdam. Everard van Royen had his ensemble 'Alma Musica'.

Everard van Royen was a very good flute player and he was interested in early music. But of course – in the way that Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp played early music. Van Leeuwen Boomkamp also played the gamba – but in the modern way. I mean: it was not fretted. He played it like a cello. He had an end-pin and held his bow overhand. He played the Passions, of course, in the Concertgebouw. He was about the only and the best gamba player in Holland, so he did all the Passions. You would not like to hear it now, probably, but he played the gamba. He played with Everard, who played the modern flute, of course – there was no question of a traverse [baroque] flute – and with Jo van Helden, who was my predecessor in the Netherlands String Quartet, who still played some early music as second violin. Paul Godwin was the first violin and Gusta Goldschmidt played the harpsichord. That was the ensemble: Alma Musica. They had a successful career – it was a well-known ensemble. They played many concerts in Amsterdam. Bertus van Lier arranged the Art of Fugue for them. So, they played the Art of Fugue many times.

Everard van Royen took care of Paul when he fell into this depression. And he was helped also by somebody I know well, as a good friend. In the early days, I had been a member of the Rotary Club, but I travelled too much, and so I left the club. About five or six years ago I was no longer leaving the country so much, and I rejoined the Rotary Club, up until last year. I kept a number of friends from it. One of them is a banker, Jeroen Brikkenaar: he lives in Bussum, and he did a lot for Paul. He took Paul into his house, he told me that not so long ago. And he likes music a lot.

Did it mean the quartet stopped at that time?

No, not quite. I said: It is my time too. When Paul left, I said I will leave at the same time.

So, did he leave when his wife died?

He left after his wife died. So, I said this is the moment for me, I will leave too. We had wonderful years, but that's it. Nap continued – we had already changed the cellist, because Boomkamp had decided to stop in 1966. For a second time we spent the summer in Aspen, Colorado, as quartet in residence. That was the year that Agnès and the children came. I think Boomkamp celebrated his

60th birthday then. He was teaching at three conservatoires, and long before he had said: when I am 60 I will stop the quartet. And so he did. It was planned. He was a very good player, but that was it for him. And so we played with another cellist: Michel Roche, who is in Rotterdam. Good cellist. We had a few years with him. After Paul and I left, the quartet continued for a few years with another second violin and viola player.

But, Paul had a come-back. Thanks to Everard and Brikkenaar, and maybe some others. They coached him back to life. He wasn't playing any more, but he had the opportunity to play the Mozart Concertante with Menuhin. That was in the big hall of the Concertgebouw. I was there. It was fantastic. Since that time I hated Menuhin. He played less well than Paul. For Paul, it was now or never. And he played the viola so well. Menuhin didn't even stay after the concert …

Too professional?

It was really inferior character. Although everybody always says: the humanist … Pfff!

But then after that it went bad again. Paul lived for a time in the Rosa Spierhuis in Baarn. But they don't have psychiatric help there, and Paul needed that. So Van Royen managed to get him into a home in Amersfoort: a kind of centre that has psychiatric assistance, and that's where he died. Very sad.

Early music

What happened after you left the quartet. What did you do then?

That was in 1969. I didn't realize immediately that I needed a quartet. Well, I have to go back in years. I have to go back to 1959/1960, or I have to go back to my little school concerts with Frans Brüggen and Janny van Wering. We even made a little recording, which Frans probably doesn't want to know about, of Telemann Trio Sonatas, for CNR, a Dutch record company. And then I knew Utti, because I played once or twice with the Leonhardt Consort as a reinforcement in Bach Cantatas, I think it was. So I knew Utti, and then I had the idea of bringing them together: Brüggen and Leonhardt. I knew Anner Bijlsma, because we were playing together in the home of a gentleman who was on the board of the Conservatoire: Halbertsma, a very good amateur pianist. He was allowed by Willem Andriessen to play with the Conservatoire orchestra, on his birthday: the Variations Symphoniques of César Franck, and he played very well. I haven't heard that piece for a long time – a wonderful piece. So, I got to know the Halbertsma family, because I was then the concert master of the Conservatoire orchestra, and he asked me to come to his home to play sonatas. It was a great pleasure. Probably he invited Anner also, so that's why I knew Anner. We then played trios together with Halbertsma.

So, I had the idea of getting this together. And we started to play. Utti lived in the Nieuwmarkt and I was still living in the Olofsteeg, very close. Our girls knew each other – we have both three girls; and you are from a family with three girls.

Yes, we were nine bilingual girls with musician fathers and French mothers, or Swiss in the case of Marie Leonhardt. We all spoke French and Dutch. It was extraordinary.

Then I devised the name Quadro Amsterdam. It lasted a number of years. We played Telemann quartets, almost without rehearsing, at Utti's house in the Nieuwmarkt. At that time Utti had relationships with Wolf Erichson and then Teldec got interested. So, that's how it started – the recordings of baroque music for Teldec. We did Telemann: the six Paris Quartets, in two instalments. We did Couperin, Les Concerts Royaux, together with Marie Leonhardt as second violin and Frans Vester as flute player. That was it. There are not many quartets to play. There is a Guillemain, 'Conversations galantes', which we played a lot. Then there was a Handel concerto with flute and violin. But it wasn't ambitious enough to last for a long time. We had our good years. They never talked about it again. I liked it. They were good recordings also. So, that started in 1960, when I was still playing with the Netherlands String Quartet. And playing Haydn with the Quartet, that's when I thought: I want to do that in a different way.

So, the Quadro played until 1966 perhaps. We had our last fling then. We came to England on a tour, playing at Rugby School, and in a catholic school in the Midlands. And then there was a music critic at the VARA, Henk de Bie. He was at the Conservatoire as a pianist, but he was older than me. He was a very good writer. He wrote very intelligent music criticism in Vrij Nederland – a regular column. And he knew me and he loved early music – not all music critics do – but he then sponsored and was active in organizing this. Television was starting, and there is a television film about the Quadro Amsterdam. You see the life of the four of us at home, how we live, and then on the boat to Harwich, and trip to England, because they sent a camera-man with us to England. I have it on DVD.

Oh, we want to see that!

I think back on it with great pleasure. But the others don't, because for them this was not important. They all made their own big careers – Brüggen and Leonhardt and Bijlsma. I didn't do it the same way. But it was great fun. So that was in the mid 1960s and still playing with the Quartet.

Can you give a percentage of how much you played with the Netherlands String Quartet?

How much in time? Well, we didn't rehearse that much in the later years. I stopped playing in the orchestra in 1953, because my teacher Jos de Klerk died and I applied for the job at the Conservatory and became a teacher there. So that meant that I had much more time. I fell down a lot in salary, but I was much happier. Still, with the Quartet we earned nice fees – from America I brought back some good money that I was able to use to buy some bows. Then in the course of the years I got a better violin, and then another violin, until I ended up with the Gofriller.

So, timewise I was not so engaged with the Quartet. But we had tours in America, with the usual repertoire. We played some contemporary quartets. That's another story. Kees van Baaren was a very good composer, but very advanced. He wrote a string quartet for us. You can imagine the face of Godwin receiving the part of this quartet. He was completely lost. Also, the way he composed it – you had at certain moments to come in, and you were free to come in at certain moments. I liked it – but I had to get used to it. What I had to do was to write a special part for Paul with, instead of the freedom of silences, a number of bars. He continued to count. So, he played his notes and he played them well. At one rehearsal Kees van Baaren came to listen to us and Paul made sure that he was sitting opposite him, so that Kees couldn't see his part. So, we played that a number of times, and also Guillaume Landré, Lex van Delden, Willem Pijper – we played the last quartet in London,

in 1953 or 1954. The first concert ever in London, I remember. It was a kind of exception: in Red Lion Square [The Conway Hall], with mostly English ensembles playing there. And then we played on BBC radio, every time. It's a pity that all those recordings are lost. I know England fairly well from that time.

So, where am I now? I started the early music, the Quadro, seriously around 1960, when we still had the Quartet. So, I divided my time.

But this was on modern instruments?

The recordings of the Telemann and Couperin were on modern instruments, and with Frans Vester playing on a modern flute. But you know that's fine.

I completely agree. I just think for the purpose of this interview it is important to mention this.

Then in the early 1960s I remember I played the Bach sonatas for violin and harpsichord with Janny van Wering, I think. I was not completely satisfied, because of the ensemble sound. For some reason I didn't get into the harpsichord sound. So, that was the direct reason for saying: 'I need a baroque violin, I will try to do that'. So, I went to Max Möller – he was very friendly with me, I am very grateful for that – and said to him: 'Can you find me a baroque violin?'

Had you ever heard a baroque violin by then?

Well, I had heard Marie Leonhardt, of course. The Leonhardt Consort was already active on baroque instruments. And so I asked Max: 'Can you find me a baroque violin?' and he said: 'Oh, give me six months.' And then he found me a Januarius Gagliano with the original neck. I had it for a long time. I made recordings with that. So, that was fantastic and I started to find out how you have to handle that. The bow-making was not yet there, but Max provided me with an old bow that I still have. It is a curious one – too curved almost, and too long. I don't know whether it is really a violin bow. So, that was the first one. And then the making got better. In any case, I had an acceptable baroque bow.

But that was not with the Quadro, which was with modern instruments. After the Quadro ended, and the [Netherlands] String Quartet, I was there with my baroque violin. I played with Anneke Uittenbosch, Frans Vester, who had started the traverse [baroque] flute, and Veronika Hampe. So, that was my first early instrument ensemble. I recorded the Bach Sonatas with Anneke for Columbia Records. It didn't last a long time, that duo, but that was a wonderful experience. She had a harpsichord made by a Norwegian friend, Ketil Haugsand. It was a very good instrument. Maybe she still has it. And we made a trip to America, using everything I knew from America. I had lots of addresses and a friend there who helped me. So, we made this trip to America in 1970. It was a great pleasure. We had lots of fun.

What was this ensemble?

This was the ensemble with flute, violin, gamba, and harpsichord.

It didn't have a name, the ensemble?

Yes. Diapason 422. I always invented the names for the ensembles. Quadro Amsterdam: I made the brochure, which was very nice, with an old etching of Amsterdam. And then Concerto Amsterdam. Because a few years later, Wolf Erichson started with the Quadro, but he also needed Bach cantatas. We played a number of cantatas with modern instruments. That was with Concerto Amsterdam. And then we did a number of Concerto discs, before we changed to baroque instruments. That was in the late 1960s.

In any case, Diapason was the ensemble that followed the Quadro. But I found I still needed a string quartet. And then I thought, with my experience of baroque instruments: Haydn and Boccherini and all these quartets. What did they know? They knew baroque music. So, I have to pick up Boccherini and Haydn from where they lived at that time. And then I found Alda Stuurop and Wiel Peeters. And then I tried to reach Jaap ter Linden and didn't manage. And then the second choice was Wouter Möller. So he became the cellist. And we simply worked. I had to teach; Alda – I don't know what she did, maybe she was teaching as well; Wiel Peeters didn't teach; and Wouter – I don't know what he did. We worked really for a whole season in the evenings, without playing concerts. So we were very well prepared. And we had our long discussions, a bit too long sometimes for my taste. Wiel Peeters especially, he left first. He was a good friend, but he refrained from playing. He didn't dare to play a note, because he thought it wasn't good enough. He was always thinking … he wouldn't go for it. We had to persuade him. We still played with him on the first recordings, the Haydn opus 20, which was taken by Wolf Erichson. That was the first recording we did – in the Doopsgezinde Kerk on the Singel [Amsterdam], and that turned out to be a big success. I didn't feel immediately that that's what I wanted. After the experience of a modern quartet, I felt that we were still too tentative. But, in any case it was a big success because it was something completely new: a string quartet with the original sound in mind. It was even made into a CD. It has been on sale for a long time.

After that, continuing with Erichson, we decided on Boccherini opus 33, the six quartets, on two LPs. For that one Dieter Thomsen came from Berlin and Edda Faklam, the one who cut the tape. That was very carefully done, engineered and that has been turned into a CD. So, that's how the Quartetto Esterhazy started. After this interval. For some reason the Diapason ensemble with Veronika became a bit difficult. We had a few good years. But then I was as happy as can be with the other quartet [Quartetto Esterhazy]. We started working on early Mozart. We made a recording with Erichson of early Mozart quartets: K 156, 168 and 173. And we played concerts of course. We played concerts in the small hall of the Concertgebouw. That was the beginning of public concerts with this original quartet sound. And I do remember that because I had played so many concerts with the Quadro, so I knew the Brüggen fans were coming to our concerts, because they knew what was going on. That was when there was a kind of civil war in the audience, because the quartet series in which we were invited to play brought in the traditional quartet lovers; and we had the young people who were in fact more like Brüggen's followers. Half of the people left in the intermission, and the other half came and said: now finally! So, it was interesting.

We had a number of years in front of us with concerts, mainly in Holland in fact. We came to England and in Germany. With the Quadro we had travelled in Germany. I have one funny story: typically Leonhardt. We played in a place in the middle north: Westphalia. We were staying in a hotel and eating there together, by the river Weser. We had a good meal and Utti ordered for his dessert a

Brennendes Iglo which of course involves ice cream flambé. Utti chose to have it made with rum. So, Utti got his Brennendes Iglo. And after that we had to pay and Utti looked at the bill and the waiter asked: 'Yes sir, what is the matter?' 'Well, it says Brennendes Iglo and then rum, 5 Mark, but that's not correct because on the menu it says Brennendes Iglo and that includes the flames, so you can't charge extra for the rum.' Well, he got it changed.

Was he quite mean with money?

Oh yes, very.

He didn't want to spend money?

No.

That's why he was rich.

But he was right. He wouldn't have complained if he wasn't right. So, where am I? The Quartetto Esterhazy. So, then we worked towards the big Mozart quartets. That was mostly our task. And then Concerto Amsterdam changed over to baroque instruments. That was in the 1970s.

I played a Leclair concerto. That was the first thing I did with Concerto Amsterdam. There were about 12 players. Three first, three seconds, two violas, two cellos, a double bass, and a harpsichord: a very nice ensemble, with more especially for recordings. I am not an organizer, but we did manage once to play three concerts for the Amsterdamse Kunstkring. It took me a lot of time. Kirchner was the man I knew who organized this. So, not many concerts – but recordings, yes: Leclair concertos and then other things. Concertos with the horn player Hermann Baumann and Quartetto Esterhazy also played chamber music with Baumann. So that was very interesting.

We went to Italy with the Quartet, because we had friends there. There was an Italian in Padua who was interested in us and organized concerts. So several times we travelled in the north of Italy and then we got a concert in Naples. That was our last concert. Wiel Peeters dropped out fairly soon. He made a number of recordings. And then he told me that he wasn't able to continue. It was psychological.

I had no idea.

He was not comfortable at all playing this viola in public. I regretted it. But then I heard lately from somebody that he lives in Tuscany with his wife, growing olive trees. He lived in Sardinia for a number of years and then moved to Italy to Tuscany.

But, in any case we needed another viola player. And the one we got was Linda Ashworth: an American and a very good player. She was the concert master of the Ballet Orchestra and was willing to take up the viola. And she did very well. With my viola, which is a smallish instrument, not a big one. So, the rest of the time with the quartet she was the viola player. So we had Alda, Linda, and Wouter.

We had made a number of recordings. The Decca producer was Peter Wadland, who was the main producer for L'Oiseau Lyre – early instruments, The Academy of Ancient Music, and so on. He invited us to come and record the six 'Haydn' quartets of Mozart. We did it at Aldeburgh, in the

Snape Maltings concert hall – a wonderful hall. In the same place, later on, I recorded the quintets with the Smithson Quartet. So, we recorded the six Mozart Quartets. By then AAM was already doing lots of baroque music. Wadland had in mind to go on to Mozart. And he was considering me as an inspector, as a leader. But he wanted to know if it would fit together. So he invited me to make a recording of the six Geminiani Concertos, which we did in Hampstead in Rosslyn Hill Chapel.

That was the first time I worked with these people, and everybody liked it – I liked it, they liked it. That was the moment when Peter said: I am considering a big project with the Mozart Symphonies, would you like to lead that? So that was probably in 1977–78. (Although when the Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century started in 1981, Brüggen presented it as if they were the first.) The system was that we did two weeks of recording: two days of rehearsal, paid by Decca – which was a first, and the only time they did that – and then the rest of the two weeks, the batch of symphonies. That was in 1979, I think. It was nice because we rehearsed and everybody could contribute. I was standing up, and that's where that television programme is from, in that first batch of symphonies. I was standing in front of the orchestra and that is much better than conducting. There I am with the bow. And I indicated my bowings and I had prepared the scores. So, that's where my French background comes in: the way I use the bow.

I remember that the bowing exercises that you made me do for years were by Catherine. I had to start every lesson with these bowing exercises.

They were very good. I mean, Ševčík is useful – you can learn something – but deadly.

So boring.

I got that from Pasquier.

I have occasionally taken it out for students and I think it is really good.

It is. That's where I am different from the other ones. So, in any case, that was very inspiring. Everybody liked it.

Now I am at the end of the 1970s (illus.3). The Quartet still did a few concerts but I was looking forward to the end of that. We finished the six Mozart quartets, and then Decca wanted to do the quintets. We managed to do one recording of that: the G minor and the C major. Wonderful pieces. We did that at Kingsway Hall. It is an LP. They converted the quartet recordings to CDs and they were on the market, but never the quintets. The American engineer who has worked for us, Peter Watchhorn, had time and he put it on a CD. Both the quartets. I love them both, but that's the end of it. And then we played a few concerts in Italy and the last one was in Naples.

See Naples and die!

And then stop playing. So, that was the end of it. I was sad but also relieved.[2]

Illus.3 In later years (photo: Schröder family archive)

The USA

The Netherlands String Quartet had played in America almost every year until 1969. Then I had Diapason 422, and we made one trip to America with that ensemble. Then I was asked to come back to Aspen, which is the modern music festival of the Julliard School, and where we had spent two summers with the Quartet, 1964 and 1966. This time was the beginning of my baroque playing and the Esterhazy Quartet, and they asked me to come with the baroque violin for a tentative period of two weeks. It wasn't really a success; it was too early in fact. But, I met a harpsichordist, Ellen Katz. We played together. She was very much in favour of this. That was the late 1970s. She was very well acquainted with my dear friend Albert Fuller. And he was planning a baroque festival, for the first time in America. He was a harpsichordist and teaching at the Julliard and really thinking about developing this early music scene with at least two violins. He said: baroque music, if I organize something, I need two violins. And he knew one already: Stanley Ritchie. So Ellen Katz said: you have to ask Jaap. He wrote me a letter – I still have it – 'Dear Mr Schröder'. He was always very flowery in his language. So I was invited in 1973, for the first Aston Magna Festival. So, that was another beginning.

The festival ran for three weeks in the Berkshire Hills, between New York and Boston, close to Tanglewood: a private estate and a beautiful place. There had been a famous violinist there, Albert Spalding, who had a wonderful house and estate there, which was bought by a banker who loved baroque music. He gave Albert Fuller the permission and money to organize this first baroque festival, and Albert always had wonderful ideas. He said it should be three weeks with concerts. So Stanley Ritchie, the second violin, was there, and a cellist and some wind players – John Solum was the flute player – and a few more. But, it was not only concerts. You could come as a postgraduate student and get lectures from a specialist about a certain theme. From the first year onwards Albert gave each summer a name. I don't remember the order, but one was Versailles. We had an architect

talking about the architecture in Versailles, and French literature, and of course French music. So the concerts were combined with in-depth lectures on the period. Another theme was Thomas Jefferson and his time. And of course we had Italy. It was wonderful to concentrate on certain subjects. And Albert was the man behind the whole thing, not only playing the harpsichord. These were fantastic years. They lasted from 1973 until 1981, and then it changed; but that's another story.

In the first festival we did the six Brandenburg Concertos, which then two years later – I think in 1975 – we recorded. Albert wanted to do that. So we recorded it and then he had to find a label to publish them which was quite difficult. He was a bit disappointed that it wasn't done by a big label, but by the Smithsonian Institution. The man there, Jim [James] Weaver was a former student of Utti. Jim Weaver managed to have the tapes bought by the Smithsonian and that's where it was published. We played them in concert there and also in New York in the Metropolitan Museum. We had several years of concerts in the Metropolitan Museum.

The first three years we had Shirley Wynne and the baroque dancers. Ah, she was a wonderful person: very intelligent, but also lots of taste. She didn't dance herself but was instructing the group of younger people, one of whom is still continuing the New York Baroque Dance company: Cathy [Catherine] Turocy, who is married to a harpsichordist Jim [James] Richman. Since my bow was my life, I was delighted to learn so much about moving and dancing. Shirley started every morning for the whole group of students and teachers with an hour of baroque dance step. And then in the programmes that we did, with Rameau mainly, I was finding out the best bowings to accommodate the dancers.

I kept in touch with a few of those dancers. It was a wonderful atmosphere. And with Albert it was always such a feast to be there for three weeks. And then during the year I came back for concerts in New York. He had a wonderful studio. He had good friends with lots of money. He was teaching at the Julliard, but that wasn't giving all the money he needed. He had a childhood friend, whom I knew also, who loved music and who gave him this studio to live in – a fantastic place, near Lincoln Centre on West 67th Street, between Central Park and Columbus Avenue. It was the centre of activities for him and he organized concerts there. And he rented it out for a film called All that jazz. One ceiling had been broken away. He lived on the first floor and downstairs was a big studio.

Well, Albert died some years ago [2007] and the apartment has been sold. But when I am in New York now I am sad because of that.

We were also invited to play in Tanglewood. That wasn't a big success, because Tanglewood wasn't ready for early music. It was the Boston Symphony who played there with Joseph Silverstein. He pretended to be interested, but it was not his cup of tea. But we played a number of concerts throughout the States.

After six years Albert said that after the baroque he wanted to go on to early classical. But the board of directors didn't want to. They said: this is successful and we have to continue. So he broke away. Very sad. He started his own series of concerts in his studio – as the Helicon Foundation – and I was part of that. I left Aston Magna with him and moved to the New York scene.

The Helicon Foundation still exists. I did many concerts there, also with Penny Crawford, and went on in the repertoire, which was what Albert wanted. He himself didn't play there. But he had a really

wonderful mind. I am still in touch with the man who took care of him when he was getting ill: an oboe player who lived there, because Albert needed help. He was very ill at the end. Albert and many friends were part of the homosexual scene there. I never felt the least inclination for that. But he was not at all irritating. I accepted that from him.

The Diapason ensemble had an American tour in 1970 or 1971. We had an invitation from Jim Weaver at the Smithsonian in Washington. So, we played there and that was the beginning of a long link with the Smithsonian.

Was it the time when the Strad was restored by Lindeman?

That is in the Metropolitan in New York. That instrument I played. I even made a recording with some of the solo pieces on that Strad. But the Smithsonian has a very, very important collection of instruments. Partly their own, partly those that belong to rich people who have the money and the interest. There was a Stainer quartet, and there were other Strad instruments, and they were in the Smithsonian, on the fourth floor, I remember very well.

We played on them in the museum. But they rarely went outside, because these instruments were not insured: it would have been impossible. There was an enormous number of guards. It was very difficult, even when you brought in your own violin: it had to be checked and registered and so on. So, instead of paying a huge amount to insure the many very valuable instruments, they paid for guards.

We rehearsed regularly there, and we made some recordings. There were exceptions – I don't know how they managed. We did take them outside to Annapolis to do Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante, for instance. That was great – a wonderful piece. But it started with simply baroque concerts – with Anneke Uittenbosch – and then I continued going there. I met Marilyn McDonald, who was a baroque soloist there.

The Esterhazy Quartet had stopped in 1981, and I was already playing baroque concerts in Washington. So, what was more logical than with the friends there to say: would you like to make a string quartet? This was Marilyn McDonald, Judson Griffin and Ken Slowik, the omnipresent cellist who was organizing things at the Smithsonian. (Albert Fuller wasn't especially in touch with the Smithsonian. He had his reservations about a relationship with the people there.) So then from 1982/1983 on it was the Smithson Quartet. We started with Haydn; I don't think we ever played Boccherini. But then we did Beethoven. And I think our very best recording is the Opus 18 quartets by Beethoven. We did that in a famous [Merkin Concert?] Hall in New York City.

How often would you be going to America?

Say four times a year, because I was also teaching at the school of music at Yale. I had an appointment for four visits a year. Two weeks each, or so. And I combined that with the Smithsonian. I went from one to the other. And then I also had some concerts throughout the States. The Yale connection has always stayed. At Yale I had an open roster – everybody could come and play for me. I had a trombone player there who signed up for a lesson. I was wondering what he was going to do; he played a preludium of a cello suite by Bach. He articulated very well. But it was violinists, first of all. They played all the Bach, of course. We discussed Bach, and some of them liked it very much and others said: well, no that is not my cup of tea.

I had a good time there. But, of course, I was the exception in a modern world. I never managed to have any vocalists there for a Bach cantata. In the last two or three years it has changed. They have felt that they have to get up to date. There is a violinist, Robert Mealy – I haven't really known him – in Boston, and he is now the man who is really organizing things at Yale. So I combined Washington and Yale, together with Albert and the Helicon Foundation in New York. I was really spending part of the year in the States.

And then, I have to get to the Atlantis Ensemble. Of course, I played concerts in France now and then, and I recorded Mozart Sonatas with Lambert Orkis in 1989 and in England. I got the Smithson Quartet to France for a few concerts and then I started the Atlantis Ensemble. I called it Atlantis because it was composed of some European members and some American members, so a kind of combination across the Atlantic. It was first of all a trio with Penny Crawford (fortepiano) and Enid Sutherland (cello). And so we played in Ann Arbor, Michigan. And then we started doing some recordings, not yet with Peter Watchorn. We did the Schubert Trio with this fellow from California [David Cerutti, viola] and that was it. We wanted to do other things that involved a few more musicians. In concerts we played the Trout Quintet, the Schumann Piano Quintet, and things like that, and we continued to play Beethoven trios.

And then Peter Watchorn came into the picture. He started the Musica Omnia label and wanted us to do chamber music with piano – the Graf grand piano that Penny owns, a unique thing from 1835 in mint condition, well cared for. She paid a lot of money, I think, for the upkeep. It didn't have to be restored but it had to be worked on every time we made a recording. It sounds great. It is a wonderful instrument. So, starting with Schubert, the Trout Quintet, Schumann … in the last couple of years we did Mendelssohn. A Mendelssohn album with wonderful music: his Piano Quartets, opus 1–3. This is great music. I knew the Violin Sonata in F minor, opus 4, and that is also a great piece. He was 14 years old when he wrote it. The Piano Quartets with this old piano: it is of course such a better, transparent sound. So I have worked with Penny for a long time – concerts and recordings. The Smithson Quartet was going full swing until the Reagan years, when the money dried up. That was around 1996. Ken Slowik could no longer organize concerts in Washington – we had had a series of concerts at the Smithsonian every year. So that was the end of the quartet.

Iceland and recent recordings

A number of years before this I had been invited to Iceland by my student Svava [Bernharðsdóttir]. I had met her at the Julliard: she was studying there, had listened to my lecture about early music and had said: 'Ah that's what I want to do.' So she came to Basel to study with me. Basel started for me in 1973/1974 thanks to my friend Michel Piguet who was teaching the oboe there. He introduced me to Peter Reidemeister, the director. They had started a new existence, so to speak. The Scola had been there since 1933, with string players – well, August Wenzinger was the gamba player. The violinists were modern players who put on gut strings, and still with the chin rest and everything. For some reason that had stopped and Peter Reidemeister asked me to come in. So that went together with the Esterhazy Quartet. With the Smithson Quartet we played a Haydn programme in Basel once and we gave some classes.

In Basel Svava then said: I have to introduce you to my friends. We have a baroque ensemble in Iceland. This was more than 20 years ago – perhaps 1989. That was all baroque: the Bach Consort.

And I played the Bach Sonatas with Helga [Ingolfsdottir]. We did some recordings there. I was very happy with that. We did a Vivaldi programme with different concertos: the cello concerto with Sigi [Sigurður Halldórsson], the two oboes concerto, and I played a violin concerto. It was very well sounding and with good people. They really were eager to do this. So that developed. So, when the Smithson Quartet stopped, the same story repeats itself. I asked them: Are you interested in playing quartets? So, with those people I formed the Skàlholt Quartet.

Skàlholt is the church outside Reykjavik, an hour and a half away, in the open country. It is where the very first church was built in the year 1000 or even before. There is a new church there now, built in 1953 through the efforts of a wonderful man who was the initiator of all this: the bishop of Iceland, and a grandfather of Svava. So, I got to know him and his wife and some of his eight children. Svava's mother was a daughter of the bishop. Every time Agnès and I came to Iceland we were received in the house of this man, Sigurbjörn Einarsson. Wonderful people. So, we did baroque music for a number of years. We did an English programme. I had devised a programme with theatre music by Purcell and other English composers. That's a very good disc ('Theatre Music in 17th Century England'). The sound in that church is fantastic.

So the quartet started very modestly. Not much time. But the musicians are fantastic. Soon they really got it. We played Haydn first of all. And from Haydn we did Mozart, and then we moved to Schubert.

With the Esterhazy Quartet and the Smithson Quartet it was also research – from the early Boccherinis and we even played a Tartini with Esterhazy (a Sonata à 4) – an ongoing research on how we play the young Haydn: what did Haydn hear in his ears? We tried to find out; and then moved on to Beethoven and then finally to Schubert. So, now we are in the stage of that research and doing the Schubert quartets. And then we will go back to Haydn opus 76. But, I would love to go on to Brahms: to play Brahms in the way I hear it. With the Nederlands String Quartet we played wonderful Brahms, but it was modern Brahms. So the Skàlholt people are very happy. We make some recordings, we have a few concerts here and there: not much. That's where I am now.

The Atlantis Ensemble did the Mendelssohn album (three discs), and the Clara Schumann piano trio and the first of Robert Schumann's trios: a very nice disc. Clara Schumann was a very gifted player. Then the last disc that came out is the Schumann piano quartet together with an unknown trio which I found in Washington in the library.

You know one of those great virtuosos of the 19th century, besides Liszt and Chopin, was Sigismond Thalberg. He was the great competitor of Liszt. The two of them were really jealous and fighting each other. Thalberg composed mostly fantasies on operas and he composed one piano trio. It is almost a bit like Brahms: very good music and nobody knows it. So, that is on this Schumann quartet disc. That was the most recent thing we did. And now the latest thing is the Kegelstatt Trio [Mozart], which we recorded at the same time as two piano quintets of Mozart and Beethoven. But Peter plans to put the Kegelstatt Trio together with the Clarinet Quintet.

Owen Watkins is the clarinet player, also an Australian, like Peter. He lives near Boston. He works at the workshop of the recorder builder in Boston, Von Huene. So he repairs and builds instruments. He has a collection of old clarinets and he is very expert in all this. And he plays wonderfully.

With the Skàlholt Quartet I have recorded a programme that includes a Haydn that is a single opus, opus 42, together with the last two Boccherini quartets: very interesting material. And a Michael Haydn divertimento. And, I still have to edit, to listen to all that material.

With the Bach Consort we did a programme of early Italian stuff, seventeenth-century string music. It is in my room waiting to be treated: a lot of work.

So, the Beethoven opus 18 quartets (with the Smithsonian Quartet) have been reissued, because they were very successful.

Oh yes, and then there was Jos van Immerseel. He wasn't teaching at Basel, but I invited him to do Mozart Sonatas there for the Scola Cantorum series, so we recorded two discs of Mozart Sonatas and then Reidemeister asked us to do the whole series of the ten Beethoven Sonatas. We recorded in Antwerp with the Graf piano there. They reissued them also in 2010.

And with my friend in Sweden, Kjell-Ake Hamrén, I did six violin duos by Gasparo Fritz. He was a Swiss violinist in the eighteenth century. Classical, no longer baroque really. And it is very nice music. It was just great fun to do it with him. He is a good player. We did it in a small Swedish church, and he edited it himself.

With the Skàlholt we played in the Esterházy palace, in 2009. The concert was recorded by the Hungarian radio and I got a copy. It is very nice; it could be a disc. Haydn opus 9 and 17, and starting with Boccherini. And then, we recorded the Seven Last Words in 2009 and that is out officially.And I made a disc with the best student I ever had in Basel, Dana Maiben, an American. She works in and around Boston and organizes concerts. We made a disc of Purcell and Bononcini trio sonatas, for a special reason. Bononcini is from the middle of the seventeenth century. He composed a lot of chamber music and these trio sonatas belong to more than one opus. He worked in Modena, where the Este family reigned. The Princess d'Este got married to the Duke of York. She was a great music lover and came to London and took lots of music with her. And that is the reason why I said to myself: Purcell may well have heard this music by Bononcini. It goes very well together, so I put together a programme of the two. It is with Dana and Alice Robbins, the gamba player from Boston, and Meg Irwin-Brandon, who I have known for a long time, a harpsichordist/organist near Springfield. A very nice person. I still play with her occasionally in Davoncourt College [of Yale University] when she is there. I was very happy with that disc.

I made a solo violin disc in Skàlholt. And I made an Italian disc in Naples with friends from the Naples orchestra – not that good. The engineer there wasn't very good. Whereas the Vivaldi concertos in Skàlholt – that was very good.

Mendelssohn trios we did, of course: both of them; and also Fanny Hensel, the sister of Felix, who wrote a very good trio. She was a gifted composer. She was allowed to be a pianist and travelled with her brother to Italy, where she had great success. That gave her confidence. So when she came back to Berlin she insisted on doing a bit more. But the family didn't allow her compositions; they were hidden in the family archive until two years ago. In Germany there is an association of women musicians and they have been very active. So, the piano trio is a wonderful piece.

And in France I made three discs with violin sonatas for a French label: a whole disc with Mondonville, and then Marais combined with others – including de La Guerre.

And the Schubert Octet. It was one of the first things I did. I had played it already with Penny Crawford. But then I had in mind I would love to do the Schubert Octet. It was a real Atlantis project. I had Jaap ter Linden with me, and Hans Rudolf Stadler the fantastic Swiss clarinet player, and Judson Griffin the American viola player, and Carol Harris an excellent violinist and a student of mine at Yale, and the horn player (Lowell Greer) was American. So, it was a real mixture. We rehearsed for a week in Les Mûrs [the family house of Agnès Schröder]. We had a fantastic week. And then recorded it in Germany. It was released by Virgin Classics in 1990, and is no longer on the market. Peter Watchorn would love to have it in his repertoire.[3]

I started playing the violin when I was 8. So it is now about 80 years. I think I will call my book: '80 years of violin playing'. Because it will not come out before I am 88.[4]

Illus.4 Relaxing with a book (photo: Schröder family archive)

Membership of music groups

1952–1969, Netherlands String Quartet; 1960–1968, Quadro Amsterdam; 1961–1978, Concerto Amsterdam; 1972–1982, Quartetto Esterhazy; 1974–1990, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis; 1976–1987, Aston Magna Ensemble (later Helicon Ensemble); 1977–1985, Academy of Ancient Music; 1982–1996, Smithson String Quartet; 1984–1996, Smithsonian Chamber Orchestra; 1988-2020, Atlantis Ensemble; 1993-2020, Skálholt Ensemble; 1996-2020, Skálholt String Quartet.

Notes

1 In a fragment of our interview, Jaap remembered the Andriessen family and went on to talk about his own religious faith:

'Laura, a sister of Willem and Hendrik and Mari, even another brother who was an English teacher, another Andriessen, oom Kiek [Nicolaas]. Oom Kiek for a time lived in Utrecht in the home of his brother Hendrik. The story was, that somebody rang the bell and oom Kiek opened the door and there was a man filled with awe and he said: Mr Hendrik? and oom Kiek said: yes, I am Andriessen, but I am not Hendrik and the man said: Oh you are not? then you must be Willem Andriessen? and he said: No sir, I am not Willem Andriessen. But then you are Mari Andriessen. Afterwards he said: I am fed up with being a brother. They all had the same sense of humour.

I went very often to Haarlem. This is something that seems to happen. I am an only child, and only children often look to be with families with many children, for the sociability and so on. Mrs Andriessen was a wonderful woman. It is a catholic clan, but Mrs Andriessen at that time, I would say was very liberal and I liked that a lot. There was an atmosphere of conservative catholicism at this time – for Agnès it was horrible and for me too. It was awful'.

It was Holland. Catholicism was very conservative.

'Well it was everywhere. Have you heard of the 'mandement' – a sort of edict published by the bishops. It was forbidden to be part of the socialist party and that kind of thing. It was horrible.

I myself had lived in Paris for two years and was part of the university community and there was a priest there who was a fantastic man. Before I came to Paris I was interested. My parents were not religious really and I was reading – there was a war paper edited by a liberal catholic group. I always had in mind: you have to be catholic and communist. That combination I can see. I once talked to a priest in Amsterdam and it didn't last for more than five minutes.

But then in Paris I found something completely different. The man there had been in the scout movement and he was not only a very deep-going priest but he was also an intellectual. He had finished the Polytechnique and so he was surrounded by this whole community of students. I became part of that and I got baptised there in 1949. But then coming back to Holland was absolutely horrible. Now the church is falling apart – I read about it, but it doesn't affect me, I don't feel part of that. I feel part of the French'.

2 We also recorded this fragment in which Jaap said:

'The Quartetto Esterhazy made one trip to America, in 1974. We were successful in Holland and I knew the people in America. There was an American manager: he was also an oboe player, and he had a group that involved some players. Albert Fuller wasn't playing with him but they knew each other well. And so I was asked to play with him. and he wanted to organize the tour for the quartet. It was an extensive tour. It didn't give us much money. He was clever enough to pocket that himself, probably. The concert organizers were paying him. But it was wonderful because we had lots of excellent responses and played at New Haven, at the collection of instruments. It was the first time: string quartets with the sound of the original composing, and so it was important. But we never got to a second trip. I don't know why – perhaps just because the Americans didn't find the time or the interest to do it'.

3 Otto Steinmayer's Schröder discography, which catalogues his recordings up to 2006, is at http://www.ikanlundu.com/schroederdiscography.html.

4 Later in 2012 Jaap Schröder recorded an interview in French that is published on the Muse Baroque website, http://www.musebaroque.fr/entretien-jaap-schroder.

'Di Sofonisma nobile Cremonesa, Musica, Letterata, e sopra tutto rarissima Pittrice'

Naoko Akutagawa and Glen Wilson

Illus.1 Sofonisba Anguissola, 'Self portrait at a spinetta' (c.1555), National Museum of Capodimonte, Naples (Wikimedia commons)

In the autumn of 2019 a friend visiting Naples sent us a photograph of a painting he took at the Museo di Capodimonte. It showed a lovely girl at an Italian spinet with a tuning key lying beside it (illus.1). Our friend's caption said it was a self-portrait by a painter whom we had not yet come across, Sofonisba Anguissola. We went online and found to our shame that she had recently been the subject of much research because of expanded interest in female artists, and that the corpus of paintings attributed to her had skyrocketed to doubtful heights. They included not only a group of charming and technically brilliant family and self-portraits, but also some of the finest portraits ever produced of the court of Philip II of Spain. Moreover, there was another self-portrait at a spinet (illus.2).[1] We also found that the Prado Museum was soon devoting a major exhibition to Sofonisba and another outstanding woman painter of the same epoch, Lavinia Fontana. We travelled to Madrid in early January 2020 and were rewarded with the most comprehensive show of their works yet assembled, and an excellent catalogue on which the following biographical sketch is mostly based.[2]

Illus.2 Sofonisba Anguissola, ;Self portrait', from photo at Bibliothèque nationale de France of the cut-down version of the Althorp self-portrait with nutrice *(gallica.bnf.fr)*

The first thing that strikes one about Sofonisba is her name. The family, with branches of various noble rank scattered over northern Italy, were descendants of an 8th-century Byzantine general who gained a major victory over the Ummayad Caliphate. His shield bore the image of an asp (Latin *anguis*); when the Byzantines cried *Anguis sola fecit victoriam!* - the asp alone gained the victory - the family took the nickname 'Anguissola', which was eventually granted as a title of nobility by the emperor. But the family's ancestral claims went still further back, to ancient Carthage. Hence Sofonisba's father was named Amilcare, after Hannibal's father, and she and a sister were given Carthaginian names. Sofonisba was a princess who poisoned herself after the defeat by Scipio in 203

BC rather than submit to Roman slavery. She was the subject of the first classical-style tragedy in Italian, by Gian Giorgio Trissino.[3]

The more highly-placed members of the wider Anguissola family provided many services for the Habsburg empire. Most notoriously, two Anguissola brothers assassinated the Duke of Parma and Piacenza in 1547 with their own daggers. Sofonisba's immediate family was established in Cremona. The duchy of Milan, of which Cremona was the second largest city, was Spanish territory, and Amilcare had been rewarded with membership of the city council and other positions which kept his immediate family somewhat above the level of genteel poverty. The city was still on the eve of its greatest musical efflorescence. M. A. Ingegneri arrived there shortly after Sofonisba left in 1559, and Monteverdi was only born in 1567; but Cremona was already a major centre of instrument building at the time of her birth. Andrea Amati had set up shop there by 1530, and it was a major center of organ building, of which harpsichords were usually a by-product.[4]

Amilcare gave his children - including, unusually for the time, his daughters - an exemplary humanistic education. Sofonisba also received early training in drawing and music,[5] and in painting with local artists who were obliged to her father, who was one of Cremona's inspectors of church decoration. By the time she was a teenager Sofonisba had established a reputation at a portraitist in oils, and was the family's most important potential financial asset. In 1550 the bishop of Cremona referred to her as 'among the distiguished painters of our time'. Amilcare sent an example of her work to Michelangelo, who was impressed and set her an assignment; the result, accompanied to Rome by a humble letter from Sofonisba, impressed him even more. Vasari visited her in Cremona and later lauded her in the second edition of his *Lives* as the best female artist alive.[6]

Vasari also reports that her skill in painting was considered 'miraculous' at the Spanish court. When Philip II became engaged to Eizabeth of Valois (1545-68), daughter of King Henry II of France and Catarina dei Medici (and sister-in-law of Mary Queen of Scots), he set about looking for ladies-in-waiting for his bride who could function as instructors in the feminine accomplishments of the time. Recent research has revealed the extensive contacts of the many-branched Anguissola family with other noble Italian and Italo-Spanish families.[7] These connections, along with her father's vigorous promotion, resulted in Sofonisba's work and her reputation as a model of virtue and modesty being brought to the king's attention. The Duke of Alba himself made the decisive recommendation. She was engaged to join the royal entourage, and left for Spain in November 1559.

By all accounts, Sofonisba took her sudden elevation from regional artist of some repute to intimate of the most powerful court in the world in her stride. Elizabeth, on the insistence of her domineering and ever-intriguing mother, had brought a large suite of French servants along to Spain, but these were eventually sent back home after endless squabbles over precedence with the Spanish ladies whom Philip and public opinion preferred. Sofonisba remained untouched by the turmoil, and became a highly valued friend and teacher to the queen, who is reported to have made excellent progress under her instruction. Philip was so pleased by Sofonisba's portrait of his wife that he posed for her himself. The series of near-life-sized portraits she produced, long attributed to the court painters Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and Alonso Sánchez Coello, can stand comparison with anything being produced in Europe at the time. Sofonisba even managed to win the esteem and cooperation of Coello, Philip's official portraitist. Anyone who knows something about jealousy among artists will regard this as a near miracle.

Elizabeth, the only one of Philip's four wives to whom he was sincerely devoted, died in childbirth at the age of 33. The French ambassador reported back to her mother that 'the lamentations were incredible; for there is not one person great or little who does not weep for her majesty's loss; and affirm that she was the best, and most gracious queen that had ever reigned in Spain'.[8] According to a letter sent to Italy at the time (cited by Gamberini, 2016), Sofonisba lost the will to live. The devastated king took care to provide for her ladies, but was especially solicitous of Sofonisba's welfare. Her salary was guaranteed for her lifetime and she was given parting bonuses and gifts. It was customary to arrange marriages for pensioned ladies-in-waiting who did not wish to enter a convent, and Sofonisba was lucky in the choice eventually made for her. After an unhappy time in limbo at the court, during which she was involved in some serious pranks, she was married by proxy in Madrid and returned to Italy in 1573 to live with Fabrizio de Moncada, a nobleman of Palermo. He was killed in a pirate attack off Naples five years later. In 1580 she married again, notably without asking permission either of her provider the King of Spain or of her brother, who was her legal guardian. She lived with the Genoese sea captain Orazio Lomellini in Pisa, Genoa, and from 1615 in Palermo. On 12 July 1624, Anthony van Dyck visited Sofonisba there, and included a record of the interview and an ink drawing of her in his *Italian Sketchbook*. He later worked the drawing up in oil on canvas.

> Portrait of the painter Sofonisba, made from life at Palermo in the year 1624 on 12 July, when she was 96 years old and still preserved her memory and great sharpness of mind, being most courteous, and despite her failing eyesight due to old age she nevertheless liked to place the paintings in front of her and, very attentively, pressing her nose up close to the picture, was able to make out a little of it and derived great pleasure from doing so. When I did her portrait, she gave me several pieces of advice on not to raise the light too high so that the shadows would not accentuate the wrinkles of old age and many other good suggestions, and she also told me about part of her life, from which it is apparent that she was a miraculous painter from life, and her greatest torment was not being able to paint anymore because of her failing sight, though her hand was still steady and untrembling.[9]

She died a little more than a year later and was buried under a marble tombstone inlaid with semi-precious stones, still to be seen at the church of San Giorgio dei Genovese in Palermo. The Latin inscription reads:

> To his wife Sofonisba, of the family of Anguissola, who through her noble character, her beauty and her extraordinary natural gifts is counted among the famous women of the world, and who in the representation of the human figure was so outstanding that nobody in her time was reckoned her equal, Horatius Lomellinus, plunged in deepest grief, dedicates this last tribute, which, although too small for such a woman is great for a mortal.

Orazio's natural son named his daughter Sofonisba.

But since we are both harpsichordists, it was the two self-portraits with Italian spinets that got us interested in Sofonisba the painter. They have a likely direct predecessor in Catharina van Hemessen's portrait of a girl at a Flemish virginal from around 1550, a pendant to her self-portrait and almost certainly depicting her sister Christine, now at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne (illus.3).[10] A copy of the portrait found its way to Italy. The general impression created by all three works is very similar: a modest girl with a somewhat inquisitive facial expression in front of a dark background. There are musical connections between the two women as well. Van Hemessen's home

city of Antwerp was, of course, the centre of the so-called Flemish school of harpsichord building,[11] and artistic and commercial contact with Milan and Cremona became lively after acquisition of the duchy by the Habsburgs after the battle of Pavia in 1525.[12] Catharina's husband Kerstiaen de Moryn was organist of Antwerp cathedral. The famous *Descrittione di Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* of 1567 states that he was 'an excellent player of the *buon'accordo* [an obscure term, variously described in 18th-century sources as a harpsichord, clavichord or 'small espinette', here most likely the very type of polygonal virginal Christine is shown playing] and other instruments'. The couple was called into the service of Maria of Hungary when this sister of Charles V stepped down as governor of the Low Countries and returned to Spain in 1555.

Illus.3 Catharina van Hemessen, 'Self-portrait' (1548), Museum Wallraf-Richartz, Cologne (Wikimedia commons)

Catharina was the prototype of a female painting instructor/lady-in-waiting at a Habsburg court. When Maria died in 1558, two years before Sofonisba arrived in Spain, the couple returned to the southern Netherlands, where Kerstiaen eventually took a job as organist of the Illustrious Brotherhood of our Blessed Lady in 's Hertogenbosch, a confraternity of monks and laymen whose most famous members were Hieronymus Bosch and William the Silent.[13] Four instruments of the harpsichord family (*clavicordios*) passed from Maria's estate to Philip's sister Princess Juana of Austria, dowager Princess of Portugal, who was regent of Spain while Philip was in England and the Low Countries, and with whom Sofonisba was on excellent terms. She painted the princess' portrait,

which has not as yet been securely identified. A portrait of Juana sold at auction in Vienna in 2011 and now in a private collection has been attributed to her, but it may be one of the numerous copies of such works produced for friendly courts.

The moment we found out about Sofonisba's stay at the court of Philip II, we wondered if she had known *el ciego tañedor*, the blind keyboardist Antonio de Cabezón. From 2010 to 2013 one of the authors was intensely involved with Antonio, his brother Juan and his son Hernando in connection with three CDs of their works and the extensive revision of the original numerical tablatures the project involved. We will say at the outset that our research has revealed no proof of any direct contact, but it is beyond question that the two often met, and that Sofonisba frequently heard the great master perform.

