NEMA NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

Volume viii/2 (Autumn 2024)

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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The *NEMA Newsletter* is produced twice yearly, in the Spring and Autumn. Contributions are welcomed by the Editor, email fk240@cam.ac.uk.

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Art, Architecture and Music in Perugia

Glen Wilson

Two sites in Perugia, one usually ignored, the other more famous, contain sculptures of interest to music historians. After discussing them I will turn to a painting which shows a song in four parts with text.

The Palazzo dei Priori, seat of the city council since the late 13th century, was enlarged a final time southwards on the present Corso Vanucci from 1317 to 1326. The section's main ornament is the *portale maggiore* (illus.1), about which surprisingly little is known. Even its date is speculative; some experts think it may have been moved and altered from an earlier ecclesiastical location, with the building planned and constructed around it. Others think it was contemporary with the main block, others say slightly later, and others still that it was a product of the early 15th century. The three statues of Saints Lawrence, Herculanus of Perugia and Constantius of Perugia are clearly of earlier date than the rest. As designers and executors of the whole or parts, the names of Arnolfo del Cambio and the Pisanos have been mooted, as well as anonymous local artisans. Here too, uncertainty reigns.

Illus.1 Palazzo dei Priori, portale maggiore *(photos: all Naoko Akutagawa unless stated)*

Restorations are recorded for the 16th and late 19th centuries, so it is doubtful how much remains which can be called original. The most recent major monograph on the Palazzo laments that the report on the most recent retouching from the 1980's remains unpublished;[1] but it is heartening to read that the 19th-century effort exerted itself to copy what remained as exactly as possible.

The outward faces of the innermost lintel and door jambs present a series of 30 figures in alternating hexagonal and quatrefoil frames. Music plays a small role among virtues, liberal arts and prophets. At the keystone is the judgement of Solomon, as often found at locations where justice is supposedly rendered. The depictions are enumerated in a 1953 book which is the first detailed study of the *portale*.[2] Low on the left: an anthropomorphic *zampognaro* with a dancing dog, and a lutenist (illus.2); above them an allegory of dialectics. Low on the right: a psaltery and a positive organ with a blower; below them a scene which Guardabassi calls 'pastoral' (? a lady being fanned by an ape) (illus.3).

Illus.2 and 3 Musicians on the portale maggiore

Illus.3a Organist (detail)

In addition, the inward- and downward-facing sides of the same elements are carved with ovals of acanthus leaves, at least two of which enfold musicians (illus.4 and 5). Others are too damaged or difficult to see from street level on a bright day to make any determination. John Koster informs me that illus.5 could be the earliest evidence of a trapezoidal dulcimer played with sticks. Hitherto the first reference dates from the early 15th century.

Illus.4 String player

Illus.5 Dulcimer player

Every serious visitor to Perugia walks down the hill, atop which the Umbro-Etruscan city was built, to a spot just outside the ancient walls where stands the Franciscan Oratorio of San Bernardino. Here one sees one of the most beautiful Renaissance facades in all of Italy (illus.6), with reliefs sculpted by Agostino di Duccio (no relation to Duccio of Siena),[3] and finished, according to the inscription on the entablature, in 1461. Famous as they are, the organological aspect of these masterpieces has suffered from the usual lack of attention, presumably because art historians feel uncomfortable with the subject. *Musizierende Engel* ('musical angel') is about as far as they usually get.

Illus.6 The Franciscan Oratorio of San Bernardino

Duccio's overall design -- if it really is his — is based on the work of his former associate in Rimini, Leon Battista Alberti. Some of the panels are sculpted in relief so low that it is called *stiacciato* — 'squashed'. Duccio learned the technique in his native Florence from Donatello and Michelozzo. His style here closely resembles the later neo-Atticism of Botticelli. The works were originally polychromed; now they are somewhat overpowered by the green and red marble of some architectural elements.

The central element of the facade is the tympanum over the double doors (illus.7). The saint is flanked on the right by celestial beings playing, from top to bottom, bagpipes, straight trumpet, organetto and cornett. This instrumentarium is mirrored on the left, where it has suffered the loss of some protruding parts.

Illus.7 San Bernardino, tympanum

The obliquely inward-facing sides of the door jambs show allegories of six Franciscan virtues. Their pairs on the outward sides represent angelic musicians. On the right from the top: triangle and drums (illus.8), psaltery and vielle (illus.9), lute and tambourine (illus.10). On the left, the instruments are mirrored again (illus.11).