The first opportunity occurred when Philip, then crown prince, visited his future domains in Italy and the Netherlands in 1548-49.[14] The prince's convoy of some 100 ships landed in Genoa, where Cabezón's performance during Mass at the cathedral gives us the only direct description of his playing to have come down over the centuries. The chronicler of the journey says that all admired the 'smoothness and singularity' (*suavidad y extrañeza*) of the music of 'the unique (*el único*) Antonio de Cabezón, a new Orpheus of our time, foremost in this kind of music'.[15] From 19 December 1548 the party spent 19 festive days in Milan, the capital of the most prosperous of the Spanish Habsburgs' widespread Italian territories. Given his position in Cremona's local government and family connections, it seems possible that Amilcare made the 80km trip to the capital of the duchy to pay his respects. If his gifted daughter accompanied him, she could have met Titian there.[16] Be that as it may, on 7 January 1549 Philip sent some of his party ahead to Trent to wait as he made a quick swing southeastwards, then back up through Venetian *terra firma*, bypassing the *Serenissima*, where Adrian Willaert was San Marco's *maestro di capella* and Jacques Buus was organist. After three overnight stops, the prince and half his court arrived in Cremona, where he was met by more than 200 noblemen of the city, among them undoubtedly Amilcare Anguissola. Cabezón's presence on this leg of the journey is not documented, but Kastner thinks - and I would concur - that the king would not have allowed his highly-prized *tañedor*, who was always called upon to exhibit his talent wherever Philip appeared, to wait idly for him until 24 January in Trent. It was customary to attend a service at the chief church in all stopping points, but the *Felicissimo Viaje* makes no mention of anything but a grand reception at the palace. It is hard to imagine that the highly musical and naturally curious Sofonisba would not have found a way to hear Antonio if he did play at the palace chapel, in Cremona's *Duomo* or in the kind of smaller setting where Antonio would perform on his positive organ or clavichord for privileged guests; but this is idle speculation.

In Spain itself, the peripatetic court's main residence was the Alcázar of Toledo until Philip, King of Spain and its vast empire since 1556, moved the court to the Alcázar of Madrid (illus.4) in 1561. The move was made in anticipation of the completion of his greatest building project, the combined monastery, seminary and royal residence/mausoleum of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.[17] Philip had taken over Cabezón from his mother Isabella, the widow of Charles V, upon her death. Throughout the years of his service, Antonio was treated more like a friend than a lackey.[18] As the court progressed through Spain and foreign countries,[19] Cabezón was always close to Philip, and during the king's brief marriage to Elizabeth of Valois, the two households stayed together whenever possible. The king and queen usually spent some hours together in the afternoon, and often shared meals. Cabezón was sometimes invited to play for them, and the queen's ladies-in-waiting would have been present on many occasions. In addition, during the extensive periods of the year when Antonio was required to serve the king he was organist for church services wherein the organ played

a major role, which the entire court was required to attend, and during which even the fanatic Catholic Philip occasionally fell asleep.

Illus.4 Anton van der Wyngaerde, 'The old Alcázar of Madrid' (c.1565) (Wikimedia commons)

Antonio died suddenly on 26 March 1566, after six years during which he enriched Sofonisba Anguissola's musical life to a degree about which one can only ruminate.[20] His shadowy brother Juan, a distinguished keyboard player in his own right who aided Antonio for most of his life, died a few weeks later, as if his *raison d'être* had been extinguished. Antonio's brilliant son Hernando (1541-1602), who published his father's works posthumously, had begun to deputize for him in 1559.

There may be no tangible proof of contact between the Cabezóns and Sofonisba, but there is considerable documentation about other musical aspects of Sofonisba's life in Spain. It begins upon her first meeting with her new patroness on the occasion of Elizabeth's marriage to Philip. After her proxy wedding in Notre Dame de Paris, with the Duke of Alba standing in for the king, the beautiful 24-year-old Elizabeth crossed the Pyrenees in the dead of a bitter winter on horseback and in litters, and met her future husband at the palace of the powerful Mendoza family in Guadalajara, where the king had gone ahead from Toledo to meet her. The palace, with its splendid arcaded courtyard, is one of the most beautiful late-Gothic civil edifices in Europe. It was recently restored after heavy damage in the Spanish Civil War. A pamphlet published in Seville[21] shortly after the ceremony on 29 January 1560, one of several chronicles of the event, describes in detail an incident that occurred at the ball which took place in the main hall on the evening of the union:

> This dance being concluded [the musicians] continued playing for awhile; and Don Diego de Córdova emerged with the torch and chose [as his partner] *doña* Ana Fajardo and *doña* María de Aragón and gave the torch to the latter; and she chose the Marquess de Cenete and the Prince de la Rocha and gave him the torch; and he went to select *doña* Leonor Girón, daughter of the countess of Uraña, who refused to come out, and he chose the Italian and gave her the torch; and she chose the Duke of the Infantado [the host of the occasion, the 4th duke Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza y Pimentel] and gave the torch to his majesty the king,

> and [the king] acknowledged her with a very low bow [*quitóla la gorra*]; and then he chose the queen and went up for her [to the dais] and they danced a little, and he chose the Princess [Margaret] without going up for her as he did for his wife, her highness came down, and they handed off the torch and went in to supper in another room.

This was the famous 'Torch Dance', at which Elizabeth's brilliant and wayward youngest sister Marguerite (*la Reine Margot*) was said to be especially proficient.[22] This courtly branle, best known from Praetorius' arrangement, was long traditional at wedding feasts.[23] Arbeau[24] gives the same tune, which is based on the *passamezzo moderno,* and describes the dance as follows:

> The Candlestick Branle: This branle, otherwise known as the Torch branle, is danced in a moderate duple time like the Alman and with the same steps. Those who wish to dance it take a candlestick with a lighted candle, or a torch or a link, and make one or two turns around the room walking or dancing forwards and looking to right and to left the while for the partner of their choice. Each selects the damsel he fancies and they dance together for a little while, after which he disposes her at the end of the hall and making a *révérance* hands her the lighted candlestick or torch or link and retires dancing to his place. The damsel holding the candlestick then repeats what she has seen the young man do and dances off to choose another partner. In due course they change places, when she hands the candlestick to him, and in this manner all are invited in turn to join in the dance.

A more astoundingly bold act by a newly-arrived, unknown lady-in-waiting would be difficult to imagine. The king's remarkable response shows that he must have admired Sofonisba's dancing, her aplomb, and possibly her considerable beauty. He had been a notorious philanderer until then, but was reportedly faithful to Elizabeth as long as their unusually happy dynastic marriage lasted.

This was not the only instance of Sofonisba's self-confidence on that memorable evening. The same pamphlet says she danced the galliard with another Italian. This is confirmed in more detail in a description of the wedding of 8 February 1560 sent by Girolamo Neri, ambassador to Spain of the Duke of Mantua, to his master:

> In the evening after the marriage ceremony, his majesty having desired that the galliard be danced but there being at first nobody who wished to commence, Sig. Ferrante Gonzaga finally invited the Cremonese woman who paints and who has come to be with the queen, and they cleared the way for many others who danced after them.[25]

Gonzaga (not to be confused with the famous *condottiere* and viceroy of Sicily who died in 1557 after the battle of St Quentin) was a cousin of Sofonisba's, part of the extensive network of family connections that advanced her career. He was probably one of her two male escorts from Milan to Guadalajara.

It is not known whether Cabezón was present in Guadalajara. Kastner conjectures that he was, but Philip may have spared his *tañedor* the rigors and crowded quarters of the winter journey. If the dance band was Spanish it was likely an *alta* - the loud variety, consisting of double reeds and/or cornetts and trombones; but Elizabeth had also brought along her own band of eight strings from France, called *Biolines* in a payroll document. This is one of the earliest mentions of a French royal band of the violin family, which became the preferred accompaniment for the French obsession

with dancing. The four-stringed instrument is already discussed and illustrated for the first time in print in Jambe de Fer's *Epitome musical* (Lyons, 1556, facs. ed. Marc Fuzeau).

Sofonisba's new home, the household of Queen Elizabeth, resounded with music at all hours - at meals, during frequent church services, while rest was taken in the afternoon and when entertainment and dancing was called for in the evening. At the head of her *capilla* was the famous master of the *viheula de mano,* Miguel Fuenllana, who was, like Cabezón, blind. Many documents in the archives at Simanca[26] refer to transportation of the queen's organ and acquisitions of or repairs to instruments. One records eight cases made for the instruments of her string band; another from 1565, of particular interest regarding Sofonisba, notes payment for transportation from Paris of a *clavicordio*, which according to John Koster[27] means a quilled keyboard at this time, not a clavichord. According to the account book it was 'for the service of her majesty, and is in her chamber'. Elizabeth's biographer says its price of 196 *reales* was 'incredible'. Edmond van der Straeten's *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle* (vol.7, p.254) contains an entry from the inventory of the queen's possessions after her early death in childbirth:

> Item, a *clabicordio*, kept in a black box, covered in leather, valued at 10,200 *maravédis.*

This was the instrument imported from France, undoubtedly an *espinette*, the rectangular member of the harpsichord family known as a virginal in the Low Countries, which was the French form of choice in the 16th century. Leather-covered instruments are known to have been produced there. Sofonisba undoubtedly often sat at the queen's *clavicordio*, both for her own entertainment and that of her mistress, and the Cabezóns probably did too. The inventory of Philip's vast estate, finished in 1602, lists eight *clavicordios*, one of which formerly belonged to Maria of Hungary and, most extraordinarily, two claviorgana, one of which had pedals and was a gift to the king from his half-brother, Don Juan of Austria, the victor of Lepanto. It also mentions a positive organ formerly belonging to Maria of Hungary, so at that time two instruments which had been played by Kerstiaen de Moryn still existed.[28]

Sofonisba was a great favourite with the queen, whose progress in painting under her instruction is reported to have been remarkable.[29] She accompanied her mistress to the momentous conference at Bayonne of 1565. Elizabeth's mother had maneuvered for years for this meeting between her young son Charles IX and her son-in-law Philip for the purpose of obtaining Spanish support in her struggle against the Huguenots. Philip ultimately sent Elizabeth as his representative instead of coming himself, and she defended his interests nobly in meetings with her brother,[30] to Catherine's frustration. The prolific writer Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, met Sofonisba there and calls her 'demoiselle cremonese, belle et honneste fille et douce, qui avait tout plein des vertus, et surtout qui savait bien peindre'.[31] The accounts of the festivities, in which both sides vied to outdo each other, tell of a very great deal of music for balls, plays, boating parties on the Adour and other occasions.

This article's title comes from the most extensive contemporary biographical note on Sofonisba. In 1609, the year of her death, a Spanish canon of San Giovanni in Laterano, Pedro Pablo de Ribera, published *Le glorie immortali de' trionfi, heroiche imprese d'ottocento quarantacinque donne illustri antiche, e moderne, dotate di conditioni, e scienze segnalate.*[32] In his article about 'Sofonisma Angosciola' (one of several variant spellings), he says, 'And because this Signor Amilcare was a lover of the sciences and accomplishments (*virtù*) he wanted his daughters to learn something of them as well, Sofonisba attending to several of them, in particular to music, letters, and indeed especially to painting...'. He

continues with a long and detailed description of her extraordinary career and the many rewards she received. Seen in a larger context, Ribera's paean is the culmination of a literary trend in praise of females. As early as 1374, Giovanni Bocaccio assembled his list of eminent women of antiquity, *De mulieribus claris*; Christine de Pizan's *Cité des dames* (1403) advocated women's education to put an end to gender inequality. In Italy an extensive literature discussing the appropriate role of women in society developed, mostly emphasizing traditionally modest and supportive roles; yet Castigione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528) states, 'I say that women can understand all things men can understand and that the intellect of a woman can penetrate wherever a man's can'. In the late 16th century the Spanish Dominican Alfonso Chacón worked towards compiling a gallery of self-portraits for Archduke Ferdinand of Austria inspired by Plutarch, which included one by Sofonisba and was to contain equal numbers of works by male and female artists.

Ribera's triad of 'musician, writer, and above all painter' is reflected in the self-portraits at a spinet and two others showing Sofonisba at her easel and holding a book.[33] It can be understood as a crescendo of importance regarding Sofonisba's occupations. She was obviously best known as a painter, but her writings were of considerable importance.[34] Lavinia Fontana, the other subject of the double exhibition at the Prado, united all three arts in her self-portrait at an Italian virginal (Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca), which was obviously inspired by Sofonisba's self-portrait. Her easel stands in the background, and a long inscription demonstrates the artist's literacy. The paintings by van Hemessen, Sofonisba Anguissola and Fontana are among the earliest known showing women performing music. They were soon joined by a picture now in the Uffizi, traditionally thought to be a self-portrait by Tintoretto's daughter Marietta Robusti, and by a flood of others. Both Philip II and the Emperor Maximillian II invited Robusti to their courts, without success

No compositions by Sofonisba Anguissola have come down to us, and it is striking how little music is mentioned in research on her, or for that matter, in research about other Renaissance painters who were accomplished musicians. As a prominent musicologist once told one of the authors, 'Music is the stepchild of the arts; everybody knows who designed the dome of the Florence *Duomo*, but almost nobody knows who composed the dedicatory motet' (he didn't either at the time; it was Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*.) The concentration on Sofonisba's work as a painter is understandable, since the paintings are by far the most of what is still tangible in her legacy. But the two images she created of herself at a small harpsichord are testimony, as part of that very legacy, to the ephemeral sounds she loved so much. It is fortunate for those of her admirers who have ears to hear it that some of the music she may have heard and played still exists on paper, and can be revived in concert and on recordings.

Naoko Akutagawa and Glen Wilson, formerly student/teacher and now wife/husband, met at the Würzburg Musikhochschule, where Glen taught until his recent retirement and where Naoko took the Meisterklasse Diplom. She became a faculty member there in 1999, and has since made 7 CDs for Naxos, including world premieres of the 12 recently discovered suites by Gottlieb Muffat which Glen edited for Breitkopf & Härtel. Glen, born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, looks back on a long and distiguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by mild stroke. He is presently seeking a publisher for his biography of Eta Harich-Schneider (1894-1986), whose second career as a Japanologist made Naoko's collaboration on Japanese sources invaluable.

Notes

1 It includes the ghostly face of an old woman, probably Sofonisba's *nutrice*, who also appears in a family portrait. Some specialists think it is a portrait of sister Lucia. The original is held in the collection at Althorp of the 9th Earl Spencer.

2 Leticia Ruiz Gómez (ed), *A Tale of Two Women Painters, Sofonisba Anguissola and Lavinia Fontana*, Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid, 2019). This wonderful book provided some of the information offered here which has gone unnoted, and the extensive bibliography put us on the trail of many of the other sources noted below.

3 *Sofonisba*, published 1524. She is also the probable subject of one of Rembrandt's greatest 'history' paintings; Judith and Artemisia are also candidates.

4 For Cremona's rich musical life in the 16th century, see the essay by Paolo Fabbri in the exhibition catalogue *I Campi*: *Cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1985), devoted to the family of one of Sofonisba's teachers.

5 Besides playing the harpsichord, a 17th-century source says Sofonisba was a fine singer. Filippo Baldinucci ed F. Ranalli, *Notizie dei professori di disegno da Cimabue in qua* (Florence, 1845-47).

6 Accessed at www.italianrenaissanceresources.com. He also quoted Ariosto's verse 'Le donna son venute in eccellenza / Di ciascun' arte ov' hanno posto cura'.

7 Information regarding Sofonisba's family and other relationships is found in various publications by Cecilia Gamberini, most notably 'Sofonisba Anguissola at the Court of Philip II', in Sheila Barker (ed), *Women Artists in Early Modern Italy* (Turnhout, 2016). My thanks go to Dr Gamberini for generously sharing her research with me.

8 Cited thus in Martha Walker Freer, *Elizabeth de Valois, Queen of Spain, and the Court of Philip II* (London, 1857), vol.II, p.256.

9 The original is in Italian. The translation is that found in the Prado catalogue as part of the essay by Alejandro Vergara. Van Dyck's Italian Sketchbook is kept at the British Library; the oil portrait is at Knole House. Sofonisba's birth year is disputed. Based on van Dyck's note, it is often given as c.1532. Later research places it nearer 1535.

10 For van Hemessen see Karolien De Clippen, *Catharina van Hemessen (1528 - na 1567) / Een monografische studie over een 'uytnemende wel geschickte vrouwe in de conste der schildereyen'* (Brussels, 2004).

11 Antwerp was actually a free Imperial city in the duchy of Brabant.

12 See Bert W. Meijer's essay in *I Campi* (1985).

13 The Dutch royal family are brothers to this day (female members, such as the former Queen Beatrix, are referred to as brothers). The Brotherhood had a chapel in the cathedral as big as a village church, with its own organ. Pierre de la Rue, Clemens non Papa and other masters had composed for it. See the website of the Brotherhood's museum, www.zwanenbroedershuis.nl. Mariano Soriano Fuertes, in his *Historia de la Música Española...* (Madrid/Barcelona, 1856), p.178, basing himself on a manuscript by his 18th-century predecessor José de Teixidor, says the picaresque novelist Vicente Espinel heard 'the excellent harpsichordist', 'maestro Cristiano' who had been in the service of Maria of Hungary. Since Espinel was 8 years old when the former queen and governess died, the encounter (if it

happened; both of the pioneering Spanish musicologists are noted for their many errors) must have occurred some time after Kerstiaen and Catharina disappear from the historical record in 1567. I have not been able to find any reference to Kerstiaen in the works by Espinel available online, which include his famous *Relaciones de la vida del Escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618).

14 Biographical information on Cabezón is mostly taken from Macario Santiago Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón, Eine Chronik dargestellt am Leben zweier Generationen von Organisten* (Tutzing, 1977). Kastner remarks that Cabezón's *Galliarda Milanese* and *Pavana Italica* could be relics of this journey. Northern Italy was, of course, swarming with outstanding keyboard artists while Sofonisba was a girl in Cremona, and the harpsichord, as opposed to the organ, played a far greater role than is generally recognized. See Glen Wilson's notes to *M. A. Cavazzoni, Complete Works*, Naxos 8.572998, at www.glenwilson.

15 Juan Christóval Calvete de Estrella, *El Felicissimo Viaje del muy Alto y muy Poderoso Principe Don Phelippe...* (Antwerp, 1552), transcription and commentaries by Paloma Cuenca (Madrid, 2001). Cabezón is also included in the introductory list of members of Philip's entourage who were 'por su ingenio, letras y habilidad celebrados'. Calvete de Estrella also mentions the embarcation of members of Philip's chapel, 'muy excelentes cantores y músicos los más escogidos que hallarse podrían'. The immense trouble taken to include these artists on such an extensive journey strikingly illustrates the propaganda value of music in Philip's eyes.

16 This meeting between Philip and Titian may have been the origin of that version of Titian's paintings of Venus with a musician, which shows a young Philip at a small organ, kept at the *Gemäldegalerie* in Berlin. It is thought that it was sent to Charles V to prove that his son was on the hunt for a wife. Philip and Titian corresponded for years after that first meeting. Could Titian's organ have been inspired by Cabezón's traveling instrument? One of several positives owned by the Spanish court accompanied the long journey, along with a tuner. Philip later owned one which followed him whenever he went to Mass in a church other than one of his own chapels. A positive, built before 1580 by a member of the Brebos family, who began arriving in Spain from Antwerp in the 1570s, survives at El Escorial in the apartment which once belonged to Elizabeth's daughter Isabella. Since two organs by Gilles Brebos were already brought to Spain in 1562 in consequence of an order from Antonio de Cabezón, it is conceivable that *el ciego tañedor* played this little survivor in Sofonisba's presence. The instrument is similar in layout to the *Baldachinorgel* illustrated in Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum, De Organographia,* plate IV. A positive of the same type, with silver pipes and covered in ornamental gilded silver, said to be 'of sweetest consonances', was given to Philip by the emperor's brother Ferdinand, then 'King of the Romans' and Charles' eventual successor. A legend grew up that it had originally belonged to Charles himself. Philip later handed it over to the Hieronymite monks at his new establishment in El Escorial. It was still in use for processions there as late as 1784, but did not survive the Peninsular War. The gorgeous little organ is pictured in Claudio Coello's huge altarpiece of 1685-90, celebrating a miraculous host and now in the monastery's sacristy. John Koster has shown that such instruments are meant to be played in a kneeling position, as in Coello's painting. See his 'The Lyra Celi by Raymundo Truchado, 1625', *Early Keyboard Journal* (2012). See also Michael Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563-1700* (Rochester, NY, 1998), pp.170-172, and especially *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 2000). Information on organs and inventories has been taken from Cristina Bordas Ibáñez' contribution to this valuable book.

17 Ironically, the monastery of San Lorenzo was thus named to commemorate Philip's victory at St Quentin (1557) over his new wife's father on the saint's name day; the marriage was part of an effort to seal an alliance between the old enemies. The large and unusually elaborate portrait of Cabezón by

Coello, commissioned by Philip, was consumed in the fire of 1739 which destroyed the Alcázar. The baroque Palacio del Oriente, which houses Tiepolo's last masterpiece, stands on the site overlooking the valley of the Manzanares, near remains of the original Moorish walls. The church of San Francisco where Cabezón was buried was razed and replaced by the present baroque edifice, but not before an antiquarian recorded his epitaph.

18 Noone (1998) offers a salubrious dose of scepticism regarding the nationalistically-tinged enthusiasms of Higinio Anglés and other Spanish musicologists, but the passage in Hernando's *Proemio* to Cabezón's *Obras de música* which says that Philip 'loved and esteemed' his father 'as much as any musician ever was loved by any king, in testimony whereof he had his portrait made and keeps it to this day in his royal palace' is not to be dismissed lightly.

19 The momentous journey to England for Philips marriage to Queen Mary, where the combined Spanish and English chapels (the latter including a musician named William Byrd) performed together several times, cannot be recalled often enough.

20 At the time Elizabeth was pregnant with her first child, Isabella Clara Eugenia, later co-regent of Spanish Netherlands in its 'golden age', when Cornet and Philips were in Brussels and Bull was in Antwerp. Frescobaldi visited Brussels in 1507-8 with his patron, the papal nuncio Bentivoglio. See Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: An Extended Biography* at girolamofrescobaldi.com. Ribera (see n32 below) states that the infant Isabella was entrusted to Sofonisba's care 'for some years'. Her husband, the Austrian archduke Albrecht, had to be released from his position as cardinal-archbishop of Toledo to marry her. At the ceremony in 1598 in Ferrara, the famous Habsburg double wedding, she was represented by a proxy; the pair was overshadowed by their royal counterparts, Isabella's half-brother Philip III (also absent) and his new queen, Margaret of Austria. The fabulous celebrations were a last flowering of Ferrara's glory, marking its devolution to the Papal State. See Bonner Mitchell, *1598, A Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara* (Binghamton, NY, 1990). Isabella was the only child Philip ever permitted to work closely with him on state documents; she tended him in dire circumstances during his last three bedridden years at the Escorial monastery. Philip II's will directed his son to 'take care of your sister so dearly beloved by me; for she was my joy and the very light of my eyes'.

21 *Relación verdadera de algunas cosas que han acontecido en las bodas de nuestro muy alto y muy poderoso Señor Don Felipe* (Seville, 1560).

22 Marguerite, wife of Henry IV until he divorced her for another Medici daughter, was a composer and an excellent lutenist. Her 'memoirs' are a political history, tinged with humanist philosophy, of the years 1565-82. They were written as a corrective to Brantôme's superficial and overly-flattering portrait of their author.

23 Michael Praetorius, *Bransle de la Torche* in *Terpsichore, Musarum Aoniarum Quinta* (Wolfenbüttel, 1612).

24 Thoinot Arbeau (Jehan Tabourot), *Orchesographie*..., ff.86 and 87r, *Branle du chandelier* or *Branle de la torche* (Langres, 1589 and 1596).Translation by Mary Stewart Evans in her edition *Orchesography* (New York, 1948), accessed in the revision by Julia Sutton (New York, 1967). Antonio Valente published seven variations in his *Intavolatura di Cimbalo* (Naples, 1576), a copy of which could well have come into Sofonisba's hands when she was living in the other of the 'two Sicilies', which were under Spanish rule. The ultra-conservative court of Prussia was the last to honour the old tradition of torch dances at royal betrothals and weddings. Giacomo Meyerbeer became its *Generalmusikdirektor* in 1842. From 1844 he supplied four *Fackeltänze* which were arranged for 130 trumpets and trombones and performed as the Prussian courtiers went through their version of the old ritual. The music,

however, had nothing to do with the old tune, and they were in fact heroic polonaises. See Robert Ignatius Letellier (ed), *Giacomo Meyerbeer, Orchestral Works* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009). The original lives on in the third movement of Rodrigo's *Fantasía para un Gentilhombre* for guitar and orchestra.

25 Cited in Carl Justi, *Miscellaneen aus driei Jahrhunderten Spanischen Kunstlebens*, Band II (Berlin, 1908).

26 Much of the information about the queen's music is taken from the most extensive biography of her to have yet appeared in Spanish, Agustín G. Amazúa y Mayo, *Isabel de Valois, Reina de España (1546-1568)* (Madrid, 1949).

27 email communication of 6 February 2020. My thanks go to Prof Koster for this confirmation, as well as for the following quote from van der Straeten.

28 See *Aspectos de la cultura musical* (2000).

29 'Elle passe son temps la plus part a peindre, a quoy elle prend grand plaisir, de sorte que je pense, devant qui soit ung ans, qu'elle sera si bonne maîtresse que celle même qui l'apprend, qui est du meilleures du monde'. Letter of Madame de Vineux to Catherine de' Medici (30 September 1561), Bibliothèque national de France, fonds français, vol.6.614, f.58.

30 Charles was, of course, the recipient of the set of Amati strings ordered by Catherine and produced from 1560 in Sofonisba's home town; hence Sofonisba may have heard some of them at Biarritz.

31 *Discours d'aucunes Rodomontades et Gentilles Rencontres et Parolles Espaignolles*, in *Oeuvres Complètes...*, vol.7 (Paris, 1883).

32 Accessible at Internet Archive, www.archive.org, p.314.

33 The two last are at Museum-Zamek w Łańcucie and Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien respectively. Leonardo da Vinci, as part of a long line of similar discussions going back to Plato, famously compared these three arts and others in his *Paragone*, collected and ordered from his notes by his student Francesco Melzi. Leonardo is out to claim primacy for painting. His first sentence on the subject reads, 'Music cannot be called otherwise than the sister of painting, for she is dependent upon hearing, a sense second to sight, and her harmony is composed of the union of its proportional parts sounded simultaneously, rising or falling in one or more harmonic rhythms...But painting ranks higher than music, because it does not fade away as soon as it is born, as is the fate of unhappy music...And if you say that there are vile painters, I reply that music also can de spoiled by those who do not understand it'. Translation from Irma A. Richter, *Paragone, A Comparison of the Arts by Leonardo da Vinci* (Oxford, 1949).

34 Francesco Agostino della Chiesa included Sofonisba in his 1620 *Theatro delle donne literati*, and says on p.285, 'ma essa Sofonisba non solo hà col penello fatto cose rarissime, e bellissime, ma hà voluto anco con la penna (come quella ch'era dottissima) scriver alcune cose, che sono molte lodate, e tenuto in conto da' virtuosi'. Accessed at gallica.bnf.fr.

'Reconstructing Renaissance Polyphony: comparing original and replacement'

Francis Knights, Mateo Rodríguez and Pablo Padilla

Before the invention of affordable music printing, and right into the 19th century, the physical medium of music – whether a composer's working manuscript or a scribe's fair copy - was always subject to damage or loss - or simply being left unfinished, Schubert's symphony of that name and Mozart's Requiem being the most famous examples of the latter. The temptation to extract another masterpiece from incomplete passages of musical notes has been strong, and Barry Cooper's Beethoven 'Symphony No.10', Brian Newbould's Schubert 'Symphony No.7' and Anthony Payne's Elgar 'Symphony No.3' have all been recorded in versions painstakingly assembled from their composers' sketches. Likewise, the final Contrapunctus of Bach's *Art of Fugue* has to date received some two dozen completions.[1] For earlier repertoire, the problem is usually vertical, rather than horizontal: it is not that pieces are unfinished, or an ending has not survived, but that one or more voices are missing. Partbooks are the main culprit – one volume can easily become separated from a set - but choirbooks are not immune, and damage to pages can result in the loss of parts of the music, such as in the Agnus Dei of Brumel's 12-part *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*,[2] where the end of the source has what looks like rodent damage.

How partbooks were stored, or distributed to performers for practice or use, is uncertain, but the loss of one or more is not a new problem; take as an example a single treble partbook dated 1664 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS R.2.58).[3] This contains nine collects and two other works by George Loosemore (organist of Trinity 1660-1682),[4] which were composed specifically to remedy the loss of a previous source. The manuscript title reads 'Graces Of the Collects for the for the day made to be sung upon Feast dayes in Trinitie Colledge hall in Cambridge by The Clerks and Choristers', with a dedication to the Master and Fellows, which notes that a previous set of 'those Grace-songs which wee use upon our Solemne Feast-daies' which was made 'for the Colledge by that skilfull and approved Artist Mr Robert Ramsey my worthy predecessor' had required replacement, as 'by the unhappie losse of one book, or part, his acurate parries, and labours, is lost and become uselesse'. Ramsey was Organist of Trinity 1628-42, and had Loosemore known to walk half-a-mile down the road, he actually would have found missing copies of these works in Peterhouse chapel[5] and spared himself the task of composing a new set.

The majority of partbook losses probably occurred in the period from after the Civil War to the early 19th century, when the material was no longer in current use nor yet being collected for archives or by antiquarians. The tenor partbook seems to be the one most often mislaid (are tenors particularly careless?), and for a complete set to survive, such as the five Dow books or a few of the numerous Paston sets,[6] is a rare bonus. Even printed partbook sets, which could be published in a run of a thousand, often survive incomplete today.[7]

Although the history and theory of the reconstruction of missing voices in modern editions has received some attention, from Judith Blezzard and Ian Payne[8] for example, most discussion has been based around particular works, such as those by Regis, Tallis and Tomkins,[9] all involving composing

a missing voice or two. In a major project, Nicholas Sandon has also completed all the missing parts in the Peterhouse Henrician set.[10] In a virtuoso example from the 17th century, Alan Howard demonstrated how it is possible to convincingly recreate an entire trio sonata from one surviving violin line by using careful contrapuntal analysis.[11] Recent computational tools have made completions easier, in the sense of assessing plausible options, even though final refinements always require an expert musician.[12]

The skills of reconstruction, which are partly stylistic and partly grammatical – a thorough understanding of style, genre, harmony and the 'rules' of counterpoint for a particular composer - have been part of university music education for centuries,[13] although their value is ever more coming into question as more fashionable areas of the discipline take over. An interesting new tendency has been competitive reconstruction, where musicians are invited to submit missing voices and a winner chosen for performance; one example was run earlier this year by Le Strange Viols in the US, to write two missing voices for Robert Stevenson's seven six-voice Misereres[14] from the late 16th century; for some entrants, this was as much a composition as a reconstruction exercise (who indeed could know the style of Stevenson – a relatively minor Tudor composer - well enough for the latter purpose?).[15]

While examples of successful reconstructions are numerous, they are sometimes presented in an unnecessarily apologetic manner, as if the work of an expert scholar - technically correct though it may be - cannot match up to the artistic vision or skill of the original composer. The research presented here takes a different perspective, and asks: can we use analytical tools to examine how close a reconstruction is to the original voices? For one missing voice of many, the parameters for reconstruction can be surprisingly limited, and so the results are highly likely to match the original missing part. For example, points of contrapuntal imitation are often very obvious, passing as they do between the voices; shared sung text gives many hints as to placement of the notes; and the limited use of dissonance and absence of unusual chords means that finding the possible notes for each vertical shape, then joining the most plausible of those together into a musical line that has a similar arc to the existing parts, is not actually that difficult to do well.

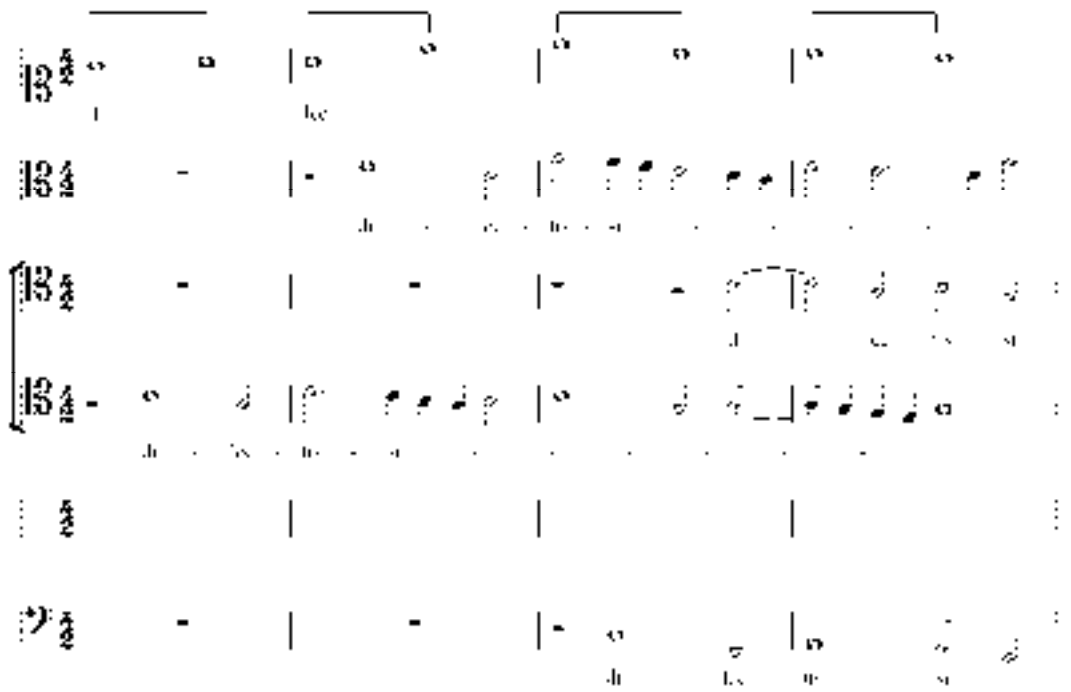
The analytical process for this project involved coding each line of music into a mathematical form, so that complex statistical analysis could be performed on it, and thus comparisons made between the work of the composer and of the editor.[16] The score data was prepared by being converted from Sibelius to midi, and then processed in MatLab using the Midi Toolbox;[17] an important refinement was incorporated which increases accuracy by making sure that rests between phrases are not counted for the purposes of measuring melodic contours.[18]

The statistical analysis method used here is the Pitch-Interval Frequency Matrix, which involves the interval and pitch probability distributions. A melody, as a string of notes and intervals, actually contains a great deal of data, recognizable both aurally and statistically, and the method here assigns positive and negative numbers to every semitone rise or fall – a minor third rise is +3 and a major second fall is -2, for example. The analysis is run without the default MIDI Toolbox duration weighting (which gives more melodic significance to longer notes), but with a modification that assigns equal weight to every note.

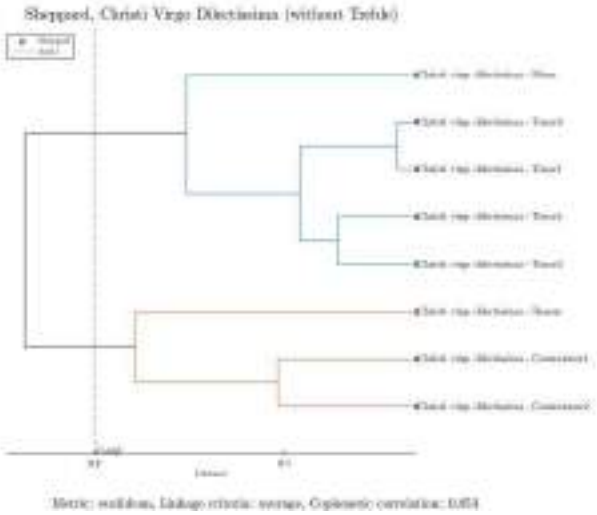
Although this is a simple method as regards data, it is also quite powerful. For example, our previous study of the collected harpsichord allemandes by 'Monsieur Couperin' (Louis or Charles)[19] demonstrated that the programme was able to sort them cleanly into four groups by treble, bass, major and minor. This is all the more impressive as the computer does not know it is processing musical data at all, merely a list of numbers.

The test work chosen was a polyphonic cantus firmus motet by the English Tudor composer John Sheppard (c.1515-1558), *Christi Virgo Dilectissima* in six voices (ex.1), the Ninth Respond for the Matins of Annuciation. This is found in the Baldwin partbooks, Christ Church, Oxford, Mus 979-83, for which the original tenor partbook is lost and for which there are three modern reconstructions, by David Chadd, David Wulstan and Alan Thurlow.[20] Editors Magnus Williamson and the Tudor Partbooks team also produced an optimal version which used in their judgement the best elements of these three. Ex.2 shows the processed data for Sheppard's *Christi Virgo Dilectissima* in dendrogram form, and a comparison version (ex.3) with his *Libera Nos* I (another cantus firmus work, this time in the bass) to show how well separated the works are;[21] the tenor parts (Chadd, Wulstan, Thurlow, conflated) are marked Tenor 1-4. The closer the right-hand branching of the dendrogram, the closer the stylistic distance, and it can be seen that all four tenor parts are close together. The data of ex.3 can also be presented in an alternative form, using the three Principal Components (a technical term describing the hierarchy of data importance), which displays as a three-dimensional graph with a grey boundary drawn around the outer data points (ex.4). As is clear, the reconstructed voices are very close, and the remaining Sheppard voices not far away, especially the bass (this is not unexpected in polyphony, where the tenor functions as a harmonic bass whenever the bass voice is silent).

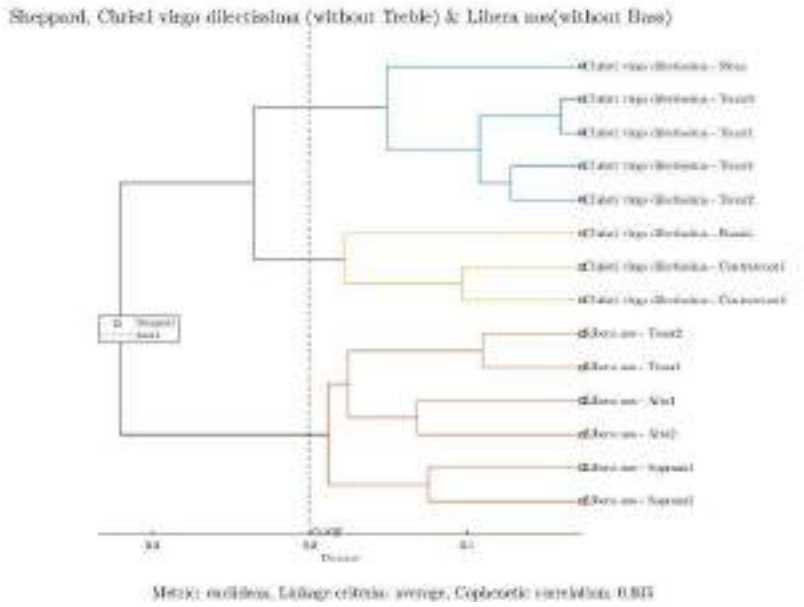
As mentioned above, the technical restrictions of composing an inner part surrounded by four other lines of complex imitative counterpoint (together with the existing top part, a long-note chant cantus firmus) are very considerable, which is of great assistance to an editor. It is interesting to compare next what happens in a piece both with fewer parts, and fewer surviving voices. *I am the resurrection and the life* by Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) is one of his finest anthems, and this is evident even when two of the five parts are missing, the first alto and tenor. David Wulstan produced two near-identical reconstructions for different publishers, but only the later version is considered here.[22] The data is presented in the same way as before, and the analysis shows that (as is normal in this style) the paired alto voices are very close[23] (ex.5), and that the boundaries of all five parts, three original and two composed, are quite tightly drawn (ex.6). The conclusion is that the reconstruction, as measured by statistical analysis of the melodic lines, is very close to the shape of the composer's surviving parts. It may not be exactly what Gibbons wrote, but it is close enough to provide a highly successful performing version that completely fulfils the stylistic and aesthetic requirements of the period. An analogy might be drawn with the restoration of an Old Master painting, as for example in the work of Simon Gillespie.[24] Here, as in musical reconstruction, analysis, context and a thorough understanding of technique are the essential precursors to the creation of convincing replacement material.



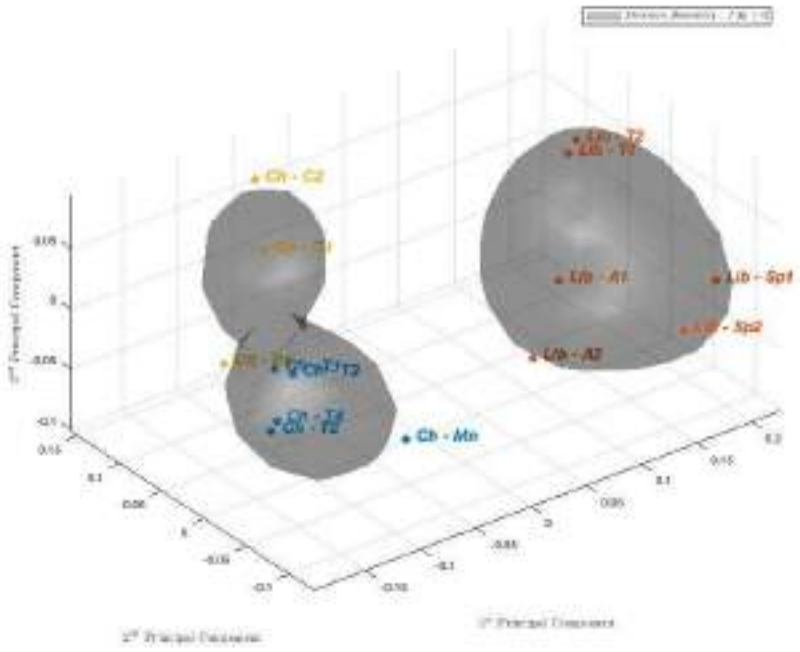
Ex.1 John Sheppard, 'Christi Virgo Dilectissima', opening of Treble, Mean, Contratenor I, Contratenor II and Bassus voices (original clefs and pitch, from Mus 982, 979, 980, 981 and 983; the original time signature is cut-C. The opening text incipit 'Christ Virgo' in plainchant is not included)



Ex.2 Sheppard, 'Christi Virgo Dilectissima', dendrogram

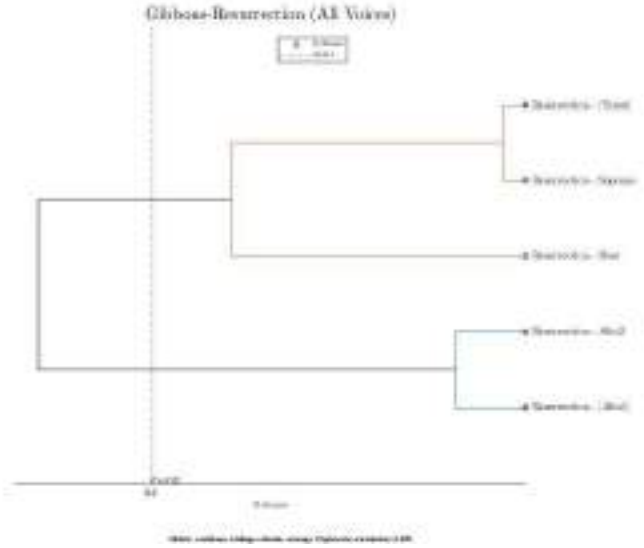


Ex.3 Sheppard, 'Christi Virgo Dilectissima', dendrogram also showing Libera Nos I. The cantus firmus lines of both works are omitted as they do not include composed melodic material

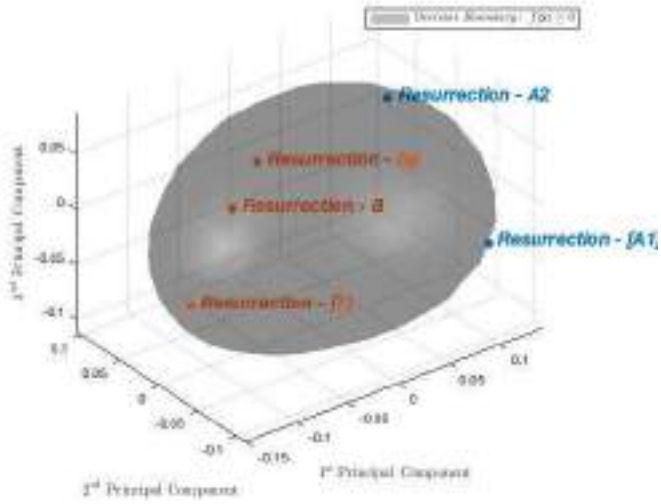


Ex.4 Sheppard, 'Christi Virgo Dilectissima', three-axis display of the first three Principal Components

Beyond providing (for example) two of five voices, the process really moves from reconstruction to historical composition. But even here, the potential data provided by a single line is surprisingly rich. Byrd's instrumental Fantasia a4 No.3,[25] for example, only has the superius part remaining, but that voice alone indicates the length, tonality, contrapuntal material, likely cadence structure and considerable harmonic implications. The result of a version in which an editor provides the other three voices[26] is certainly not a 'reconstruction', but nonetheless can provide a plausible version which is very much better than not hearing the piece at all. In this particular case it is also a useful experiment, as the work is known to be a version of 'In manus tuas', which Byrd published in *Gradualia* I (1607) - comparison of the latter with a test reconstruction is very instructive in understanding Byrd's compositional process.



Ex.5 Gibbons, 'I am the resurrection and the life', dendrogram



Ex.6 Gibbons, 'I am the resurrection and the life', three-axis display of the first three Principal Components

Acknowledgements

This study is part of a project exploring the use of statistical and mathematical methods to analyze early music called Formal Methods in Musicology, https://formal-methods-in-musicology.webnode.com. Our thanks to Magnus Williamson and the Tudor Partbooks project for supplying the special conflated score of Sheppard's *Christi Virgo Dilectissima* for analysis, and to Loren Ludwig for details of the Stevenson project.

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Notes

1 See Ivan Paz, Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Dan Tidhar, 'An information-theoretical method for comparing completions of Contrapunctus XIV from Bach's *Art of Fugue*' (forthcoming 2021).

2 For one reconstruction, see Francis Knights (ed), *Brumel, Missa Et ecce terrae motus* (Isle of Lewis, 1992), recorded by the Tallis Scholars on Gimell Records.

3 See Francis Knights, 'The Restoration partbooks at Trinity College, Cambridge', *Trinity College Annual Report* (2007), pp.55-59.

4 Ian Payne, 'George Loosemore at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1660-1682', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 77 (1988), pp.145-150.

5 Now on deposit in Cambridge University Library, the 'Former' and 'Latter' MSS sets, of c.1630-1640.

6 See Francis Knights, 'The transmission of motet copies within the Paston manuscripts, c.1610', *Muzikologija* xxvii (2019), pp.137-161.

7 See Harry B. Lincoln, *The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertories* (New Haven, 1988) for examples.

8 Judith Blezzard, 'Reconstructing early English vocal music: history, principle and practice', *The Music Review* xlv (1984), pp.85-95, which is a thoughtful historical survey of the subject; and Ian Payne, 'New light on "New Fashions" by William Cobbold (1560–1639) of Norwich', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society* xxx (2002), pp.11-37.

9 John Milsom, 'Three Verse Anthems Retrieved: Tracking Tomkins', *The Musical Times* 142, No.1875 (Summer, 2001), pp.54-63; Stephen Rice, 'Reconstructing Tallis's Latin "Magnificat" and Nunc "dimittis"', *Early Music* xxxiv/4 (November 2005), pp.647-658; Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Reconstructing and repositioning Regis's "Ave Maria... virgo serena"', *Early Music* xxxvii/1 (February 2009), pp.73-88; some of these give a real insight into the processes that lie behind reconstruction. See also Joel

Kramme, 'William Cobbold's "new fashions": some notes concerning the reconstruction of the missing alto part', in Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (eds), *John Jenkins and his time: studies in English consort music* (Oxford, 1996), pp.137-159, the work of the Tudor Partbooks project http://www.tudorpartbooks.ac.uk/outputs/papers and Loren Ludwig, 'Lost voices', https://www.areditions.com/news (2020).

10 See Scott Metcalfe, 'Twenty years of singing music from the Peterhouse partbooks', *NEMA Newsletter* iii/2 (Autumn 2019), pp.23-29.

11 Alan Howard, 'Sampson Estwick's Trio Sonata in A minor: A Recreation', *Early Music Performer* xxxi (November 2012), pp.4-15 and music supplement.

12 See Theodor Dumitrescu and Richard Freedman, 'Filling the gaps', *Early Music* xxxix/1 (February 2011), pp.140-142; Magnus Williamson, Workshop on 'Tudor Partbooks: Polyphonic reconstruction: stylistic freedom, uncertainty and invention', Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Sheffield (July 2016); and Hector Sequera, 'Reconstructing William Byrd's consort songs from the Paston lutebooks: a historically informed and computational approach to comparative analysis and musical idiom', *Early Music* xlvii/4 (2019), pp.455-478.

13 For a recent pedagogical example of the use of reconstruction in the teaching of harmony and counterpoint, see Carmela Barbaro's conference paper on using the Ferrara partbooks (London, RCM 2037) at MedRen 2020.

14 See http://www.lestrangeviols.org/miserere fest and Ludwig (2020); the source is British Library Add. MSS.18936-9.

15 See the Lost voices project at http://digitalduchemin.org. There is also a crowdsourced Gesualdo Project at the University of Tours, https://ricercar.gesualdo-online.cesr.univ-tours.fr.

16 For an outline of the ideas behind this, see Pablo Padilla, Francis Knights, Adrián Tonatiuh Ruiz and Dan Tidhar, 'Identification and evolution of musical style: I - Hierarchical transition networks and their modular structure', in Agustín-Aquino, O. A., Lluis-Puebla, E. and Montiel, M. (eds.), *Mathematics and Computation in Music* (New York, 2017), pp.258-79. More polyphony-specific technical discussion can be found in Francis Knights, Mateo Rodríguez and Pablo Padilla, 'O splendor gloriae: Taverner or Tye?' *Early Music* (forthcoming 2021).

17 Tuomas Eerola and Petri Toiviainen (2016), MIDI Toolbox 1.1. Github https://github.com/miditoolbox/1.1.

18 Mateo Rodríguez, Francis Knights, Pablo Padilla and Dan Tidhar 'The Importance of Silence in Stylistic Classification in Music', *Computer Music Journal* xliii/2-3 (2020), pp.9-14.

19 Glen Wilson, 'The Other Mr Couperin', *Early Keyboard Journal* xxx (2013), pp.6-25.

20 David Chadd (ed), *John Sheppard: I. Responsorial Music*, Early English Church Music xvii (London, 1977), p.118-125, David Wulstan (ed), *John Sheppard: Collected works, 1: Office Responds and Varia* (Oxford, 1978), pp.4-7 and Alan Thurlow, published by Cathedral Music. Blezzard (1984) pp.87-88 makes an interesting comparison of Chadd's and Wulstan's editions of Sheppard's *Justi in perpertuum*, noting their differences rather than their similarities.

21 The purpose of the comparison is to show that the system can distinguish between different works, and that the individual voices of one piece are clustered more closely than they are to the same voices of another work.

22 David Wulstan (ed), *Orlando Gibbons, I am the resurrection and the life* (Oxford, 1979). The earlier version, in EECM xxi (1978), is almost identical, with minor changes in (for example), Alto 1, bars 3 and 12.

23 As they are in the Sheppard work in ex.2.

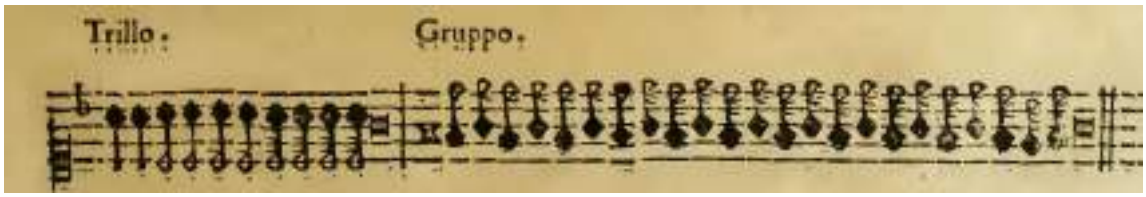
24 https://www.simongillespie.com.

25 Kenneth Elliot (ed), *Byrd: Consort Music*, The Byrd Edition xvii (London, 1971), p.147.

26 A four-part version was made by Francis Knights in 2016.

'To trill or *trillo*? A study in performance practice'

Andrew Schultze



Illus.1 Caccini's 'Trillo' and 'Gruppo' from Le Nuove Musiche

This study traces the origin of the vocal trill through 16th and 17th century sources. The ability to perform a vocal trill is a requirement for all singers of all voice categories. We are most familiar with the performance of the 18th century trill, and we use it as we sing the works of Bach, Handel and Mozart. However, the performance of the trill in the early 17th century is a conundrum. It is often referred to as a trillo and many of us are unsure how it may differ from the 18th century trill. Some may feel that its suggested execution conflicts with bel canto principles espoused by our voice teachers and vocal mentors. Among the pedagogues, performers and composers cited in this study are Luis de Milan (c.1500-c.1561), Giovanni Luca Conforto (c.1560-1608), Emilio del Cavaliere (c.1550-1602), Giulio Caccini (1551-1618) (illus.1), Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) and John Playford (1623-86).

Giustiniani and Della Valle

An excerpt from Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Discorso sopra la Musica* (circa 1628), will set the stage for this discussion. Giustiniani, Marquis of Bassano (1567-1637), writes

> I will treat this brief discourse almost like a narration in historical form, divided into several periods in which, during the course of my lifetime, different ways of singing and playing have been invented…my father (God rest his soul) sent me to the music school, and I observed that the compositions in use were those of [Jacques] Arcadelt [1505-1568], of Orlando di Lasso [c.1530-1594]…and Filippo di Monte [1521-1603] considered to be the best of that time…for a solo voice singing with some instrument the taste for the Villanella napoletana [mostly comical rustic songs in the Neapolitan style] prevailed; in imitation of which many were composed in Rome, particularly by a certain Pitio an excellent musician and noble jester [a bass singer fl ca 1580-1600]. In a short space of time the style of music changed and the compositions of Luca Marenzio [1553-99] and Ruggero Giovanelli [1560-1625] appeared with delightful new inventions…at the same time Pellestrina [sic, 1525/261594]…composed works suitable to be sung with ease in church, of good solid counterpoint with good melody and decent ornamentation…in the Holy Year of 1575, or shortly thereafter, a style of singing appeared which was very different from the preceding. It continued for some years chiefly in the manner of one voice singing with accompaniment and was exemplified by Giovanni Andrea napoletano [fl 1568-80], Signor Giulio Cesare

Brancaccio [also from Naples, 1515-86] and Alessandro Merlo romano [from Rome, fl. 1553-1601]. They all sang bass with a range of 22 notes [three octaves] and with a variety of passage-work [coloratura] new and pleasing to the ear… They inspired the composers to write…works…which were a mixture of madrigals in florid style and villanellas… At the same time Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici [1549-1609] who later became [Ferdinando I] Grand Duke of Tuscany [ruled 1587-1609]… hastened to acquire excellent musicians, especially the famous Vittoria [Archilei, fl 1580-1620] with whom has almost originated the true method of singing for females…Then there appeared Giulio Romano [Giulio Caccini, 1551-1618], Giuseppino [Giuseppe Cenci, fl.1602-22] and [Francesco] Rasi [a nobleman from Arezzo, 1574-1621], who learned from Giulio Romano in Florence, and they all sang, whether bass or tenor with a range consisting of many notes, and with exquisite style and passage-work, and with an extraordinary feeling and a particular talent to make the words clearly heard. And besides these were many sopranos, such as Giovanni Luca [Conforto, c.1560-1608] [and] Ottavio Durante [fl.1608-18]…who sang in falsetto, and many eunuchs of the [Papal] Capella...I will say furthermore that in our times music has become more noble and illustrious than ever, since King Philip IV of Spain [1605-65] and both his brothers take great pleasure in it and…frequently…sing and…play Viols together…And further the King and his brothers write compositions not only for their own pleasure but also to be sung in the royal chapel…And from what I have just said it may be clearly understood that the style and manner of singing varies…according to the tastes of the Lords and great Princes who take pleasure in it…In the present course of our age music is not much in use…Indeed music is reduced to an unusual and almost new perfection, being practices of a great number of good musicians who, trained by the above mentioned Maestri, bring the greatest pleasure to whomever hears them by their artistic and sweet song. For having left the old style which was somewhat unpolished, and also the excessive passage-work [coloratura] with which they embellished it they now devote their attention…to a recitative style, gracefully embellished with ornaments appropriate to the thought; and from time to time they execute passages [coloratura] with judgment and appropriate and varied consonances…Above all they make the words clear using one note for each syllable, now piano, now forte, now slow, now fast - by the expression of their faces and by their gestures giving meaning to what they are singing…They sing with one or at most three voices in concert with suitable instruments, as the Theorbo [large lute], or chitarre [guitar] or the cembalo [harpsichord] or with organ, according to the circumstances. There has been further introduced into this style in Rome as well as in Naples and Genoa a manner of singing known as alla spagnola [in the Spanish style] or alla italiana [in the Italian style] (which is similar but with greater art and embellishment), with newly invented melodies and ornamentation in which the composers excel, as in Rome Giovanni Geronimo, called il Tedesco della Tiorbo [Johann Hieronymus Kapsburger (1580-1651) called 'The German Theorbist']. In Naples Gutierrez began [it] and then his son Pietro followed, [the guitarist Antonio Gutierrez fl 1590-1606 and Pietro fl 1613-14] and [Vincenzo] Gallo [a Sicilian composer, ca 1560-1624] and others; and in Genoa a certain Cicco [?] composes and sings giving great pleasure to the ladies…Giulio Romano [Caccini] and Giuseppino [Cenci]…were the ones who were almost the inventors of this style, or at least gave it good form, and then, little by little it became more perfect…This narration will seem long and tiresome to your

> Lordship…but it is a true account in the guise of telling of facts and relating history based on what little knowledge I have acquired…"[1]

Further important information contrasting the late renaissance vocal style with the new baroque art is supplied by the amateur musician and world traveler Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652) who writes in a letter to the poet philosopher Lelio Guidiccione[2] dated 1640, that

> 'trills, graces and a good portamento, or direction of voice excepted, [the renaissance singers] were extremely deficient in the other requisites of good singing; such as piano and forte, swelling and diminishing the voice by minute degrees, expression, assisting the poet in fortifying the sense and passion of the words, rendering the tone of the voice chearful [sic], pathetic, tender, bold or gentle at pleasure; these with other embellishments in which singers of the present time excel were never talked of even at Rome, till Emilio del Cavaliere (c.1550-1602], in his old age, gave a good specimen of them from the Florentine school in his [staged] oratorio [*La Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo*] at the Chiesa Nuova [in Rome, in 1600] at which I myself, when very young [about 14 years old] was present'.[3]

Modern definitions of the vocal trill

Let us begin with a Victorian definition of the trill by Franklin Taylor (1843-1919) from vol.iv, p.169, of *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London and New York, 1890), edited by Sir George Grove (1820-1900).

> TRILL. An ornament consisting of the rapid alternation of a note with its major or minor second, generally known in English by the name of SHAKE…The ornament itself dates from about the end of the 16th century…It is described in the 'Nuove Musiche' of Caccini…under the name of *Gruppo*, a name which is now used to express a turn-like group of four notes…Caccini also makes use of the term *trillo*, but as indicating a pulsation or rapid repetition of a single vowel, an effect expressed in modern terminology as *vibrato*.

Vibrato is described in the same volume on p.260 by Harry Collins Deacon (1822-1890) as

> an Italian term…denoting an effect, something akin to a TREMOLO, yet differing essentially from it…In vocal music its mechanism is an alternate partial extinction and re-inforcement of a note, producing almost its apparent re-iteration…It is strange that the vibrato on the bowed instrument is the tremolo on the voice, while the tremolo in instrumental music (the rapid re-iteration of the same note by up and down bow) more nearly resembles vocal vibrato…

Collins Deacon writes concerning the Tremolo (on p.166) that

> The Vibrato and the Tremolo are almost equally reprehensible as mannerisms. Mannerisms express nothing but carelessness or self-sufficiency, and the constant tremolo and vibrato are therefore nauseous in the extreme.

Webster's *Dictionary* of 1828 (online edition) defines 'self-sufficient' as: 'Having full confidence in one's own strength, abilities or endowments; whence, haughty; overbearing'. Now let us focus on the classic 20th-century definition of the vocal trill, with information about its origin and development, as found in the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, edited by Willi Apel (1893-1988) and first published in

1944.[4] 'Trill' (p.864): 'A musical ornament consisting of the rapid alternation of a given note with the diatonic second above it. 1. The trill originated in the 16th century as an ornamental resolution of a suspension dissonance at a cadence'. 'Tremolo', (p.862): 'In the early 17th century the vocal tremolo was widely used; called a trillo, it was usually written out in quick notes…During this period, the term tremolo meant a trill; See ornamentation I, p.629-630': (p.629) 'In many of the 16th-century treatises specific name [sic] are used for certain small melodic formulas that consist of either the repetition of a single note or the rapid alternation of two (or three) adjacent notes. To the former type belongs the [p.630] Italian trillo (an accelerated tremolo) to the latter, the tremolo, gruppo and ribatutta as well as the Spanish redouble and quiebro and the English relish'.

Moving from the theoretical to the practical, musicologists, singers and conductors attempted to recreate the performance of the vocal trillo according to Apel's generally accepted definition, i.e. as 'the repetition of a single note'. Robert Donington (1907-1990) found his 20th century contemporaries execution of the *trillo* to be problematic. In his 1989 version of *The Interpretation of Early Music*, he writes (as a Postscript to his Chapter XIX: *Tremolo and Vibrato*), on p.235:

> We have a difficulty with the early baroque trillo…It is common today (e.g. in Raymond Leppard's mainly excellent Monteverdi and Cavalli) to caricature the trillo by repeating the same note with exaggerated emphasis and in a strongly measured rhythm. Caccini includes it in 'the good manner of singing' as a thing written one way but sung another way 'for more grace' and 'refinement' (*squisitezza*)…its subtlety, its '*squisitezza*' is the whole point of it.[5]

John Florio defines *squisitezza* on p.526 of his Italian-English dictionary, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, as 'exquisitnesse, exactnesse'. Let us call this 'strongly measured', unsubtle single pitch repetitive performance of the trill 'Donington's caricature'. Despite Donington's reservations, the accelerated single note, 'exaggerated emphasis' tremulous performance of the *trillo* has been championed into the 21st century by important and well respected scholars including: Gustave Reese, who writes (in his *Music of the Renaissance*, Revised Edition, New York, 1959, p.545): the *trillo* is 'an accelerated repetition of a tone'; Ellen Harris (in The Norton Grove Music Handbooks in Music, *Performance Practice, Music after 1600*, vol.II, p.105 (New York and London, 1990) who writes, 'the original meaning of "trillo"' was 'the rhythmic pulsation on a single note'; Mary Cyr (in *Performing Baroque Music*, Portland, OR, 1992) who avers on p.128 that 'The most common signs encountered in seventeenth-century music are those for a type of trill (usually t, +, or tr). In the early seventeenth-century the sign may be taken to be the trillo or single-note repetition described by Caccini'; and by Claude V. Palisca and J. Peter Burkholder (in the Nor*ton Anthology of Western Music*, New York and London, 5/2006) who on p.385 define trilli as 'rapid repetitions of the same pitch'.

The *New Harvard Dictionary of Music* is a revised edition of Willi Apel's master work by Don Michael Randel, which first appeared in 1986 (I consulted the ninth printing dated 1999). Dr Randel adds interesting information to Apel's articles. He suggests that: 'Ornament signs in 14th- and 15th century tablatures may have indicated trills'. He also identifies 'trill-like' vocal ornaments in Jerome of Moravia's 13th century *Tractatus de Musica*.[6] However, Randel toes Apel's line concerning the 17th century trill with an addendum, writing: the *Trillo* 'used by Caccini…and others' was 'the rapid accelerating reiteration of a single pitch, but the meaning of trillo and tremolo were sometimes reversed, and there was no consistency in the use of any of these terms' (*New Harvard Dictionary* article on the trill, p.870). My handy *Norton/Grove Concise Encyclopedia of Music* (1994), edited by

Stanley Sadie, defines the *Trillo* on p.831 as 'An ornament, a form of vocal tremolo used particularly in early 17th century Italian music'. The current Grove online *Dictionary of Music* calls the *trillo*: 'A term used to denote various types of trill or tremolo, but more often a rapid reiteration of a single note, a hallmark of early Baroque Italian vocal style'.

Nigel Rogers, in his article *Voices* in the *Companion to Baroque Music* (ed Julie Anne Sadie, New York, 1991) writes on p.354:

> The *trillo* was almost certainly performed by glottal articulation…Glottal articulation is a rapid spasm of the muscles controlling the larynx, causing the glottis to open and close in rapid oscillation - similar to coughing or laughing but less violent…some scholars have misleadingly described the *trillo* as 'controlled vibrato' [Rogers cites Howard Mayer Brown as one of them]; but since the technique of glottal articulation serves equally well for the execution of rapid *passaggi*, it is likely it was used for both. I have demonstrated to my own satisfaction that this can be a convincing way of performing these very demanding *gorghe* [gurglings] and it would be difficult to imagine how one could perform *passaggi* with an articulation produced by 'controlled vibrato'.

I am not inclined to be satisfied nor convinced by Mr Roger's testimonial. But perhaps the most specific definition of the 20th century caricature trillo is found in *Baroque Music*: *Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750* by John Walter Hill in the *Norton Introduction to Music History* series (New York, 2005). On p.37, in a box entitled 'Performance of Monody',[7] Dr Hill writes:

> Caccini gives many indications in the prefaces of his two books of monody [these would be *Le Nuove Musiche*, of 1602 and the 1614, *Nuove Musiche e Nuova Maniera di Scriverle*]…But he places particular emphasis on the articulation of notes in very rapid ornamental passages. The key to all passage work, he says is the *trillo*, which consists of very rapid reiterations of the same pitch each repetition articulated by a light glottal stop, 'ah'. All of the notes of the ornamental melismas must be articulated in exactly that manner. These melismas contain many sixteenth notes and even some thirty-second notes to be sung at the tempo of ca. 1/4 note = 120.

16th and 17th century definitions of the vocal trill

John Florio, in his 1611 Italian-English dictionary *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, defines the trill: '*Trillare*: see *Trigliare*', which is 'to quaver or warble in singing. *Triglio*: a quaver or warble in singing' (pp.579-580). However, the first mention of such a vocal ornament that I have been able to find does not come from an Italian source but is found in Luis de Milan's 1536 treatise *El Maestro, O Musica de Viguela* published in Valencia, Spain.[8] Milan (c.1500-c.1561) writes on [unnumbered] p.92 of his book:

> This [Italian] Sonnet [Petrarch's madrigal *Nova Angeleta Sovra l'Ale Accorta scese da Cielo*]…should be performed with a spirit of rejoicing…and the singer should sing it *llano* and where appropriate, should *glosar* it with a *quiebro* or as they say, *trinar* it.

Let us consult John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* published in London in 1599 for some contemporary definitions of these Spanish terms. Minsheu (1560-1627) defines *llano* on p.159 as 'simple or plain', *glosar* on p.134 as 'to expound or interpret' and *quiebrar* on p.201 as 'to break or

burst'. *Trinar* (which is incidentally the modern Spanish term for the trill) is not included in the *Dictionarie*. Lorenzo Franciosini (fl.1620-after 1645?), in his *Vocabolario Italiano e Spagnuolo*, first published in Rome in 1621 defines the Spanish *glosar* into Italian as *glosare, dichiarare, o dar senso alle parole* (vol.II, p.390), which, with help from Florio's *New World of Words* means: 'to glosse, to expound' (p.206), to 'declare' (p.142) or 'give…the sense of meaning to anything' (p.490); in this case, the words. Franciosini defines *trinar* as *intrecciare* in Italian (*Vocabolario*, vol.II, p.611). Florio defines *intrecciare* as 'to entresse, to entrammel, to plait in tresses'. [9] In modern Italian it is 'to interlace, to link together', which is I think a good description of what a trill does. *Trinare* Florio defines as 'to chirp as a swallow, to ornament or adorn, to sing airs like a swallow',[10] and the *Dictionarium Teutsch-Frantzoesisch-Italienisch*, published in Frankfurt by Levinus Hulsius (1546-1606), edited by Francesco Martino Ravelli and reissued in 1616, defines *Trinare* as 'to chirp or warble like a swallow' (vol.II, p.833). In the *Dictionarium*, *Trillare* is defined as 'to make tremolos when singing'.[11] Milan further instructs us that certain vocal pieces in his *El Maestro* collection should include other unspecified embellishments, writing: *el cantar puede hazer garganta* ('the singer can make '*garganta*'). One half of the Portuguese and Spanish language Villancicos in the collection include this or similar directives, as do several of the Spanish Romances and the three Italian language sonnets; see unnumbered pp.86, 181, 184, 187 and 189 of *El Maestro* for such specifics. John Minsheu defines *garganta* as 'a gullet or throat holl',[12] while Franciosini defines *hazer garganta* as a musical term describing when a singer sings *con gran melodia, e suavità facendo passaggi e gorgie*,[13] that is (with definitions according to Florio), when a singer sings 'with great sweet or tunable singing, and with deliciousness, [and] pleasance. Also softness, [or] smoothness; when making passage-work and vocal ornaments'.[14] The much later *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English and English and Spanish* by Captain John Stevens (c.1662-1726) (London, 1726), defines *hazer garganta* as meaning 'among musicians is to sing sweet and fine' (p.318). On that same page, *Gargantear* is 'to quaver with the voice' which is, as you recall, the same definition of the Italian word *Trillare* in Florio's *New World of Words* quoted above. Incidentally Minsheu defines *cantar* as 'to sing to chaunt to chirpe as a bird to crowe as a cock', which is almost word for word Florio's translation of the Italian *cantare* on p.80 of the *New World of Words*. Florio defines *cantare* as 'to sing to chante. Also to chirp as a bird, to crow as a cocke'. [15] According to the *Vocabolario* by the Florentine scholar Franciosini, the Spanish *Passo de Garganta en la musica* translates into Italian as *Passaggio al gorgia nel cantare*,[16] which I will translate as 'The singing of ornamental vocal passage-work'. Florio in 1611 writes that *Gorgia* is 'a gorge, a throat, a gullet or weazon-pipe' while *Gorghegiare* is the same as *Trillare*, that is, 'to warble or quaver in singing'. Similarly, *Vibrare* is translated as 'to brandish or shake…also to warble or quaver in musick or singing'.[17] *Quiebro* in Spanish, writes Franciosini, is 'a musical term signifying a trill, which is that trembling of the voice when making passage-work'.[18] Giovanni Battista Doni, in his *Trattato della Musica Scenica* (c.1635) describes the *Trillo* as an *increspamento* or *vibratio*, [19] that is, an undulating, twisting, plaiting, ornamenting, warbling or quavering of the voice (derived from Florio, pp.245 and 597).

The earliest Italian language source for the vocal *Trillo* (and its relation the *Groppo*) that I have found is Giovanni Luca Conforto's *Breve et Facile Maniera d'Essercitarsi…a far Passaggi* (Rome, 1593). Conforto was apparently a virtuoso falsettistcountertenor; he is mentioned by Giustiniani as a singer active in Rome (see Chapter 2 of the article above). Indeed, Conforto sang in the Papal Choir from 1580-85, then at San Luigi dei Francesi and elsewhere in Rome before rejoining the Papal Choir in 1591. Pietro della Valle described Conforto's voice as one that could ascend up to the stars. The

Breve et Facile Maniera includes: a *Groppo di sopra* (a *Groppo* from the note above) and a *Groppo di sotto* (a *Groppo* from the note below), and they are written out in both full and half (*Mezzo*) versions, as is the *Trillo*, on p.25 of his treatise. He also indicates the performance of a *Trillo* with the number '3' written underneath repeating notes on pp.19, 25, 28 and 30. The '3' placed above notes, as on pp.17 and 19, he says indicates a hemiola. Conforto indicates the *Groppi* as fluctuations of two pitches throughout, and his *Trilli* (*Sopra, Mezzo* and *Sotto*), are repetitions of one pitch preceded by an upper neighbor pick up note (see ex.1).

As for the aforementioned Italian terms *gruppo* and *groppo*, Florio's *New World of Words* defines *gruppo* as *groppo*, that is 'as a knot, a node, a bunch'. [20] Here are definitions of the other 17th century ornaments identified by Apel in the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*: the *ribatutta* Florio defines as *ribattimento*, 'a rebeating back' and *ribattere* as 'to beat or strike back again'.[21] Minsheu defines the Spanish *redoble* as 'double' and *redoblar* as 'to double'.[22] Franciosini defines *Redoblar* as *Raddoppiare*, *ripiegare* in Italian.[23] Florio in turn defines them as 'to redouble' and 'to fold or wrap up again. Also to bend again'.[24] The 'Relish' is an English 17th century ornament found in John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654) and Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676), the 'Single Relish' being more like a modern turn, while the 'Double Relish' is apparently a trill with a concluding turn. The Relishes seem to be related to the *Gruppo* and *Groppolo* as described by Cavaliere and Caccini below, and to Conforto's various *Trillo*'s and *Gruppo*'s. The term 'Relish' became obsolete as French and Italian musical waves spread over England in the last third of the 17th century. As for the frequency of embellishments in performance, Ludovico Zacconi (1555-1627), in vol.I of his comprehensive four-volume *Prattica di Musica* (Venice, 1596), writes on p.59: '…he who desires to make embellishments ['*gorgia*'] must not only demonstrate his boldness to make it at the conclusion of the piece but should demonstrate his heartfelt courage by making it in the middle as well'.

Spanish influence in Italy

Giustiniani tells us that the Spanish connection with the emerging expressive baroque vocal style developed in Spain's Italian territories. These included the Kingdom of Naples, a Spanish Habsburg territory from 1503-1713, which comprised the southern third of the Italian 'boot' and Sicily. Its capital city of Naples vied with Paris as Europe's second largest city (the first being Constantinople) until 1656, when the plague reduced its population by half. Other Spanish territories included the Duchy of Milan, which was the southern end of the 'Spanish Road' linking the Spanish Netherlands with Italy via the Franche Comté and Burgundy. It achieved a special military and strategic prominence between 1567 and 1620. The Republic of Genoa was essentially a Spanish protectorate from 1528 until its absorption by the Kingdom of Sardinia/Piedmont in 1815. Rome was also a centre of Spanish musical influence, especially in regards to Papal singers and composers. Composers Juan Escribano (d.1558), Cristobal de Morales (c.1500-1553) and Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611) were active in Rome; Escribano and Morales were also members of the Papal Choir. Indeed, a good number of Spanish singers populated that choir between 1558 and 1601, especially soprano falsettists, at least two of whom - Juan Paredes (fl.1571-74) and Hernando Bustamante - were castrati. During the reign of the Neapolitan-born Pope Paul IV (1555-59), three of the five *soprani* had Spanish surnames and in 1577, four of six did. Spanish singers also held courtly positions in other important northern Italian cities. Some examples include the Bustamante family from

Palencia, Spain. The aforementioned castrato Hernando, his brother Domenico and his uncle Francisco joined the Neapolitan Viceroy's Chapel Choir c.1558 and were brought to Rome by Pope Paul IV. In 1561 Hernando and Domenico found employment in Ferrara, where Hernando remained until at least 1609. The Sances (Sanches) family settled in Rome. Father Orazio was a countertenor, and his son Giovanni Felice (c.1600-1679) was a tenor who trained at the German College there. Giovanni was active as a performer and composer in Rome, Padua, and Venice, (where he sang in Monteverdi's choir at San Marco from 1626-34), and in Mantua, Bologna and Vienna (where he became Kapellmeister at the Habsburg Court). His brother Lorenzo (fl.1615-42) was a contralto (and perhaps a castrato) who joined the Papal Choir in 1619 and was active in Mantua and Rome.

Let us focus on Naples. The city is described in the *Descrittione del Regno di Napoli* by Enrico Bacco (and others), first published in 1616: 'In Naples one sees a flourishing and brilliant nobility…It has the richest merchants and artisans in great supply who came here from everywhere. Its wide and spacious streets are adorned by the most noble and magnificent palaces and temples, with fountains of the clearest and freshest water which bring great ornament and dignity to the city'.[25] As for the Neapolitans themselves, the notable English musical amateur John Evelyn wrote in his 1645 diary: 'They greatly affect the Spanish gravity in their habit [dress]…the streets are full of gallants on horseback…the women are generally well featured but excessively libidinous. The country people [are] so jovial and addicted to music, that the very husbandman [farmer] almost universally play on the guitar, singing and composing songs in praise of their sweethearts and will commonly go to the field with their fiddle: they are merry, witty and genial; all of which I much attribute to the excellent quality of the air. They have a deadly hatred to the French',[26] who brought their pox with them when the French King Charles VIII besieged and captured the city in February 1495. They were expelled five months later by the Aragonese who, on the extinction of their line in 1516, bequeathed the Kingdom of Naples to their Habsburg relatives. During the mid years of the 16th century the Maestro de Capilla at the Viceregal Court in Naples was the Spanish composer, theorist and gambist Diego Ortiz (c.1510-70). That his important treatise on viola da gamba technique and ornamentation was published in Rome in 1553 in both Spanish and Italian versions, demonstrates the extent and importance of Spanish musical thought and practice in mid-16th century Italy. Indeed some of his cadenzas employing semiquavers, such as on p.12 of the *Trattado de Glosas*, are effectively trills with a concluding turn, what the Italians will call a *gruppo*. Additionally there emerged an important Neapolitan school of music and singing.

Camillo Maffei, Pedro [Pietro] Cerone and Luigi Zenobi

Fortunately a 16th century essay by a Neapolitan singer concerning vocal technique and *aufführungspraxis* survives. It is in the form of a letter addressed to 'The Most Illustrious Signor, the XIIth Count of Altavilla' (Giovanni II da Capua, d.1589). The letter is found in a bundle entitled: '*Delle Lettere de Signor Gio. Camillo Maffei da Solofra* [27] Libri Due *Dove tra gli altri bellissimi pensieri di Filosofia e di M*edicina, *V'e un Discorso della Voce e del Modo d'Apparare di Cantar di Garganta senza Maestro*…'. Note the use of the Spanish term *Garganta*, which Maffei defines as the 'True method of Noble and Ear-pleasing singing'.[28] The author of this vocal method, Giovanni Camillo Maffei (fl.1561-73) was a 'modern Chiron',[29] a medical doctor, a philosopher and teacher, and an accomplished singer. The *Discorso* contains sage advice and observations, some still proffered by

voice teachers today, as for example the proper position of the tongue when singing, i.e. extended forward and touching the base of the bottom teeth; to practice in front of a mirror, to sing coloratura (passage-work) on the 'o' vowel; indeed he writes on p.56 that the singer should 'portando in bocca la lettera "o"', that is, carry the shape of the 'o' in his mouth when singing, the reason for which he discloses on pp.59- 61 of his letter. It is best, he writes, to sing coloratura on the 'o' vowel as it 'makes the voice sound more round'. As a medical professional, Maffei extols the virtues of cabbage soup, chicken broth, licorice, saffron and dried figs. He also includes in his *Discorso* written-out embellishments of ascending and descending fourths, fifths and octaves, and supplies examples of cadential ornamentation. Most important are Maffei's embellishments of all four parts of the madrigal *Lascia il velo* by the Florentine composer turned Frenchman, François de Layolle (1492-c.1540), and written out passagework for the superius part of the anonymous aria *Vago Augelletto*.[30] Maffei is the first to call improvised coloratura *passaggi*. His term for other vocal embellishments is *gorga*, which sounds to my ears, as derived from *Gorgheggiare*, which Florio defines as 'to warble or quaver in singing'. Unfortunately the treatise includes nothing about the trill.

Pietro (Pedro) Cerone (1566-1625) was born in Venetian-ruled Bergamo, northeast of Milan. He found employment as a singer in the Cathedral of Oristano in Spanish-ruled Sardinia, which later led to a position at the Royal Chapel in Madrid, from 1592-1601. In 1603 Cerone traveled to Naples and was appointed a tenor singer at the Church of the Annunziata. In 1604 he took priestly orders. His *El Melopeo y Maestro*, which consists of 22 volumes, 849 chapters and 1160 pages in Spanish, was published in Naples in 1613. Sir John Hawkins wrote that it 'is a musical institute, and comprehends in it the substance of Boetius [sic], Franchinus, Glareanus, Zarlino, Salinus, Artusi, Galilei, and, in short, of most of the writers on music who had gone before him'.[31] His vol.VIII, *En el Qual se Ponen las Reglas para Cantar Glosado y de Garganta*" (*In Which is Presented the Rules for Singing with Expression and Vocal Passage-Work*) is a compendium of vocal musical practices and exercises based on Italian authors, especially Lodovico Zacconi. We find in Chapter VII, *On How to Sing with Expression and Passage-Work*, p.548, the following: 'All graces and beautifications require dexterity, lightness, clarity and timing, without which they are nothing'. And 'Two things are required for the singing of ornaments, strength from the chest (*fuerca de pecho*) and a (*dispusicion de garganta*) disposition of the throat [for the singing of embellishments]. Strength from the chest in order to sing the entire ornamental figure, and the disposition of the throat to be able to articulate the ornaments without effort. But there are many who lack the power of the chest who must then interrupt their ornaments in the middle, and others, because of a defect of the throat, whose figures do not come out clearly'. Among the hundreds of examples of vocal passage work found in Chapter VII, only a few, on p.555, have the attributes of the *gruppo*. There is no trill to be found.

Luigi Zenobi (c.1547- after 1602) or the Cavaliere Luigi del Cornetto, was born in the Papal-ruled Adriatic port city of Ancona. We first hear of Zenobi in April 1569, when the Imperial Ambassador in Venice is instructed to persuade the *Cornetta Musico Veneziano* (the 'Venetian Cornettist and Musician') to leave his current post and serve the Emperor. Zenobi was active in Vienna from 1569-73, where he was employed by the Imperial Court as a *musico vnnd zinckhenplaser* ('a musician and cornetto-player'). He also 'taught singing to the late mother of the present Catholic king' (Anna of Austria, 1549-80, mother of Philip III of Spain). In November of 1573, he was honorably relieved of his duties *seines diensts mit genaden erlassen* and rewarded with a knighthood. He found employment at the Este court in Ferrara, eventually becoming the highest paid musician there, receiving a salary

of 200 *scudi* (equivalent to $2,026.00) per annum. In January 1587 Zenobi was director of music at the Oratorio Filippino (Filippo Neri's Oratory Church), Santa Maria in Vallicella, also called La Chiesa Nuova, in Rome. During this time, he was befriended by Vincenzo Giustiani, who speaks highly of him. Zenobi also seems to have enjoyed a reputation as a judge of singers. He was enlisted in the campaign to lure the famous bass Melchiorre Palentrotti (fl.1588-1614) from his position at the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome to Ferrara in 1589. By May of that year however, Zenobi was back in the service of the Habsburg Imperial Court, for on the last day of May, in Prague, he was paid 300 florins ($39,122.64), in a series of payments made by Wolfgang Rumpf on behalf of Emperor Rudolf II. By July of 1601 he had returned to Italy, this time in the service of the Viceroy of Naples. Fortunately, Zenobi wrote numerous letters, of which 18 survive, the last dated September 1602. The undated letter of interest, which was probably written around 1600, was discovered by Edward Lowinsky in Rome in 1948. According to Bonnie J. Blackburn, it is a copy, 'in what appears to be a late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century hand', addressed to *Serenissimo mio Signore, Signore et Padron Singolarissimo*, that is, 'My most Glorious Lord[ship], my [Master] and most [Excellent and] Distinguished Protector'. However, the name and exact title of this Royal Eminence is not revealed.[32]

Zenobi's twelve-page letter is in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, the former library of the Oratorio of San Filippo Neri. It was written as a response to a request by the unidentified 'Most Glorious Lordship' about the qualities required to become of a perfect musician. It is in 28 chapters or segments. Among the topics covered are:

> The eight requirements to be able to sing with assurance
>
> How to sing with grace and with art
>
> The requirements of a good bass
>
> How to judge a good bass
>
> The requirements of a good tenor and alto
>
> The requirements of a good soprano and the definition of various ornaments
>
> More requirements of a good soprano
>
> Correct deportment of singers
>
> Faults committed by poor singers.

What is most important about Zenobi's Letter is his insights, clarity, good judgment and wit, as evidenced in Blackburn's translation of its Chapter 11, How to judge a good bass

> In solo performance one cannot judge the quality of the bass when he is accompanied by a lute, or a harpsichord, and similar instruments, for instruments of that kind have hardly sounded the note before it vanishes; and thus the bass as well as any other part can make an infinite number of mistakes that pass unnoticed because the vanishing harmony of the imperfect instrument does not let them be heard, except that the connoisseur recognizes them as errors and misunderstandings, and consequently causes the singer to be held

> ignorant. But it is [in singing] with the organ where one can judge easily who sings and plays with good taste and with art, if the listener pays careful attention. And that is what manifests the ignorance and presumption of many who, singing in the most deplorable manner to the accompaniment of the organ, thrive on the judgement of the populace and the rabble, who, as soon as they hear a miserable charlatan with a bit of a dog's voice or an ass's disposition, immediately begin to exclaim: How marvellous! How fine! What a divine voice! What do you think, Mister Dimwit? What do you say, Sir Mumble-Tongue? Is it not miraculous, Sir Bibblebabble? And thus many wretched birds are scorned by the connoisseurs, and praised by the ignoramuses like them. And Your Highness should not be surprised that princes often recognize these rather than others who are worthy and meritorious through ability and knowledge; for princes, from the first day of their rule on, forget the truth, and on the second day they abhor all followers of the truth, and hence it happens that they do not find any who will tell them the truth, but stumble into such and similar situations, and besides, well said that poet: So crazily her way doth Fortune wend Happy on earth the wise man at the end.

Here is Dr Blackburn's translation of an excerpt from his Chapter 9: 'Singers one calls those who sing the high, middle, or low parts; if they sing them well, with assurance, grace, and good taste, one calls them excellent; if moderately well mediocre; if middlingly well, average; if poorly, run-of-the-mill; if by practice, practitioners; if by nature, natural singers'.

In his Chapters 12, 13 and 14, relative to the Tenor, Contralto and Soprano voices we find the following: 12 (my translation):

> The tenor should make his diminutions when the bass and the accompanying parts are not in motion [*fermo*, Florio p.185: firm, steady, fixed]…the alto must observe this rule as much or even more, but I will praise these middle voice parts when they rarely make diminutions and content themselves in knowing how to ascend and descend (the scale) with 'la voce gratiosamente ondeggiando' [which Florio defines on pages 216-17 and p.339 as a 'gracefully waving and billowing voice'] and with the occasional use of some gracious and pretty trills and tremolos (that is with vocal quaverings and warblings) [Florio pp.578-79], without doubt this would bring them even more [*Assai piu*, Florio p.46] praise from those who know what it means to sing well.

Dr Blackburn continues:

> 13: There remains the soprano, which is truly the ornament of all other parts, just as the bass is the foundation [of it]. The soprano, then, has the obligation and complete freedom to improvise diminutions, to indulge in playfulness (scherzare), and, in a word, to ornament a musical body. But unless this is done with art, with grace, and with good taste, it is annoying to hear, hard to digest, and loathsome to endure. To give pleasure to the listener he must…have a natural soprano [voice] without nasal effect, without such habits as tossing his head, contorting his shoulders, rolling his eyes, moving his jaw, his chin, and his whole body; he must go high and low with even timbre and not have one register in the high range and another one in the low. He must be expert in counterpoint, for without that he sings haphazardly and commits a thousand blunders; while singing he must make the words

> distinctly understood and not drown them in passage-work nor cover them with excessive vocal resonance [*risonanza*, Florio p.445 'a resounding, a rebounding noise']

and to this let me add the first phrase of the next chapter: 14: 'Furthermore, the soprano must have a voice which undulates…'. Dr Blackburn, in her commentary writes that the term 'Ondeggiare, ondeggiamento …is not explained by Zenobi and is not, as far as I can see, used by other music theorists. Literally, it means a «wavy» delivery…..This would appear to mean a crescendo and decrescendo applied to individual notes in a free manner…'. I think that Florio's definition of *onda* on p.339 as 'a wauve, an undie, a billow, a surge' may provide a path to a different definition. Elisha Coles' *An English Dictionary* (1677) defines 'Undulation' as 'a moving up and down like a wave' and 'Undee' (in Heraldry) as 'like waves'. The 1894 *A Glossary of Terms Used In Heraldry* by James Parker defines 'Undy or Ondy, a wavy line of Division'. See for example the Sandford family crest for such lines. They are reminiscent to me of the first segment of the 'Close Shake' as notated in Christopher Simpson's *Division-Violist*, published in London by William Godbid in 1659, and in John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, in the 1664 fourth edition. I will discuss the Close Shake later in my study, and I do include an example of its notation as ex.13. The Close Shake, I argue is a natural vibrato which makes 'no Variation of Tone'. It is a requisite for the soprano, contralto and tenor voices in Zenobi's Letter just as it is for Praetorious's choir boy who should be taught how to sing in the new Italian style. I suggest that the waving and billowing of the undulating voice is that natural up-and-down motion like a wave, we hear as a naturally resonant vibrato. Zenobi's Letter concludes with the these words from the last chapter, #28 as translated by Dr Blackburn:

> Now it is fitting that I declare that all this I said to obey and to serve your most Serene Highness and not to offend anyone, neither in particular nor in general, always meaning only the honour and reverence of good and honoured persons, who are, were, and always will be esteemed, loved, and properly appreciated by myself and those who are like myself. Wherewith I bow humbly before Your Highness and pray to God for your every happiness and in everything you desire. From Naples Your most serene Highness's devoted and old servant, Cavaliere Luigi Zinobi [Zenobi].

Giulio Caccini

Giulio Caccini (1551-1618) is often cited as the inventor of the early baroque vocal trill, referred to by many musicologists and performers as the *trillo*. Caccini was born in Rome, hence his sobriquet 'Romano'. He trained as a boy chorister in the Cappella Giulia where he studied with Giovanni Animuccia (1500-71). Tim Carter, in his article 'Giulio Caccini (1551-1618): New Facts, New Music' [33] reports that the 14-year-old Caccini arrived in Florence as a last-minute replacement to sing in a celebratory courtly intermedio in 1565. The Florentine Duke Cosimo stipulated that Caccini: 1) would play the part of a 15 or 16 year old, 2) must sing with expression and 3) perform passage-work in the Neapolitan style. Young Caccini performed so well that he secured for himself a position in the Medici musical establishment. He subsequently studied in Florence with a master of the Neapolitan vocal style, the Siena-born nobleman Scipione delle Palle (fl.1545-69). Caccini rose in prominence as a member of Giovanni de' Bardi's intellectual society the *Camerata* (defined by Florio (1611, p.76) as '…a society in a chamber'), eventually replacing Emilio del Cavaliere as the musical director of the Medici Court. His 1602 publication *Le Nuove Musiche* [34] includes the well-known solo madrigal *Amarilli Mia Bella*, and a nine page preface which defines the emerging baroque vocal

performance practice, integrating expressive elements such as rubato, contrasts of dynamics and vocal ornamentation, over an improvised chordal accompaniment based on the basso continuo principle. There is also to be found in the preface addressed *A I Lettori*, examples of written out sample ornamentation for madrigals to texts by Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612) *Cor Mio, Deh Non Languire* and Bernardo Tasso (1493-1569) *Ahi Dispietato Amor*, as well as embellishments for an *Aria di Romanesca*, (that is a newly-composed melody to be sung to a well-known bass pattern) to the text *Deh, Dove Son Fuggiti* by Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638).

The finale of Caccini's opera, *Il Rapimento di Cefalo* ('The Abduction of Cephalus', set to a text by Chiabrera), which includes three ornamented arias and two six-part *parlando*-style SSATTB choruses, appears as the centerpiece of *Le Nuove Musiche*, being placed after the twelve solo madrigals and being followed by ten *Canzonette composte a aria*. Indeed this opera was performed as the culmination of the festivities celebrating the by proxy wedding of Maria de' Medici to King Henri IV of France in Florence on 9 October 1600, for an audience of more than 3,000 gentlemen and ladies. The five-hour entertainment cost some 60,000 *scudi* (probably more than half-a-million dollars). The first aria, *Muove Si Dolce*, includes *passaggi*, that is vocal passage-work or coloratura, as sung by the basso profondo Melchiorre Palontrotti (c.1570-1618), the second aria *Caduca Fiamma* was sung by Caccini's fellow composer and sometime-rival, Jacopo Peri in his own style, with different vocal passagework than printed. The third aria, *Qual Trascorrendo* was performed by Francesco Rasi, who was Caccini's pupil, with some of the printed vocal passagework and other passagework devised by Rasi himself. The opera excerpt begins and concludes with a six part chorus. *Le Nuove Musiche* itself concludes with ten *Canzonette composte a aria*. The *Canzonet* is defined by the Anglican vicar Charles Butler (c.1560-1647) on p.8 his *The Principles of Musick* (London, 1636), who writes: 'the Canzonet is to the Madrigal, as the Canticle to the Motet'. *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* describes the 'Canzonetta' on p.138, as 'a light vocal piece popular in Italy from the 1560s…The texts took various forms, from the *canzone* stanza to the refrain of the *villanella*; they were originally many stanza strophic pieces'. The mention of the *villanella* connects us to Giustiniani and the Hispano-Neapolitan influence he describes. It also connects Caccini to the knowledge of the Neapolitan Style required of him and to his teacher Scipione delle Palle, an exponent of that style. Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words* defines *Canzonetta* as 'a canzonet or ditty' (p.78); *composta*, from the verb *componere*, is defined by Florio as 'to compose… Also to devise or frame in minde as any Poeme or Oration' (p.116) and *Aria* (p.38) as *Aere* (p.12) as 'The aire, also an aspect, a countenance, a cheere, a looke or apparance in the face of man or woman. Also a tune or aire of a song or ditty'. These 'Canzonets' are no mere ditties, rather I feel that as they are composed as 'Arias' that require characterization. I suggest they are examples of the *Stile Rappresentativo*, defined in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (p.806) as, 'The dramatic or theatrical style of recitative used in the earliest operas and semi-dramatic works of the first decades of the 17th century. It is characterized by freedom of rhythm and irregularity of phrasing…The term first appeared in print on the title p.of Giulio Caccini's *Euridice* (1600)'. As such, they demand hyper-emotional performances and favour spoken-style word inflection over precise rhythmic notation and the use of contrasts of dynamics and word specific ornamentation. Let us recall Giustiniani, who wrote of the singers performing in the 'recitative style', who

> gracefully embellished with ornaments appropriate to the thought; and from time to time they execute passages [coloratura] with judgment and appropriate and varied consonances…

> Above all they make the words clear using one note for each syllable, now piano, now forte, now slow, now fast - by the expression of their faces and by their gestures giving meaning to what they are singing.

As for Caccini's recommended use of trills, *gruppos* and other expressive devices, in the preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* (pp.5-8) he directs the performer to sing a *trillo* in the written out sample ornamentation of the madrigal *Cor Mio, Deh Non Languire* four times, and the *gruppi* and the dynamic forte-decrescendo to piano-crescendo to forte effect, the *Esclamazione Affetuoso* (or 'Affective Exclamation') once. The *Aria di Romanesca* has indications for an *Esclamazione* and three trills. The madrigal *Deh Dove Son* is full of performance directions, with four trills (one specifically to last the value of a half note), one *scemar di voce* or a decrescendo,[35] and several types of *Esclamazione*: *spiritosa*, *piu viva*, *rinforzata* and *con misura piu larga* ('full of spirit'; 'lively'; 'refortifying' and 'in a slower tempo'),[36] and seven plain ones. Among the twelve solo madrigals of the collection itself, he directs the singer to sing a trill five times and the *gruppo* once. In the first aria from the opera *Il Rapimento di Cefalo*, the use of the trill is indicated once, as is an *Esclamazione* paired with a trill; the other opera arias have no trills, *gruppi* or expressive indications. The *canzonette a aria* lack ornamental or expressive suggestions, which is a surprise, indeed only a single *Tri* is indicated in the eighth Canzonet/Aria *Odi Euterpe* (p.35), and an *Escl[amazione] Trillo* is indicated in the 'Final Aria', No.10 (pp.38-9). This *ARIA ULTIMA*, is a stupendous bass solo *Chi Mi Confort' Ahime*, the first three verses to be sung in a strophic twelve-bar context, which is then expanded in the last verse with the addition of virtuoso passage-work. H. Wiley Hitchcock (1923-2007), in his influential 1970 edition of *Le Nuove Musiche*,[37] identifies it (p.29), as *a solo per aria* sung by *Titone* (Tithonus, a Trojan Prince and lover of Eos, Goddess of the Dawn) at the beginning of Act II of *Il Rapimento di Cefalo*. John Florio defines *per* as 'for, by, through…Also, by reason of'.[38] The 'reason for' the solo, I believe, is that it should be sung 'dramatically' as a 'characterized' solo, and given a most 'theatrical' performance.

Now Caccini was not the first to discuss the vocal trill, but it has come to be associated with him. Here is what he writes about it in the Preface of *Le Nuove Musiche* as translated Hitchcock in his edition of *Le Nuove Musiche*.[39] Note my corrections to Hitchcock's translation using terms from Caccini's original text.

> Indeed there are many things used in good singing style that are written out in one way, but to be more graceful are affected in quite another (whence some are said to sing with more, some with less grace). Hence I must now demonstrate first how the tremolo [Caccini's original term is *trillo*] and the trill [Caccini's original term is *gruppo*] are described by me and how I teach them to those of my household…the tremolo [Caccini's original term is *trillo*], written by me on a single note is demonstrated in this way for no other reason that in teaching it to my first wife and now to the one who is living with my daughters,[40] I observed no other rule than that which is written [for both] the tremolo [Caccini's original term is *trillo*] and the trillo [Caccini's original term is *gruppo*]: i.e., to begin with the first quarter note, then restrike each note with the throat [*ribattere ciascuna nota con la gola*] on the vowel à up to the final double-whole-note. How excellently the tremolo [Caccini's original term is *trillo*] and trill [Caccini's original term is *gruppo*] were learned by my late wife with the above rule may be adjudged by those who heard her sing…as also I leave to the judgment of those who can [now] hear my present wife how exquisitely they are done by her. If it is true that experience

> is the best teacher, I can state with some assurance that no better way to teach them can be found, nor a better way to describe them than is given here for both. The tremolo [Caccini's original term is *trillo*] and the trill [Caccini's original term is *gruppo*] are necessary steps for many things here written out, effects with that grace most sought after in good singing. Yet, as noted above, written in only one way or another, they give a result opposite to what is usual…[41]

As for Hitchcock's decision to translate *trillo* as 'tremolo' and *gruppo* as 'trill', he writes on p.51 (n32) that: 'As is well known, Caccini's word is *trillo* (and his word for trill, as found below, is *gruppo*). "Tremolo" better suggests the nature of the device...'.[42] Caccini followed up his 1602 *Le Nuove Musiche* with *Nuove Musiche e Nuova Maniera di Scriverle* (Florence, 1614). It includes 36 *arie* 'Adorned with Passage-work, *Trilli*, *Gruppi* and new *affetti*'.[43] On the next [unnumbered] p.2, under the heading *Alcuni Avvertimenti*, Caccini describes the use of *sprezzatura*, which according to Florio is 'a condemning or despising',[44] of the written rhythmic relationship between notes, usually interpreted today as rubato. He recommends the use of piano and forte and of other *figure*, which Florio defines as 'figures or shapes', [45] such as *Passaggi*, *Trilli* and similar ornaments for the expression of the text, subjects all covered in the 1602 collection. In both collections he indicates the use of trills and gruppos by writing the term *Trilli* or *Gruppi* or an abbreviation, *tr*, *tri* or *grup* over the sffected note or notes. In the 48-page 1614 *Nuove Musiche* there are 29 indications for the singing of trills and gruppos, the majority being for trills. It is unfortunate that he included no indications for vocal ornamentation in his opera *Euridice*, 'Composed in the *Stile Rappresentativo*', which was hurriedly published in Florence in December 1600. Florio defines *Stile* as 'a stile, a phrase, a manner or form in speaking or writing' and *Rappresentare* as 'to represent or shew unto. Also to play Comedies or Tragedies', and *Rappresentativo* as 'that doth represent or may be represented'.[46] In his preface to the opera *Euridice*, Caccini does mention *sprezzatura* and points out some *passaggi* in a chorus which break the rules of good counterpoint as they move in octaves or in fifths with other voices in the chorus. He informs us that he will write a discourse on the 'noble' method of singing and his newly invented passagework and *raddoppiate*, which Florio defines as 'a redoubling. Also a doubble turn or tricke in riding or dancing',[47] as sung by that eminent and excellent singer Vittoria Archilei, who created the role of Euridice in Caccini's opera, 'sometime in the future'.

Emilio del Cavaliere

Fortunately, an earlier definition of the *trillo* and its *gruppo* relation is found in the preface to the staged sacred drama mentioned previously by Pietro Della Valle, *La Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo*, composed by Emilio del Cavaliere, Caccini's previous boss at the Florentine Court. The full score, with a dedication and remarks by the Bolognese, Alessandro Guidotti, was published in Rome in September 1600. I quote from Guidotti's preface addressed *A I Lettori*:

> If you desire to perform this work or other similar ones on stage, and to follow the instructions of Signor Emilio del Cavaliere so as to ensure that this type of music revived by him will continue to move the various passions such as pity to jubilation, weeping to laughing, and other similar effects as were heard in the modern theater piece (*una scena moderna*) *La Disperatione di Fileno*, [performed in Florence in 1590 to a text by the poetess Laura Guidiccione, (1550-99)], set to music by him [Cavaliere] in which [the soprano] Signora Vittoria Archilei …performed marvelously…In order to present such a work, it is

> necessary that the singer should possess a beautiful voice with good intonation and solid projection, that he can sing with expression, softly and loudly, without passage-work, and most importantly, that he express [the meaning] of the words so they be understood, accompanying them with gestures and movements not only of the hands, but also of his body [*di passi ancora*, Florio defines passi as [paces, steps or streds'], which will be most effective in arousing the emotions.

He gives this Special Direction, as an *Avvertimenti particolari per chi cantar a recitando* to he who sings in the reciting-singing style: 'In the singer's parts you will sometimes find written before some notes one of four letters; g, m, t, or z, which indicate the performance of one of the ornaments written out below. These are g, the *groppolo*, m, the *monachina*, t, the *trillo* and z the *zimbelo'* (see ex.6). You will note that the Cavaliere *trillo* is a fluctuation between *two pitches*, starting on the main note and then engaging the upper neighbour, and his *groppolo* is the above described *trillo* followed by a turn. The definition of the trill and gruppo in Spanish/Italian and Italian/English Dictionaries has been previously discussed. Florio defines *groppolone* as 'a cowering together close and lowe upon one's tail' while on the same page *groppo* is defined as a 'knot' and *groppare* as 'to tie in knots'. A *monachina* is a 'young novice nun' while the *zimbello* (with two l's) is 'a kind of musical instrument, [a] croud or fiddle. Also a wanton, alluring or effeminate fellow'[48] (see and compare exx. 1, 5 and 6). Unfortunately the published score of *La Rappresentatione* includes only three indications for the performance of any of Cavaliere's ornaments. These are for Corpo to sing two *monachinas* back to back on each syllable of the word 'pianto' on p.v and on the first syllable of the word 'deggio' on p.vi.

Emilio del Cavaliere was recognized by his contemporaries Jacopo Peri, Pietro Della Valle, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi and Giovanni Vittorio Rossi; and by 17th and 18th century music historians such as Giovanni Battista Doni, Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, Dr Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins, as a creator of the early baroque theatrical style. Jacopo Peri writes, in the preface to his opera *Euridice*, published in 1601, that Cavaliere 'before any other whom I know, enabled us with marvelous invention to hear our kind of music on the stage'.[49] Pietro Della Valle's mention of Cavaliere's contribution to the new baroque singing style, exemplified in his sacred opera *La Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo*, has been quoted above. Further testimony concerning the impact of Cavaliere's *La Rappresentatione* is offered by Giovanni Vittorio Rossi (1577-1647), who supplies this anecdote:

> One day I…found myself in the home of Sir Giulio Cesare Bottifango [1559-1630], a gentleman of exceptional kindness who is also an excellent secretary and a most knowledgeable poet and musician; and entering into a discussion with him about music which can move the emotions he told me, in the most resolute tone, that he had never heard anything more emotional, nor anything that had moved him more than *La Rappresentatione di Anima* [*et di Corpo*] set to music by Sir Emilio del Cavaliere of blessed memory, which was performed in the Holy Year of 1600 in the Oratory of the Assumption…at the Chiesa Nuova [New Church, originally Santa Maria di Valpolicella] where he was in attendance when it was given three performances, without ever tiring of it, and he told me, in particular, that when he heard the character *Il Tempo* [Time] sing, he felt himself overwhelmed by awe and great fear; and that when the character *Il Corpo* [the Body] sang, that role being performed by the same singer who sang the role of *II Tempo*, when he was in so much doubt

about what he should do, whether to follow God or the World, and when he does decide to follow the ways of God, there flowed from his [Bottifango's] eyes a great abundance of tears, and he felt awakening in his heart, a growing feeling for repentance and a sorrow for his sins, [this would be musical number 14 on pages v and vi of *La Rappresentatione*] but this did not just happen then and there, rather it was repeated every time he [himself] sang it, so that when in preparing to take Holy Communion, he would, as a devotion, sing some of this music, he would dissolve into a sea of tears. He also praised the character *L'Anima* (the Soul) which was acted most divinely by a young boy (*putto*), but also for its music which was of such an artistic quality that it expressed the emotions of sadness and sweetness with certain flat sixths which, when arriving at the seventh ravished one's soul [*Anima*'s solo on p.xvi of *La Rappresentatione*]. In short he concluded that in this musical genre, it is not possible to create anything more beautiful nor perfect, and added, he could prove to me himself the truth of what he said, and he took me to the harpsichord and sang several pieces from *La Rappresentatione*, particularly the song sung by *Il Corpo* which had made such an impression on him, and I was so moved by it that I asked him to make me a copy, this he most kindly did, copying it out in his own hand, and I learned it by heart, and I went often to his home to hear him sing it.[50]

Cavaliere was the Superintendent of the Arts and Director of Music in Florence from 1588-1600. That he died in 1602, that he premiered his staged 'operatic' chef d'oeuvre in Rome, that this theatrical drama is on a religious subject (rather than a Greek mythological one) and that most of his music composed in Florence is lost, has led to the conventional 20th-century opinion of Cavaliere which marginalizes him and belittles his real importance in the development of early baroque opera and performance practice. His marginalization, I believe, has contributed to the continuing *aufführungspraxis* debate, namely: should the early trill resonantly engage two pitches, or should it be an articulation and re-articulation of just one pitch. Both Cavaliere's *trillo* and *groppolo* engage two pitches, yet he has been omitted from this discussion. One 20th-century musicologist proclaimed that Cavaliere 'misuses the term trillo', and eliminated the written-out examples of the *groppolo*, the *monachina*, *trillo* and *zimbelo* from her published English translation of Guidotti's Preface to *La Rappresentatione*![51] Those who have viewed the early trill as a re-articulation of one pitch ,such as Apel, Hitchcock and Hill, have long held sway. Many of my gentle readers will be familiar with this version of the trill. Some, such as Donington and Howard Mayer Brown, may have had 'problems' with the execution of the ornament, but generally most scholars and performers have accepted it with few reservations. David Fuller once told me that the only problem with the Leppard trillo is that it does not accelerate at the end. The Donington caricature, 'repeating the same note with exaggerated emphasis and in a strongly measured rhythm' is to be heard on many recordings and in many live performances, including recent ones presented internationally in honor of Monteverdi's 450th birthday in 2017. I believe that this interpretation of the ornament is contradicted not only by Conforto and Cavaliere, but by other important contemporary sources, and by Caccini himself!

Caccini, Rognoni and Monteverdi

Let us return for a moment to Caccini's 1602 *Le Nuove Musiche*. Caccini writes: 'Indeed there are many things used in good singing style that are written out one way…but…are effected in quite another'.[52] Francesco Rognoni (fl.c.1608-c.1625), in his monumental *Selva de Varii Passaggi* (Milan,

1620), confirms this point. He writes out his several versions of both the tremolo and trillo as re-articulations of one pitch, that is, as Donington caricatures. He writes out both simple and double *groppos* as an alternation of two pitches followed by a turn, but he explains, in his *Avvertimenti alli Benigni Lettori*, on the third, unnumbered page of the *Selva de Varii Passaggi* under heading 4, that the *Groppo* and the *Trillo* have come to be written out in this manner by the majority of his 'worthy colleagues' (*Il Groppo quanto a me, pare che va di scritto in questa maniera, che cosi la maggior parte de valent'uomini hanno scritto, e cosi ancora il Trillo*). Rognoni's implication is that the performance of these ornaments is not as written, and that the Donington caricature is but a symbolic representation of the *groppo* and the trill. Let us call this explanation of the performance of the trillo and groppo the 'Rognoni clarification'. Next Rognoni quotes Caccini: 'to learn the trill or *gruppo* [Rognoni now using Caccini's spelling for the ornament!] one should strike and restrike each note on the vowel a',[53] again implying an ultimate performance different from Donington's caricature. But Rognoni goes further still. He writes under section 9 of the *Avvertimenti*, on the third, unnumbered page of the *Selva de Varii Passaggi*:

> There are some singers who use a certain style of singing ornaments, in the Peloponnesian fashion [*a la Morea*] articulating the embellishments in a manner which displeases all who hear it, they sing aaa in a way which seems as though they are laughing…showing us how many teeth they have in their mouths, from them we learn that ornamentation should originate…in the chest [*petto*] and not in the throat [*gola*]' [Florio defines *petto* on p.372 of *Queen Anna's New World of Words* as follows: 'That part of the bodie beneath the channel or neck-bone called the breast. Also used metaphorically for worth, valour, wit or bodily strength', while gola he defines on p.213 as 'the throat, the gorge or gullet of any creature'].

Rognoni continues and supplies some instruction specific to the performance of ornaments in general. He writes under section 7 on unnumbered p.3: 'it is necessary to dwell on the next to last note on which you make passage-work and particularly in the *Trill*' or *Gruppo*, in order not to suddenly give a sourness or harshness [*Asprezza*, Florio p.44] to the last note, and so as not to give *disgusto* ['distaste or unkindnesse', Florio p.152] to the listeners'.

In a series of letters to his friend, patron and sometime librettist, the Mantuan Court Chancellor Alessandro Striggio, Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) describes the vocal merits of two candidates for a position as bass singer at the Ducal Court. On 7 May 1627 Monteverdi writes: 'here', in Venice, 'for chamber music we have none better than Rapalino [Rapallini] from Mantua whose surname is Don Jacomo, he is a priest and a baritone, not a bass [*baritono et non basso*]; in other respects, his diction is clear, he has something of a *trillo* and some *gorgia*, and he sings with confidence. I will continue to search for a better candidate'.[54] A month later, on 13 June 1627, Monteverdi informs Striggio: 'there has arrived here in Venice a young man from Bologna [he has been identified as Giovanni Battista Bisucci, born c.1603, fl.1627-40], of about 24 years of age, he dresses *alla longa*'. Florio defines this as 'in the long fashion', and Domenico de Paoli suggests this means in *una cappa longa*, or in a long Spanish style cloak, while Denis Arnold defines this as wearing 'breeches'.[55] Monteverdi continues, 'he has composed some, and would like to make it his profession to sing as a baritone (*bassetto*) in chamber [and theatrical] music. I heard him sing one of his motets in church which included some passage-work and graces (*tiranidette et garbitti*) and a respectable *trillo*, the voice is pleasing but not very deep, he pronounces his words very distinctly and his voice rises into the

tenor range in a graceful manner, and he sings most skillfully…'.[56] A week later, on 20 June 1627, Monteverdi writes:

> Rapallini receives, I believe, 80 ducats from the Chapel, 60 or 70 for Masses and 40 for being the chaplain to a Most Excellent City Procurator, without including unknown fees he receives for singing around the city…The young man who has come to Venice from Bologna has no steady work…his singing is more pleasing than Rapallini's and more skillful, as he is also a composer, and he makes his words clearly understood, he has the ability to sing passage-work and has something of a *trillo*. He cannot sing very low, but for chamber and theatrical music he would not disappoint His Highness (such is my hope). This young man came to Venice with letters of recommendation…among them was one…sent to His Majesty, that is the Emperor [Ferdinand II von Habsburg][57]

Four weeks later Monteverdi tells Striggio:

> I have seen how much Your Lordship proposes to pay the baritone (*bassetto*) and it appears that he [Bisucci] has made the decision to accept His Highness's offer, in truth, I feel that his pay is more than he deserves because, even though he sings with confidence, he sings in a somewhat ill-humored manner [full of blacke choler],[58] and his passage-work ornaments [*gorgia*], are not well defined, because he does not join the chest voice [*vocale del petto*][59] to that of the throat [*gozzo*],[60] because if the throat is lacking from the chest, the ornamental passage-work [*gorgia*] become crude, hard and offensive, and if the chest [i.e. Florio's 'bodily strength'] is lacking from the throat [*gola*], the ornaments become ungraceful and almost continuous in the voice, but when both are functioning together, the ornaments are pleasant and clear, and most natural….the character of the young man is quite calm, modest and unassuming…[61]

Bisucci went on to operatic success in Venice, appearing in works by Francesco Manelli (1594-1667) and Francesco Cavalli (1602-76) before disappearing from sight. Note that for Cerone, Rognoni and Monteverdi, the strength from the chest (that is, Florio's 'bodily strength'), in partnership with the effortless articulation of ornaments in the throat, produces the best result.

Finally there is the following testimony from Howard Mayer Brown (1930-93), found as a footnote on p.10 in his 1976 handbook *Embellishing 16th Century Music*. He writes: 'Moreover Girolamo Fantini (1600-75) [a trumpeter and composer active in Florence, Rome and at the Habsburg Court], in his *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba* (Frankfurt 1638; facsimile edition Milan, 1934) on page 6 says that a trumpeter attacks a trillo with his chest rather than with his tongue, and beats each note with his throat…and on page 11 he gives examples of trilli in which the player produces the ornament by repeating the vowels a, e, i, or o. Thus the ornament ought to be a controlled vibrato rather than the ugly and awkward series of newly articulated repeated notes perpetrated by so many twentieth-century singers as trilli'.[62] So much for the Donington caricature! I think the evidence demonstrates that the origin of the vocal trill is linked to the development and cultivation of the naturally resonant vibrating voice. It is also interesting that Fantini included in his Trumpet Manual an *Esercizio di Passagi detto Il Maffei*.[63]

The tremolo and vibrato

Don Michael Randel in The *New Harvard Dictionary of Music* defines the 'Tremolo' on p.868 as: 'Usually, the quick and continuous reiteration of a single pitch…In singing…Termed a trillo, the effect was widely used in the 17th century'. Is the tremolo then also the Donington caricature? or might its notation be symbolic? 16th and 17th century authors have special things to say about the tremolo. Here is what one of the earliest, Silvestro Ganassi (c.1492-c.1557) writes about it on unnumbered pp.154-155 in his 1535 recorder tutor, *La Fontegara*:

> The gracefulness most easily shown by demonstration of its effects is primarily that kind of gracefulness derived from the shaking of the finger over the hole of the recorder. From which one discovers some pitches that can shake and waver at intervals of a third, more or less and some…of a whole tone and some of a semitone…the sweetest and most pleasant is that at the interval of a half step, more or less.[64]

Its effect has been described as 'vibrato-like' in 2018 and 2019 communications with recordists Patricia Morehead and the Austrian musicologist Dr Ernst Kubitshek. Morehead writes: 'A tremolo on recorder during this time period is most often a flutter fingering above the actual note in my experience, which can sound more like a vibrato. There is certainly a slight pitch change with this type of fingering. The fingers move up and down just around the actual note to create this effect'. Ganassi supplies a table of 26 fingerings for these tremo-trills on the next page of his *Fontegara*.[65] While Ganassi suggests in Chapters 1, 13, 23 and 25 of his book that recorder players should imitate the singer, he does not identify this effect as being derived from a vocal ornament per se. In his later, 1542-43, two-volume pedagogical work for playing the viola da gamba, the *Regola Rubertina*, Ganassi tells the player, in Chapter II on p.6, to shake the arm or move the finger on the fingerboard as he uses the bow to conform to the expression required by the music as based on the words of the text (*il movere suo sera proportionate alla musica ben formato su le parole*). The resulting wavering and quavering vibrato effects, he writes, will allow the performer to express emotions of joy or sadness, for the player must mimic an orator who changes the character of his voice to suit the text. Giovanni Battista Bovicelli (fl.1564-1627), in his *Regole, Passaggi di Musica* published in Venice in 1594, writes, on p.12: 'The tremolo is not less or more than a shaking [*tremar*] of the voice on one note'. Ludovico Zacconi, in Volume I of his *Prattica di Musica*, writes:

> The tremolo, which is the quavering [or warbling] voice is the true entry way into the making of coloratura [*passaggi*] and in the learning of embellishments [*gorgie*]: just as a ship will be easier to float when there is first a push, just as when there is first a desire to move before there is a motion or as before the dancer leaps, he prepares to leap. This tremolo must be brief and gracefully-beauteous, because the overeager and forced ones are wearisome and cloying. And by its very nature those who use it come to employ it continuously and it becomes a habit. This continuous motion of the voice aids and instigates the articulation of the ornaments [*gorgia*] and wonderfully facilitates the acquisition of the ability to perform vocal passage work.[66]

Rognoni includes the *tremolo* among the various embellishments to be practiced and mastered by those desiring 'to sing with grace and style' in the first volume of the *Selva de Varii Passaggi*. He writes in his *Avvertimenti*, under heading 3): 'The tremolo is sung often, but however with discretion and it

is necessary to take care not to sing it as some do, without restraint, bleating like little goats; generally it is performed in the value of a dot on each note' (…*si fa sopra il valor del ponto di ciascuna nota*).[67] In Book II, the *parte seconda* of the *Selva de Varii Passaggi*, which deals mostly with difficult passage-work for instrumentalists, Rognoni writes on p.4: 'the tremolo by its very nature is an *accrescimento di voce*'. Florio defines *accrescimento* as 'an accrease, an accruing, an augmenting, a growing into' and *voce* as 'a voice, a sound or repercussion of the air'. Florio defines *Tremare* as 'to tremble, to shake, to quiver…Also to quaver or warble with the voice. *Tremolante* as *Tremante*. Also as *Tremola*. Also a stop in some instruments called the quavering or warbling stop'.[68] Such a warbling can be heard on organs equipped with a Vox Humana stop. Records indicate that organs in Spain, Italy, Burgundy, Holland and Germany had such stops as early as the middle of the 16th century:

> As implied by their names, the Vox Humana and Voce Umana organ stops are designed to imitate the human voice…The Vox Humana stop…uses reed pipes that resonate at slightly different frequencies, creating an undulating vibrato-like effect. In Italy the Voce Umana (or Piffaro) stop usually involves a set of pipes that are mistuned from the principal flute pipes to obtain a similar vibrato effect. The vibrato effect is improved by use of an accessory stop known as the Tremulant, which causes the wind pressure to vary…the Vox Umana and the Tremulant can be traced at least as far back as 1537 when the builders of the church of Notre Dame in Alençon, France installed both a Vox Humana stop and an accessory Tremulant.[69]

Four of the organs described on pages 197-201 in Volume II, *De Organographia*, of the *Syntagma Musicum* by Michael Praetorius, include tremulants. It would seem then that the tremolo is a quavering and warbling 'vibrato effect'. In Naples, Fabio Colonna (1567-1640) claimed to have built (c.1589) an Hydraulic Organ which imitated singing with 'Garganta' and included a 'warbling', 'Rossignolo' (Nightingale) stop.[70] See the article '*Giambattista della Porta's Singing Hydraulis*' by Patrizio Barbieri in the *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, vol.xxxii (2006), p.145 for more information.

Finally, information about vibrato can be found in English sources relative to the violin. John Playford writes out a 'Close Shake' in his *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* as early as 1654, and in subsequent editions. I referred to the 1664 4th edition where it is found in 'A Table of Graces proper to the Viol or Violin' on p.42. Christopher Simpson includes the same written out 'close shake' on p.10 in Part 1 of his *Division-Violist*, published in London by William Godbid in 1659. He writes on pp.9 and 10 under the heading Of *Gracing* Notes:

> Gracing of Notes is performed two Wayes: *viz.* by the *Bow*, and by the *Fingers*… Graces…done by the *Shake*, or *Tremble* of a Finger…are [of] two kinds: *viz.* Close, and Open. Close, is that when wee shake a Finger as close and near to that which stoppeth as may be; touching the String, therewith, so gently and nicely, as to make no Variation of *Tone*: This may be used where no other Grace is concerned. *Open* is, when a Finger is shaked in that distance from whence it was removed, or is to be set down; supposing the distance exceed not the wideness of a whole Tone, or two *Fretts*; for wider than that we never shake. Graces made with open Shakes are these… A *Beat*; a *Backfall*; an *Elevation*, a *Cadent*; and double *Relish*… To these may be added the *Grappo* [sic], *Trillo* or any other movement of the Voice, imitated on the viol…

See ex.13 for Simpson's and Playford's Double Relish and Close Shakes. It is important to note that the Close Shake is written out as a fluctuation on one pitch, specifically of higher and lower aspects of one pitch with a little space between them, with each indicated note alternatingly closer to the higher or lower line of the staff, a clear indication to *make no Variation of Tone* in its performance (see ex.13). I believe that I have just made a convincing case that vibrato and tremolo are indeed the same. I also believe that the tremolo vocal exercises by Bovicelli and Rognoni, and indeed Caccini's use of the 'Donington caricature', were intended as exercises for cultivating and controlling vibrato.

The German composer and pedagogue Michael Schultheis, or perhaps Schultze (1571-1621), is better known by the Latin version of his last name, Praetorius. In his *Syntagma Musicum* of 1619, in Book III, Chapter 9 (p.229), which is entitled *How the Choirboys who have a Joy and Love of Singing should be instructed in the Modern Italian Method of Singing*, he writes: A singer 'cannot just sing' but must 'rouse the heart of the listener'. On p.230, Praetorius cites Giulio Caccini and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli as important sources of the modern Italian style of singing, and declares that 'In order to sing in a pleasing, correct and beautiful manner…three things are required, namely; Nature, Art or Method, and Practice'. He continues on p.231,

> 1) Nature: First a singer must possess a fine natural voice…the prerequisites are these, that the singer has a pleasantly shaking and trembling voice [*lieblich zittern=und bebende Stimme*] (not of the kind that is found in certain schools, but rather with more moderation), a smooth round throat capable of making coloratura [*diminuieren*], a steady and long breath, and the ability to sing a certain voice category such as Soprano, Alto, Tenor, etcetera with a full and bright sound without falsetto; that is a half and forced voice.

Bebung/Zittern is defined by Levinus Hulsius as *Tremblement, Tremamento, Tremolo.*[71] On p.232, Praetorius lists common vocal *vitia*, that is defects and imperfections, things that are contrary to good singing: some singers, he writes, 'make their voice with too many breaths and gaspings, some sing through the nose and support the voice from the throat [*unterhaltung der Stimm im Halse*], some sing with their teeth clenched together. None of these things are to be praised since they deform the harmony and displease' the listener. Another German, Daniel Friderici (1584-1638) writes in Chapter VII of his *Musica Figuralis oder Neuer Klaerliche Richtige und Vorsentliche Unterweisung der Sing Kunst* (1618, enlarged 1624)[72] that:

> The boys should from the beginning become accustomed to make their voice naturally and when possible it should gracefully tremble, and waver, shaking in the *gutture*, that is in the throat or in the neck. Consequently one should with diligence disaccustom them from singing through the nose and [teach them] not to clench their teeth so much whereby their singing will be shamefully deformed and disgraceful.[73]

John Florio defines *Gutture* as 'weazon or windpipe' on p.225 of *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. Heliah Crooke (1567-1648) defines *Gutture* as 'a throat or weazon pipe' in his *Mikrokosmographia* (London, 1615), Chapter XVIII, p.389. Sir Thomas Brown (1605-82) in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) writes in the 1658, Fourth Edition on p.250 in Book 4 Chapter VIII: 'Of the passage of Meat and Drink', that 'the weazon…or windpipe [is] a part in servient to voice and respiration'.[74]

Unfortunately on the last page, p.127, of his *Musica Figuralis*, Friderici informs us that he could have discussed those new Italian ornaments such as the *Tremulen/ Gruppen/ Tiraten/ Trillen/ und Passaggien*,

but as these would prove too difficult for the boys to master, they are therefore beyond the scope of his book. As for a German definition of the *trillo*, *gruppo* and *tremolo*, Praetorius writes on p.235: The '*Tremulo*: is nothing more than the shaking of the voice on a note', this being a pretty exact quote of Giovanni Battista Bovicelli from his 1594 *Regole, Passaggi di Musica* cited previously in this chapter! Praetorius continues on p.236-237:

> the *Gruppo* is used at cadences and at the conclusion of a piece and should be articulated more distinctly/sharply [*scherffer angeschlagen*] than the *Tremoli* would be…There are two different types of Trills: the first happens as a unison, no matter if it is on a line or a space, as a repetition of many quick notes coming one after another [Donington's caricature]. And of this kind there are examples to be found in the music of Claudio de Monteverde. The other type of trill is made in different ways and impossible to learn from written out directions. It needs to be learned by example, live and in person, from one who can demonstrate it by singing it, just like a bird learns to sing by imitating another bird…

The trill in later 17th century sources

An important mid-17th century German source has the bilingual title: *Moderna Prattica overo Maniera del Buon Canto. Das ist: Eine kurze Anleitung wie knaben und andere so sonderbare Lust und Liebe zum Singen tragen auff jetzige Italienische Manier mit geringer Muehe recht gruendlich koennen unterricht warden. Alles aus dem fuernemsten Italienischen Authoribus mit besonderm Fleiss zusammen getragen...Durch Johann Andream Herbst in Nuerenberg...* (Frankfurt, 1653); I have consulted the 1658 edition.[75] This 75-page treatise includes exercises and extracts from previous German tutors by Michael Praetorius and Daniel Bollius (c.1590-c.1640), and Italian ones by Francesco Rognoni and the Bolognese Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634). Indeed there are some 13 pages of passagework variations from Rognoni's *Selva de Varii Passaggi* found here, and 14 pages of passagework specifically for soprano, contralto, tenor and bass voices, from the *Cartella Musicali nel Canto Figurato* by Adriano Banchieri! (I viewed the 1614 edition of the *Cartella Musicali* online). Johann Herbst's 'Trills', as often found in the music of Claudio Monteverdi and Giovanni Rovetta, are followed by trilling exercises, attributed to Daniel Bollius, to be sung on each of the five vowels, A, E, I, O, and U. They are written out exactly like Rognoni's untexted example of a 'Trill on the Value of a Whole Note, Sec[ondo] Modo' found on p.1 of the *Selva de Varii Passaggi*, that is, as Donington's caricature, but without Rognoni's clarification! (see ex.12). Most interesting is Herbst's 1636 publication of two highly ornamented and previously published Latin motets by Ignazio Donati (c.1575-1638). The first, without a text has the title *Foelix Si Non*, and the second the text, *O Admirabile Commercium*. They include their original as published ornamented melodies, and deconstructed versions of them, sans ornaments. Additionally. *O Admirabile Commercium* is supplied with a second text, *O Filii Dei Suavissimi* (see pp.63-75 of the *Moderna Prattica*). Johann Crüger, in his *Musicae Pratticae…Der Rechte Weg zur Gesangkunst* (Berlin, 1660), includes 43 pages of instruction divided into 6 chapters, followed by a two-page music dictionary which is followed in turn by vocal exercises of three different types, including simple runs up and down various intervals, fugues for 2 voices, and ten three-part motets for two sopranos and bass, with basso continuo. Crüger lifts most of his narrative and his written out examples of the *Tremulo*, *Gruppo*, *Tirata* (ascending and descending octave passage-work) and *Trillo* (pp.25-27 of the *Musicae Pratticae*) directly from pp.235-237 of Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum*, vol.3. He does however add descriptions of these ornamental devices. The 'Tremulo' he defines as 'das Zittern der Stimm

ueber einer Nota' or 'the shaking of the voice on one Note', the *Gruppo* he defines as a *Kugel* or *Walze*, that is, a 'globule or a turn or roll' (Hulsius, *Dictionarium Teutsch-Frantzoesisch-Italiaenisch*, pp.199 and 397); the *Tirata* (a 'throwing, flinging or shooting', Florio' p.564) as a *Schuss* or a *Pfeil*, 'a gun shot or an arrow' (Hulsius, *Dictonarium* p.280 [schiessen] and 248), and the *Trillo* as *ein liebliches Saussen*, a 'lovely buzzing' (Hulsius, *Dictonarium*, p.272).

Heinrich Schütz's assistant Christoph Bernhard (1628-92) studied and worked with Schütz in Dresden from 1649-1663. He was appointed Vice-Kapellmeister to Schütz in 1649. He went to Italy in 1657 to recruit musicians for the Saxon Court, and while in Rome it is reported that he studied with Giacomo Carissimi. He left Dresden for Hamburg in 1663. In 1674 he returned again to Dresden as Vice-Kapellmeister, becoming Kapellmeister in 1681. His unpublished Tractus *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier* was written c.1650. Bernhard writes in its Chapter 12:

> The trill is the most difficult but most ornamental of embellishments, and no one can be judged a good singer who does not know how to use it, as it is impossible to describe it with words…one needs to learn it by listening to it…Above all, one should take care not to alter the quality of the voice so that a goat-like bleat (*Gemäcker*) comes out...one should not attempt to beat it too fast, but should just let the voice move by itself [*schweben*, defined in Italian as *movirsene* in Hulsius's *Dictionarium Teutsch-Frantzoesisch-Italiaenisch*, p.292], but not too slowly, and if one must choose between one or the other, I would prefer to hear the faster one than the slower one, but it would be best to find something in the middle.

In Chapter 13 he writes: 'First of all, the 'Trill' should be sung everywhere one finds above a note the symbol t, for this sign indicates that a 'Trill' should be performed. Second, it may indeed be performed in other places…Yet it is good to take care that it not be used too often, for it is like a Spice, a modest amount will make the food taste delicious, but should one use too much, it could spoil the meal…Its use can best be learned by practice'. In the next chapter he informs us: 'It is very pleasing during a long 'Trill' to hear contrasts of 'forte' and 'piano'. This can happen in two different ways: 1) with the 'Trill' beginning 'piano' and letting the voice gradually swell, or 2) if one sings a double 'Trill', as in the example below'. Bernhard then writes out a trill which begins softly, crescendos and ends piano (see ex.12).[76] Most importantly, Bernhard also writes about the nature of the tremolo. He states in section 7 of his Treatise: 'The *fermo* or the keeping of the voice firm and steady, is required on all notes except where a trill or an *ardire* [that is, a ‚daring, or ‚courageous, vocal effect; Florio p.35] is needed…the tremolo is a *vitium* [a defect] when used by older singers who do not employ it as an artistic effect, but have it slip out because they are unable to keep their voices steady…This is why the Tremolo is not used by the best singers except when making a passionate vocal effect'.[77] Perhaps we would call the older singer's defective tremolo a 'wobble'. These German pedagogues, Crüger, Herbst, Praetorius and Bernhard, all agree to divide trills into two sorts. The first is a repetition on one pitch: the 'Donington caricature'; the 'other one' is best learned by 'hearing it and imitating it'.

The French priest and polymath, Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) writes in his *Traité de Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636-37):

> Now passages and divisions can be made either in the gullet (*gorge*) by means of the windpipe (*anche*), as I have said, or with the lips, but this last manner is distorted, and

> condemned by those who teach good singing … Now when voice-production has been taught (*après que l'on enseigné à former le ton*)…familiarity with the making of '*cadences*' is imparted, which correspond to the trills and mordents (*aux tremblemens et aux martelemens*) made on the keyboard of the organ and the spinet and on the fingerboard of the lute and other stringed instruments. These cadences [trills] are the most difficult part of all that has to be done in singing, because it is necessary simply to beat the air in the throat (*battre l'air dans la gorge*), which must make a series of repercussions (*tremblemens)* without the help of the tongue. But they are as much more pleasing as they are more difficult, for if the other progressions are the colours and the shadings, the cadences can be called the rays and the light. Those who have not the constitution of the throat for the said cadences and florid passages, make use of the movements of the tongue which are not so pleasing… As for ornaments from the lips, they are not agreeable, nor permitted, any more than those which seem to be drawn from the stomach.[78]

Bénigne de Baçilly (c.1625-90), a pupil of the Italian trained French singer/pedagogue Pierre Nyert (c.1597-1682), in his tractate *Remarques Curieuses sur l'Art de Bien Chanter* (Paris, 1662) writes in Article II, *Des Cadences ou Tremblemens* (pp.164-65), 'I am not speaking here about those cadences which are discussed in treatises concerning musical composition, but only about those *tremblemens* [shakings of the voice] which are part of singing and which everyone knows is the most significant of ornaments without which singing would be most imperfect…the trill [*cadence*] is a gift of Nature…There are indeed many people who have a singing voice without possessing a trill [*cadence*], others have too much and sing crudely in a manner called 'goat-like' [*chevrotante*]'. Jean Millet (1618-84) writes on p.37 of his 1666 publication, *La Belle Methode ou l'Art de Bien Chanter*, 'The trill [*cadence*] is the most beautiful part of singing'.

The Italian keyboardist and music educator, Lorenzo Penna (1613-93), in his *Li Primi Albori Musicali* (Bologna, 1672), includes some 'Advice to Singers of Florid Music' on p.42 of volume 1 of his 'Musical Dawn'. He instructs singers not to make any writhings of the body, head, eyes or mouth as that will make them ugly to look at. He advises they not sing from the nose, or from between the teeth. 'If one can sing mordents and grace notes', he writes, 'and if one has from nature a trill or *gorga* [*Gorgogliare*, Florio *New World of Words,* p.216, 'to gargle or rattle in the throat'] he should introduce it in his performance with modesty…and if he does not have them naturally, he should work with all his skill to acquire them'.

The castrato and vocal pedagogue Pier Francesco Tosi (c.1653-1732) in his *Opinioni de' Cantori Antichi e Moderni o sieno Osservazioni sopra il Canto Figurato* (Bologna, 1723), observes, in his 'Chapter About the Tril'l: 'He who has a beautiful trill, even if he does not possess any other ornament, will always enjoy the advantage of not being distasteful at final cadences. The Scholar should seek to acquire an even, solid, easy and moderately fast one [trill] for these are the qualities which make it most beautiful'.[79] Tosi also discusses trills which are defective: 'That trill which is often heard, the one like the little goat makes one laugh as it comes from the mouth as a laugh does, but the best trill comes from the fauces [*fauci*]'. [80] Florio defines *fauci* as 'the throate, gorge or gullet pipe'. Sir Thomas Brown writes in Chapter XXXI of his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* '…the word Fauces …signifieth the backewarde and lower part of the mouth or that space where the ends of the Gullet and the rough Artery do mete, and may not be perceiued vnlesse the mouth be wide opened and the Tongue depressed'. [81] In

more modern parlance it is, anatomically speaking, the passage from the mouth to the pharynx, situated between the soft palate and the base of the tongue.

Perhaps the most practical information relative to the practice and performance of the trill is given us by the London music publisher John Playford (1623-86). It is found in the 1664 (fourth), and subsequent editions of Playford's *An* Introduction *to the Skill of Musick*, in an article entitled: *A Brief Discourse of and Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner: Wherein is set down those Excellent Graces in Singing now used by the Italians: Written some time since by an English Gentleman who lived many years in Italy, and Taught the same here in England; intending to publish the same but prevented by Death*.[82] This is indeed an English translation, with musical examples, of most of Giulio Caccini's Preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* of 1602! While the translator has not been identified, the Chapel Royal tenor and Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey, Walter Porter (c.1587–1659), (who claimed to have studied with Claudio Monteverdi) is, I believe, a likely candidate, but it is Playford's own anecdote about trilling which is most informative:

> Our Author having briefly set forth this chief or most usual Grace in Singing called the Trill, which (as he saith very right) is by the beating in the Throat on the Vowel [ah]; some observe, that it is rather the shaking of the Uvula or Pallate on the Throat in one sound upon a Note. For the attaining of this, the surest and ready way is by imitation of those who are perfect in the same; yet I have heard of some that attained it after this manner: In the singing of a plain Song of 6 Notes up and 6 down, they have in the midst of every Note beat or shaked with their finger upon the Throat, which by often practice came to do the same Notes exactly without. It was also my chance to be in company with some Gentlemen at a Musical Practice which sung their parts very well, and used this Grace (called the Trill) very exactly: I desired to know their Tutor; they told me I was their Tutor, for they never had any other but this my *Introduction*: That (I answered) could direct them but in theory, they must needs have a better help in the Practick, especially in attaining to sing the Trill so well. One of them made this Reply; (which made me smile) I used, said he, at my first learning the Trill, to imitate that breaking of a sound in the Throat which Men use when they Lewer [lure] their Hawks, as He-he-he-he, which he used slow at first, and after more swift on several Notes, higher and lower in sound, till he became perfect therein. The Trill being the most usual Grace, is usually made in Closes, Cadences; and when on a long Note Exclamation [Caccini's *Esclamazione*, a forte-to-piano-to-forte effect described in *Le Nuove Musiche*] or a Passion [Caccini's *Esclamazione affetuoso*, or a Passionate *Esclamazione*] is expressed, there the Trill is made in the latter part of such Note; but most usually upon binding Notes, and such Notes as precede the closing Note. Those who attain to the perfect use of the Trill, other graces will become easie.[83]

It may be interesting to replicate the shaking finger on the larynx exercise. Personally, I find that it creates a surprisingly open, resonant and vibrating sound. As for the employment of Exclamations, Trillos and Gruppos, A. B. Philo-Mus. in his *Synopsis of Vocal Musick* (London, 1680) writes on p.44 in Chapter XXV:

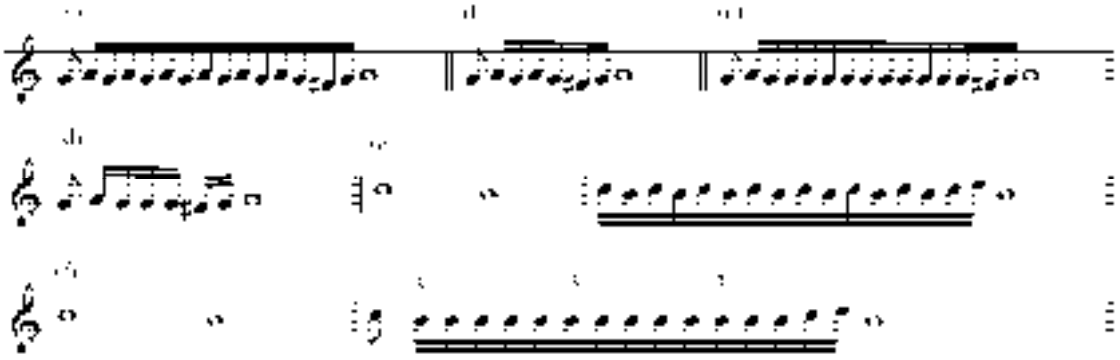
> These ornaments are not to be used in Airy Songs, which require only a lively and cheerful kind of Singing, carried by the Air itself: but in Passionate Musick, wherein must be kept a command of the breath, by taking heed, that by spending much in one place it do not

afterward fail in another when it is needful. Besides the ordinary measure of Time is here less regarded, for many times in the value of the Notes made less by half, and sometimes more, according to the conceit of he words, with a graceful neglect.

In the thirteenth, 1697 Edition of Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, Chapter VIII Of the TRILL, or SHAKE, is written:

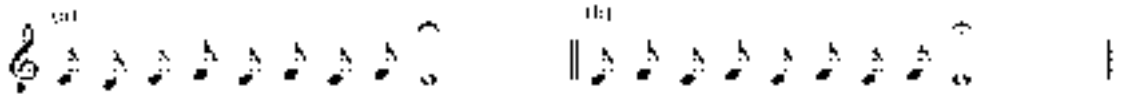
> THE Trill is the most principal Grace in Musick, and the most used; the Directions for Learning it is only this, To move your Voice easily upon one Syllable the distance of a Note…First move slow, then faster by degrees, and you'll find it come to you with little Practice; but beware of huddling [84] your Voice too fast, for Bfabemi [Bb] and Alamire [A] ought both of them be found distinctly, your Shake being compounded either of a whole or half Tone. This is the Method, which observ'd with a diligent Practice, will certainly gain your Ends. I shall add a few instructions to let you know where the Trill ought to be used: (Viz.) On all Descending Prick'd Crotchets, also when the Note before is in the same Line or Space with it, and generally before a Close, either in the middle or at the end of a Song. I will now set a small Example of it, and place a Cross over the Notes you ought to shake. [see ex.13] There are other Notes which ought to be shak'd besides Prick'd Notes, and a little Practice upon these Directions will be much more Advantageous than what I can say here…All that I can say more is to fling in my best Wishes to your Endeavours, and so I bid you heartily Farewel.

Music examples

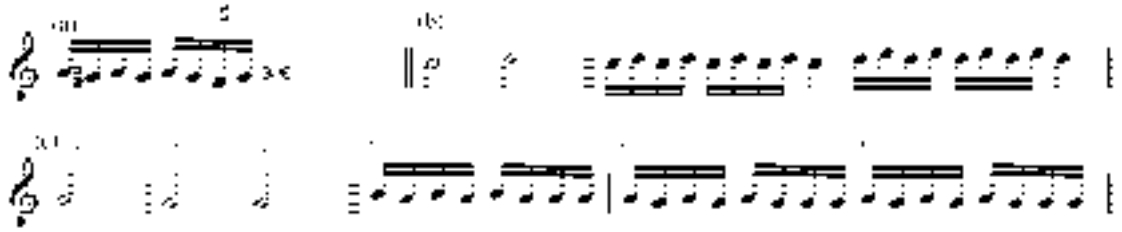


Ex.1. The first musical example is taken from Giovanni Luca Conforto's *Breve et Facile Maniera d'Essercitarsi…a far Passaggi.* It includes the first published example of the vocal *Trillo* and its relation the *Groppo*, and dates from 1593. Conforto's various *Groppo*s and *Trillo*s are found on p.25 of the slim 40-page treatise published in Rome. His *Groppo* clearly engages two pitches throughout its performance, while the various *Trilli*, begin with the upper neighbour but are indicated as a repetition of one pitch (Donington's caricature). I suggest that *Groppi* could be performed slower than the *Trilli* so that the upper neighbour is continuously heard, and that the *Trilli*'s articulation of two pitches is too rapid to be written out, hence Conforto's use of the pick-up quaver. Note how the ornaments *di sopra* engage the upper neighbour and end with a turn, while the *Groppo di sotto* and *Trillo di sotto*, which engage the lower neighbour, conclude with an ascending melodic excursion. Remember that the number '3' under the notes of the *Trillo di sotto* is Conforto's shorthand

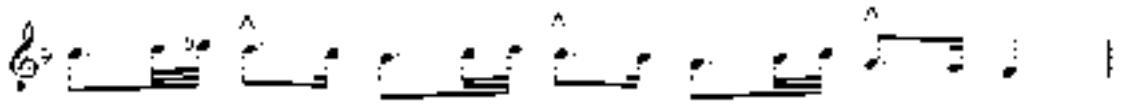
indication to perform a trill. All these primary source for exx.1-13 are available online unless indicated.



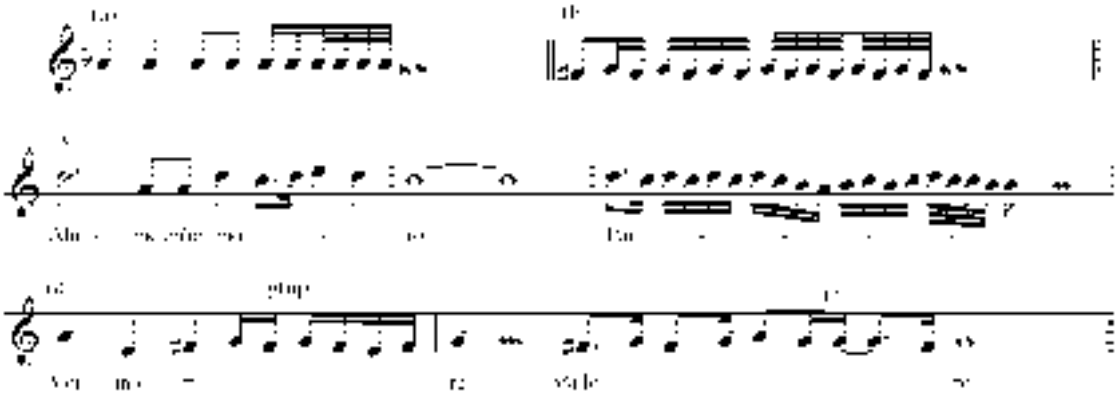
Ex.2. The execution of the early trill, as we have seen, has been obscured. However, it was mimicked on keyboard instruments with instructions to play two alternating pitches to approximate what comes so naturally to the singing voice. Tomás de Santa Maria's *Arte de Taner Fantasia* includes the *quiebro* and *redoble* on p.47. The *redoble* begins with a turn while the *quiebro* is an immediate fluctuation between two pitches, as are Silvestro Ganassi's recorder trill-tremolos found in *La Fontegara* published in 1535.



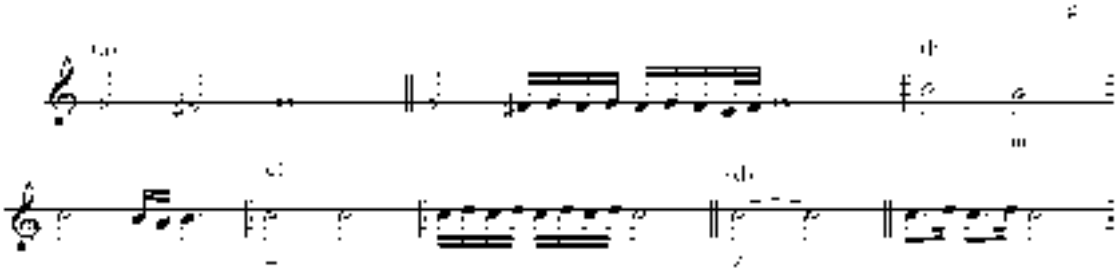
Ex.3. As for the Italian keyboardists, Girolamo Diruta (c.1555-c.1625), in his treatise *Il Transilvano: Dialogo sopra il Vero Modo di Sonar Organi et Istromenti da Penna.* (Venice, 1597), includes these examples of *groppi* and *tremoli* on pp.10-12, but he supplies no example of a trill. His tremolo begins on the main note and then engages the upper neighbour, just as does Santa Maria's *quiebro*. The priest and pedagogue Lorenzo Penna (1613-93) uses the +. symbol for his trills. He writes out the trill as a fluctuation of two pitches followed by something that looks like Donington's caricature, but which, in the light of Rognoni's clarification would, I believe, include Signor Penna among the *valent uomini* who write it out one way but expect a different performance practical outcome (see his *Li Primi Albori Musicali*, first published in Bologna in 1672; I consulted the 1679 edition). In Book Three, Penna says, 'When one desires to perform Trills, they are to be made using two keys [of the keyboard], which are, the one for the [written] Note…and the one above it, it concludes on the [written] Note' (p.142).



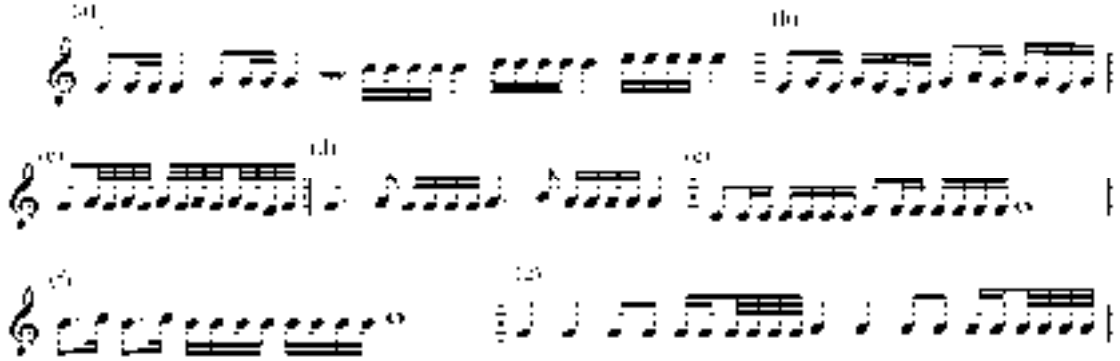
Ex.4. Giovanni Battista Bovicelli was active as a singer in Loreto, Rome and Milan. His *Regole, Passaggi di Musica,* published in Venice in 1594, includes 49 pages of written out passage-work for motets and madrigals by Palestrina, de Rore, Victoria, Merulo and others. It includes written out examples of different types of *Groppetti* but no trills. The *tremolo* he describes as 'not less or more than a shaking [*tremar*] of the voice *on one note*' and he indicates its use with a ^ symbol.



Ex.5. Here are examples of Giulio Caccini's *Trillo* and *Gruppo* from his preface to *Le Nuove Musiche*. What follows them is an excerpt from the 'model madrigal' *Cor Mio, Deh Non Languire*, which Caccini uses to demonstrate good ornamentation in the new reciting style employing the *trillo*, *gruppo* and other embellishments. *Cor Mio* is also found in Caccini's preface, on pp.5-8. From his *Nuove Musiche e Nuova Maniera di Scriverle* of 1614 we see excerpts from the madrigal *S'Io Vivo Anima Mia, Vivo Per Te*, with indications for a *grup* and a *tri*.

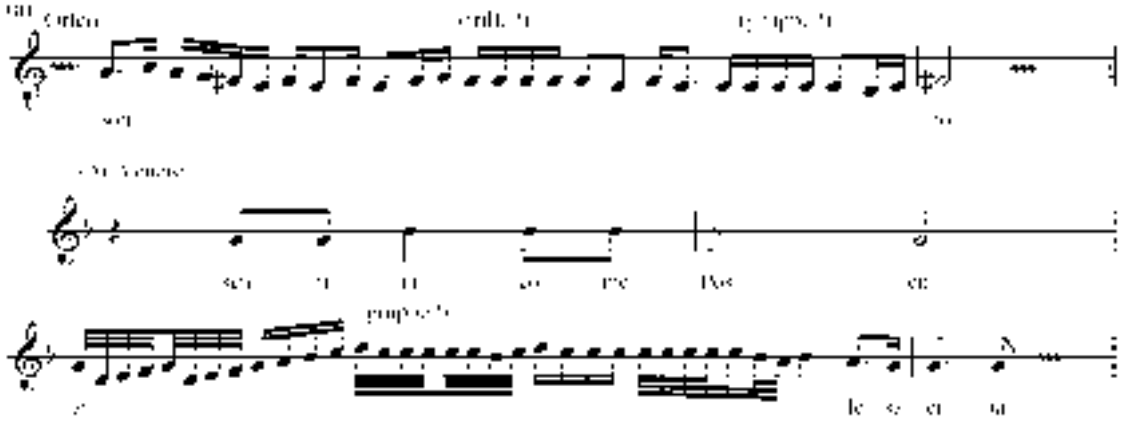


Ex.6. Emilio del Cavaliere's *Groppolo* and *Trillo* are clearly in agreement with the Spanish and Italian keyboardists cited in exx.2-3 above. His *Monachina* is a mordent-like ornament, and may be derived from Spanish practice. Sancta Maria includes such an ornament, the *senezillo* or simple one (*senzillo*, as defined on p.219 of John Minsheu's *A D*ictionarie *in Spanish and English* (London, 1599)) on p.47 of the *Arte de Taner Fantasia*.

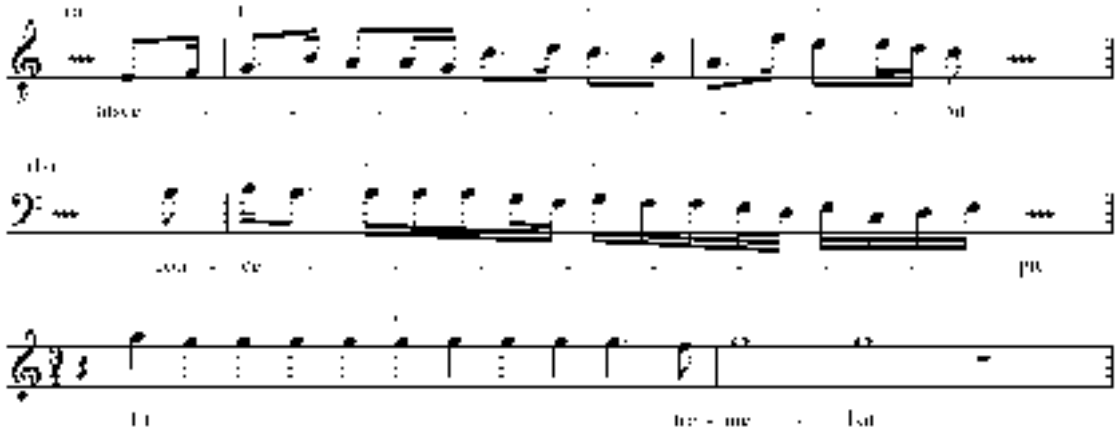


Ex.7a) *Tremolo*, b) Simple *Gruppo*, c) Double *Gruppo*, d) Simple trill, e) a *trillo* on a crotchet, f) a *trillo* on a semibreve, version 1, g) a Trillo on a semibreve, version 2. Francesco Rognoni's *Selva de Varii*

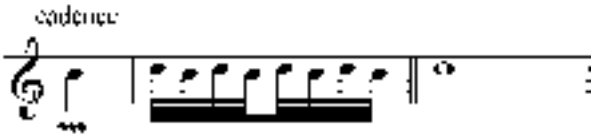
Passaggi, published in Milan in 1620, is a two volume, 125-page performance practice treasure. As has been pointed out, Rognoni's clarification of the 'Donington caricature' is critical to our understanding of the trill and its performance. He writes that his *Selva* volume I 'will demonstrate the method by which to sing with charm and grace….the *tremolo*, *groppi*, *trilli*…*esclamazioni*…and *maniera* (fashionable ornamental style passage work)'. Volume I also includes Palestrina's motet *Pulchra Es Amica Mea* with passagework for soprano or tenor, and in a second version with passagework for a bass to sing in 'viola bastarda' style, that is 'with the embellishment not just of one part of a pre-existing polyphonic composition but for all parts (or at least more than one part) in succession….the only clefs used in Rognoni's 'bastarda-style' motet are tenor and bass' (see Stewart Carter, 'Francesco Rognoni's *Selva de Varii Passaggi* (1620): Fresh Details Concerning Early-Baroque Vocal Ornamentation', *Performance Practice Review*, ii/1 (Spring 1989), p.31). In the second book are 'more difficult examples of passage-work for instruments', among them is a textless version of Palestrina's *Io Son Ferito* 'with embellishments especially suited for the soprano', dedicated to the 'Reverend Lady Gracia Ottavia Crivella at the monastery of Santa Margarita'. The *Selva* concludes with two stupendous solos for basso profondo employing both tenor and bass clefs, 'composed and sung' by Ottavio Valera (fl.1612-20). Our examples come from Volume I, p.1 of the *Selva*.



Ex.8. The extensive ornamentation of Orpheus' solo 'Possente Spirto', found alongside the unembellished version of it in the 1609 publication of Claudio Monteverdi's 1607 opera *l'Orfeo*, is an important source of performance practice. It has been suggested to me that the embellishments may not have come from Monteverdi's pen, but rather from the throat of the first singer of the role of Orpheus, Francesco Rasi. Caccini's pupil Rasi sang in *Il Rapimento di Cefalo*; see his ornamented Aria *Qual Trascorrendo* on pp.22-23 of *Le Nuove Musiche*. Many of the ornamental patterns written as a repetition of one note may indicate the use of a vibrating two-note *trillo* or *gruppo*, that is, if we employ Rognoni's clarification of the notated Donington caricatures. See pp.52-60 of the 1609 full score for more information. Our second example is from *Il Ballo delle Ingrate*, from Madrigal Book VIII, *Madrigali Guerrieri et Amorosi* (Venice, 1638); my source is the Gian Francesco Malipiero's urtext edition of *Tutte Le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi*, vol.viii (Vienna, 1926), p.318.

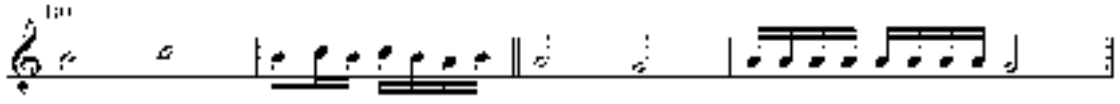


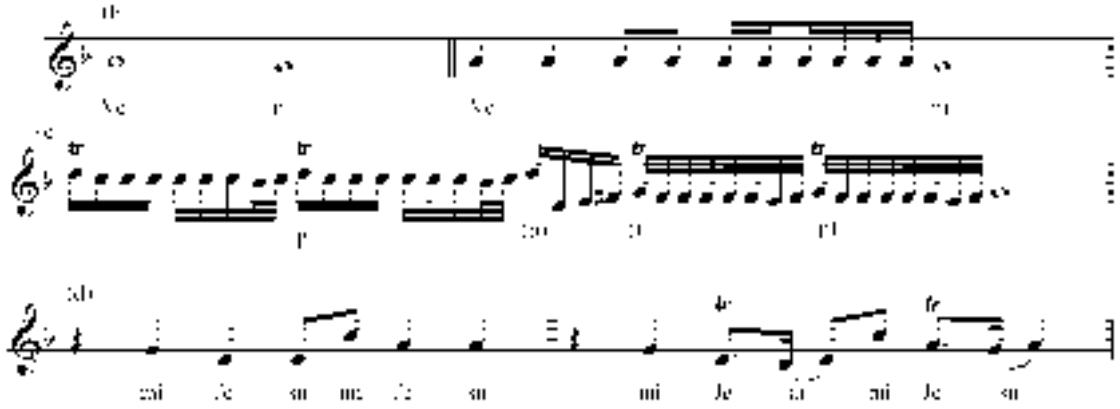
Ex.9. Giovanni Felice Sances's collection of *Motetti a Voce Sola* was published in Rome in 1638 and dedicated to the dowager Austrian Habsburg Empress Eleonora di Gonzaga. Unlike some of his contemporaries, in these sacred solo *motetti* for soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices, Sances often indicates the use of the trill by the '+' sign and often implies its performance with the Donington caricature of repeated notes, as per his choirmaster and mentor Claudio Monteverdi and other 'worthy gentlemen'. This source is not available online.



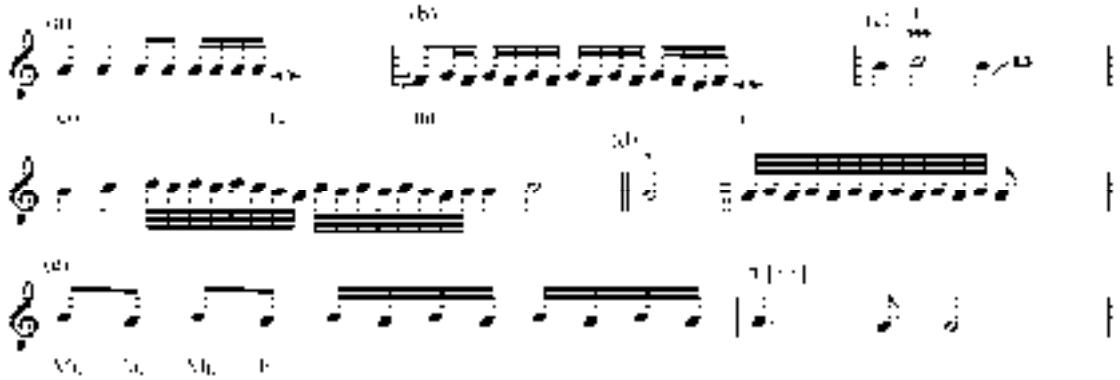
Ex.10. Jacques Champion, Sieur de Chambonnières (1601/2-1672), is identified by David Fuller in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, as 'the founder and one of the most distinguished members of the French classical school of harpsichord playing and composition'. Chambonnières defines the *cadence* [trill] on unnumbered p.9 of his 1670 collection *Les Pièces de Clavessin de Monsieur de Chambonnières*. Note that his trill begins on the upper neighbour.

Ex.11. Robert Cambert (c.1628-77), a student of Chambonnières, is credited with the composition of the first French opera. *Pomone*, a pastoral story by Pierre Perin, was set to music and performed in March of 1671. The Prologue, Act 1 and part of Act 2 were published that same year. Trills are indicated once by the word *cadence* (at the end of a duet between Pomona, the harvest nymph, and the water nymph Juturna in Act 1, on p.17 of the published score), and by numerous '+' signs. Our excerpt is from an Air sung by Vertumnus, God of the Seasons, as he enters the stage, on p.33 of the score. This role was sung by the baritone François Beaumavielle.





Ex.12. German Tutors: early 17th century German musicians were heavily influenced by the Italian 'new wave', and they borrowed liberally from Italian treatises, as demonstrated by Praetorius, whose followers in the next generation quoted Praetorius when it came to the trill. These later authors include Johann Andreas Herbst, whose *Moderna Prattica overo Maniera del Buon Canto* (1653) is 'compiled from the most important Italian AUTHORS' and Johann Crüger, whose *Musicae Pratticae…Der Rechte Weg zur Gesangkunst* was published in Berlin in 1660. Here are Praetorius's *Gruppo* and *Trillo*, from pp.236-237 of Volume III of the *Syntagma Musicum*, followed by Herbst's trill 'of the type found' in the musical works of Claudio Monteverdi and Giovanni Rovetta (c.1595-1668) (Rovetta was Monteverdi's assistant and successor at San Marco in Venice), found on p.14 of *Moderna Prattica overo Maniera del Buon Canto*. Note that Praetorius and Herbst both seem to have mistook the short hand notation of the rearticulating pitch (the Donington caricature) for the performance of the trill, or at the very least they are confused by their 'worthy colleague's' use of the device. See the discussion of the Rognoni clarification in Chapter 9 above. This section of examples concludes with Christoph Bernhard's double *Trill* with contrasts of *piano* and *forte*, as described above, as found in Chapter 14 of his treatise *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*.



Ex.13a/b are from Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1664), c/d are a Double Relish and a Close Shake from Simpson's *The Division Violist* and e is from Playford 1697. I conclude my musical examples with 'Trills' and 'Close Shakes' as written out in Christopher Simpson's *Division-Violist*, published in London by William Godbid in 1659 and found on p.10 of Part 1; and in John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick,* from p.42 of the fourth edition of 1664. The final 'Trill' is from Playford's XIIIth Edition, Chapter 8, p.205, published in 1697. He instructs the singer

to 'move your Voice easily upon one Syllable the distance of a Note…First move slow, then faster by degrees, and you'll find it come to you with little Practice'. Note that (d) was originally set as just the note A, alternating slightly below and above its normal place on the stave, which cannot be represented by modern typesetting.

Apotheosis

I hope that the evidence I have presented concerning the 16th and 17th century vocal trill demonstrates its connection to traditional Bel Canto concepts of vocal resonance and vibrato. I believe it should be thought of as an intensification of natural phenomena. Indeed, some singers may have a natural disposition for it. Others may not. Rognoni's clarification of the Donington caricature is a pillar in the foundation of my case. The evidence reveals that the use of a short-hand notational device for the vocal trill began with Conforto in 1593 and continued into the 17th century in the pedagogical and compositional practices of Caccini, Monteverdi, Sances and Penna, among others. Indeed, I believe that the misinterpretation of this short-hand notational device by some 17th (and 20th) century 'German Tutors' sowed the seeds of the confusion which still exists in the performance of the 17th century vocal trill today. I maintain that 'Rognoni's clarification', when applied to Caccini's written-out examples of the trill and *gruppo*, justifies Caccini's assertion that the mastery of these ornaments are steps along the road which leads to 'that grace most sought after in good singing'. Rognoni's clarification also supports Howard Mayer Brown's opinion that the trill 'ought to be a controlled vibrato rather than the ugly and awkward series of newly articulated repeated notes perpetrated by so many twentieth-century singers as trilli'. Perhaps we should think of the trill as emerging from vibrato, a natural fluctuation made, as Simpson's Close Shake is. 'so gently and nicely, as to make no Variation of Tone'. The tremolo being vibrato on one pitch and the trill being vibrato on two pitches might be a way to conceptualize the performance of these ornaments. However, the trill's performance should not be confused with exercises used to develop the muscular coordination needed to acquire or perfect it. As for its emission, Playford writes *in An Introduction to the Skill of Music, in two Books*, published (London, 1655), in Book 1, Chapter X, 'Of Tuning the Voyce': 'In the expressing of your Sounds, let it come cleare from your throat, and not through your teeth, being shut together, but let your Sound have a cleare passage' (p.31). Additionally, the sound must originate from an 'in the back', open throat, and be energized from the 'chest' with breath support. It must not be pinched or wobbly, and one must be able to accelerate it, and to apply dynamic contrasts to its execution.

The mechanical learning of the trill by an accelerating articulation of two pitches is found in 18th, 19th and 20th century Bel Canto sources, in singing methods by Pier Francesco Tosi, (translated into English by his German disciple, the London based John Ernest Galliard, into German by Bach's student Johann Friedrich Agricola and later modernized by Giambattista Mancini), by Bernardo Mengozzi, Manuel Garcia (both *père et fils*), Gilbert-Louis Duprez, John D'Este and William Shakespeare among others. The English-American organist Joseph Smith (1852-1932), in his *Voice and Song, A Practical Method for the Study of Singing* (New York, 1907), writes on p.147:

> The ability to sing a 'beautiful trill' can be attained only after long and persistent daily practice. The notes must be perfectly legato, of equal power, and exact in intonation; a birdlike warbling of two notes, not a goatlike wabbling of one note (trillo caprino). Playford, in his 'Introduction to the Skill of Musick'…commenting on the shake says 'I have heard of

> some have attained it after this manner: In the singing of a plain Song of 6 Notes up and 6 down, they have in the midst of every Note beat or shaked with their finger upon the Throat, which by often practice came to do the same Notes exactly without'.

Smith continues:

> Commence each trill with a thorough inflation of the lungs, retain the breath a moment, then attack and sing softly with the breath-pressure perfectly controlled, constant and steady from first to last. The mouth must continue immovably open; the chin, lips and tongue perfectly still all the time. Throughout the exercise carefully maintain the characteristic quality of whatever vowel is in practice.

Thank you, Mr Smith.

Andrew Schultze (bass-baritone) is an active performer, conductor, stage director and teacher. He is well known as an interpreter of the standard opera/oratorio repertoire, as a concert singer, and as a specialist in the performance of early music. Schultze is a former director of Ars Musica Chicago and Chicago Syntagma Musicum, and has taught at Houghton College, The American Conservatory of Music, Roosevelt University, Columbia College and the University of Chicago. His article 'Performing Amarilli Mia Bella' was published in the National Association of Teachers of Singing Journal of Singing *in 2000.*

Notes

1 Translated by Carol MacClintock (1910-89) in Musicological Studies and Documents, vol.9, published by the American Institute of Musicology (Rome, 1962), pp.67-80. All translations in the article, unless otherwise credited, are the author's. Most of the primary sources cited are available online.

2 Lelio Guidiccione (1582-1643), Bishop of Fossombrone, is best remembered as an admirer of Bernini's Baldachin in St Peter's Basilica.

3 Translated by Charles Burney (1726-1814) in *A General History of Music* (London, 1789, r/1957), Book IV, Chapter I, p.527. John Florio (1553-1625), in his Italian-English dictionary *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London, 1611), p.389 defines 'portamento' as 'carriage, portage, bearing, bringing'. We might refer to it as vocal placement. Della Valle was Cavaliere's nephew.

4 Willi Apel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, MA, 3/1986). Apel was an influential German musicologist who taught at Harvard (1938-1950) and at the University of Illinois, Bloomington, from 1950-1970.

5 *The Interpretation of Early Music*, New Edition by Robert Donington, Faber and Faber (London, 1989).

6 See a translation of selections from Jerome's *Tractatus* in Carol MacClintock (ed), *Readings in the History of Music in Performance* (Bloomington and London, 1979), pp.4-5, for information concerning these and other ornaments.

7 'Monody' is defined on p.506 of Apel (1986) as 'Any of various types of Italian solo song with instrumental accompaniment that flourished during the first half of the 17th century. Giovanni Battista Doni introduced the term in the 1630s; it was not used by the composers of monody'.

8 A 'tremolo' engaging intervals of a second and third is found, with fingerings in Sylvestro Ganassi's publication *La Fontegara* (Venice, 1535). Its effect has been described as 'vibrato-like' in 2018/19 communications with Patricia Morehead and Dr Ernst Kubitshek. While Ganassi suggests in Chapters 1, 13, 23 and 25 of his book that recorder players should imitate the singer, he does not identify this ornamental effect as being derived from a vocal ornament per se.

9 Florio (1611), p.264.

10 Florio (1611), p.580.

11 Levinus Hulsius, *Dictionarium Teutsch-Frantzoesisch-Italienisch*, vol.II, p.835.

12 John Minsheu, *Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, p.132.

13 Lorenzo Franciosini, *Vocabolario,* vol.II, p.384.

14 Florio (1611), pp.306, 216-17, 546 and 505.

15 Florio (1611), p.80. Also note that *A New Dictionary. Spanish and English and English and Spanish…By Captain John Stevens*, is available online.

16 Franciosini, vol.II, p.564.

17 Florio (1611), pp.216 and 597.

18 Franciosini, vol.II, p.535.

19 Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, 2/1989), p.672.

20 Florio (1611), unumbered pp.221 D and 221 B.

21 Florio (1611), p.431

22 Minsheu, p.205.

23 Franciosini, vol.II, p.550

24 Florio (1611), p.417

25 Enrico Bacco, ed and trans by Eileen Gardner, *Naples: An Early Guide* (New York, 1991), p.7. The Italian original, *Nuova e Perfettissima Descrittione del Regno di Napoli*, is available online.

26 William Bray and M. Walter Dunne (eds), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (New York and London, 1901), vol.I, p.160.

27 Altavilla and Solofra are towns east north east, and east of Naples.

28 Nanie Bridgman, 'Giovanni Camillo Maffei et sa lettre sur le chant', *Revue de Musicologie*, Tome 38 (July 1956), pp.3-34. Maffei's *Letter* in the original Italian with musical examples is found on pp.10-34 of the article which is available online.

29 Bridgman (1956), p.4. Chiron, a centaur proficient in the arts of medicine, music, archery, and prophecy, was the teacher of Ajax, Aeneas, Theseus, Achilles and Jason.

30 Howard Mayer Brown, 'The Geography of Florentine Monody: Caccini at home and abroad', *Early Music* (April 1981), pp.154-5 for information concerning these vocal works.

31 Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of* Music (London, 1776), vol.II, Chapter CXXIII. See the 1963 Dover reprint of the 1853 Novello Edition, p.587.

32 Bonnie J. Blackburn and Edward E. Lowinsky 'Luigi Zenobi and his letter on the Perfect Musician', *Studi Musicali*, xxii (1993), pp.61-114. It contains a facsimile of Zenobi's letter, a transcription of it in Italian, and an English translation of it.

33 Published in *Studi Musicali*, xvi (1987), pp.13-31.

34 See the facsimiles of Giulio Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche* published in the series Archivium Musicum, vol.13 (Florence, 1983) and by Performers' Facsimiles, vol.35 (New York, nd).

35 'Scemare, to diminish, to abate, to lessen', Florio (1611), p.473.

36 Florio (1611), pp.522, 383, 503, 440, 316 and 275.

37 H. Wiley Hitchcock (ed), *Giulio Caccini, Le Nuove Musiche* (Madison, WI, 1970).

38 Florio (1611), p.366.

39 Hitchcock (1970), pp.50-51. The 'uncorrected' text is found on unnumbered pp.4 and 5 of the original publication. See the aforementioned facsimiles.

40 His wives Lucia and Margherita respectively.

41 Hitchcock (1970), p.51.

42 Hitchcock (1970), p.51.

43 'Affetto, an effect, a motive, a disposition, a passion'. Florio (1611), p.10.

44 Florio (1611), p.528.

45 Florio (1611), p.186.

46 Florio (1611), pp.534 and 422.

47 Florio (1611), p.417.

48 Florio (1611), pp.219, 320 and 614. A 'Crowd' is identified on p.216 of Apel (1986) as 'A bowed lyre'.

49 Article 49. Jacopo Peri, *Euridice*, Foreword in Oliver Strunk (ed), *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), p.373.

50 Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio De' Cavalieri, 'Gentiluomo Romano'* (Florence, 2001), p.265.

51 The musicologist is Carol MacClintock (1910-89) and the article is 'Caccini's Trillo, A Re-Examination', from *The Nats Bulletin* (October, 1976), pp.38-43. Her book is the otherwise comprehensive MacClintock (1979); Cavaliere's truncated Preface is found on pp.182-86.

52 Hitchcock (1970), p.51.

53 *Selva de Varii Passaggii*, facsimile (Bologna, 1978), unnumbered p.3, *Avvertimenti alli Benigni Lettori*, section 4.

54 Domenico de' Paoli (ed), *Claudio Monteverdi: Lettere, Dediche e Prefazioni* (Rome, 1973), Lettera Numero 92, p.245.

55 See Florio (1611), p.20., Paoli (1973), Lettera Numero 96, p.256 and Denis Stevens and Nigel Fortune (eds), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, p.67.

56 Paoli (1973), Lettera Numero 92, p.245. *Tiranidetti* may be derived from *Tirare*, which Florio (1611) defines as 'to throw, to cast, to fling, to hurl, to shoot…' (p.566) and *detti* from *Dire*, meaning 'to say or speak…also…to call…or yelip' (Florio (1611), p.148) while *Garbitti* may be derived from *Garbeggiare* (Florio (1611), p.203) where it is defined as 'gracefull…to give grace unto'.

57 Paoli (1973), Lettera Numero 96, pp.256-57.

58 Paoli (1973), Lettera Numero 100, p.267. Florio (1611) defines *malinconico* on p.293 as 'melancholike, full of blacke choler, sad, sullen, pensive', and according to a definition in *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London, 1651) by Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535), translated into English from Latin by John French, 'The Elements also have their colours, by which Naturall Philosophers judge of the complexion and property of their nature; For an earthy colour, caused of coldness, and dryness is brown, and black, and manifests black Choller, and a Saturnine nature', Book 1, p.100. Nettesheim is available online.

59 Florio (1611) defines *Vocale* as 'vocall, that hath a voice, that resounds or is loud' and *Petto* as 'that part of a bodie beneath the channel or neck-bone called the breast. Also used metaphorically for worth, valour, wit or bodily strength', pp.606 and 373.

60 Florio (1611), *gozzo* is defined as '…the throat-hole. Also the mawe', p.214.

61 Paoli (1973), Lettera Numero 100, p.267.

62 Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*, Early Music Series, 1 (London, 1976).

63 An exercise in passagework named after Giovanni Camillo Maffei.

64 Florio (1611), pp.199, 328, and 577 for translations of *galanteria*, *nasce* and *tremulo* (from *tremare*). 65 I thank my esteemed colleagues for their input.

66 Ludovico Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica* (Venice, 1596), vol.I, p.60, available online.

67 Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de Varii Passaggii*, facsimile (Bologna, 1978), unnumbered p.3, *AVVERTIMENTI alli Benigni Lettori.*

68 Florio (1611), pp.7, 606, and 577-578.

69 Julia Davids and Stephen La Tour, *Vocal Technique: A Guide for Conductors, Teachers and Singers* (Long Grove, IL, 2012), p.138.

70 See Patrizio Barbieri, 'Giambattista della Porta's Singing Hydraulis', *The Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* Vol.XXXII (2006), p.145.

71 Hulsius, *Dictionarium Teutsch-Frantzoesisch-Italienisch*, vol.II p.39.

72 Florian Grampp (ed), *Deutsche Gesangstractate Des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Documenta Musicologica, vol.xliii (Kassel, 2006). The enlarged edition of the *Musica Figuralis* by Daniel Friderici was reprinted in 1638, 1649, 1660 and 1679.

73 Grampp (2006), p.40.

74 Thomas Brown, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica or Enquiries into very many received tenets and commonly presumed truths* (London, 4/1658).

75 A facsimile of *MODERNA PRATTICA overo MANIERA DEL BUON CANTO* by Johann Andreas Herbst is to be found in Grampp (2006).

76 Joseph Müller-Blattau (ed), *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung Seines Schülers Christoph Bernard* (Kassel, 3/1999), pp.32-33.

77 Müller-Blattau (1999), pp.31-32. Also see Florio (1611), pp.181 and 35.

78 Donington (1989), pp.518, 520-21.

79 *Osservazioni sopra il canto figurato*, p.25, available online.

80 *Osservazioni*, p.29.

81 See Florio (1611), p.184 and Brown (1658), p.624.

82 *An Introduction to the Skill of Music* (London, 4/1664), pp.34-47. This article appears as late as the twelfth edition (1694). Both the 1664 and 1694 editions are available online.

83 *An Introduction to the Skill of Music* (London, 13/1697), Chapter VIII, 'Of the TRILL, or SHAKE', pp.205-206. The 1697 edition is available online.

84 'Pressing carelessly'.

‘Editing the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book’

Jon Baxendale

Finally, after 121 years, a new edition of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book has become available. For those few who might be unaware of the manuscript, it is a vast repository of English and Continental keyboard music that dates from the first decades of the seventeenth century. A recusant Catholic, Francis Tregian, reputedly copied it during the last three years of his life. These were spent in the Fleet Prison, which was situated on the east side of what was to become Farringdon Street in London, a stone’s throw from St Bride’s Church (illus.1). Of course, there was no street in Tregian’s day: the River Fleet ran into the Thames at Bridewell and, to all intents and purposes, was a sewer outlet. It was converted into an underground tunnel in the 1840s, thereby solving at least one of London’s pressing problems of the day.

Illus.1 Detail from the 1553 copperplate map of London showing the site of the Fleet Prison (marked in green) slightly to the north-east of St Paul’s Cathedral.

Tradition has it that Tregian’s years in the ‘Fleete’ were due to his refusal to embrace the new Anglican faith. A romantic notion persists that he copied not only what was to become the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book but also three other large volumes of instrumental and vocal music as a means of passing away his time. Such fantasies, though, may now be put to bed. His sentence to prison was for failing to pay off debts in around 1614, including a rather large sum of £3,000 that had been outstanding since at least 1611, but Dickensian descriptions of debtors’ prisons aside, life was relatively trouble-free for Tregian. Those with means could pay for lodgings within the prison or nearby. Since Tregian had familial links to the Earls of Derby and Leicester and the Duchy of

Norfolk, there can be few doubts that enough people were willing to underwrite his subsistence. Indeed, Tregian's lodgings must have been comfortably large since, at the time of his death in 1617, he had amassed an extensive library of many hundreds of books.

Studying the manuscript allows us to see that it consists of two discrete layers. An index number is provided for each piece in the first but none in the second. It not only suggests a project that Tregian undertook over many years, but also that the first manuscript was unavailable to Tregian at the time he began work on the second. We might assume, therefore, that only the second manuscript was copied during his incarceration. Because of this absence, it is probable that he died before its completion.

The first manuscript layer contains 95 of what was to become 297 pieces in total. The names of many composers are familiar. Some, such as Giovanni Picchi, are not and several—including the elusive Jehan Oystermayre—are complete mysteries. The bulk of its contents are dedicated to John Bull and William Byrd, yet it might be surprising to learn that it also contains most of Peter Philips's known keyboard works and every keyboard piece of Giles Farnaby. All but two pieces are complete. Orlando Gibbons's 'The Woods so wilde' stops after the first bar of the fifth variation. It is unlikely that Tregian had access to the remainder, but he left what he thought to be enough space, should it ever fall into his hands. It did not. The other incomplete piece is more intriguing. It is found under two flaps towards the end of the manuscript (no. 276). One masks the lower portion of a recto folio while the other covers the first few centimetres of the following verso leaf. It is unlikely that this was a similar situation to the one in which Tregian found himself when copying the Gibbons. Rather, it seems that he entered the piece (the eighth variation of William Byrd's 'Treg. Ground') into the manuscript without realizing that the entire set of variations were to be found buried in the first manuscript layer. His mistake, though, would be entirely understandable had the ground been copied some years previously.

Although the FVB was originally (and incorrectly) called *Queen Elizabeth's Harp. Book*, its current name is taken from its last private owner, Richard Fitzwilliam, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam. He was an avid harpsichordist and collector of music who had studied with Jacques Duphly (1715-1789) and coupled with the contents of his library, which included music by Louis Marchand and Gaspard Le Roux, we might suspect Francophile tendencies. However, when looking at the music itself, pencil marks demonstrate that someone, most possibly Fitzwilliam, had attempted to learn some of the pieces. Fitzwilliam quoted two contemporary authors at the beginning of the volume, one of whom, Charles Burney, wrote: 'If her Majesty was ever able to execute any of the pieces that are preserved in a manuscript, which goes under the name of Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book, she must have been a very great player, as some of the pieces, which were composed by Tallis, Bird [*sic*], Giles Farnaby, Dr. Bull, & others, are so difficult, that it would be hardly possible to find a master in Europe who would undertake to play one of them at the end of a month's practice.'

It is needless to say that the book was never in Elizabeth's possession since many of its pieces come from a period after her death, and the title was probably one of convenience. Yet, we know nothing of its history after Tregian died, other than it was in the German composer Johann Christoph

Pepusch's possession until he died in 1752. At a sale of the Pepusch library, Robert Bremner, a prominent Scottish publisher of music, purchased it for ten guineas. It was he who, in 1783, presented the manuscript to Fitzwilliam.

As was the fate of many manuscripts at this time, the volume was largely ignored. That is until the end of the nineteenth century when, in 1893, the musicologist J. A. Fuller Maitland began cataloguing the Fitzwilliam collection. The following year, he made an announcement in *The Musical Times* that, in collaboration with his brother-in-law William Barclay Squire, an edition of the FVB would be published. The purposes of the edition seem to have been scholarly since the announcement said, 'Nothing will be added or omitted, but the ordinary five-line staves will be substituted for the six-line staves of the MS. and the G and F clefs only will be used.' It is this edition that many of today's musicians know. It was engraved and published by the German firm of Breitkopf and Härtel in 1899. However, its expense ensured the edition remained out of the reach of many. This is not to say that the publication went completely un-noticed. Herbert Howells played from it to Bella Bartók in the 1920s, and it spawned at least two novels about John Bull and Francis Tregian. Yet it was not until 1963, when Dover Editions republished the two volumes, that it became widely available. Attempts were made in 1979-1980 to make corrections, but many of the edition's inherent problems were overlooked. When considering, though, that the manuscript contains nearly half a million notes and rests, these pale in significance, and the editorial collaboration of Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire must be one of the most significant of the 19th century.

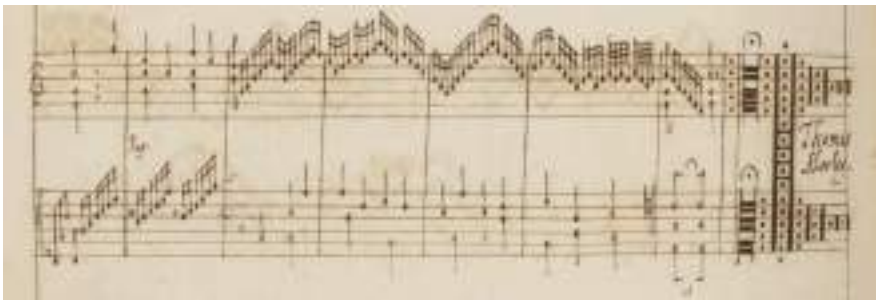
The problem with the Breitkopf edition is not one of inaccuracy, although it is estimated that it contains several thousand errors or mis-readings. It is, by contrast, a matter of interpretation. Much of its notation was altered to suit the needs of the day. Keeping to the rubric announced in *The Musical Times*, little actual editing seems to have occurred other than the correction of very apparent mistakes that were mentioned in a few footnotes. Thus it is overly cautious: much was rationalized to avoid confusion, and this is not the approach historically aware musicians of today prefer.

It was not the problems of the first edition that sparked the impetus for a brand-new version since all of FVB's contents may now be found in the *Musica Britannica* series. Instead, the idea was fuelled by the Netherlands harpsichordist Pieter-Jan Belder who asked me to write the programme notes for the last of his masterful set of recordings of the collection. To do so properly, consulting the manuscript was necessary, and high-resolution images were sought from the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the custodians of Richard Fitzwilliam's collection. The photos sparked a fascination with the manuscript and several burning issues concerning its notation, and a copying style that metamorphoses as the book progresses. The problem was that there is nothing with which it might be compared: Tregian's calligraphy is immaculate, and although this took time to develop, it nevertheless stands apart from the majority of manuscripts that have come down to us because of its neatness. Sometimes, this seems to have bordered on what might, in today's parlance, be categorized as a obsessive-compulsive disorder. For example, in the early part of the manuscript, Tregian started to experiment with using a beam between two notes as a tie. There is nothing unusual about this, but it is how he develops the idea. After the first 50 or so pieces, he breaks the beam and places a standard tie between them. Aesthetically, this is attractive to look at, despite the

problems it causes modern notational software. Yet, it becomes such an overriding feature of the manuscript that as the book draws towards its conclusion: not only are minims tied in this manner but crotchets and quavers.

Illus.2 FVB 215, John Bull's 'Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la', showing Tregian's method of tying notes.

Other peculiarities abound. A few pieces in the first manuscript layer are appended with a 'false' bar, which is a repetition of the tonic chord as a long note (breve) and often with its upper notes rearranged. This device becomes commonplace almost as soon as the second layer begins, and its use appears to be an enigma peculiar to this source alone. It might be that Tregian liked the aesthetic appeal of the redundant bar. While a plausible explanation, it is nevertheless worth noting that, in all but three cases, such bars are reserved for dances and pieces in dance rhythm. It might, though, reflect a tradition similar to the 'bow'-chord often used at the end of folk dances. Such chords are still commonly played in folk-music and indicate that the music has come to an end and provides dancers time to regain composure and pay obeisance to one and other. If so, two conclusions might be drawn: that such chords were so commonplace than none thought their notation necessary, and that keyboard music was probably used for the accompanying of dance. Such puzzles also have implications for performance today in terms of tempo and, importantly, the manner in which a dance is brought to a close.



Illus.3 The closing bars of FVB 152, Morley, 'Alman'. Here we see that Tregian began forming his quintessential final bar line before thinking to add a 'bow' chord.

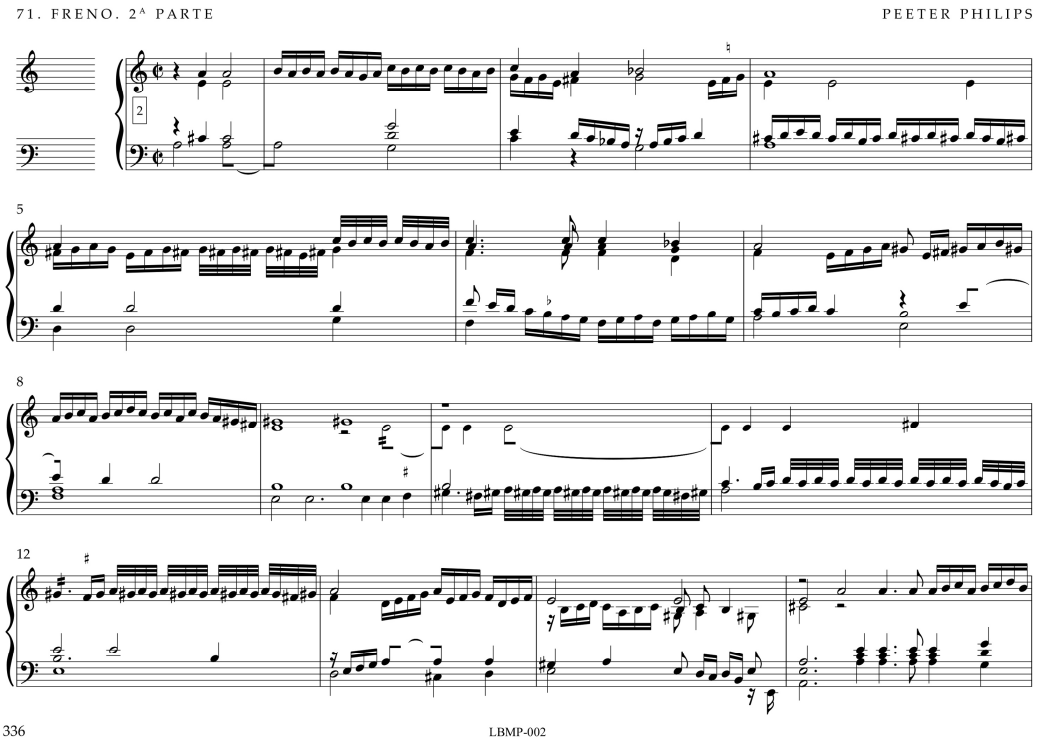
It was puzzles such as these that began to form the idea of a new edition. A thorough comparison of the 1899 edition with the manuscript demonstrated that the former was deficient in several ways. The rationalizing of beams, note values and time signatures seems out of place in the modern world of historically aware musicians who perform from facsimiles. A copy of the manuscript, if fair, might seem preferable, but few would find FVB practical. Vertical positioning is often poorly

undertaken, for example. While this tells us a lot about how Tregian might, were he a keyboardist, learn a piece of music, since the visual aspect lessens in importance when learning music by heart. It has, in fact, led many to question if people played from notation at all, but rather from memory. With FVB, this is where the main problem lies since, for most early keyboard players, a connection with the original notation is instrumental in their interpretations. For some, beaming suggests phrasing and articulation, and stem directions, voice leading. Others find pleasure in playing from something that comes from a source near to the composer and not something that has been altered beyond recognition.

The problems and mistakes found in FVB preclude this. Thus, it was important to find a way of satisfying both worlds: an edition that is correct but which retains the spirit of the manuscript. Adopting the approach of the new Lyrebird Music edition hopefully solves this issue since, from the outset, a principal aim was to incorporate as many of the manuscript's features as possible. Thus, Tregian's ties were retained, as was mensural notation (even though, in some cases, this needed altering to adhere to a set of 'rules' that were as baffling to 17th-century musicians as they are to us today). The original time signatures and proportional time indicators were kept, which often provide clues about the pace a player should adopt and, significantly, all accidentals should be restored. This latter feature was of the utmost importance: in Tregian's day, they applied only to the notes they prefixed, yet he was lax, and much *musica ficta* is needed for those who wish to play the music. But rather than adopting the practices of Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire, which was to add *ficta* to every note that required adjustment, a simple solution was devised that allows an editor's suggestion to override the problems caused by lacking accidentals but reinstate those of the score when needed (illus.4).

Of the process itself, the edition would never have seen the light of day without the work of two people at the helm, and a valuable collaboration arose after I made a public announcement similar to that of Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire, when the project was discussed with one who was to become my co-editor, Francis Knights. He had been thinking about a new edition of FVB for some years and it was to my relief that he readily agreed to provide his own unique insights as both a performer and musicologist. This collaboration led to a remarkable exchange of thought and a method to which we strictly adhered: the notes were entered into notation software and edited at a preliminary level. This was, in itself, a formidable undertaking and underlines the achievement of the Breitkopf editors who were working on mirror-image engravings prepared from plate photographs. Single pages could take up to ten or more hours to set: beams and their ties had to be incorporated (there are over 27,000 of these and all needed placing individually), noteheads devised that would reflect the mensural notation of the original and symbols for time signatures created. After the preliminary edit, the music was then taken to a second stage where *ficta* was added, after which the editors collaborated on the work undertaken. Discussions occurred weekly, some of which took several hours, and, on some occasions, much time was used to discuss and draw conclusions concerning what ambiguities and perceived errors in the score meant. Trying to imagine how a mistake was made and ascertaining its root cause was the best way forward since, once this is

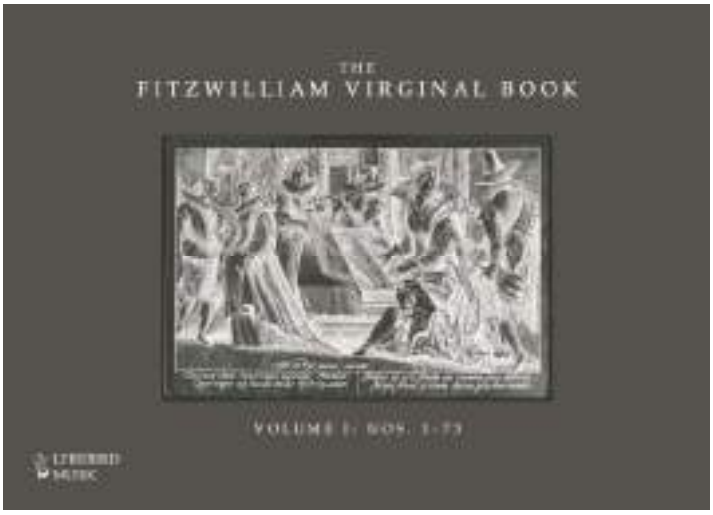
clear, the solution often becomes simple. It might be surprising to note, though, that apart from a missing bar, there are only two short passages where the editors needed to become composers.



Illus.4 Marenzio arr Peter Philips, 'Freno', showing musica ficta *procedure*

The final level of editing came after a further proof-reading. This time, though, it was achieved by playing through each piece. Often, it is easy to miss errors in contrapuntal works, and an auditory proofing is usually the best means of discovering if anything sounds incorrect.

Like all modern scholarly editions, the other problem lies in introductory material and commentaries. Much needed to be said of the manuscript, its identified composers, genres, instruments, historical background, the copyist, performance issues and, in the case of this edition, marginalia, mistakes and corrections. Unlike modern editions, though, the editors provided themselves a *carte blanche* to write as much as they wanted. The preface amounts to some 30,000 words and contains not only information on the background to the FVB and its copyist, but a thorough examination of the manuscript, its errors, and those corrections made during its creation, the composers, instruments and performance issues. But this pales into insignificance when considering the commentary. Since the edition is three volumes (illus.5) – Breitkopf did it in two – that amount, in total, to nearly 1,300 pages, a system required developing that reduced a commentary of over 1,500 entries to something manageable. Thus, the editors have entered the realms of the Catholic recusants. Like Peter Philips, another recusant and double (if not triple) agent, they have transmitted their reports in a code that we want to be understandable to all.



Illus.5 Cover of Volume 1

It is hoped that our 'pseudo-facsimile' edition replace the Dover edition, even if it was not conceived with this in mind. Instead, it was born from a need to connect today's musicians with the past in a previously impossible manner.

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'Revisiting George Marson'

Joseph Sargent

George Marson (c.1572-1632) could easily be called the Renaissance equivalent of a one-hit wonder. His primary claim to fame rests upon a single madrigal, 'The nymphs and shepherds danced', published in Thomas Morley's well-known *The Triumphs of Oriana* (London, 1601). But despite attaining some prominence during his lifetime as organist and master of the choristers at Canterbury Cathedral, Marson—like many of his *Oriana* compatriots—has since largely languished in obscurity. This neglect is not particularly surprising, given that (1) his compositional output is relatively sparse, comprising in addition to the above-mentioned madrigal, two services, five anthems, and a scattering of other works for the Anglican liturgy; and (2) his works were copied into only a handful of manuscripts, not all of which survive complete.[1]

But for anyone interested in delving further into Jacobean-era Anglican repertory, now may be a good time to make Marson's acquaintance. The first modern edition of Marson's sacred music appeared in 2009 with Daniel Bamford's dissertation on Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*.[2] Included in this volume are editions of the Second Service (with editorial reconstructions), a separate 'Creed for Doctor Hunt', a setting of Preces and Psalm 16, and the anthem *O gracious God*.[3] More recently, I have crafted my own editions of Marson's First Service as well as his four remaining anthems (the latter of which however can be only partially reconstructed), based on the surviving manuscripts.

Revisiting Marson does not mean recovering an unjustly overlooked genius; as will be detailed below, his services and anthems broadly adhere to the structural and musical conventions of his time. Even so, the music contains many elements of interest and is by no means as strictly unadventurous as has sometimes been posited.[4] And beyond strict considerations of style, Marson's achievements ought further to be understood within the contexts of his life and career—in particular his association with Canterbury Cathedral, and his efforts to rehabilitate what had become a moribund musical life at this institution. Considered within this framework, Marson may be more profitably understood as a key figure in revitalizing the musical milieu of England's mother church.

Biography

Born around 1572 in Worcester, Marson entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1595 and obtained his Bachelor's degree in 1598.[5] Treasurer's Accounts from Canterbury Cathedral indicate he became Organist and Master of the Choristers sometime before Christmas 1598, though a patent for the office did not appear until 26 February 1604.[6] Marson would ultimately spend his entire musical career at this cathedral. Later in 1598 he was ordained as a priest and deacon in London, becoming a minor canon, and on 6 March 1606 he was named rector at the Church of St Mary Magdalen in Canterbury - a distinctive case, as Watkins Shaw observes, of a cathedral organist also being a parish parson.[7] Marson held this rectorship until 1631, being succeeded by his own son John; a few years earlier he had also relinquished his chorister teaching duties, likely due to advancing age.[8] Marson died on 3 February 1632, and was buried on the south side of the cathedral.[9]

To this basic outline can be added certain minor details on family matters, based on information from register books, survey documents, and other listings. Soon after arriving in Canterbury Marson married a Protestant exile from France named Magdalen Primount, the ceremony taking place in Canterbury Cathedral on 17 December 1599.[10] The Canterbury *Register Booke of Christninges, Marriages, and Burialls* records several events connected to the Marson family name. These include, in chronological order: the christening of Cicelie, daughter of George Marson, on 28 June 1601; the burial of Hope, daughter of George Marson, on 10 June 1605; the christening of John, the son of George Marson, on 27 September, 1607; the marriage of Marget Marson, to one Benjamin Jackson, on 26 December 1627; and the christening of George Marson's grandson Thomas, listed as the son of Mr. John Marson, Peticanon, on 12 December 1633.[11]

Canterbury context

Marson's tenure at Canterbury coincided with a period of distinct musical renewal, as illuminated by Roger Bowers' exhaustive study of the cathedral's musical life.[12] Prior to the English Reformation, Canterbury enjoyed an unusually rich musical profile. Plainsong and polyphony were performed in wide-ranging contexts; there was always a sufficient body of monks to sing and compose advanced polyphony; and to this day, more surviving fragments of pre-Reformation polyphony are associated with Canterbury than any other institution in England.[13] Post-1540, however, the scene becomes rather more volatile. As the cathedral was first suppressed and then granted a new secular foundation, the existing monks were allowed to remain and originally continued singing the Sarum rite along with a diet of luxurious polyphony. New music was gathered—most notably the repertory of the Henrician set of the Peterhouse Partbooks (GB-Cp 471-474), copied at Magdalen College, Oxford and intended for the new Canterbury foundation. New singers were installed as well—most likely including, very briefly, Thomas Tallis.[14] But as reform efforts took hold, cathedral singers' involvement with the liturgy became increasingly diminished. As Bowers puts it, the 'Cathedral musicians were perforce transformed from a body of highly skilled professional participants enacting the Catholic liturgy to a body of merely static part-time performers witnessing and commenting upon its Protestant successor'.[15]

The seesaw years of Edwardian, Marian, and early Elizabethan reigns saw efforts to cultivate music in the new styles mandated by those regimes. By the 1560s, Canterbury's choir had obtained some measure of security but was nevertheless 'compromised by artistic impoverishment, declining status, and plain irrelevance', in Bowers' words.[16] Despite some support from Archbishop Matthew Parker and from Cathedral deans Nicholas Wotton and Thomas Goodwyn, the succeeding decades were characterized by reduced full-time musical personnel, stagnant wages, rapid turnover in choir leadership, and little evidence of new music being composed, copied, or performed.[17]

Bowers links the rehabilitation of Canterbury's service music to the year 1597, and the installation of Thomas Neville as dean. Neville had been Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, where Marson was trained, and he recruited Marson to become Canterbury's Organist and Master of the Choristers. Over the next 25 years, Canterbury's musical life underwent a dramatic reversal of the previous generations' deficits. Highlights include the immediate purchase of at least eight books for the choir, plus a new chest to set them in; vigorously copying music into these and other books, culminating in the well-known collection and publishing efforts of John Barnard, a lay clerk at Canterbury between 1617 and 1622; restoring previously lost full-time musical positions, though at

somewhat meagre salaries; adding professional wind players to the musician roster, perhaps for the first time in the cathedral's history; and refurbishing the organ.[18]

Sources and dating

Canterbury's collection of partbooks dates only from the later 17th century, making it difficult to determine the precise repertory in use during Marson's lifetime, but other factors point to a strong local context for Marson's Anglican music. These works survive mostly in a single source, Barnard's manuscript partbooks (GB-Lcm MS 1045-51), copied between c.1625 and 1638 and now housed at London's Royal College of Music.[19] Barnard presumably collected Marson's music during or shortly after his own Canterbury tenure, having been a lay clerk at Canterbury from 1618 to 1623. Yet no Marson works made the transition from these manuscripts to Barnard's *First Book of Church Musick* (London, 1641), and the fact that Marson evidently did not seek to publish his music elsewhere suggests he was concerned primarily with his immediate surroundings.

The First Service (Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis) survives uniquely in four of the Durham choirbooks (GB-DRc A6, C1, C13, E11a), dating from 1632 through the 1660s, and in which it is simply labeled 'Service'. These sources provide the medius, contratenor, and tenor voices, as well as an organ part from which the bass line can be extracted.[20] The Second Service, including all the First Service movements plus Venite, Kyrie, and Creed, is *unica* in the Barnard manuscripts. Bamford suggests that Barnard himself was the scribe for Marson's Second Service and that this was among the first works copied into the collection, around the year 1625.[21] The Barnard manuscript indexes further indicate an entry for a Marson 'First Service', which was never copied; this is presumably the same service that survives in the Durham choirbooks.[22]

None of Marson's anthems can be reconstructed completely; in most cases only four out of an original five vocal parts survives, and no organ parts are extant for the verse anthems. Most of this music comes from the Barnard manuscripts, the only exception being three individual voice parts found in the Peterhouse partbooks (GB-Cp MS 38, 42, 44), including both the 'former' and 'latter' Caroline sets.[23] None of the Peterhouse sources are concordant with Barnard; they either supply a vocal line not provided by Barnard or else contain voice parts to an anthem not present in Barnard. All the anthems in the Barnard manuscripts were copied by the same scribe, whom Bamford strongly suggests to be Barnard himself, writing in three stages of completion.[24] The Peterhouse partbooks, meanwhile, were gathered under the guidance of John Cosin for use at the college chapel between c.1635 and 1643.[25] More detailed information on the dating of individual works is difficult to establish, with the exception of *O Lord who still doth guide*.[26] This piece seems to be connected to the 1625 accession of Charles I, given its expansive musical form, a textual refrain entreating the Lord to ennoble the sovereign, and the anthem's placement within the Barnard manuscripts in close proximity to other commemorative works.[27]

The Services

Both of Marson's services reflect the aesthetics of what would be called a short service, though they are not labeled as such. They are consistently homophonic, with clear, syllabic text declamation though enlivened at times by imitation and melodic elaboration. Their compact structure and generally straightforward musical style were surely geared toward a cathedral choir like Canterbury, in the midst of revitalizing its musical standards. Yet they also contain elements that suggest an effort

to go beyond the merely functional, including some large-scale organizational features, moments of text painting, and other areas of musical interest.

The First Service has an overriding structural component in that each movement is based fundamentally on call-and-response segments, in which one voice introduces a line of text and the other three voices respond in homophony. Within this structure, Marson often cultivates distinctive patterns in terms of which voice part serves as the 'leader' (Table 1). In the Te Deum, for instance, an initial block of homophony leads to a pattern in which the leader voice descends from medius to contratenor. Another block of homophony near the movement's midpoint then introduces a contrast; beginning with the words 'When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man', it is first the tenor and then the bassus that provides the leading voice until the phrase 'Govern them and lift them up forever', where the medius becomes the leader until a final brief section of homophony and imitation.

For the Jubilate, the pattern is even more rigid. The leader voice steadily descends across the movement from medius through contratenor, tenor, and bassus. In the introduction, Marson sets up two opposing textural poles; the texture is presented first in clear homophony for 'O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands', and then in imitative polyphony for 'Serve the Lord with gladness and come before his presence with a song'. After this point, call-and-response combinations of a single leading voice and responsorial choir dominate the rest of the movement. At the text 'Be ye sure that the Lord he is God', the medius serves as leader to the responsorial lower voices over seven separate textual segments, yieding this role to the contratenor at 'O go your way'. The contratenor then takes the lead for the next five segments, after which the tenor takes over beginning with the phrase 'For the Lord is gracious'. After six more call-and-response statements with the tenor in charge, the bassus comes to the fore at the Doxology, leading four textual statements of its own before a final imitative flourish for the closing Amen.

Te Deum text phrases	**Bars**	**'Leader' voice**
'We knowledge thee to be the Lord'	1-7	(homophony)
'To thee all angels cry aloud ... Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory'	7-30	medius
'The glorious company ... Also the holy Ghost the comforter'	30-55	contratenor
'Thou art the king of glory O Christ. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father'	55-62	(homophony)
'When thou tookest upon thee ... Thou sittest on the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father'	62-78	tenor
'We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge ... O Lord save thy people, and bless thine inheritance'	78-99	bassus
'Govern them and lift them up forever ... O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in thee'	99-124	medius

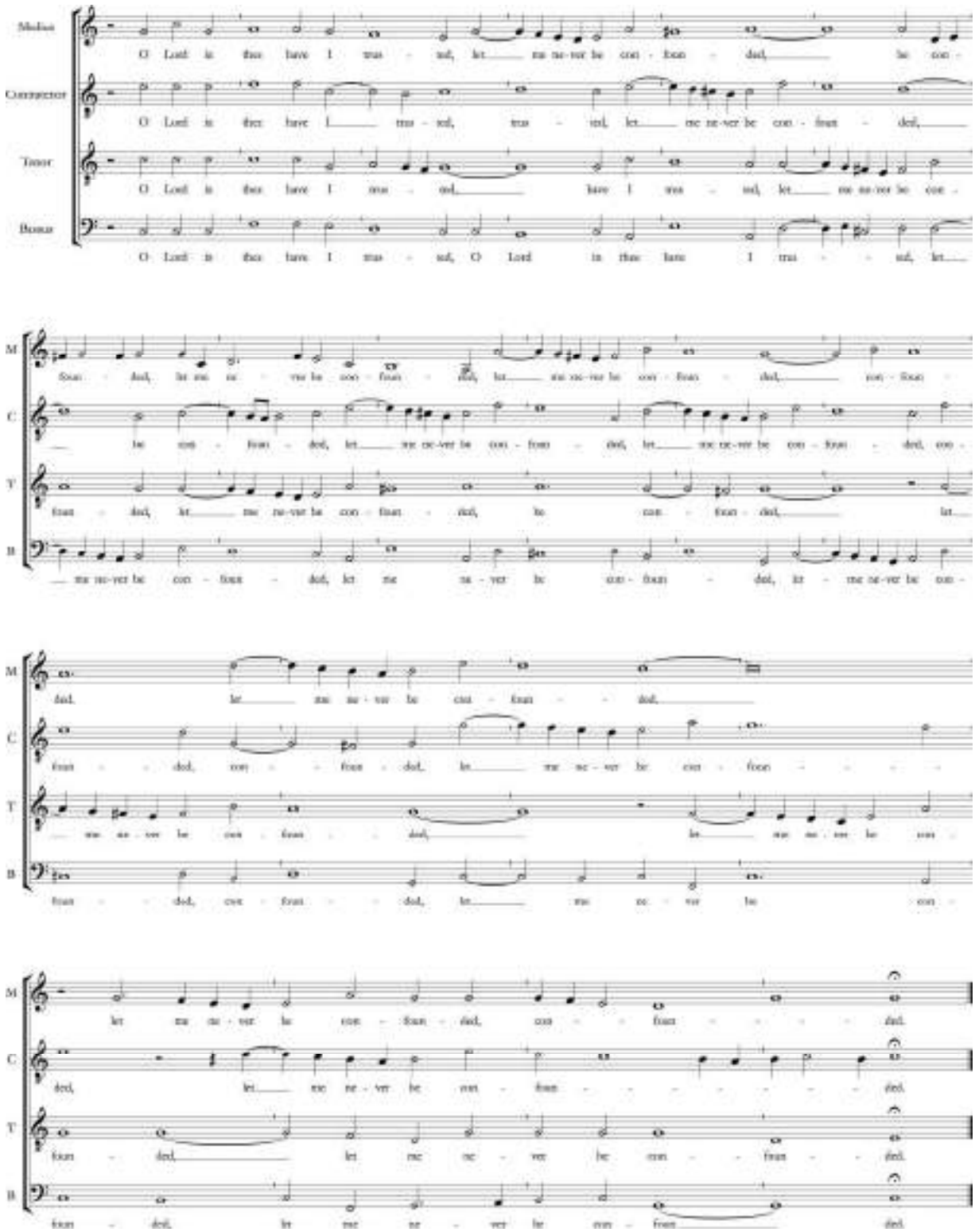
'O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded'	124-32	(homophony + imitation)

Jubilate Deo text phrases	**Bars**	**'Leader' voice**
'O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands ... and come before his presence with a song'	1-11	(homophony + imitation)
'Be ye sure that the Lord He is God ... the sheep of his pasture'	11-28	medius
'O go your way ... and speak good of his name'	28-41	contratenor
'For the Lord is gracious ... from generation to generation'	41-56	tenor
'Glory be to the Father ... is now and ever shall be'	56-65	bassus
'Is now and ever shall be (repeated) ... Amen'	65-73	(imitation)

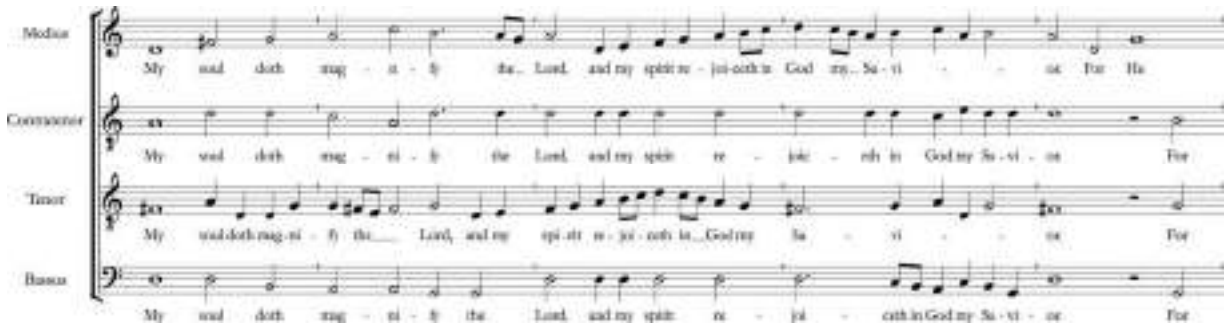
Table 1 Text phrases

A structural device found in the Second Service is the use of lengthy imitative stretches to conclude various movements, based on the final textual phrase. This device appears in various configurations across the Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, Credo, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. The Te Deum example (ex.1) is perhaps most elaborate, lasting for 17 bars and incorporating 15 separate statements of the imitative motive, spread across all four voices. (For all the following musical examples I have omitted the organ parts, which invariably duplicate the vocal lines.) Also noteworthy within this closing material is a fair amount of chromaticism, which combines with repetitions of the imitative motive to create a series of diverse cadence points. These points are aligned into regularly spaced patterns of circle-of-fifths relationships, forming groups on the pitches A-D-G-C, A-D-G, and D-G-C respectively.

Beyond these large-scale features Marson also crafts some interesting smaller gestures, including some moments of vivid text expression. In the First Service these appear most strikingly in the Magnificat, and typically involve the use of quicker rhythms to symbolize states of joy or haste. The best example of this comes in the very opening phrase (ex.2). A largely homophonic texture on 'My soul doth magnify the Lord' features a melodic ascent of nearly an octave in the medius voice, perhaps indicating a sense of 'raising up' one's spirit. Even more prominent here is the tenor, which disrupts the prevailing homophony with quicker rhythms and melodic leaps. The impression is of a soul unbounded, its exuberant joy unfettered by the rhythmic constraints of the other voices. And indeed its excitement is contagious, for when the text proceeds to the words, 'and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour', the medius joins the tenor in a rapid octave ascent and subsequent fourth descent. Their joy is put into especially stark relief by the contratenor and bassus, which reiterate the single pitch D as a foundation.

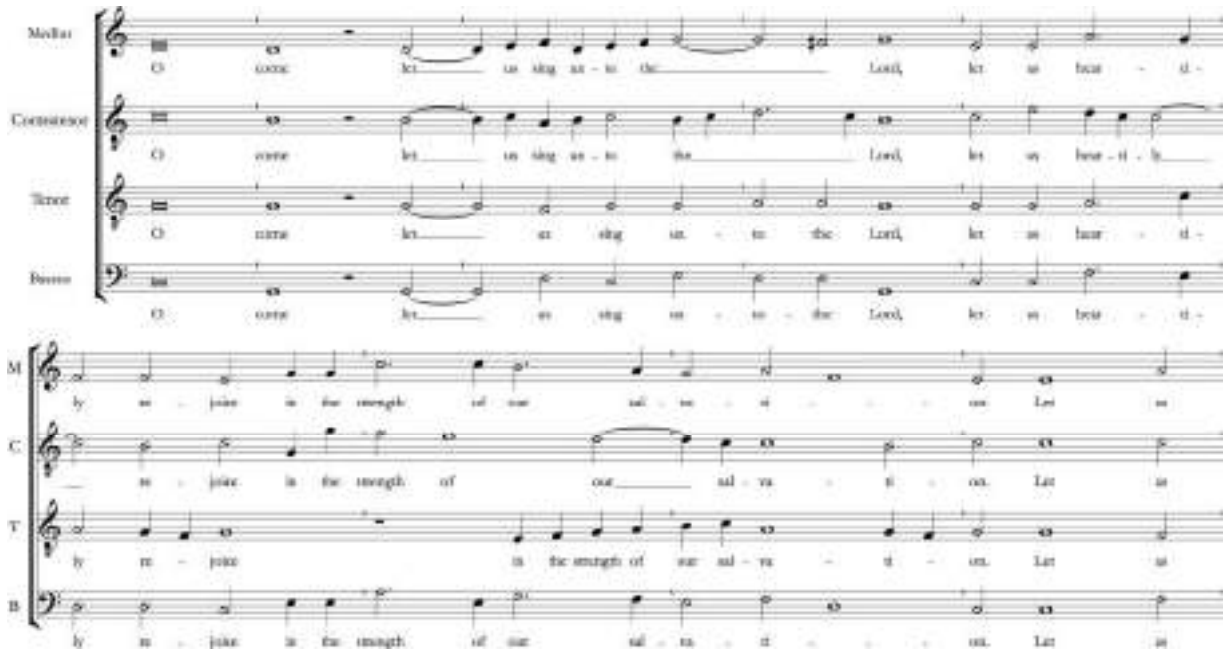


Ex.1 Marson, Te Deum (ending)



Ex.2 Marson, Magnificat (opening)

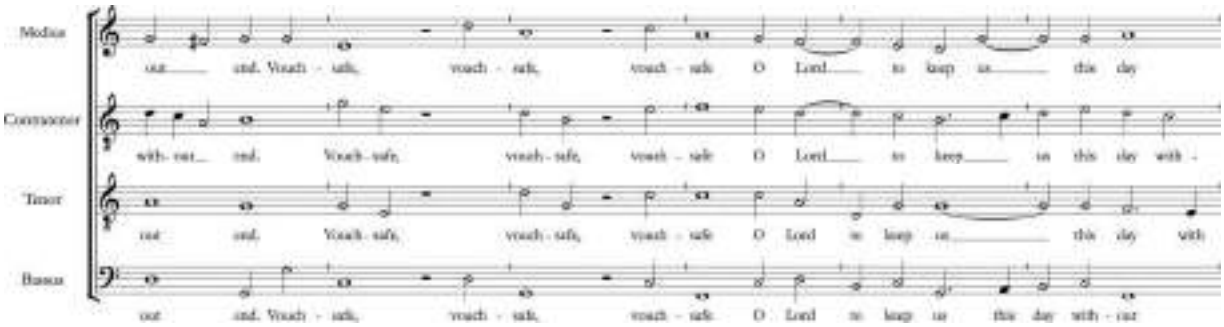
In the Second Service Venite, Marson begins with all four voices in slow homophony and relatively low tessituras, imbuing a sense of reverence upon the words 'O come' (ex.3). A minim rest separates this from the next phrase, in which medius and contratenor immediately engage in quicker rhythms and ascending lines to express the jubilance of 'sing[ing] unto our Lord'. The medius line reaches successively higher pitches as the text continues in its urgency; it rises to an A at the phrase 'heartily rejoice', and then climbs to a new peak of C to express the 'strength of our salvation'. Contratenor and bassus lines similarly make large leaps to their highest pitch points at this moment, while the tenor remains silent for one semibreve before creating its own rapid ascent on this phrase.



Ex.3 Marson, Venite, Second Service

Silence can also be an expressive tool in Marson's arsenal, as seen for instance in the Second Service Te Deum, on the text 'Vouchsafe O Lord to keep us this day without sin' (ex.4). The word

'vouchsafe' is emphasized not only by being stated three times, but by having minim rests placed between each statement. An 'echo' effect further appears in the vocal lines for the first two statements; medius and bassus present short, two-note descending figures that are imitated in general shape one minim later by the contratenor and tenor, before all voices join in homophony for the third statement.



Ex.1 Marson, Second Service, Te Deum

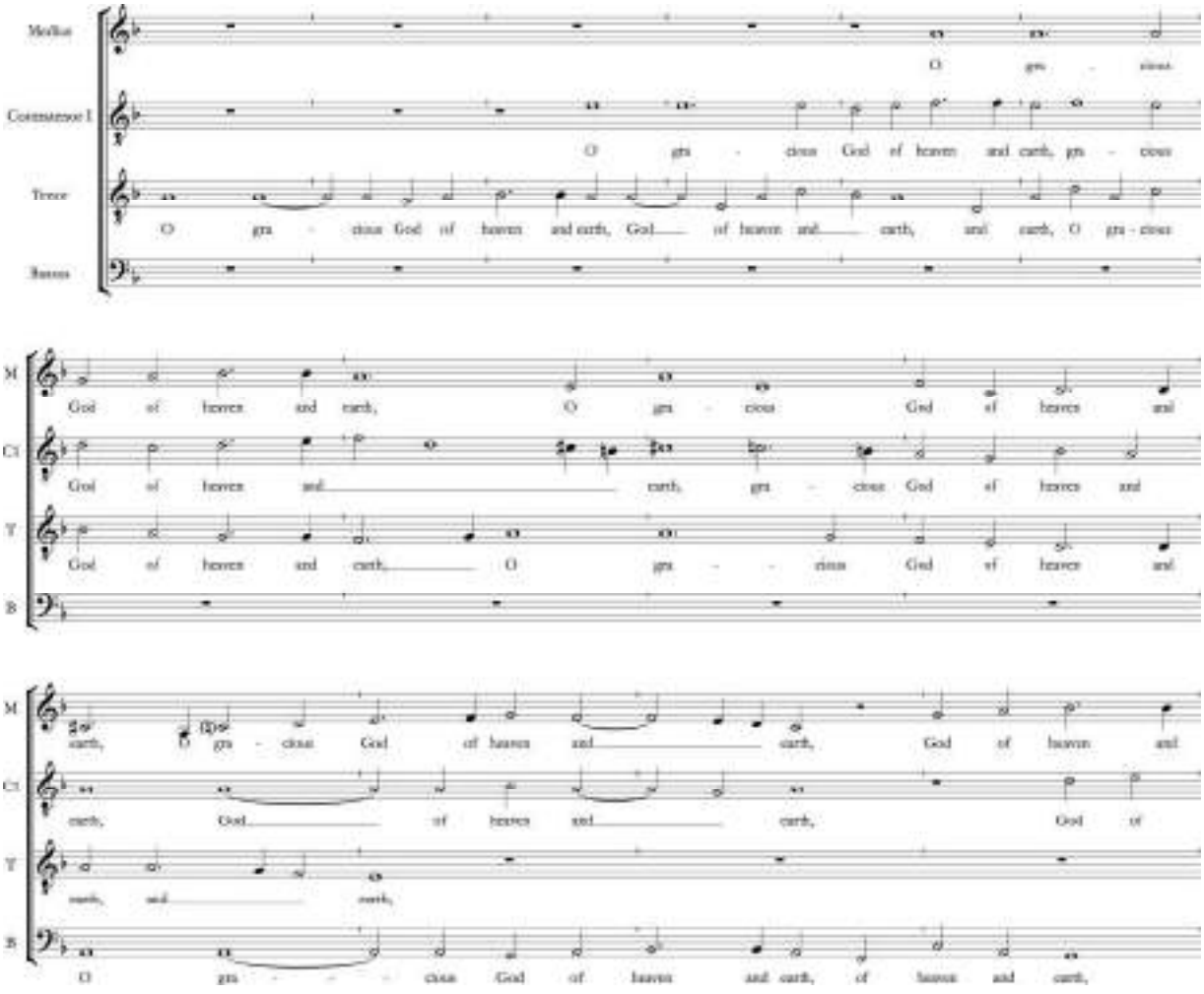
The Anthems

Marson's anthems adopt both full and verse structures and draw upon a range of textual sources. Three of them set passages from the Psalms: *O sing unto the Lord* sets the entirely of the text from Psalm 98; *God is our hope and strength* sets the first five verses of Psalm 46, along with verse seven as a recurring refrain; and *O clap your hands* sets the first seven verses of Psalm 47. The other two texts come from outside Scripture; *O gracious God* is a plea for mercy and grace, drawing upon rhetoric seen in prayers for protection of the Church against its enemies, while *O Lord who still doth guide* is a metrical text seeking to grant right judgment and holiness to the sovereign. Two of the Psalms, *O clap your hands* and *O sing unto the Lord*, were commonly set among Marson's peers, but few if any peer composers exist for the other three texts.

The surviving voice parts offer glimpses into Marson's overall handling of elements such as form, texture, harmony, and counterpoint. While broadly adhering to standard formal models and typical compositional procedures, Marson also gives special attention to dramatic music-text relations, in accordance with the tendencies of the time. (As evidence of this emphasis one could point to hundreds of individual pieces as well as theoretical sources like Thomas Morley's *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, which includes numerous exhortations for composers of motets (including anthems) to express text in a way that moves the listener.)[28]

Looking first at Marson's two full anthems, solemnity and sobriety are the dominant moods in the five-voice *O gracious God*, set to a beseeching text, for which only the medius, primus contratenor, tenor, and bassus voices survive. The texture is broadly imitative overall, though with certain moments of notable homorhythm, and Marson shows a preoccupation with exploiting various combinations of three, four, and five sounding voice parts. Multiple repetitions of text, along with the generally stately rhythmic pace, yield an unreservedely stolid piece.

Bamford faults this piece for some awkward harmonic moments and for what he suggests is an unsatisfying handling of polyphonic writing.[29] He may be referring to the anthem's opening point of imitation, which indeed is particularly stark (ex.5). The tenor presents the opening text 'O gracious God of heaven and earth' on a highly iterative motive, lasting for two and a half measures. Later imitative entrances on this motive are spaced out in intervals of two to three measures, confirming the impression of a static landscape. Elements of the original melody are sometimes recycled in these elaborations, as seen for instance in bars 13 and 14 in the medius and primus contratenor lines.



Ex.5 Marson, O gracious God (opening)

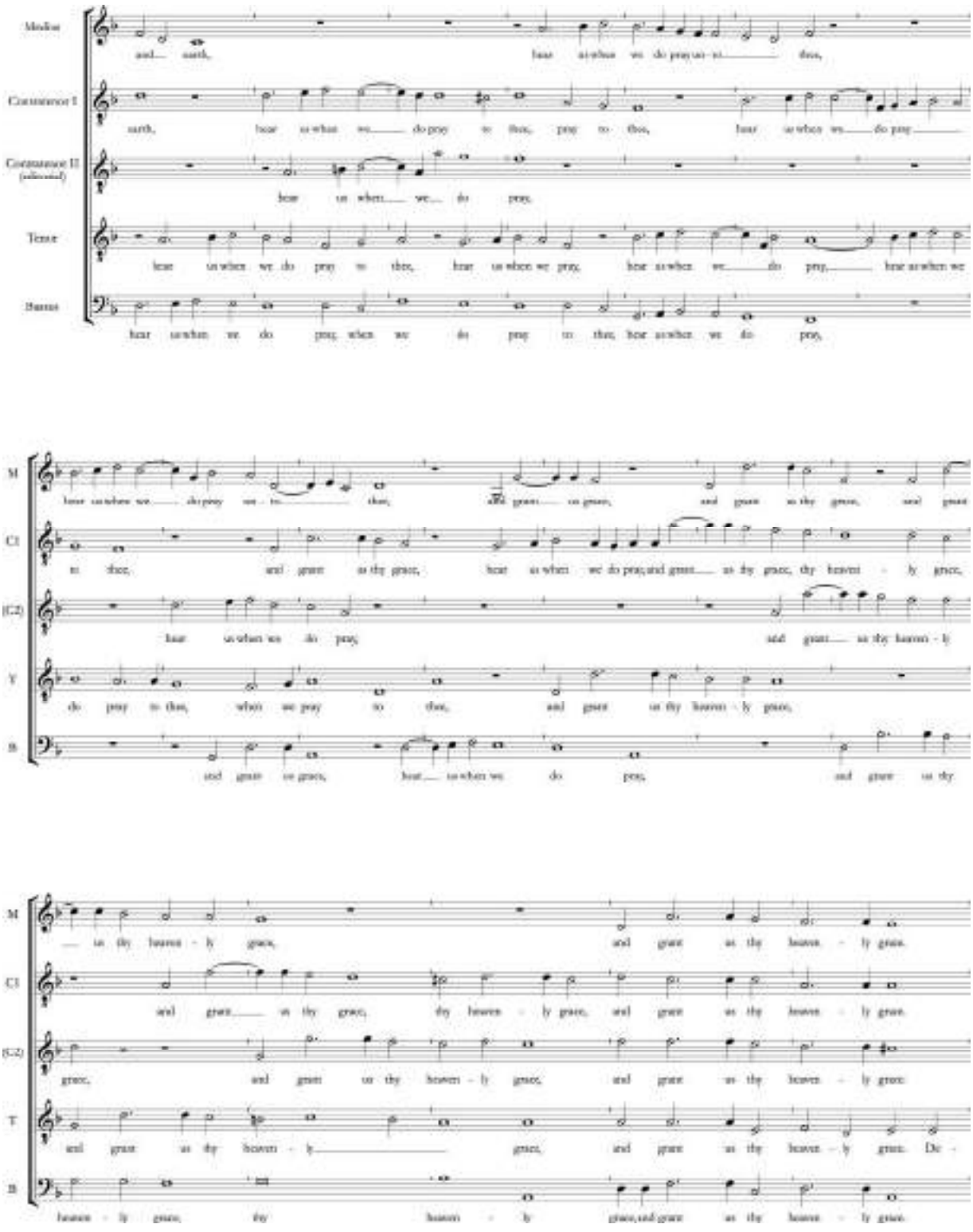
It would be easy to discard this opening melody as a simple, pro forma affair. But in light of Marson's later points of imitation, which are often more expansive and sometimes more viscerally expressive as well, the opening may be seen as an emotional launching pad of sorts. Subtle textual concerns seem to drive Marson's procedures throughout the anthem. The second phrase 'hear us

when we do pray unto thee', for instance, presents a long series of imitative motives based on gentle arch shapes (the first of which is highlighted in Example 6), which after some time is ultimately disrupted by dramatic fifth, sixth, and octave leaps to accompany the plea 'and grant us grace'—gestures that culminate in bars 39 and 40 with the anthem's first fully homorhythmic statement, 'grant us thy heavenly grace', emphasizing the primary message of this text. (The second contratenor line in this example is editorial from Bamford's dissertation.)

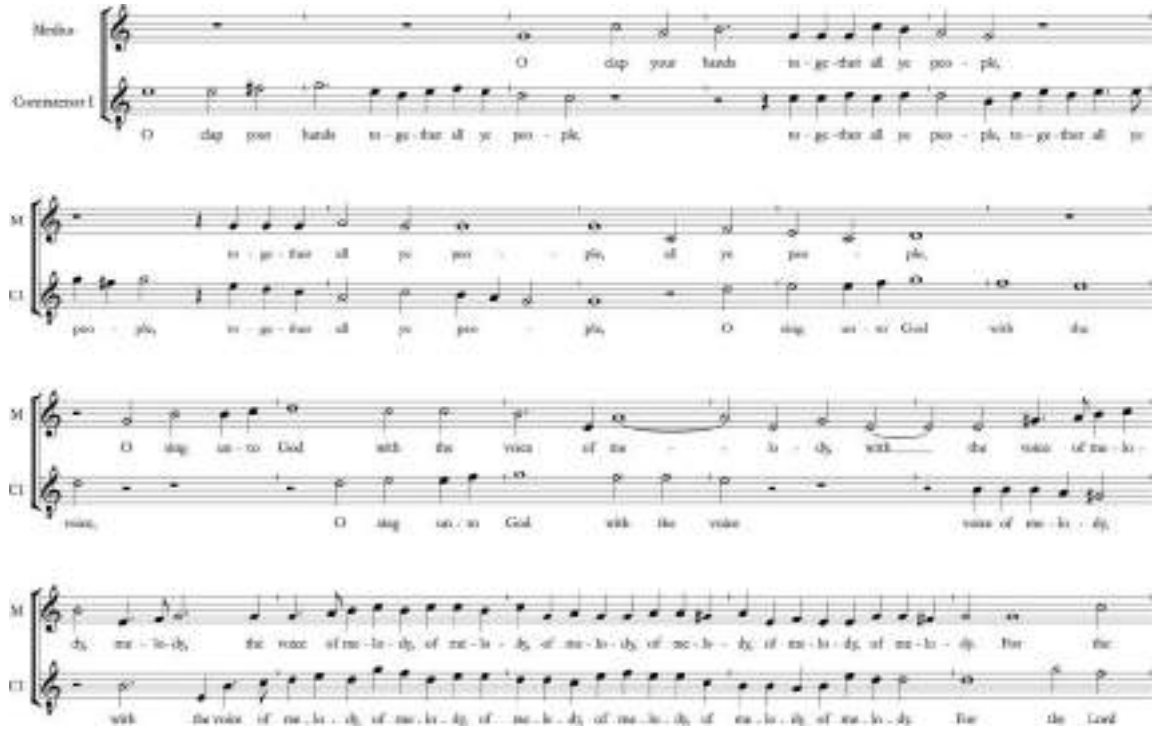
After this point Marson continues to match melodic contour with textual content, while shifting among smaller and larger textural groupings in a relentlessly imitative structure. On the text 'preserve us', for instance, Marson uses a short motive in lengthier breve rhythms to reflect the idea of preservation, while for 'We acknowledge that our sins are many', two blocks of reduced-voice textures operate in quasi-antiphonal fashion to generate a sense of multiplicity.

O gracious God is far from the most scintillating anthem in the English repertory; its steady rhythms, multiple text repetitions, and broadly imitative profile can easily strike the listener as ponderous. Yet it embodies Marson's careful focus on expressive text setting within the context of a rather subdued subject, even as other anthems illustrate a more colorful profile. In particular Marson's only other full anthem, *O clap your hands*, is a dramatic turn away from *O gracious God.* Here Marson has the advantage of a much more celebratory text from Psalm 47. And while this anthem is the most incomplete of all, with only medius cantoris and part of the contratenor cantoris extant, these two lines provide ample evidence of colourful text expression.

Rhythmically, *O clap your hands* abounds in rapid-fire semiminims to enliven various textual phrases, creating appealing contrasts when juxtaposed against slower rhythms at other points. Of course with only two surviving voices one can make only speculative judgments about textural and contrapuntal practice, but the writing in these parts suggests a foundation in imitative counterpoint, along with moments in which all voice parts participate in homorhythm. The anthem's opening phrases illustrate this pattern (ex.7); the contratenor begins with a slightly rising line on 'O clap your hands', perhaps harmonized with one or more of the missing voices, while the medius enters two measures later—again perhaps with other voices in harmony—before what may be a full homophonic statement in all voices on the text 'together all ye people', declaimed in quicker rhythms. This pattern of slower followed by faster rhythms continues through the next phrase, which also appears to be set in imitation followed by homorhythm. Imitative lines on 'O sing unto God with the voice of melody' are followed by rhythmic vitality on a textual repetition of 'voices of melody', with quick rhythms, intricate melodic filigree, and sequential harmonic repetition.

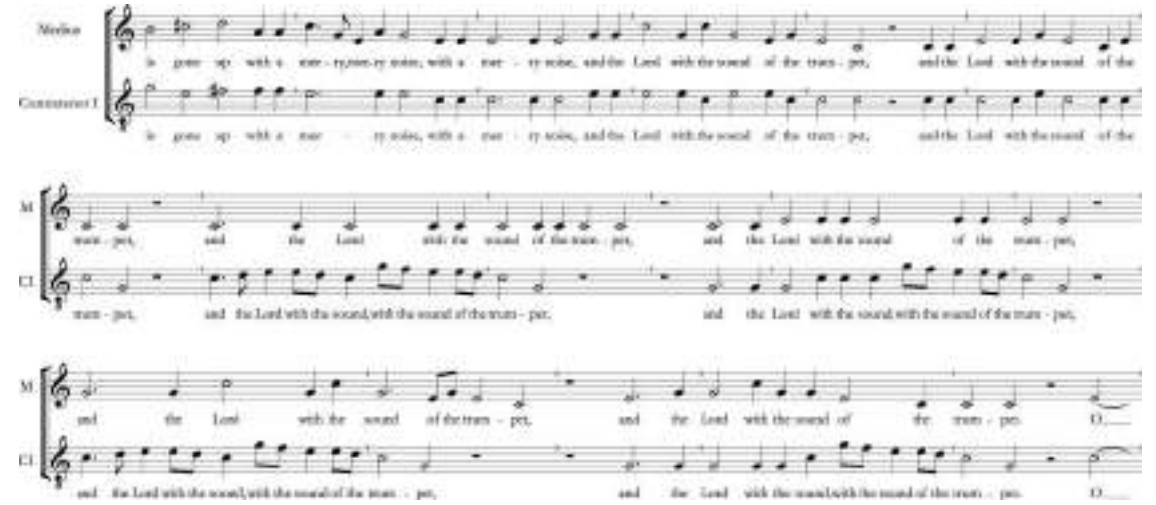


Ex.6 Marson, O gracious God



Ex.7 Marson, O clap your hands (opening)

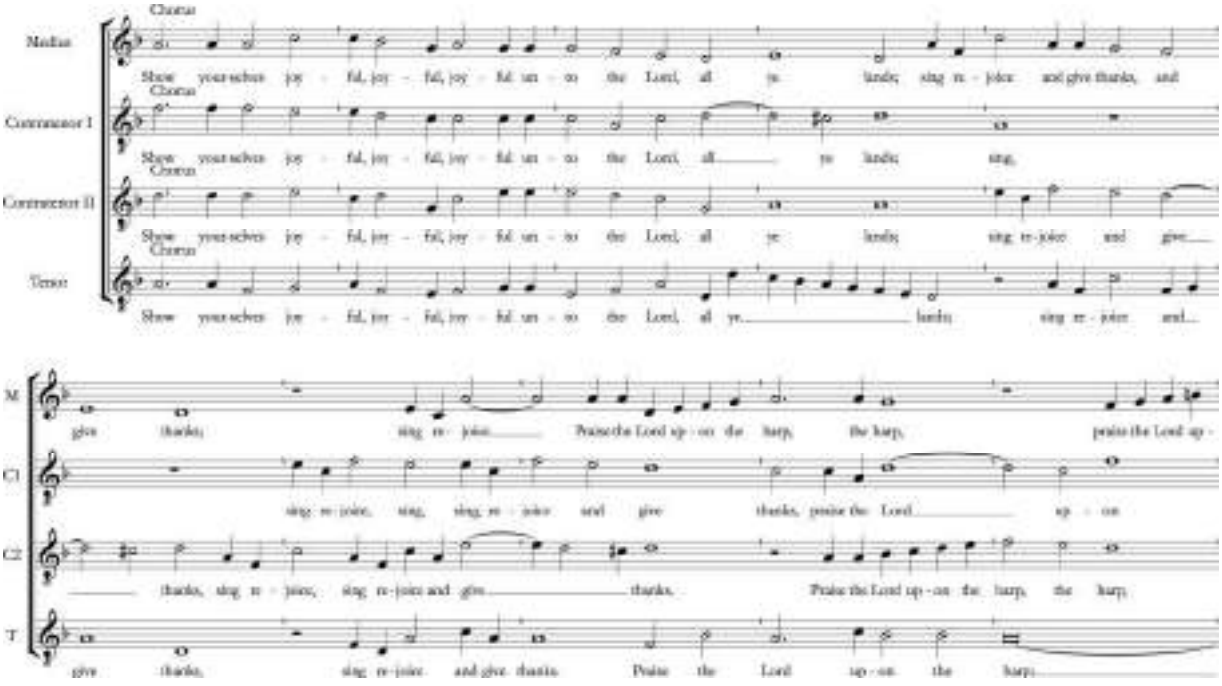
Given such a vividly expressive text, examples of clichéd music-text relations emerge clearly even with only two voice parts. Fanfare-like gestures to mimic trumpets are of course a commonplace of English anthems, and Marson's setting of 'the sound of the trumpet' does not disappoint (ex.8). The writing here is not only blatantly militaristic, with rapid-fire triadic fanfares built on a persistent C harmony; it is also quite lengthy, extending for a full 13 bars with numerous text repetitions.



Ex.8 Marson, O clap your hands

Turning now to the three verse anthems, these pieces share several common approaches. All three invest heavily in rhetorical text expression within verse sections, employing a range of gestures that can be strikingly vivid in their effects. The gestures are often developed gradually, in the sense that initial verse phrases in each anthem feature only hints of expressive treatment, while later verses employ devices that more obviously mimic the phrase in question. The full sections, in contrast, follow a fairly uniform structure; the full choir presents a homophonic declaration of an initial textual phrase, followed by elaborate imitative counterpoint with varied textual repetitions. Throughout these full sections Marson displays careful attention to text prosody and indulges only rarely in melismatic textual treatment, though these features do not prevent him from occasionally engaging in text-motivated expressive gestures.

In the Psalm 98 setting *O sing unto the Lord*, for instance, Marson employs a number of expressive devices in both verse and full sections to illustrate aspects of rejoicing. The second full section begins in enlivened homophony with quick syncopations on three statements of the word 'joyful', to imbue a sense of liveliness (ex.9). In the next phrase, 'sing rejoice' is given a distinctive leaping treatment and presented in imitation across all voices, while the phrase 'Praise the Lord upon the harp' features rapid ascending scalar passages in the medius and second contratenor parts.



Ex.9 Marson, O sing unto the Lord

In the verse section that follows for two contratenor voices, blatant horn calls enliven the phrase 'with trumpets also', followed by lively shift to triple mensuration for the phrase 'O show yourselves joyful before the Lord' (ex.10). In the subsequent verse section, on the text 'Let the sea make a

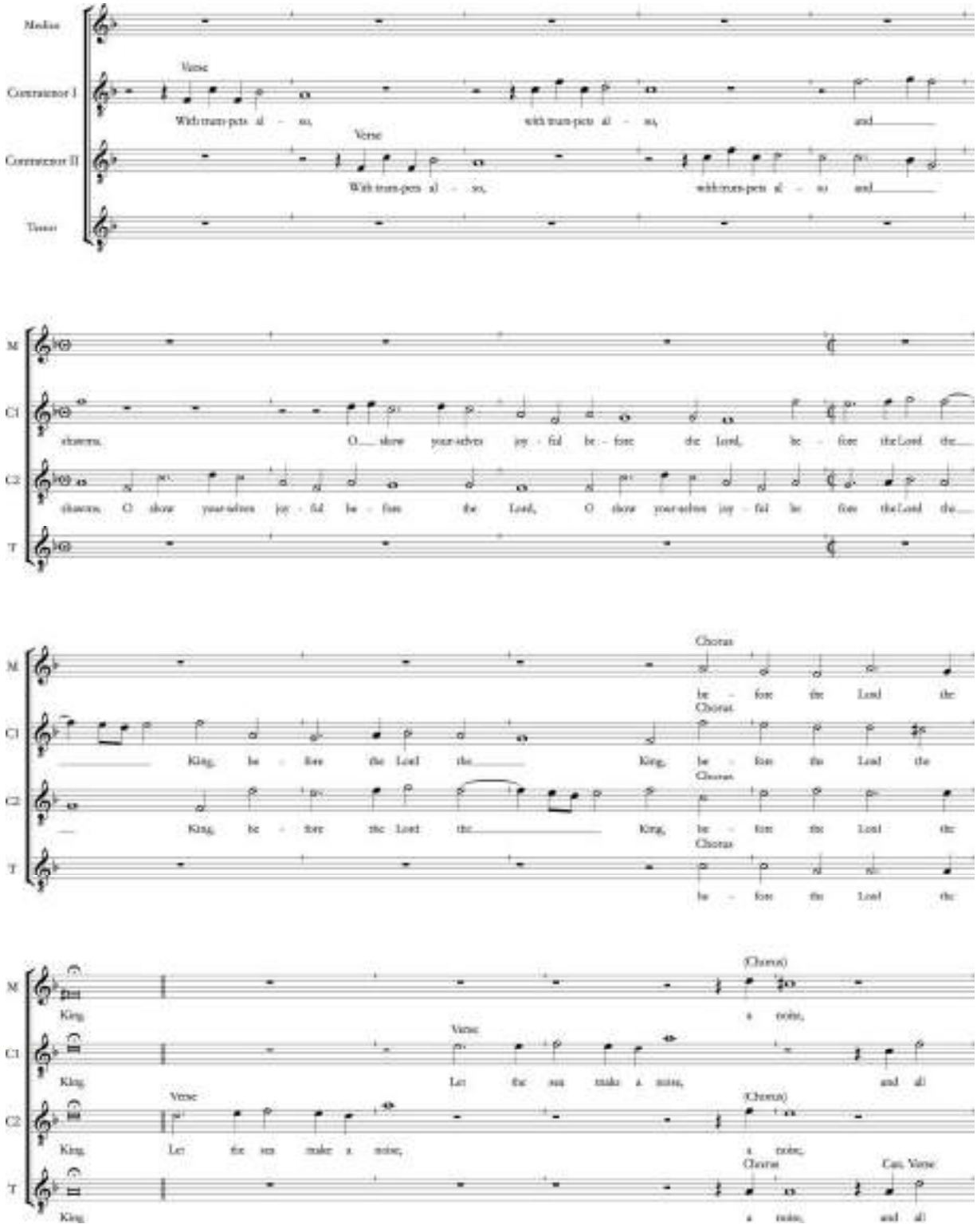
noise', Marson produces an echo effect in which statements of this text in individual voice parts lead to a full choral response on the text 'a noise'.

O Lord who still doth guide which, as noted earlier can be linked to the accession of Charles I, presents a series of petitions to imbue a sovereign with qualities of piety, wisdom, and justice. Two choral refrains, which conform closely to Marson's typical scheme of homophonic proclamation followed by imitative statements, alternate with verse sections whose texts are enlivened by several melodic and rhythmic gestures, particularly with the tenor decani soloist. Threefold invocations of the phrase 'O Lord' in the first verse section immediately capture attention, occurring at steadily increasing intervals to provide a sense of increasing yearning. A set of complementary gestures is then used in the second verse section, in connection with an image of Levi being anointed by the angels (ex.11). The invocation of ointment being poured on Levi's head prompts a rapid ascending line in the tenor that is then repeated in sequence a step higher; this is immediately followed by the ointment spreading 'down to his vestures, skirt and end', where two sequential octave descending lines provide a near-mirror to the previous ascents.

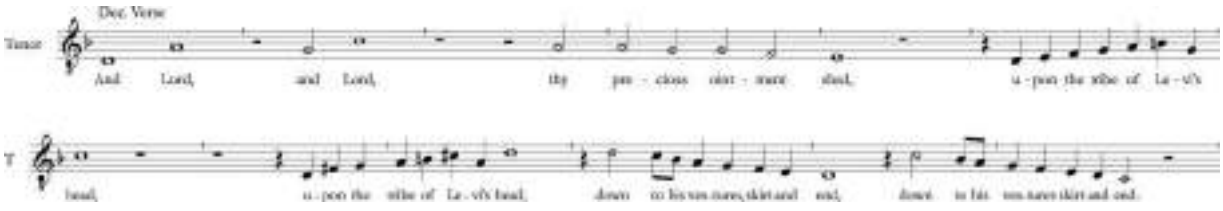
God is our hope and strength, like the other verse anthems, features lively, pictorial vocal writing in the verse sections. Its full sections consist of a single refrain, sung three times in alternation with the verses; these begin in homophonic declamation before proceeding to imitative passagework. The anthem's initial verse section offers a subtle example of possible text-music relationships, with a gently rising and descending bassus figure on the phrase 'and though the hills be carried into the midst of the sea'. Later gestures, in contrast, become rather more vigorous. In the bassus solo verse, tumultuous dotted rhythms and rapid motivic repetitions are linked with 'though the waters thereof rage and swell', while large leaps and a flowing stepwise descent with further dotted rhythms depict the idea of shaking mountains (ex.12). The contratenor then joins the bassus with imitative gestures in quick rhythms and rising sequential harmonic repetition, reflecting the rising waters of 'the rivers of the flood'. All this rhythmic and melodic excitement is then quelled at the 'holy place', where homophony and slower rhythms imbue a distinctive sense of calm. Taken together, this particular verse section probably represents the most highly concentrated expressive moment of Marson's entire anthem repertory.

Conclusions

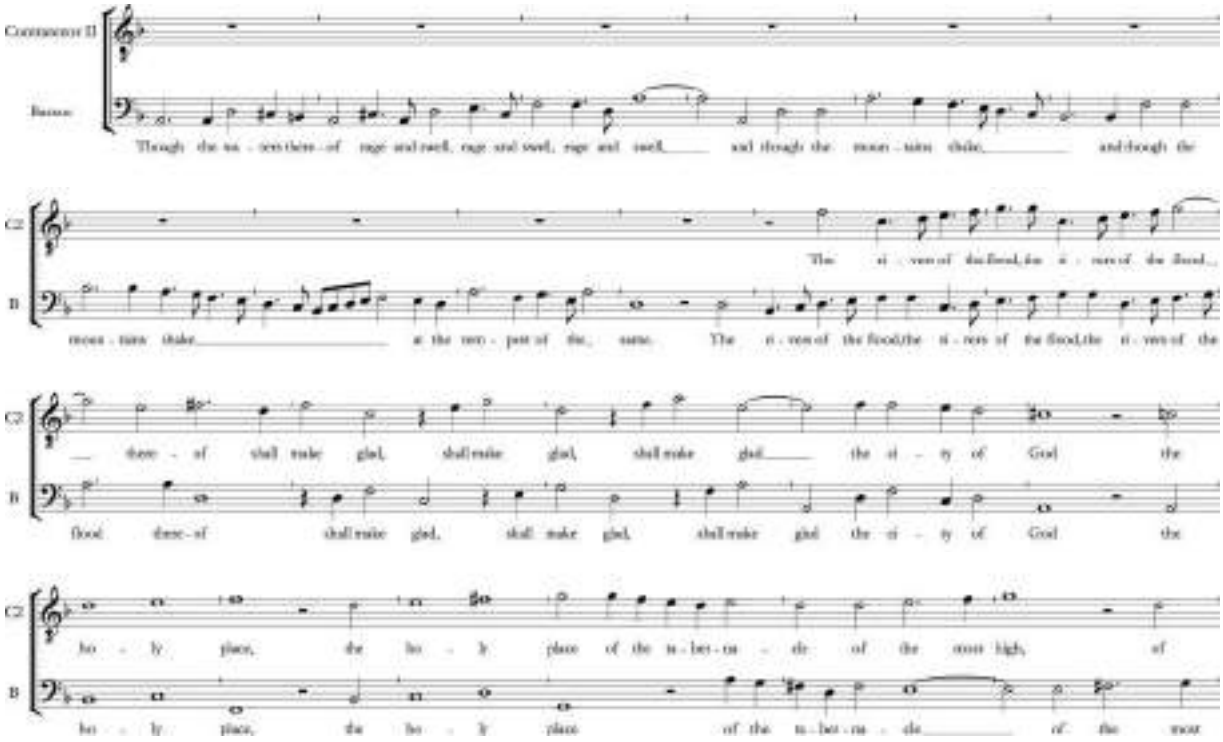
Many years ago Peter le Huray, in discussing English service music of the early 17th century, categorically panned a wide swath of practitioners including Marson by stating, 'Many of these composers are very minor indeed, the quantity of their extant work being small and its quality for the most part indifferent…'.[30] But even 'indifferent' works can have their moments of interest, and it may be too prejudicial to imply that only a 'major' composer's music merits our attention. The structural and expressive gestures of Marson's services suggest a degree of craftsmanship and a penchant for systematic planning that belies the sometimes broadly dismissive charges leveled toward composers of this ilk. And in an environment like Canterbury, where musical life during Marson's career was in a distinctly rebuilding phase, it might be argued that Marson composed exactly the type of music that was needed at this particular time and place.



Ex.10 Marson, O sing unto the Lord



Ex.11 Marson, O Lord who still doth guide



Ex.12 Marson, God is our hope and strength

As an anthem composer, meanwhile, Marson emerges as a model participant in the prevailing styles of his time. When his position as a revitalizing figure at Canterbury is brought into play, it becomes easy to view these anthems as a cornerstone of this enterprise—suitably expressive and effective examples of the genre, if not overly ambitious in scope or technical achievement. As one of many provincial figures practicing his craft, Marson seems to have been fully aware of the contemporary landscape while also operating at least somewhat in isolation, though the extent to which Marson held particular connections to his peers, or how well those other composers might have known Marson himself, remain unclear. Perhaps the stylistic evidence presented here can lay some groundwork for comparison, and it might even be worthwhile to attempt a realization of the anthems by recomposing missing parts, though in many cases the gaps are quite considerable. But if nothing else, Marson's incomplete anthem music offers a deeper sense of both the enduring

strength of general English stylistic norms and glimpses of the particular sounding musical environment of early seventeenth-century Canterbury.

Finally, in looking back upon this repertory we should remain mindful about potential discrepancies between our own musical values and those of earlier times. As Kerry McCarthy reminds us in her new Tallis biography, literary and other arts of Renaissance England were classified into high, middle and low styles, but 'the designation 'low' was by no means a negative judgment of aesthetic or moral value. In fact the humble style, the simple rhetorical register, was highly esteemed in 16th-century England—not least among reformers who considered it the most appropriate manner of expression for church music'.[31] We might do well to keep such a perspective at hand when considering a figure like Marson.

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Notes

1 A sixth piece, 'Let thy mighty hand', is a full anthem that is now lost entirely, being known only from its title in the index of the bassus cantoris partbook from the Barnard manuscripts (GB-Lcm MS 1051).

2 Daniel Bamford, *John Barnard's* First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production, and Influence*, dissertation, The University of York (2009).

3 In the indexes for GB-LCM MS 1045-51, the Dr Hunt Creed is labeled as being part of 'Marsons third' service, though there is no indication of any other movements.

4 Marson's music has been faulted for 'a limited and repetitive harmonic vocabulary', some 'occasionally plodding writing', and text painting that is 'successful, although not especially original'. Roger Bowers has tactfully suggested that Marson's repertory is 'perhaps not among the very best music of its period', though Andrew Ashbee has countered that 'there is much that is attractive' about it. See Bamford (2009), p.ii-iii; Roger Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c.1075-1642', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsey, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford, (1993)), p. 443; and Andrew Ashbee, 'George Marson' (*New Grove*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

5 Watkins Shaw places the birth year as 1571 or 1572, noting that in legal proceedings from 1621 Marson gave his age as 49, though elsewhere in March 1621/2 he indicated his age at 50. John Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* notes that Marson's name was incorrectly entered into the Cambridge registers as 'Marhsam'. Anthony à Wood, meanwhile, claimed that Marson received his bachelor's degree in 1601, and that he was 'of kin to Dr. [Nathaniel] Giles'. See Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, (1991)), p.45; Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 1, Vol.3 (Cambridge, 1924), p.150; W. H. Grattan Flood, 'New Light on Later Tudor Composers: XXVI. George Marson', *The Musical Times*, 68 (1927), p.604 and Dotted Crotchet, 'Canterbury Cathedral', *The Musical Times*, 47 (1906), p.382.

6 Canterbury Cathedral, Treasurer's Accounts, Bound papers, 1576-1642 and Register of Patents, Book 5 (1601-7), pp.182-83.

7 Shaw (1991), p.45; Flood (1927), p.604; and Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, vol.4 (Canterbury, 1799), p.478.

8 Canterbury Cathedral, Treasurer's Accounts, Fair-copy accounts 26-47, 1617-18 to 1641-42. Cited in Shaw (1991), p.46.

9 The *Register Booke of the . . . Cathedrall . . . Church of Christe of Canterbury, 1584-1878* (Harleian Society, 1878) enters the record as 'George Marson, once one of the Petticanons of this Church, Master of the Choristers, and Organist also of this Church'. Cited in Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, p.45. Marson was buried 'in the narrow place between Sir Stephen Thornhurst's chapel and the stairs there, going up behind the choir'. See Hasted (1799), p.544.

10 David C. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France, Chiefly in the Reign of Louix XIV, or The Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 1, Refugees Naturalized Before 1681* (Edinburgh, 3/1886), p.41.

11 Robert Hovenden, ed., *The Register Booke of Christninges, Marriages, and Burialls within the Precinct of the Cathedrall and Metropoliticall Church of Christe of Canterburie* (London, 1878), pp.2, 3, 112, 55, 7.

12 Bowers (1993), pp.408-50.

13 Bowers (1993), p.426. For a detailed discussion of Medieval polyphonic fragments at Canterbury see Nicholas Sandon, 'Fragments of Medieval Polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral', *Musica Disciplina* 30 (1976), pp.37-53.

14 Sandon, *The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse Cambridge (Cambridge University Library, Peterhouse Manuscripts 471-474): A Study, with Restorations of the Incomplete Compositions Contained in Them*, dissertation, University of Exeter (1983), pp.115-46. There remains a small possibility that Tallis never actually took up this post; for more on the evidence of his presence at Canterbury see Kerry McCarthy, *Tallis* (Oxford, 2020), pp.31-34.

15 Bowers (1993), p.429.

16 Bowers (1993), p.434.

17 For more on Wotton in relation specifically to his appointing the composer Clement Woodcock to office at Canterbury see Robert Ford, 'Clement Woodcock's Appointment at Canterbury Cathedral', *Chelys* 16 (1987), pp.36-43. Ford also cites the preference of Canterbury's Dean and Chapter for a (presumably better qualified) lay Substitute over a Minor Canon as evidence of heightened concern with musical affairs.

18 Bowers (1993), pp.440, esp. n.151. With reference specifically to the wind players, Bowers rejects previous assertions that two cornettists and two sackbutters were among Canterbury's musical officers in 1532, as there exists no archival evidence of such practice.

19 These manuscripts comprise seven partbooks out of an original set of ten, transmitting the medius decani/cantoris, primus contratenor decani/cantoris, tenor decani/cantoris, and bassus decani parts, with the bassus cantoris and both secundus contratenor books now lost. The primary studies on these manuscripts are Bamford (2009), pp.35-132 and Morehen, *The Sources of English Cathedral Music c.1617-c.1644*, dissertation, University of Cambridge (1969), pp.244-82.

20 A Venite and Te Deum, both for four voices and with the Venite labeled as 'First', are named in the indexes to the Barnard manuscripts, Lcm MSS 1045-51, evidently with the intent of being included

but never having been copied. It is unclear whether either of these would belong with the Service found in the Durham sources.

21 Marson's service is one of many pieces copied by a figure whom Bamford deems 'Scribe 1', the identity of which is uncertain but whom Bamford suggests is most likely Barnard himself (in the process rejecting Morehen's view that John Ward was the likely scribe). See Bamford (2009), vol.1, pp.98-128 and Morehen (1969), vol.3, pp.274-76.

22 The indication for a first service appears as the first listing of the Venite columns in the tenor decani (MS 1047), medius cantoris (MS 1048), primus contratenor cantoris (MS 1049), tenor cantoris (MS 1050), and bassus cantoris (MS 1051) partbooks, as well as the Te Deum column for MS 1047. The indexes for MS 1045 and 1046 both lack a column for the Venite. The Durham manuscripts containing Marson's 'first' service are GB-DRc A6, GB-DRc C1, GB-DRc C13, and GB-DRc E11a.

23 The central study on these sources is Sandon (1983).

24 Bamford (2009), pp. 98-128.

25 GB-Cp MS 38 and GB-Cp MS 42 and 44, respectively. The 'former' and 'latter' Caroline sets at Peterhouse, comprising 15 partbooks and an organ book, were copied ca. 1625-40, and assembled ca. 1635-43. The former set lacks both tenor partbooks and the contratenor II decani book, while the latter set lacks the contratenor cantoris book. As Morehen has described in some detail, the partbooks are quite haphazardly organized, with little consistency in terms of ordering, multiple scribal hands, and division of parts among the various volumes. See Morehen (1969), pp.126-27.

26 According to Bamford *O gracious God* was among the earlier works to be copied, and he suggests it was copied in two stages—first in the cantoris books (where it appears on verso pages) and then later as an added folio in the decani (on recto pages). Similarly, *O sing unto the Lord*, *O Lord which still dost guide*, and *God is our hope and strength* were among a group of pieces separately copied on loose folios and bound into the partbooks at a slightly later stage of compilation. See Bamford (2009), pp.39-42 and 48.

27 In GB-Lcm 1049, the piece comes immediately before Barnard's own set of 'Responses for 27 March and 5 November', both significant dates in monarchial history (27 March being the anniversary of Charles I's accession, and 5 November the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot); in the other partbooks there are one or two intervening works between them. In three of the partbooks, for decani medius, contratenor, and tenor, William Byrd's anthem *O Lord, make thy servant Charles* (part of a common practice of replacing Byrd's original references to Elizabeth I with other monarchs) appears immediately before or after a block of Marson works (including the Second Service, *O gracious God*, the Creed for Dr Hunt, and the Preces and Psalms) and is otherwise separated by only a couple intervening anthems.

28 Such pieces, in Morley's words, 'requireth most art and moveth and causeth strange effects in the hearer', and when sung properly they draw the listener 'in chains of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things'. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), p.179.

29 Bamford (2009), vol.3, pp.iii-iv.

30 Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.318-19.

31 McCarthy (2020), p.129.

'Working with the past – a too personal approach to the violin'

Peter Sheppard Skærved

On the 19th of September I gave my first concert to a live audience since lockdown began. A pre-booked audience of 30 people found their way to the astonishing 1682 Wren church of St Mary Abchurch, in London's Square Mile. Standing in front of Grinling Gibbons' 1686 reredos, under William Snow's 1708 dome painting (Illus.1), I played a programme of works from the 17th century, and a new work, by the Macedonian composer Mihailo Trandafilovski, on three instruments by Girolamo Amati (1629), Jacob Rayman (1641) and Anon/Brescia (c.1560), in a variety of settings and four tunings. Around the music, I wove texts by Anne Finch, Elisabeth Cavendish, Samuel Pepys and Hooke. At some point in this short hour of music, it seemed as if everyone had remembered *why* we do this, the magic that can happen we share music, art, words, in a space, and most importantly, together. Everything that I say in the next few paragraphs is in that context.

Illus.1 Performing at St Mary Abchurch, London, 19 September 2020 (Photo: Richard Bram)

There's not really any difference between the way that I play the music of our own time, and the music of the past. I have an equally inconsistent approach to everything that I play. This situation is compounded, because I don't have the ability to specialise. If that makes me a generalist, or perhaps an interloper, in the areas in which I am active, then all I can say is that that is the method with which I am comfortable. Coming new to a composer, a piece of music, an instrument, even to a performing space, I ask, 'What would I like to do now?'. This results in a motley of approaches, ranging from the 'targeted' (such as exploring the scordatura of the 1680s *Klagenfurt Manuscript* on a small gut-strung 1685 Stradivari), through to the downright eccentric (playing and recording the 1735 Telemann *Flute Fantasies* on a 1570 Andrea Amati with a tiny late-17th century bow). I would like to offer some ideas from this practice, in the hope, that they might be interesting.

Illus.2 Detail of the 1570 Amati

I am fascinated by the exchanges involved in the making of music, particularly how ideas are shared between composer and performer. Of course, this must always be explored with the proviso, that at any given time or locale, the performer *is or is not* the/a composer, or that the composer *is or is not* a/the performer. This interlocks fascinatingly, in every period, with the question of whether or not the composer is writing for themselves or for others, and, if they are writing for others, whether for a specific, known artist/collaborator, or for a large cohort (such as a musically active, music-purchasing, public). Much of my time is spent in the very smallest-scale of string playing – alone. So, I hope that I can be forgiven, if I make observations from that stand point. I will begin with two images (which feel like one).

The first edition (1684) of John Playford's (1623-1686/7) *The Division Violin* has a lovely engraving on the title page (Illus.3). A musician sits on a high-backed oak and leather chair, at a table, which may or may not be covered. He ('for there could be no doubt of his sex, though the fashion of the time did something to disguise it')[1] is playing the violin. The table itself has, it seems, been graffiti-ed with 'Division Violin' above the open volume laid on its top: it seems that we are to understand that the contented smile which plays across our violinist's face, is due to his enjoyment of that music as he plays it (I am sure that it is!). Musical instruments (a bass viol or cello with bow and a crossed pair of crudely-represented wind instruments) hang on the wall. Light floods the room from the double-bay leaded windows in the centre of the room. One thing is clear, above all: Our musician is at home. It's not clear if there is an audience, though that question is moot, as our fiddler is smiling at the artist, or at us, at me, at you.

Illus.3 Title page from John Playford's 'The Division Violin'

Every night, I set up my work space in my apartment near the River Thames, in East London. I make a pot of Verbena tea, get out whichever instrument that I am going to use, and put my music flat on my work table under a 'daylight' reading lamp. I have good work chair, a 'Tripp-Trapp', and always sit to practice. I never use a music stand. Of course, I have a number of tools not represented on Playford's title page – pencils, pens and the all-important 'practice mute'. But I sit under very large leaded workshop windows, and in the summer, conversation, and the occasional clink of glassware, can be heard from the walkways of the Victorian building opposite, where my neighbours like to sit and talk. They can see me, but, even if my windows are open, which they always are, they can't hear me: such are the benefits of the *Hotel-Dämpfer*. This is how the majority of my music is made.

I offer this simple comparison, between musicians in the 17th and 21st Centuries, to point out how so much of our personal practice (and I use the word in the sense that a visual artist uses it) is similar to that of our forebears, who sit in the same spaces we sit now. I can't see, hear, or feel this as *past*, which is perhaps a short-coming. I live in Wapping, on a curiously dog-legged street which appears, just so, *Morgan's Map of the Whole of London in 1682*.[2] I know that there were string instruments here in the late 17th century, because, Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) tells me so:

> By and by down by water on several Deal ships, and stood upon a stage in one place seeing calkers sheathing of a ship. Then at Wapping to my carvers about my Viall head. So home, and thence to my Viall maker's in Bishopsgate Street; his name is Wise, who is a pretty fellow at it. (July 16th 1663) [3]

Four days later, Samuel meets a plain fiddler like I, at his 'brother Toms barbers'

> '…and had my hair cut while his boy played on the vyallin: a plain boy, but hath a very good genius and understands the book very well'.[4]

The 'plain boy' is not only playing from music, but doing it 'very well', and it was provided respite from the endless gossip of the 'hairdressers', then as now.

There's a tension between musical expectations of the 17th and 21st centuries, and it arises from the, perhaps temporary moment (I hope) when the majority of people's experience of music became not only non-performing, but in our time, mediated through various forms of reproduction. This led to the rather illogical perception, which any music teacher will recognise (with a sigh) that all too often the practice of music, was *practising* for another event. This, for many young people across the world, has been confined to graded music exams (which offer an even more bizarre form of listening). This is changing, and Covid-19 has accelerated the change. At this moment in lockdown, the majority of music-making, is happening in the home, from families playing together (in the happily broadest sense), through to the great multi-instrumentalist *Kapellmeister* of our time, gladly back in his 'hideaway', Jacob Collier (1994-) (Illus.4). And we can see it all: today, the most in-public music making is in the private sphere, thanks to the Internet. I think that the musicians and listeners of the age of Aphra Behn (1640-1689), Nicola Matteis (1670-1713) and Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) would identify with such immediacy.

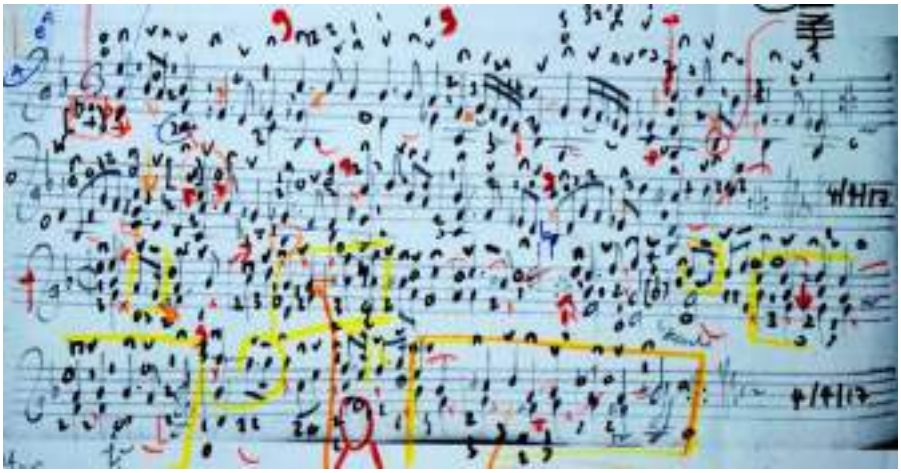
Illus.4 Jacob Collier at home (photo: courtesy of Jacob Collier)

My domestically-driven music-making informs (or misinforms) my approach to everything I play. Each time that I gingerly begin exploring a project (and this of course stretches from the smallest work, to a large cycle of pieces), I find my way in, violin in hand, at my table, just like Playford's violinist. I cannot say what elements will find their way into the explorations as a project develops, but the majority of my 'musicking', if I may, happens in that environment, and the attempts to understand are the result of the highly (for me) enjoyable activity that happens every night.

Some of the most moving moments with music happen 'at the desk' and some of them happen when an audience, or a space, shows us the way. Charles Palliser (1947-), in his novel, *Betrayals* talked about the various ways that a text is either inert, interferes with, or is interfered with, by its reader: the fictional 'Appendix – Henri Galvnauskas's 'Lo(o)sing the Signifier: Silence, Wordlessness, and Desire in Kipling's "The Tongueless Boy"': A summary by Graham Speculand' sums up the terrifying swings in hierarchy which are necessary for a text to work – all the more powerfully because Palliser's 'academic' text is itself an act of fiction, which 'messes' with the reader, us, me, you.[5]

So here are three moments, which illustrate something of what I am talking about:

The first took place four years ago, when I first received the copy of the astonishing 1685 'Klagenfurt manuscript', (released as a double CD earlier this year).[6] I must stress that my work on this source is not scholarly, and for the *real* work on this material, the real understanding, I urge you to seek out the research that Pauline Nobes has done as distinguished violinist and scholar.[7] The facsimile arrived electronically from the helpful team at Klagenfurt's 'Landesmuseum für Kärnten', and I waited, impatiently for my printer to spool out the hundred-odd sheets. Then to my desk, violin, practice mute and the tuning fork, as I began to puzzle out the seven or eight *scordaturae* used in the piece.



Illus.5 The author's marked-up copy of the Klagenfurt manuscript

I am not sure how much audible music-making happened during these first hours, nor at what point what happened, happened. I can say that beginning was not a comfortable process: anyone who plays a lot of 'scordatura' will know, particularly on a violin, with the high string tensions, that there's more than a sense of 'Jacob and the Angel', as we wrestle towards tunings, bridge placements, hand settings which work, whilst trying to find an instrument which does not shift, warp and adjust too much under the various setups. But this is prologue, unless things do not go well, to the moment when, quite suddenly, all comes clear, and plain-sailing follows. In my case this moment came about 28 movements into the cycle. Suddenly I realised that what I was playing, was an absolute beauty, that these were, are, pieces that I will perform and explore, for the rest of my life. I put the violin down and went to the other room in the apartment, where my wife, a writer, was working. There was nothing that I could say; I just needed her to know that I was speechless. This was a moment when it became necessary to go beyond, me, the desk, the violin, the music, and to describe my wonder. This of course, is what drives the need to perform, the yen to share what we find.

Underpinning this moment of clarity was an awareness I was working with a source designed to be used in the way that I was using it. Clearly, from the layout of pages, recto & verso, the writer had laid the music out so that there would not be any page turns. This might sound a little crude, but it told me that violinist/composer of the material, whoever they are expected to be alone when they played it - not to have someone to turn pages for them. It made sense, if, as I suspect, this score was written by, and to be played by a nun at the convent where the volume was discovered, in modern-day Slovenia. This is very opposite of Bach's *Sonatas & Partitas*, which, whilst they were likely written for own use, which are inscribed with 'V[olti] S[ubito]: volti presto', at the page turns in the middle of long movements. I am not sure that Bach, both with regards to his family and professional situations, was ever *alone*, so there was always someone to turn the pages 'presto', be it family member or fellow musician.

My next trivial insight which can come from the score designed by and for the solitary musician (being the composer) is the interweave between composing and performing. I notice, that the composer/performer often does not distinguish between these activities. At a number of points in the Klagenfurt source, that we see the creator's pen run away with itself, when improvisation and invention win out over form and discipline. At the peroration of one lovely set of divisions the

composer forgets the four-bar structure and just noodles on, like the winding tail end of a Danish hymn-tune (I have known audiences laugh out loud at this moment). It's not unusual, and it's not a mistake. What I find charming is observing the composer decide whether or not to 'correct' the accident. In both this case, and in another score that I love dearly, Giuseppe Tartini's (1692-1770) *Piccole Sonate* I watch, or rather play, as the composer (Illus.6) realises their errors and crosses-out furiously – in Tartini's case he forgets the number of beats in a set of *couplets*.

Illus.6 Giuseppe Tartini, by George Dance the Younger

Before I go on, I need to remind myself, us, that what we are doing as artists, is delving into 'what happens'. This is something which I have learnt talking with composers. Working with the late Sir Michael Tippett, I discovered that this musical-omnivore was interested in happened when his music was played – and if his music was played twice, his question (with a mischievous grin) was always 'what happens next?'. Now, there are plenty of composers who want exactly what they wrote (whatever that means), and there are points between. But it is important to work out how much we are duty-bound to interfere, or not interfere with the material, and, going back to Playford's violinist-at-the-table, what we do, when we are by ourselves. Just instrument, music, room, player.

Working on the Tartini's six-hour cycle of sonatas (which I have released as a cycle of 30, on five discs),[8] means that it is impossible to avoid taking authority over the material. By the end of the manuscript, this composer's propensity for shorthand means that we have to make daring choices, or there is no music. The last sonata of the set, contained, in full on p.106 of the manuscript, consists of eight movements. Some of these are fully written out, one requests the repetition of a movement from earlier in the cycle, one demands the 'minorisation' of a major movement from earlier on, and one (p.106, line 5 – second half) consists of four bars in ¾ and then 'etc'.[9] This was a moment where my practice desk failed me. I did not want to simply make up the remainder of a minuet. It would not be difficult, but I knew that I could not offer a satisfactory solution, though I completely accepted that this shorthand was all *he* needed. He was Tartini. I am not. I momentarily gave up – and, as there were 105 more pages of music to worry about, stepped away from the problem.

A few days later, walking along Lower Thames Street, and found myself under the Wren tower of the church of St Magnus the Martyr. I stood silent for a moment, as ever, astonished at the invention and creative solutions that Wren and his collaborators, Hooke and Hawksmoor, always found for problems of space and light. Suddenly an answer to the Tartini problem came to me. The

melodic material (the pitches) of the first two bars of the unfinished minuet was the same, exactly the same, as those of the first two bars of the preceding movement, *Aria Cantabile* (in 4/4), which occupy the first half of the same line of music on p.106. Surely it could not be that simple. Leaning over the wall by the River Thames, I 'unrolled' the rest of the 4/4 material in my head, in ¾. A ten-bar Aria became an 18-bar Minuet. I ran home, grabbed a sheet of manuscript paper and wrote it out.

I fully accept that Tartini had 'put' me in this position, because he was writing this music for his himself, not me. As we all know, personalised scores become mnemonics – the musical equivalent of a knotted handkerchief (though I have forgotten when l last heard of that memory trick being used – I know that my maternal grandfather did it). In the 20th century, the increasing separation between the roles composer and performer led to hybrid versions of such reminders. The score for Nam Joon Paik's (1932-2006) infamous *Solo for Violin* (which I have performed once, and once only! Illus.7) is one such. I saw it in an exhibit in Mexico City, where I was 'playing' the piece: it consists of musical staves on which is scrawled (around a rough sketch of a violin):

> 'PLEASE ask Ben Patterson how to play it'[10]

It amused me that a score which will result in the smashing of a violin (Paik) helped me with my speculative reconstruction of Tartini's 'note to self'.

Illus.7 Playing Nam Joon Paik's 'Solo for Violin', Galeria Rufino Tamayo, Mexico City, 2005

I am the first person to admit that the conclusions or insights that I come are very likely wrong, and are, at best, 'provisional', serving what I am doing at any time as a performer. Indeed, one of the most fascinating aspects of all notation, be it the 'nothing there' simplicity of one of the enormous Giuseppe Colombi (1635-1694) *Toccatas* for solo violin or the amazing precision of Marin Marais's (1656-1728) notation for bass viol, is that there seems to be the same degree of freedom and latitude offered by each technique. The experience of working with living composers teaches us that, very often the same contradiction can be observed: the composers who notate the least often demand the greatest timbral and expressive exactitude, whether it is written down, or not (and vice versa).

Which brings me to my third example, to instruments. For the whole of my playing life, I have been involved with violin- and bow-makers, restorers, and the exploration of old and new instrumental designs and technologies. Unlike some of my colleagues, I have never fallen in love with a particular instrument. My sense has always been, that every violin has something to offer, whether it is new, old, in 'converted state', gut strings or wire, even good or bad. There's no such thing as a violin or bow without its own, unique voice: that, once I have learnt to sing with that voice, its elements of it can be transported, transposed. Last year I gave a concert of 17th century solo works at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City on Cremonese violins from their collection.[11] I alternated between two Antonio Stradivari violins from the mid-1690s - the 'Francesca' and the 'Gould'. One of these is in 'modern' setup, the other was restored to baroque (neck, bridge, bass-bar etc) in the 1970s. It remains the only Stradivarius violin which has been restored thus. At the start of the concert, I did not tell the audience which fiddle I was playing on – and began playing a Johann Joseph Vilsmayr (1663-1722) *Partia*[12] on the 'modern' Strad – albeit with scordatura and with 'Biber' bow, by Antonino Airenti of Genoa. I noticed that, not only was it difficult for the listeners to discriminate between the setups, but that increasingly, it was for me as well: the timbres and colours of one instrument were travelling to the other.

Illus.8 First encounter with the 1694 'Gould' Stradivari, Metropolitan Museum 2015

The situation offered a contained model of something I have often experienced. An example: I spent five years performing on the Long-Pattern 'Joachim' Stradivari of 1698. This gave me insight into a particular range of tone colours, many of them darker, huskier than I had explored before. I stopped using the 'Joachim' violin regularly in 2013, but the material it gave me, to my hands, ears and imagination, is still with me, and I can 'take it' to other violins, other setups.

Instruments constantly teach us about music. Music constantly teaches us about instruments. This gyre-like intersect is usefully troubling, as everyone has a different point of view as to what can be

learnt. A simple, rather crude story might illustrate the kind of insight that can be gained from spending time with a chordophone of any age.

A few years ago, I had the rare opportunity work and record on a beautiful Giovanni Paolo Maggini (1580-c.1630) violin. Unlike many of the Brescian master's instruments, this had not been 'cut down' (it was what violinists like to call 'a monster'). It was a fantastic instrument to play, to hold, to look at (all of these are important). I was, as ever, practising late at night, probably around 3am, and the only light in the room was the reading lamp over my work table. All of a sudden, as I drew the bow across the strings of the Maggini, my nose, mouth and eyes filled with the acrid, stinging smell and taste of *soot*. The instrument had not been played much in recent years, and clearly, my protracted practice sessions had dislodged something inside its box – the legacy of centuries of smoke. I was stunned. It had never occurred to me before that for most of its life, this instrument was played around naked flames, from the hearth and the kitchen range to the candles on a music stand or chandeliers (see http://www.peter-sheppard-skaerved.com/2015/11/1-36).

These days we do our best to keep string instruments as far from fire as possible: a wonderful Cremonese instrument on which I had had the privilege to perform and record was destroyed in a house fire in the US earlier this year, which was extremely shocking; there's a sort of violin-shaped void where that instrument used to be.

The sensation and stink that briefly emanated from this beautiful violin reminded me of the osmosis that happens, constantly, between instrument and players, and between instrument and composition/composer. We cannot be sure, whether the insight that we find or can offer will be prosaic or profound, transforming or banal. All I can say is that it is vital that we allow it to happen.

Violinist Peter Sheppard Skaerved is noted both as a performer on historical violins and as the dedicatee of more than contemporary 400 works. He has made over 70 recordings, and is a lecturer in performance and a fellow at the Royal Academy of Music, London. Website http://www.peter-sheppard-skaerved.com.

Notes

1 Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (London,1956), p.13.

2 Ann Saunders (ed), *The A to Z of Charles II's London 1682: (London &c. Actually Survey'd by William Morgan)*, London Topographical Society, Publication No.174 (2013), p.57.

3 Robert Latham (ed), *Pepys Diary*, vol.1 (London, 1996), pp.294-95.

4 Latham (1996), p.295.

5 Charles Palliser, *Betrayals* (London, 1994), p.289.

6 Peter Sheppard Skærved, 'The Great Violins', Volume III, Athene ATH 23206 (2020).

7 https://www.rncm.ac.uk/people/pauline-nobes.

8 Toccata Classics.

9 *Tartini – sonate piccole*, Basilica del Santo, Biblioteca Antoniana, Padua.

10 Ursula Zeller, *Fluxus in Deutschland 1962-1994*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehungen EV Autroren, Fotografen (Stuttgart 1995), p.179.

11 https://youtu.be/yoaJVUBapU0.

12 1715, titled *Artificiosus Concentus pro Camera.*

‘Reconstructing piano actions of 19th century German keyed guitars’

Daniel Weeldon

Introduction

As part of a creative practise PhD at the University of Edinburgh I have made copies of two surviving German keyed guitars. These are rare instruments made like contemporary 19th-century guitars, but with a piano hammer mechanisms accessed though the side of the guitar with one key for each string - instead of plucking the strings with the fingers of the right hand the player can use the keyboard mechanism. The original instruments, on which my copies are based, are the only known surviving German keyed guitars: the earliest, made by Mathias Neüner in Mittenwald in 1810 (Illus.1), is currently in the private collection of Rainer Krause; another is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and has makers’ labels reading ‘Matteo Sprenger / fece à Carlsruhe 1843’ and ‘F. Fiala’ (MMA no. 3145, Illus.2); a third known instrument with uncertain provenance was lost in the Second World War from the University of Leipzig’s Museum of Musical Instruments.[1] These are the only known keyed guitars made in the 19th century, though there is evidence to suggest others were made, and ultimately this practice has its origins in 1780s London, with keyed citterns known as *pianoforte guittars*.[2]

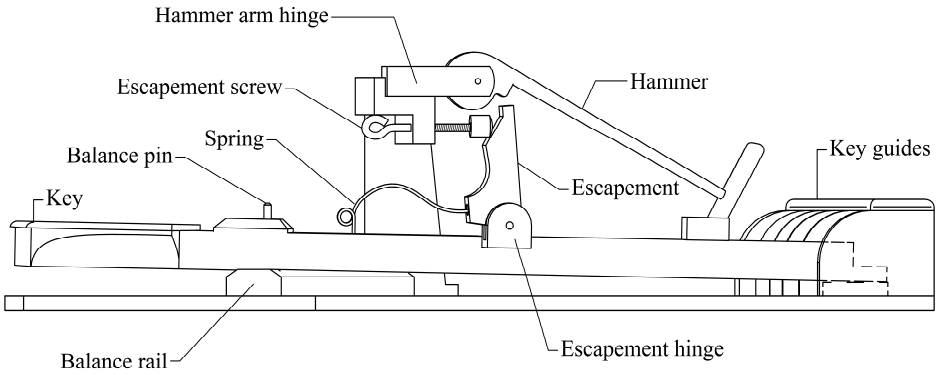
I have already written on this subject providing a history and analysis of the London-made instruments in my 2017 *Galpin Society Journal article*, and on the 19th century German keyed guitars in a forthcoming article in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, to be published later this year.[3] Presently, I will outline the process of reproducing the piano actions of the 19th century German keyed guitars, focusing on the design rather than historiographical context.

Illus.1 Guitar by Mathias Neüner, Mittenwald 1810, Collection of Rainer Krause

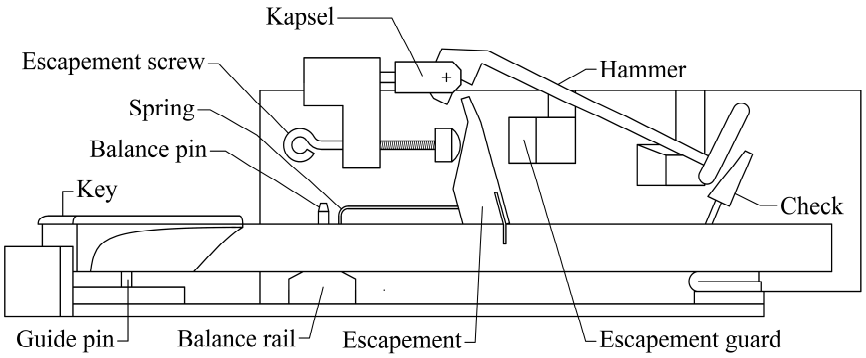
Illus.2 Keyed Guitar by Matteo Sprenger and F. Fiala, Karlsruhe 1843, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 89.4.3145

Descriptions of the mechanisms

The two keyed guitars differ vastly in external appearance. The earlier guitar by Mathias Neüner is not only more ornately decorated, it is also of superior craftsmanship compared to the instrument at the Metropolitan Museum. This later instrument did not begin life as a keyed guitar and has undergone many significant alterations in addition to the piano mechanism. It is even possible that the mechanism, along with the makers labels, were salvaged and added to a guitar by an unscrupulous dealer in the late 19th century.[4] Yet, despite these differences, the mechanisms show a clear link between the two instruments (Illus.3a/b).

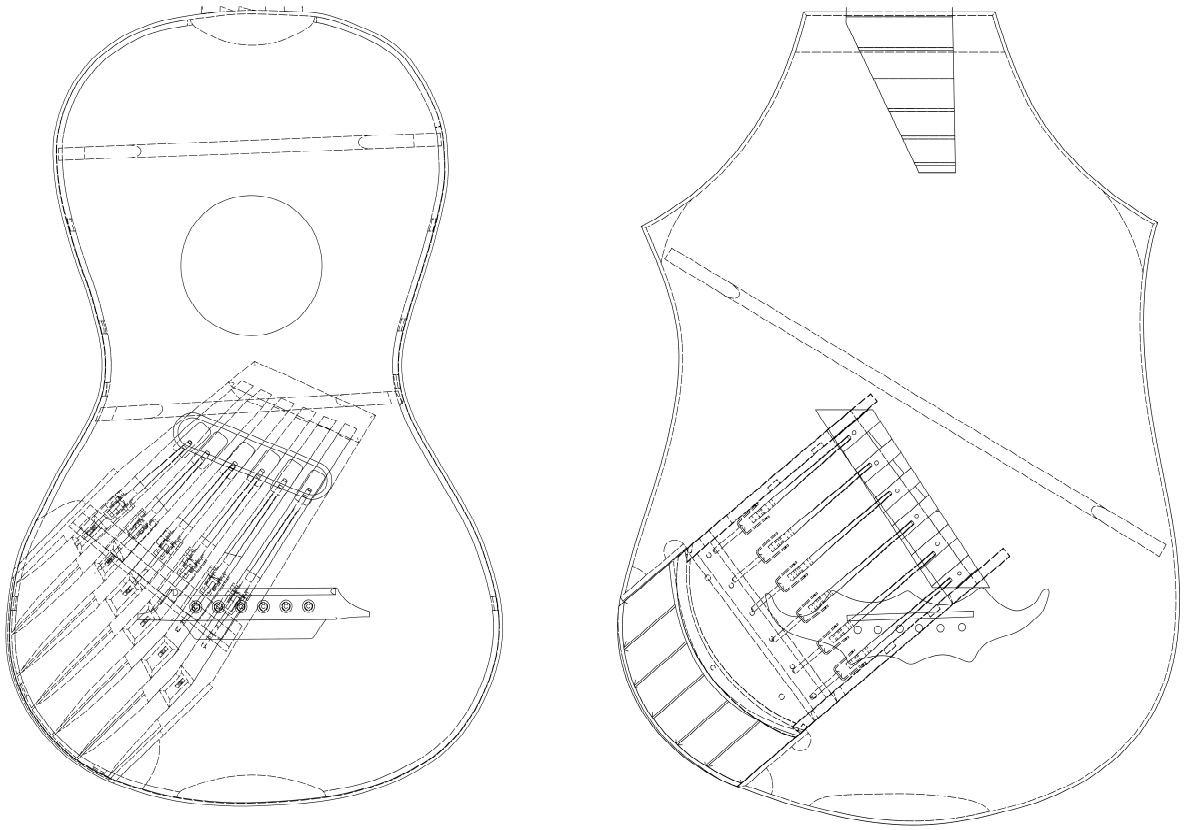


Illus.3a Hammer action by Mathias Neüner, 1810



Illus.4b Hammer action by Matteo Sprenger and F. Fiala 1843

They are both English actions – with hammers fitted to a rail above the keys, activated by the escapement mounted on the keys themselves. They are certainly of the same design lineage and differ only in more subtle ways: the escapement and hammer arms are hinged with different component parts, the keys are aligned with different guides, and the mechanism by Sprenger and Fiala uses checks to catch the returning hammers while the key is depressed to prevent rebounding notes from a single key stroke.



Illus.5 Keyed guitar profiles showing the location of the piano mechanism: Neüner (left), Sprenger/Fiala (right)

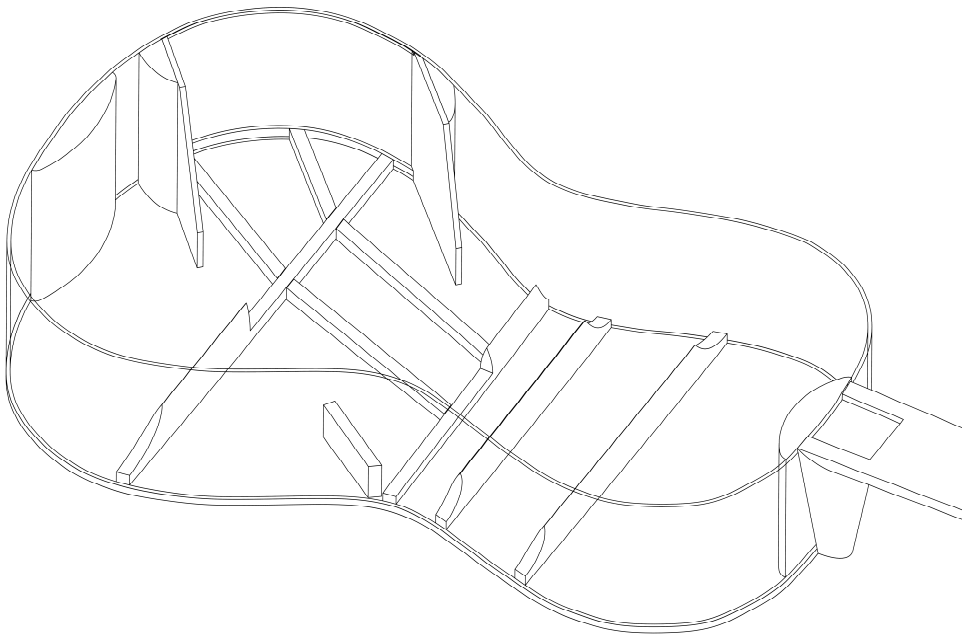
Illus.5 shows the location and shape of the mechanisms within the guitar bodies. One significant difference, seen here, is the varying length in the keys and hammer arms across the six keys in each mechanism. The hammers on Neüner's guitar strike the strings at a comparatively similar point along the string, on all the courses, but it then requires longer hammer arms and key levers for the treble strings compared to those in the bass. Sprenger and Fiala's keyed guitar has keys and hammer arms of a much more even length but has a wide variance in strike point from the treble to the bass. This is the trade-off between the types of mechanism and is an inevitable consequence of having the mechanism at an angle to the strings.

I have closely consulted both surviving instruments and created accurate 3D drawings of their entirety. The reproduction instruments have relied closely on these drawings, which will be used here alongside workshop photographs to document to process of making.

Reproducing the mechanisms

Mathias Neüner, 1810, Mittenwald

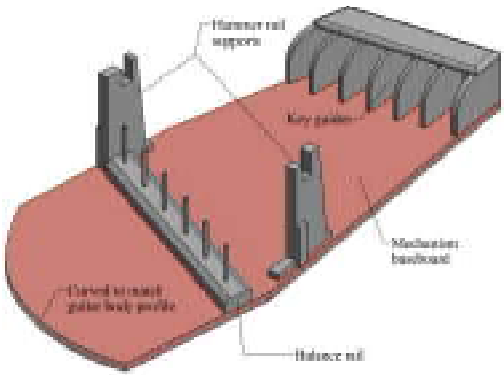
The guitar by Neüner was originally built as a keyed guitar and the soundboard has both a conventional circular sound hole and a separate opening for the hammers to strike the strings. The back plate of the guitar was built with guides and supports to receive the mechanism and hold it in place, with an opening cut out of the sides of the guitar (Illus.5). The first step was to reconstruct the guitar body as in this diagram. This was made with a template of the mechanism footprint in hand and fine scrutiny to ensure the positioning would intersect with the correct strike point. I relied heavily on the 3D drawings and would have struggled to make this without them.



Illus.6 Diagram showing the supporting structures to receive the mechanism

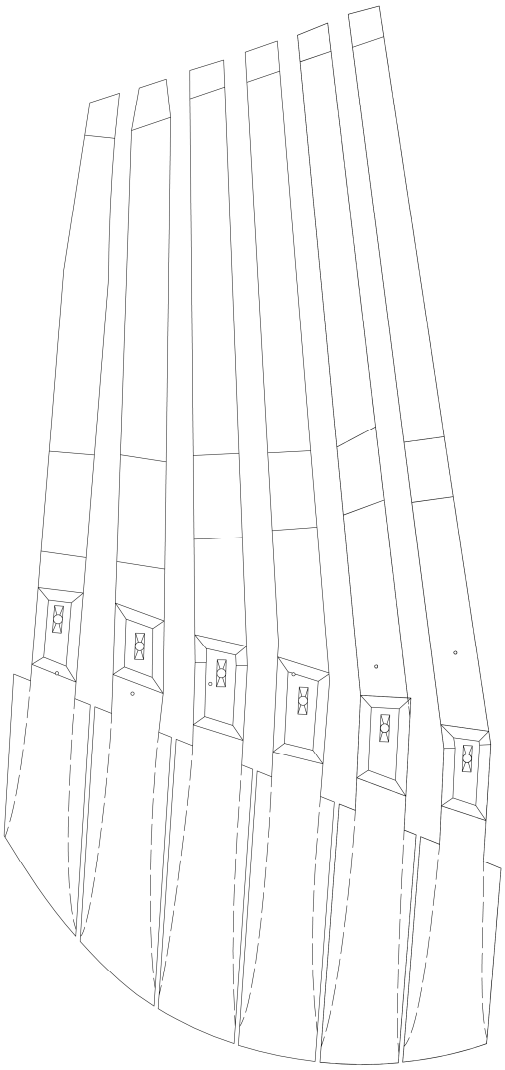
From this stage I marked out the position of the mechanism opening with a sharp knife and removed the section of the ribs with a veneer saw (Illus.6).

Illus.7 Cutting the opening for the mechanism with veneer saw



Illus.8 Neüner's mechanism baseboard

The baseboard for the mechanism (Illus.7) was made from a 4mm pine board and made in tandem with the supports and guides on the back of the guitar, before the soundboard was attached. The balance rail was attached slanted, to compensate for unequal lengths of the key levers (shown below, Illus.9). Guides at the back of mechanism were likewise attached to aligns the keys and prevent them from coming into contact with each other. Supports were attached either side of the baseboard to hold the hammer rail, and the front was shaped to match the guitar body profile.



Illus.9 Keys lever template

The angled keys are quite an awkward shape, but I used my 3D drawings to cut the keys from a single block of pine using a CNC router. This would otherwise be quite possible with good templates. Holes were drilled for the balance pins (Illus.9) and adjusted to move with as little friction as possible (discussed more with Sprenger and Fiala's mechanism), and key fronts and tops and were added, made from a high-quality artificial ivory (polyester).[5]

Illus.10 Keys cut out, with holes for the balance pins

The soundboard was then marked out to match with the hammer location and the hammer hole was cut out (Illus.10a/b). A decorative reinforcement was cut from a single piece of ebony and glued as a boarder to the hammer hole. At this stage, the soundboard was added and decorated with mother-of-pearl and ebony.

Illus.11a/b The soundboard was prepared, and the hammer hole was roughly cut out, reinforcement made from ebony

The hammer arms and heads, escapement and their hinges (Illus.11) were all made from pear wood and used bushing cloth to create a low friction rotation. A brass spring was fixed to each key lever and inserted into a hole in the escapement to maintain constant downwards pressure.

Illus.12 Wooden hinges for the hammer arms

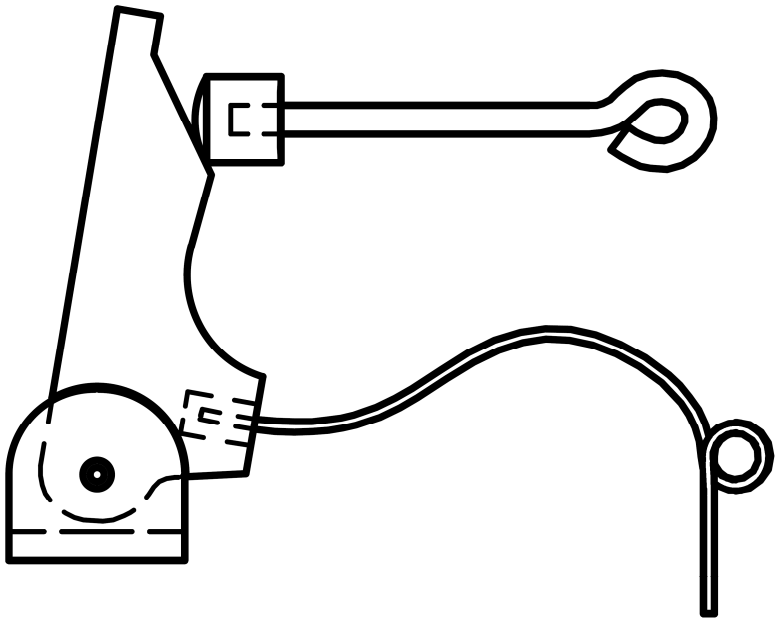
The escapement (Illus.12) allows the hammer to fall away after the key is pressed, but this component is the most crucial part of the mechanism for the feeling and response of the hammer. It can be regulated in four ways:

by adjusting the escapement screw forwards or backwards to make it meet the hammer arm at the correct position

by increasing the height of the escapement with leather toppings or cutting it down to make it shorter (Illus.13)

by altering the angle of the slanted side of the escapement

by altering the position of the escapement along the key lever.



Illus.13 Escapement components

Illus.14 Leather tops added to the escapement

The hammer arms were made oversize and finally cut to length once the instrument had all its strings. The hammer heads were covered in leather and attached at an angle to the hammer arms so they would attack in line with the strings. Blocks covered with cloth were attached to the keys to support the resting hammers. For the completed mechanism, see Illus.14-17.

Illus.15 Side view of the completed mechanism

Illus.16 Completed piano hammer mechanism

Illus.17 View of the soundboard showing the piano hammer hole

Illus.18 Completed mechanism within the guitar body

The final regulation had to take place once the instrument was finished, strung and tuned to pitch. The action is quite light and has good repetition. If the higher keys are pressed with force the hammer can rebound and strike the string multiple times, perhaps why the later instrument was designed with checks. The mechanism could remain within the instrument without any fixings. Perhaps over the life of the instrument as the wood shrinks and warps it will need adjusting to retain a tight fit.

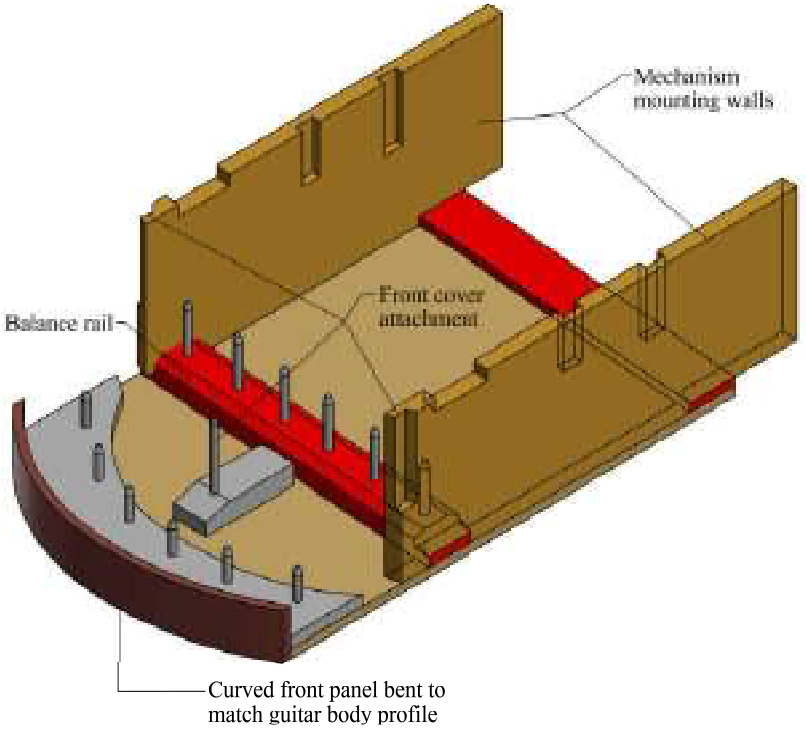
Matteo Sprenger and F. Fiala, 1843, Karlsruhe

The important difference with the instrument by Sprenger and Fiala is that it was originally made as a guitar without a hammer mechanism and later converted into a keyed guitar. Matteo Sprenger was a well regarded master violin-maker, and so the poor workmanship involved in the guitar construction gives good reason to doubt his involvement. Likewise, 'F. Fiala' refers to Franz Fiala, a Baden court musician who promoted keyed guitars to the German nobility, raising further doubts as to the surviving instrument's authenticity. However, for the purposes of its reproduction it was only important to understand that the instrument was once a guitar without keys and has been converted: evinced by the missing braces on the back, cut and removed to allow the mechanism to slide in place.

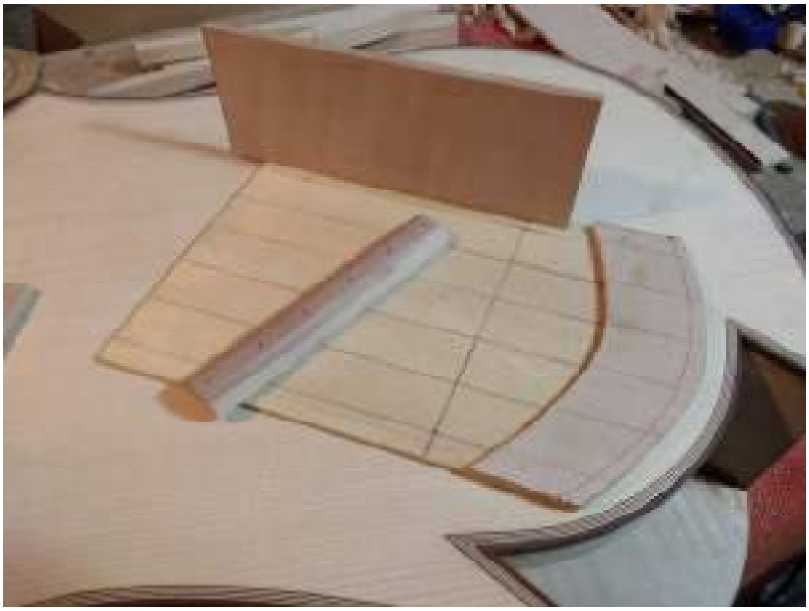
Consequently, there is no structure to support the mechanism underneath, which instead rests directly on the back plate of the guitar. For this instrument I attached the back plate last, building up the instrument from the soundboard side (Illus.18). This was also necessary for cutting out the 'key well'–the section cut into the soundboard, allowing the keys to be seen from the front.

Illus.19 Reproduction guitar body, decorated, but without the back attached

The baseboard (Illus.19) was also made from pine and is more rectangular in shape than Neüner's mechanism. The tall sides flank the entire rear section, guide pins at the front keep the keys aligned and a curved panel fronts the mechanism made to match the sides of the guitar. Illus.21 shows the baseboard marked out for the keys and the balance rail nearly ready to be glued on. The tall sides made it important to drill the holes for the balance pins (Illus.21) before gluing in the balance rail.



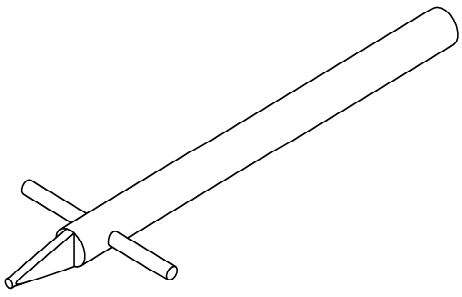
Illus.20 Sprenger's mechanism baseboard



Illus.21 Building up from the baseboard

Illus.22 Using a balance pin tool, with a clamp to avoid splitting

The keys in this mechanism are all straight and so were comparatively simple to make without templates and were made from wild service wood as opposed to pine in Neüner's mechanism. The hole for the balance pin was drilled and then widened using a specialist tool shaped to the profile of the desired hole (Illus.22). This was driven into the hole with a hammer, compressing the wood fibres to the correct shape.[6] The front guide pins were much more effective at noiselessly keeping the keys straight than the rear guide rails.



Illus.23 detail of the end of a balance pin tool

The escapement was attached to each key with a parchment hinge. For this, a cut was made in each key and in the escapement, with a saw the same thickness as the parchment.[7] This is a very quick and effective method of hinging, but less flexible for correction which might be problematic if it becomes necessary to adjust the position of the escapement. The hammer arms, were hinged with brass *kapseln*, typical in Viennese actions.[8] These are quite awkward to set up, but provide a very smooth motion to the hammer arms.

The checks had to be positioned once the hammers were cut to length, they were fronted with leather to catch the hammer silently. The stages in construction are shown in Illus.23-28.

Illus.24 Keys fully shaped to fit the mechanism

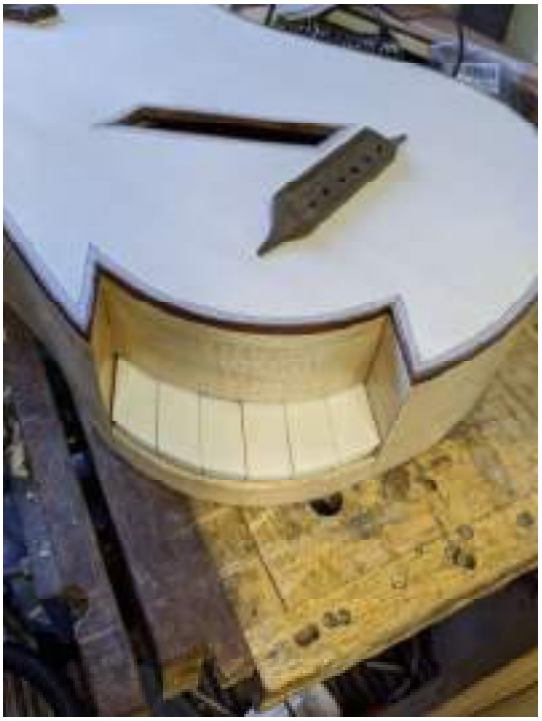
Illus.25a Escapement hinges

Illus.26b Key tops and escapement hinges added to keys

Illus.27 Hammer arm rail, with adjustment screws for the escapement

Illus.28 View of completed keys

Illus.29 Assembled mechanism



Illus.30 Mechanism in the guitar

Currently, the original instrument at the Metropolitan Museum of Art has three small screws entering through the back of the guitar to hold it in place. I decided to avoid this and attempt a tight fit like Neüner's mechanism, and so currently it can be held in place without fixings. The frontings and recessed key well make this instrument more noticeably different from other guitars.

As mentioned before, the original keyed guitar by Sprenger and Fiala has undergone quite a comprehensive conversion into a keyed guitar and was nearly entirely disassembled in the process. The mechanism however contrasts strongly with the rest of the instrument and is well made from good materials by a skilled craftsman. I did not apply the same level of exactness in reconstructing the rest of the instrument as I did to the mechanism: I redesigned the bridge, removed various asymmetries (in the head and body) and used more traditional components within the guitar itself. It would not be sensible to meticulously copy and instrument that was originally made in a slapdash manner, for the mechanisms however, which is the whole point of my project in the first place, I have been as precise as possible.

Conclusions

Both instruments function remarkably well. I have had good feedback from the few demonstrations I have made, and I believe there is still room to experiment with altering and fine tuning the piano actions. I have attempted to be faithful to the original instruments but, since the mechanisms are removable, I hope in the future to make alternative mechanisms to see how various alterations affect the playability, speed and friction within the mechanism.

I presented my reproduction of Mathias Neüner's keyed guitar at the 2019 AMIS (American Musical Instrument Society) meeting in Greenville, SC, USA. While there, Dick Boak made a video of me demonstrating the instrument which he then posted on social media.[9] Over the space of a month the video was viewed by over 170,000 people.[10] This surprising event demonstrates an area in which keyed guitars excel: as a fascinating novelty with perhaps quite a fast burning success. Thousands of comments showed that the instrument really did produce excitement in its reception, overwhelmingly positive (though some truly despised it, and me).

The reproduction of Sprenger and Neüner's instrument is currently being varnished and I will no doubt have to fine tune the mechanism once it is tuned to pitch. At present the action feels heavier and makes more noise than the copy of Neüner's action, but a proper comparison must be made after final adjustments have been made.

Notes

1 Georg Kinsky, *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln* (Leipzig, 1912), p.170.

2 The term 'pianoforte guittar' is used to refer to the instruments of the style predominately made in London in the 1780s retaining the spelling guittar to indicate a cittern instrument. The term 'keyed guitar' is used for six-string Spanish guitars with keys.

3 Daniel Wheeldon, 'Makers of the Pianoforte Guittar in London 1780–1789', *Galpin Society Journal* LXX (2017), pp.97-116; Daniel Wheeldon, 'The Met's German Keyed Guitar', Metropolitan Museum Journal 55 (2020).

4 The condition of both instruments is described in Wheeldon (2020).

5 I would highly recommend this material which gives a convincing finish. Available at www.dictum.com.

6 I am grateful to Darryl Martin for the loan of this tool for this project.

7 I am grateful to Jonathan Santa Maria Bouquet for the parchment and appropriate saw for this.

8 These were bought from Claudio Casiglia, www.claudiocasiglia.it.

9 Reposted at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_wQoM1Wg10c.

10 Dick Boak's original post was viewed 110,000 time in this period, but an edited version posted by an unknown user was viewed over 170,000 times.

'The National Centre for Early Music in its 20th anniversary year – facing challenges, making music'

Delma Tomlin

When NEMA approached me in February of this year to write an article about the National Centre for Early Music's (illus.1) programme of activities, I was delighted. 2020 marks the NCEM's 20th anniversary since opening in the converted medieval church of St Margaret's York, and we had planned a series of celebrations alongside a refurbishment programme designed to support our ever-growing commercial operation. A month later, the NCEM was closed and currently remains so, although we will be presenting live music concerts in the church's garden in September. There are now signs of 'life after Covid-19' which we can only hope will blossom into being allowed to present concerts – and that our audiences will be willing to return. So where does that leave us just now – August 2020?

Illus.1 The National Centre for Early Music, York (photo: Jim Poyner)

It would be foolish to suggest that this has been easy. We lost all our commercial income at a stroke. The 2020 Beverley & East Riding Early Music Festival, which was designed around the vocal ensemble Stile Antico's programme *The Journey of the Mayflower* with stories inspired by the many individuals who left the East Riding of Yorkshire to head to the Americas in the 17th century, had to be postponed. After much anguish, the York Early Music Festival programme themed around fantasy, which was scheduled to follow two months later, also had to be cancelled - not least as virtually every concert featured an artist/ensemble who wasn't resident in the UK, at a time when

international travel was banned. Audiences were contacted, artists rescheduled, flights, accommodation bookings cancelled.

Yet at the same time, our international audience has grown rapidly and we have engaged with audiences across the world through our streaming initiatives, and we have even made a little money – all thanks to the NCEM team's determination not to allow this time of uncertainty to overwhelm us and to morph into permanent closure – and vitally to the artists who are themselves determined to continue to make music, however difficult the circumstances might be.

The story behind the creation of the NCEM is a familiar one to early music specialists. A group of highly motivated individuals got together in the '70s to explore newly discovered 'old' repertory and developed instruments suitable to play it. The York Early Music Festival was initiated in 1977 thanks to John Bryan, Peter Seymour and Antony Rooley working together with Richard Philips, who was Music Officer at Yorkshire Arts at a time when there was money available to follow up a 'good idea'. The first festival encompassed a series of weekend workshops and concerts and it quickly morphed into a regular summer festival of concerts, lectures and workshops which ran through to 1983. It took a break in 1984 when the larger York Festival & Mystery Plays took centre stage in the city, and returned under my management, in 1985. Since then the festival has continued to enjoy the support of John & Peter alongside guest artistic advisers who have included Robert Hollingworth, Elizabeth Kenny, Klaus Neumann and currently involves Lindsay Kemp and Steven Devine (illus.2).

Illus.2 Steven Devine performing on 21 March 2020 at the NCEM (photo: Ben Pugh)

The festival in those earlier days was entirely peripatetic, with concerts taking place at the myriad medieval churches, guildhalls and historic houses in York and North Yorkshire. It was enormous fun, and hugely tiring. Highlights included events designed to engage with a much broader audience than is possible within the smaller venues in York. Music/dance/theatrical extravaganzas held at the 18th century Beningborough Hall and Gardens close to York appealed to family audiences and a host of performers from across the region, and historically informed cricket matches at Hovingham Hall in North Yorkshire – the home of the Festival's then President Sir Marcus Worsley – helped to settled the festival in the 'hearts and minds' of the local population. A constant concern was to keep the wine cool as we presented concerts in several different venues each day and we took to carrying a vast quantity of ice cubes everywhere we went. Logistics were meticulously detailed in advance and communications relied on student runners and telepathy - the advent of the mobile phone was a huge relief to our collective nerves and feet.

By the mid-1990s the festival was well established both in the UK and across Europe thanks in no small part to the support of WDR Koln, BBC Radio 3 and an increasingly loyal audience who returned year on year binding the festival of music together with friendship and a reliable ticket income. In 1994, the Chair of the Festival established a charitable arm, The York Early Music Foundation, to help support the festival's continued growth. In 1995 the Early Music Network Young Artists Competition moved to York from London – enabling us to offer the ensembles a holistic, enriching experience by which they were able to stay in the City for several days, offering informal recitals leading up to the Competition itself – space and time to enjoy the city which was just not possible in central London. This in turn helped to give the festival a clearer focus with the professional development of young ensembles becoming one of the mainstays of its programming. This increased confidence in its 'mission' was counterbalanced by an increasing sense of unease about the complications of running an increasingly successful festival with a burgeoning educational programme without having a central administrative base and in 1996, following John Major's announcement that he was to create a National Lottery, the search began for a permanent home.

We were fortunate from the outset to have the support of the local community, and the medieval church of St Margaret's, situated to the east of the city, within the historic city walls, surrounded by trees was recognised early on as the 'perfect spot' for an early music organisation. A Grade One listed building thanks to its glorious medieval porch, the church had been sadly neglected since being declared redundant in the 1960s and was on the English Heritage 'at risk' register. The long story shortened is that a grant of £1.5 million from the Arts Council National Lottery, partnership monies from Garfield Weston, Foundation for Sport and the Arts, English Heritage and many others, an outstandingly supportive board of trustees and an award winning architectural team in turn supported by local craftspeople – alongside my personal determination to create something of note - meant that we were able to open on time, and to budget, in April 2000.

In preparation to opening, and recognising that the summer festival audience was not local, we had initiated an annual Christmas festival in 1997 and created a number of educational programmes designed to draw in the local community – of all ages. Alongside this, I had been running the Beverley & East Riding Early Music Festival (illus.3) since 1988, so we started the NCEM with a solid portfolio of three Yorkshire festivals, and an international young artists competition. Our inaugural activity was to host the rehearsals for the York Minster millennium acclaimed production

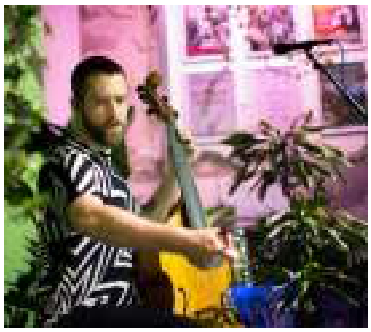
of the York Mystery Plays, drawing in actors, musicians and production teams led by Greg Doran – now director of the Royal Shakespeare Company. It was a great start as from the outset, we were buzzing with activity and we quickly established a year round programme of jazz, folk and world music concerts to complement the early music festivals.

Illus.3 Beverley Early Music Festival concert at Beverley Minster

The early 2000s was a time of working with the local community, developing regional and national links, and creating a business model which would sustain a relatively modest operation year-round. Highlights included working alongside the Chinese community (the largest ethnic group in York at the time) to present a series of festivals focused on their early music instruments and traditions; working with local authority partners across the Humber region and Youth Music to develop the musical ambitions of young people living in challenging circumstances including researching how to support special needs youngsters looking to find a way to enjoy early music, and establishing the NCEM's first youth early music instrumental ensemble known as the Minster Minstrels (illus.4) which continues to this day. By the time we celebrated our 5th anniversary, the NCEM was well respected as a centre of excellence for the arts in York complementing the festival's wider reach and ambitions and underpinned by a modest commercial business. In 2006 we created the first in our biennial Lifetime Achievement Awards to acknowledge the contribution of early music specialists which have included Dame Emma Kirkby, Jordi Savall, Trevor Pinnock and in 2020, Catherine (Cat) Mackintosh. We were set 'fair' for the next 5 years.

Illus.4 The Minster Minstrels

The global financial crash in 2008/09 necessitated a dramatic change in our business plan – not, as it turned out, for the last time. No longer could we 'just' be a centre for the arts – we had to learn to make money, to 'sweat the asset' which is St Margaret's Church and to further develop our national profile. A new NCEM Patrons scheme was introduced, and the Friends of the York Early Music Festival were encouraged to take the plunge and donate more money, more regularly. Our understanding of the need to act like a business was supported by new members of the team. A new initiative with BBC Radio 3 - designed to encourage composers aged 18 and under and 19 – 25 to write to a very specific early music brief – was unveiled and has been growing year on year ever since. Initially designed around The Tallis Scholars, the Award was gradually opened up to instrumentalists and we have now worked with a variety of ensembles and individuals including Florilegium, Fretwork, lutenist Elizabeth Kenny and viol specialist Liam Byrne (illus.5). The key to the success of the venture has been the workshops for shortlisted composers giving them the chance to meet with one another in relaxed but exacting circumstances under the leadership of Christopher Fox, an NCEM Trustee and established composer, and the performance of the winning pieces which is recorded for broadcast by BBC Radio 3. Winners to date include Alexander Campkin, Owain Park, Alex Woolf and Ben Rowarth. Now heading into its 14th year, the Award continues apace and in 2021 will feature the Palisander recorder ensemble (illus.6) who are looking for contemporary responses to Renaissance Consort Dances. Information about the Award will be available from www.ncem.co.uk/composersaward2021 from November. The workshop is scheduled for 13 May in York, and the performance of the winning pieces will be recorded by Radio 3 as part of the London Baroque Festival at St John's Smith Square on 20 May.



Illus.5 Liam Byrne at the NCEM Young Composers Award 2019 (photo: Paul Blakemore)

Illus.6 Palisander Recorder Ensemble, NCEM Young Composers Award 2021 (photo: Bertrand Pichene)

The York Early Music Festival has long had an established relationship with colleagues across Europe and has been a member of the European Early Music Festival Network (REMA) from 2010. The Festival had established a cultural partnership with the city of Antwerp in the early 2000s designed to support the Flanders early music community as they developed their own Young Artists Competition. This long standing relationship was suitably celebrated in 2017 when the Alamire Foundation brought a high-profile exhibition celebrating the artistry of Petrus Alamire to Beverley – and we are planning a joint celebration around the music and culture of the cities of Antwerp and York in 2022.

These relationships have expanded to embrace the NCEM team and we have been partners in a large-scale co-operation project funded by Creative Europe called EEEmerging since 2014. Working with colleagues in France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Romania and Slovenia, the programme offered professional development opportunities to young emerging early music ensembles through residencies, coaching and performances. This in turn gave us the opportunity to showcase exceptional young ensembles and in turn to offer them coaching, support and most vitally, the chance to work with audiences of all ages.

Anyone who has had European funding will know the steep learning curve needed to cope with the minutiae of information required by the Commission before they actually release any money and it was *'something of a blow'* when the UK voted to leave the EU in 2016. Politics aside, early music is patently a European musical artform and musicians have, throughout history, managed to exchange ideas and to work together. We were therefore extremely pleased to still be invited to be part of a second large scale cooperation project [EEEmerging+] in a new partnership including festivals in Spain and Croatia and music academies in Greece and Poland which will run through to 2023. Like the earlier project, EEEmerging+ is designed to identify and select talented young ensembles and to help develop their international careers alongside a new initiative to foster their drive towards innovation, and to developing new audiences. We were also thrilled to host a major conference of REMA colleagues in March 2019 in York (illus.7). Whatever happens politically, the NCEM is well placed to continue to offer support for early music specialists into the future.

Illus.7 REMA meeting at the NCEM March 2019

Some new initiatives have already been announced. The NCEM is working together with BBC Radio 3 and the Royal College of Music to seek, and support, a UK based instrumental group of baroque players who will become the first of the newly created New Generation Baroque Ensemble family. Designed to offer recording and performance opportunities, the scheme was delayed by Covid but will now be hosting a workshop for eligible ensembles at the Royal College on 15 November (for further information see www.ncem.co.uk/newgenerationbaroqueensemble).

Another project which will continue to thrive is the York International Young Artists Competition. As mentioned elsewhere, the Competition moved from London to York in 1995 and has taken place every other year. Winning ensembles include the internationally acclaimed Stile Antico ((illus.8, who tellingly won the Friends prize in 2005); the Jewish Renaissance specialists Profeti della Quinta who have pioneered the music of Salamone Rossi across Europe; medievalists Sollazzo Ensemble whose prize-winning CD '*Parle qui Veut'* won them, Linn and us a highly prestigious *Diapason d'Or de l'année*, and the 2017 winning ensemble Barroco*Tout* whose recording of Belgian composer Henri de Croes has just been released to considerable acclaim. More information, and music examples from the past 35 years of the competition, are available now from www.yorkcomp.ncem.co.uk Anyone interested in taking part in the 2021 Competition should look for details of registration this autumn.

So where exactly are we just now? The NCEM is based within a church with no fixed seating, so there is plenty of space to socially distance for workshops/ the composers' award / recordings / residencies. Lockdown came just as we were due to celebrate the European Day of Early Music – 21 March - and rather than cancel, we streamed two concerts back to back live via Facebook - with just me and the NCEM's digital producer in the audience. The atmosphere was extraordinary as over 70,000 listened to Steven Devine playing Bach Preludes & Fugues and the Brabant Ensemble directed by Stephen Rice presenting a newly researched programme entitled *A Monk's Life: Music from the Cloisters 1550-1620*. Following on from this early success, we streamed the best of our archive featuring EEEmerging ensembles/Competition winners – giving us the opportunity to further engage with audiences over the following months and most vitally giving the performers themselves the opportunity to work together to make video clips and to reach out to audiences on the concert day.

Illus.8 Stile Antico performing on 11 July 2020 at the NCEM

As mentioned above, we postponed the Beverley EMF quite quickly – moving concerts directly to May 2021. The decision to cancel the York EMF came much later as audiences and artists alike wanted to be here - but cancellation became inevitable once travel restrictions were confirmed. So the festival as planned was re-scheduled to another day whilst there were hurried conversations with English based artists including Iestyn Davies (happily for me locked down in York), Richard Boothby, Consone Quartet (illus.9) and Matthew Wadsworth who agreed to come to the NCEM to rehearse/record over a week leading into what became our first York Early Music Festival Online. The festival was relayed over three days concluding with a live performance by Stile Antico and concrts were interspersed with lectures and for Friends/NCEM Patrons there were opportunities to join artists via zoom. The NCEM also took the decision to sell tickets for the Festival, and to do so through a newly launched website www.ncem.co.uk – a series of decisions which drew the team together to produce a festival which was financially successful as well as very positively reviewed.

Now we are opening up the NCEM's churchyard for small scale outdoor performances – starting with Opera North's *Hansel & Gretel* - and we will continue with our weekly digital singing programme '*Cuppa & a Chorus'* and our programmes for the wider community which have continued throughout the lockdown. The Christmas festival will be a hybrid event with a suitably

distanced 'live' audience to keep us company as we stream internationally, and we are planning a series of special events to mark what will now be our 21st anniversary year, including a spring festival in March. Beverley EMF is scheduled to run 28-30 May 2021 and York EMF from 9-17 July.

Illus.9 The Consone Quartet working with pupils from Heworth Primary School, York, as part of the EEEmerging residency

Predicting where our finances might be after the EEEmerging+ programme finishes, we leave Europe, we start to understand the ramifications of Covid-19 and the associated recession, will no doubt be a challenge. We are an Arts Council NPO (National Portfolio Organisation) which clearly helps, although ACE monies do of course come with very specific objectives which are not 'just' about the quality of programming. The NCEM will continue as the national advocate of early music and as a centre of excellence for music-making in the City of York. We will, one way or another, continue to share content from our festivals of early music supported by a significant creative learning/professional development programme. NCEM boasts an enviable reputation for blending artistic quality, administrative excellence and creative diversity – long may it last!

Delma Tomlin MBE is Director of the National Centre for Early Music, which is now open again for business and will be presenting live concerts from November, with a Christmas festival in December including Stile Antico, the Marian Consort and Illyria. See www.ncem.co.uk

The 2020 *Händel-Jahrbuch*

Mark Windisch

The content of the 2020 *Jahrbuch* is derived from an International Academic Conference, an annual event (except for 2020, cancelled because of coronavirus) attended by Handel scholars from many countries. Papers were delivered in English and German, and below are summaries from English papers, with the titles of the German papers at the end. The theme this time was 'Between *Alcina* and *Theodora* – Portrayal of women in works by Handel and his contemporaries', and the papers are published as an ebook (ISBN978-3-7618-7234-5) or in print (ISBN978-3-7618-1460-4) by Bärenreiter.

Matthew Gardner, 'Female Virtue in Early English Oratorio: Handel's *Deborah*'

Dr Gardner makes the point that with the exception of *Athaliah*, which depicts the downfall of a murderous queen, Handel and other composers (for example, Maurice Greene with *Song of Deborah* and Barak, and Willem de Fesch with *Judith*) all depict a virtuous female character saving their people from a foreign oppressor. In *Deborah*, Barak is sent into battle against the powerful Canaanite army and another woman, Jael assassinates the leader of the Canaanites, Sisera, by driving a spike through his head. Similarly, in *Judith* the heroine decapitates the enemy's leader. Later works like *The Choice of Hercules* require the hero to choose between two women representing Pleasure or Virtue. This was further explored in relation to the political scene current at that time where citizens were required to act for the good of the country. Writer Nathaniel Crouch, in 'Female Excellency: or, The Ladies Glory', covered stories of nine women renowned for their virtue or valour. Handel set four of these mentioned in the Bible. In *Judges* V and VI song is called for to celebrate the triumph of Deborah and in *Judith* chapters 7-15 a celebratory song is again called for. Depicting heroism of women in these oratorios gave scope for associating biblical heroes with English queens. In the 1733 wordbook, Samuel Humphreys draws the parallel between Deborah and Queen Caroline. In 1704 the connection was made with Queen Anne.

Natassa Varka, 'For Wisdom far renown'd: Jennens's Nitocris and her role in *Belshazzar*'

Nitocris, the mother of Belshazzar, is depicted as applying a restraining influence on her wayward son. The narrative is taken from the Book of Daniel 5:10-12 with some poetic licence. Jennens used this unnamed queen in combination with a Babylonian Queen, Nitocris, taken from the writings of Herodotus. Dr Varka explains how the characters in Belshazzar are amalgamated from a variety of sources. In this paper a great deal of research has been undertaken to unearth the sources of the characters depicted by Jennens. Nitocris, in particular, is well covered by Herodotus for her strategic talents in preventing the conquest of Babylon against the Medes. Jennens' major theme in the libretto was to display the futility of human endeavour in the face of the will of God. Although the work is named *Belshazzar*, Nitocris as the font of wisdom is the 'life and soul of this powerful oratorio'.

Ellen T. Harris, 'Massachusetts Deranged, Defiant, Dutiful: Innocence in the face of death'

Dr Harris opens by reminding readers that *Jephtha* is connected with *Theodora* and *Ariodante* by musical borrowings, and by the moments of greatest joy and deepest woe experienced by Iphis and

Ginevra. There are several musical examples indicating the thematic relationships between *Jephtha* and *Ariodante* in particular. The paper then moves on to explore five condemned and sacrificed women in a range of literary works, including plays by Euripides and Guarini. One interesting common feature is that the victim asks for a kiss from the one who asks for her death. A second one is the Deus ex Machina which provides intervention to spare the victim's life, and a third is that in some cases a lover to offer to die in place of the victim. It is not known how much of the ancient sources of these plots was known by Handel.

Berta Joncus, 'Fixing her reputation: Giulia Frasi and her Ranelagh Gardens Concerts'

Dr Joncus traces the transformation of Frasi from her position as *seconda donna* to become Handel's favourite soprano in oratorios which he directed from 1749. In collaboration with star tenor John Beard she was able to make full use of the opportunity by demonstrating her ability to perform convincingly in English language productions. She owed much to a brilliant teacher – Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio - who followed the methods of G. B. Mancini. Joncus traces Frasi's carrer from being hired as a young singer partly to show up a nobleman's mistress as a superior singer. There seem to have been quite a lot of love relationships between opera singers and wealthy titled backers. Frasi was able to adapt to the requirement to sing comic roles in English quite rapidly. This was an unusual talent which set her apart, and in this she was helped by Charles Burney. By 1752 she had reached the top rank in this type of performance. Playing Galatea in a benefit performance to collect money to support soldiers in the war with France not only gave Frasi the opportunity to display loyalty to contradict her Catholic background but also served to expunge memories of her shady past as a kept mistress.

Donald Burrows, 'Beyond *Theodora*. Handel's oratorio soloists in the 1750s'

Professor Burrows gives an overview of the difficulties Handel was experiencing in compositional activities with failing eyesight. A study has been made of his compositional processes by examining versions of his performing scores. Handel was assisted by Christopher Smith and his son John Christopher Smith in these activities. Much information can be deduced from marginalia revealing how changes became necessary when works were performed over several seasons, particularly with changes in cast. For example *Messiah* was performed over 10 seasons annually from composition until the year of his death. Studies of these marginal annotations reveal that from around 1756 Handel's eyesight had deteriorated to the extent that changes had not been able to be made by him, as they were written in another's hand.

John H. Roberts, '*Semiramide*: Handel's Unknown Queen'

Metastasio supplied the libretti for no fewer than seven operas between 1728 and 1737. Of these three were by Handel. Handel's first season in opposition to the Opera of the Nobility opened with *Semiramide riconosciuta* by Vinci. Many of his singers had deserted him and he had to assemble a new cast. This opera had only limited success and was succeeded by a revival of *Ottone*. There is some speculation as to why Handel chose *Semiramide*, not one of Vinci's best operas. This legendary character was of particular interest for frequent gender-bending changes. Handel made many changes to Vinci's score to improve its dramatic credibility which Professor Roberts has detailed; and he regrets that Handel never managed to complete *Semiramide*.

Wendy Heller, 'Handel's Women and the Art of Dissimulation: A Legacy from the *Seicento*'

Dr Heller has made a study of *affect* produced by Handel's choice of music to reflect the emotions of the female character Teodata in the opera *Flavio*. She then goes on to compare how Handel achieved this correlation for female characters in several other operas. Dissimulation, deception and hypocrisy being usual portrayals in the 17th and 18th centuries gave Handel a great deal of scope which he successfully exploited. The paper contains a description of the political context in which dissimulation was rife. The opera *Flavio* exhibits this trait, with Teodata displaying false modesty as a strategy., and another example is in *Giulio Cesare*, where the aria 'V'adoro pupille' displays aural and visual deception. Several other examples are given. The author proposes that Handel, an outsider for most of his life, was himself an expert in dissimulation by inserting himself into the highest layers of Roman society, giving an interesting insight into his character.

Ivan Curkovic, 'Pastoral disguise and identity conflict in Handel's *Atalanta*'

The paper traces the origins of pastoral themes in drama from Greek and Roman times to the setting of stage works in the 17th and 18th centuries. Certain keys like F major were chosen and musical instruments like horns were conventionally used. Gender coding was ambiguous, both in the vocal range of singers, with no differentiation between male and female characters. Handel was adept in synthesising the conventions of different countries. Close study is made of the several operas: *Il Pastor Fido*, where the laws require that Princess Amarilli has to marry a man of her status but is in love with a shepherd called Mirtillo, and the tribulations they both have to suffer before resolution; and *Atalanta*, where the eponymous heroine is a follower of Artemis and therefore a virgin and an avid hunter, as a strong woman. Reference is made to paintings showing these characters as imagined by artists. Handel used these pastoral conventions to present a complex tangle of relationships.

Graydon Beeks, '"Thy hand Dalinda": Characterization, Contrast and Maturity in *Ariodante*'

Professor Beeks outlines the adaptations Handel made to the score of *Ariodante* when the originally specified singers were not available and substitutes had to be found. Of particular interest were Cecilia Young, daughter of organist Charles Young, who married Thomas Arne and knew Charles Burney, who was apprenticed to Arne and tenor John Beard. Both of these singers were trained in the English style of singing and had to make the adaptation to sing Italian opera. Miss Young was given the role of Dalinda, serving maid to princess Ginevra. Her infatuation with Polinesso gives him the opportunity to use her to attempt to destroy Ginevra, who had rejected his suit. When the truth comes out Lurcanio, brother to Ariodante, fights a duel with Polinesso to prove Ginevra's innocence. The death of Polinesso allows the love between Lurcanio and Dalinda to develop. The author explores the musical means by which Handel builds up the emotional tensions in the opera's characters in this very realistic love story. In developing and changing the music the dramatic integrity of the opera was greatly strengthened thereby

Ruth Smith, '"Ho un gran cor": Dorinda's great heartedness'

Dr Smith examines the character of Dorinda, usually played as an artless shepherdess, in the opera *Orlando*. The opera is a rich source for what is described as 'archaeo-historicism' from Ariosto from

the Roman Arcadian Academy to Gismondi who created the role. The article attempts to examine the character Dorinda as if she were a real human being and not just a vehicle for portraying individual passions. Gismondi had a long record before this role in playing a variety of operatic roles. The author describes the underlying feelings of Dorinda when interacting with other characters throughout the opera. Comparisons are made with some of Shakespeare's pastoral plays. In this if it were premiered in 1743, when cheap copies of Shakespeare's plays became available, instead of 1733 it would undoubtedly have enjoyed greater success.

Anke Charton, 'Amastre to Armida. Tropes of female agency in Handel's operas'

Dr Charton examines the way Handel treated female characteristics not coded from compliance to devotion but marked by gendered transgression. Handel treated his female characters differently from other contemporary composers. One of these tropes is 'the scorned lover', exemplified by Amastre in Serse, and the second is Armida, the opponent of the crusaders in *Rinaldo.* Handel worked within a variety of traditions in setting his narratives from Metastasio, influenced by the French classicist tradition, to the pastoral tradition to older sources which predate absolutist morals. Armida is shown as capable of violence against Almirena, lover of Rinaldo. The lover in male disguise exemplified by Amastre adopts this disguise of a brash soldier only to gain access to her fickle lover Serse. For a female figure to show power it was considered essential in those times that she could only do so when donning male disguise.

Additional Contributions (not forming part of the conference)

Elena Abbado, '"Rodrigo as seen by Rodrigo": Staging and reception of Handel's first Italian opera'

This paper examines some heretofore unexplained mysteries surrounding the first performance of this early opera, *Rodrigo*. The name 'Frilli' as a singer in this opera has only recently come to light.

Andrew V. Jones, 'A Handel footnote amplified'

A mysterious manuscript of a section of a Handel piece clearly written by an amateur has long puzzled musicologists. Dr Jones came to the conclusion that the scribe was Elizabeth Legh (1694-1734), an aristocratic supporter and close friend of Handel, who might well have been given this task as a learning experience. Further examples have now come to light bringing the total number of such transcription to 15. Several illustrations and an interesting narrative about the detective work undertaken by Jones form the body of the article

Papers in German

Elisabeth Birnbaum, '"So are they blest who fear the Lord". Biblical portrayals in Handel's compositions'

Sabine Volk-Birke, 'Geschlecherrollen in Handel Oratorien: Haben Frauen Handlungsspielraume?'

Irmtraud Fischer, 'Gender "wildert in Texten": Zur Rezeption biblischer Frauenfiguren'

Ina Knoth, 'Margharita Durastanti als Clelia in *Muzio Scevola*'

Reinhard Strohm, 'Weibliche Arientypen in derr italienischen Opera der Handelzeit'

Florian Mehltretter, 'Il pastor fido – Decorum und Tragikomik unter Nymphen und Schaferinnen'

Additional contributions (not forming part of the conference)

Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Fruhe Auffuhrungen von oratorischen Werken Handels in Aussereuropa'

For more information about the event, contact the Sekretariat der Georg-Friedrich-Händel-Gesellschaft e.V, Händelhaus, Groβe Nikolaistraβse 5, D-06108 Halle (Saale), Germany.

News, Events and Listings

NEWS

Instrument builder and conservator **John Watson** has received the Curt Sachs Award for 2020 from the American Musical Instrument Society.

John McMunn is the new Chief Executive of the Academy of Ancient Music.

F. H. Browne & Sons of Canterbury have acquired the trading name of Mander Organs of London, which had gone into receivership.

Organbuilder **Jürgen Ahrend** celebrated his 90th birthday on 30 April 2020.

A new specialist publisher of early keyboard music, **Lyrebird Music**, has been founded by Jon Baxendale, website https://lyrebirdmusic.com.

The OHS **Pipe Organ Database** in online at https://pipeorgandatabase.org.

The Organ Manual is a new resource of organ-related organisations, magazines, groups and websites, https://theorganmanual.wordpress.com.

Historical material and research relating to figured bass and composition teaching has been made available online by **Derek Remeš**, https://derekremes.com/publications.

Martial Morand's figured bass tutor (in French) is available online at http://jacques.duphly.free.fr/Basse_Chiffree/index.html.

The **Music Metadata Project** is an open research project primarily investigating the compass of European music from 1000-1650, https://mmp.org.uk.

Renaissance Masses 1440-1520, a repertorium of polyphonic Masses composed in Europe in 1440-1520, is available online at http://www.robcwegman.org/mass.htm.

18 Venetian choirbooks are online for the **Sound of St Mark's** project, http://vmo.unive.it/choirbooks/choirbooks.

The **Portuguese Early Music Database** is online at http://pemdatabase.eu.

The **Gerald Coke Handel Collection** is online at https://foundling.soutron.net/Portal/Default/en-GB/Search/SimpleSearch

The **Silbermann Archive**, documenting the work of organbuilder Johann Andreas Silbermann, has been acquired by the Saxon State Library.

Portraits of Lady Harpists, a database for portraits with harps and harpists between 1720-1850, is online at https://historicalharpportraits.wordpress.com.

The text and plates of the music articles from **Rees' *Cyclopaedia*** (1802-1819) are now online at https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/resources/online-texts#Charles%20Burney%20(1726-1814)

OBITUARIES

Harpsichord workshop owner **Ann Feldberg** (d. 6 March 2020) has died at the age of 89.

Organist **Jennifer Bate** (11 November 1944-25 March 2020) has died at the age of 75.

Musicologist **Nicholas Temperley** (7 August 1932-8 April 2020) has died at the age of 87.

Harpsichordist **Elizabeth de la Porte** (15 September 1941-9 April 2020) has died at the age of 79.

Harpsichordist and organist **Kenneth Gilbert** (16 December 1931-16 April 2020) has died at the age of 88.

Harpsichordist and curator **James Weaver** (d.16 April 2020) has died at the age of 82.

Medievalist **Mary Remnant** (13 January 1935-15 May 2020) has died at the age of 85.

Bassoonist **Michael McCraw** (19 October 1947-30 May 2020) has died at the age of 72.

Organist **Jane Parker Smith** (20 May 1950-24 June 2020) has died at the age of 70.

Musicologist **Ludwig Finscher** (14 March 1930-30 June 2020) has died at the age of 90.

Harpsichord maker and author **Claude Mercier-Ythier** (2 March 1931-3 July 2020) has died at the age of 89.

Organologist and curator **Jeannine Lambrechts-Douillez** (13 February 1928-12 July 2020) has died at the age of 92.

Harpsichordist **Wolfgang Glüxam** (17 November 1958-29 July 2020) has died at the age of 62.

Guitarist and lutenist **Julian Bream** (15 July 1933-14 August 2020) has died at the age of 87.

Viola da Gamba scholar **Annette Otterstedt** (23 September 1951-6 September 2020) has died at the age of 68.

Scholar and instrument collector **Jeremy Montagu** (27 December 1927-14 September 2020) has died at the age of 92.

RESEARCH REPORTS

Lizzie Gutteridge has produced a performer's edition of Arbeau's *Orchesographie*, together with an accompanying CD. Website www.consortof1.co.uk

Tamsin Lewis has been working on a study of music on the Mayflower for the 400th anniversary, leading to an article, an edition and a CD with her ensemble Passamezzo. Website www.tamsinlewis.co.uk

Graham O'Reilly's new book, *'Allegri's Miserere' in the Sistine Chapel*, is now available from Boydell and Brewer. Website www.ensemblewilliambyrd.com

SOCIETIES & ORGANIZATIONS

Early Music Fora

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

Early Music Forum 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

Early Music Organizations

American Bach Society, https://www.americanbachsociety.org

American Guild of Organists, https://www.agohq.org

Bach Network, https://www.bachnetwork.org

Benslow Trust, http://www.benslowmusic.org

Boston Clavichord Society, www.bostonclavichord.org

British Harpsichord Society, http://www.harpsichord.org.uk

British Institute of Organ Studies, http://www.bios.org.uk

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

L'association Clavecin en France, http://www.clavecin-en-france.org

Cobbe Collection, http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk

Dolmetsch Foundation, https://www.dolmetsch.com/dolmetschfoundation.htm

East Anglian Academy of Early Music, http://www.eastanglianacademy.org.uk

Early Music America, https://www.earlymusicamerica.org

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

FIMTE, International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music, http://www.fimte.org

Finnish Clavichord Society, suomenklavikordiseura.blogspot.com

The Friends of Square Pianos, http://www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk

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

Handel Institute, https://handelinstitute.org

Handel Friends, www.handelfriendsuk.com

Historical Keyboard Society of America, https://www.hksna.org

London Bach Society, http://www.bachlive.co.uk

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

The Lute Society, http://www.lutesociety.org

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

National Early Music Association UK, http://www.earlymusic.info/nema.php

Het Nederlands Clavichord Genootschap, www.clavichordgenootschap.nl

Netherlands Bach Society, https://www.bachvereniging.nl/en

REMA, European Early Music Network, https://www.rema-eemn.net

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

Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch

Scottish Lute and Early Guitar Society,
https://scottishluteandearlyguitarsociety.wordpress.com

Society of Recorder Players, http://www.srp.org.uk

Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, http://www.scgn.org/¬index.php

Swedish Clavichord Society, http://goart.gu.se/gcs

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

Viola da Gamba Society, http://www.vdgs.org.uk

Vlaamse Klavecimbel Vereniging, http://www.vlaamseklavecimbelvereniging.be

Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, http://westfield.org

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AUCTIONS

Brompton's (UK), https://www.bromptons.co

Christie's (USA), https://www.christies.com/departments/Musical-Instruments

Gardiner Houlgate (UK), https://www.gardinerhoulgate.co.uk

Gorringe's (UK), https://www.gorringes.co.uk

Ingles Hayday (UK), https://ingleshayday.com

Peter Wilson (UK), https://www.peterwilson.co.uk

Piano Auctions (UK), http://www.pianoauctions.co.uk

CONFERENCES

The **Congress on Organology** will take place on 2-4 October 2020, with the theme 'Sound Generation: environment and music in generations of sound creation'. Website https://congressorganimusic.wixsite.com/co2020oc.

The **European Early Music Summit** will take place on 20-22 November 2020. Website http://www.earlymusic.eu.

Constructing Beethoven, the annual Meeting for Researchers in Musical Poetics of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries, will take place on 23-27 November 2020. Website https://retoricamusical2020.wordpress.com.

Handel's Images: Iconography - Aesthetics - Compositional Practice will take place at the Händel-Haus, Halle, Germany, on 30 November-1 December 2020. Website https://www.haendel.de/nachrichten/haendels-bilder-ikonographie-aesthetik-kompositorische-praxis.

Low Strings in the Americas in the 16th-19th Centuries will take place online on 9-10 January 2021. Website http://www.elinorfrey.com/lowstringsamericas.php.

The 56th **International Congress in Medieval Studies** will take place at Kalamazoo, MI, USA, on 13-15 May 2021. Contact musicology.kzoo@gmail.com.

Redemption and the Modern Age - Handel's Messiah in the 19th to 21st centuries will take place at the Händel-Haus, Halle, Germany, on 31 May-2 June 2021. Contact Dr Annette Landgraf landgraf@musik.uni-halle.de.

The annual meeting of the **Society for Seventeenth-Century Music** will take place on 15-18 April 2021 at the University of Oregon. Website https://sscm-sscm.org/2021-annual-meeting/2021-annual-meeting-call-for-papers.

Sounds of Power: Sonic Court Rituals in and outside Europe in the 15th-17th centuries will take place at the University of Bern, Switzerland, on 17-19 June 2021. Contact Margret Scharrer margret.scharrer@musik.unibe.ch

The 19th Biennial International **Conference on Baroque Music** will take place at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire on 14-18 July 2021. Website https://birminghambaroque2021.weebly.com.

The conference '**Authentic, fake or mistaken identity**? Creation, recreation, deception and forgery in music and the related arts' will take place at the Institute of Musicology, Ljubljana, Slovenia on 21-22 October 2021. Website https://authentic-fake.zrc-sazu.si.

FESTIVALS

The **Geelvinck Early Piano Festival** will take place online in November-December 2020. Website https://geelvinckfestival.nl/en.