These 12 *stiacciato* and low reliefs are Duccio's finest. Along the underside of the frieze above the doors, the sculptor signed his work: OPUS AUGUSTINUS FLORENTINUS LAPICIDA (illus.12).

Illus.8 and 9 triangle and drums, psaltery and vielle

Pietro Aretino seems to turn up everywhere when early 16th-century Italy is under discussion. In the previous *NEMA Newsletter* I wrote about his appearance in Veronese's *Wedding Feast at Cana*. Here his contribution is direct, if somewhat speculative.[4]

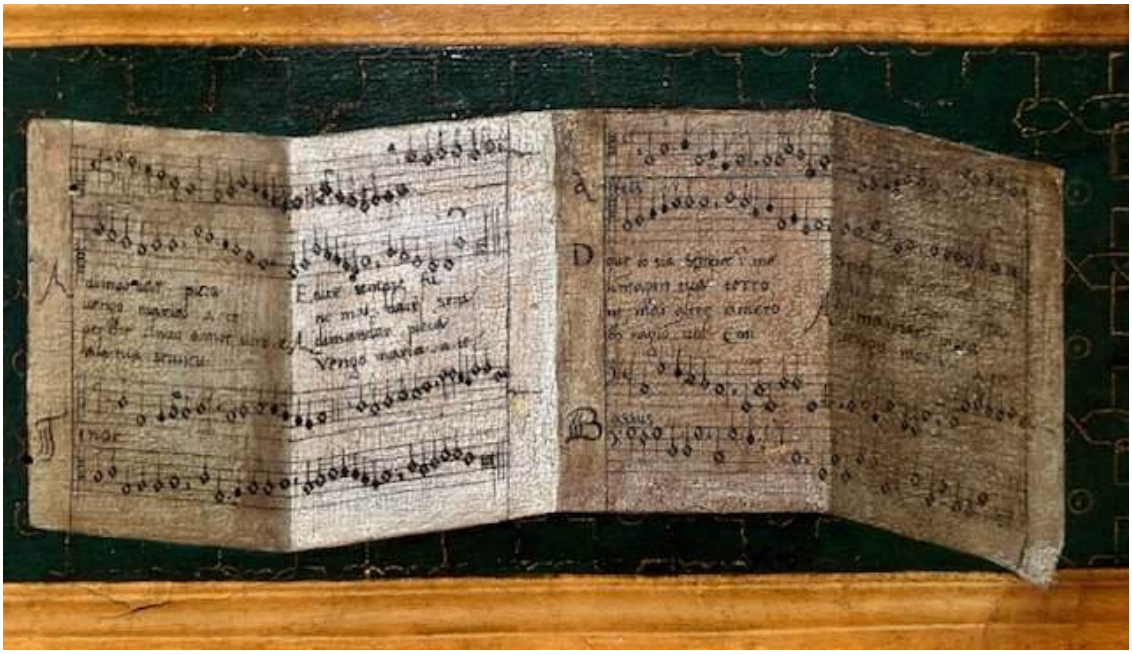
An altarpiece in the style of a *sacra conversazione* (illus.13) by the prominent Perugian painter Giovan Battista Caporali (c.1476-1560) is kept at the Galleria Nazionale in the Palazzo dei Priori. This *Pala di San Girolamo* (c.1610-12), executed in the style of Caporali's teacher Perugino, has a small depiction of a part-song a4 housed in a chest below the Madonna. Text and music are perfectly legible (illus.13a). The work is always described – whether justifiably or not – as a *lauda*. The four lines of music are distributed exactly like prints of the time. The descant begins with six steps downwards.

Illus.10 and 11 lute and tambourine, psaltery and vielle

Illus.12 Duccio, OPUS AUGUSTINUS FLORENTINUS LAPICIDA

Aretino came to Perugia from his native Arezzo to study painting with Caporali, a circumstance which helps to explain his intense, lifelong interest in the visual arts, as well as his later close friendships with Venetian masters. Aretino is now known only as a writer, so it is somewhat startling to find him calling himself 'Pietro Pictore Arretino' on the title page of his first publication (1512).[5]

Illus.13 Pala di San Girolamo *(c.1610-12) by Giovan Battista Caporali*



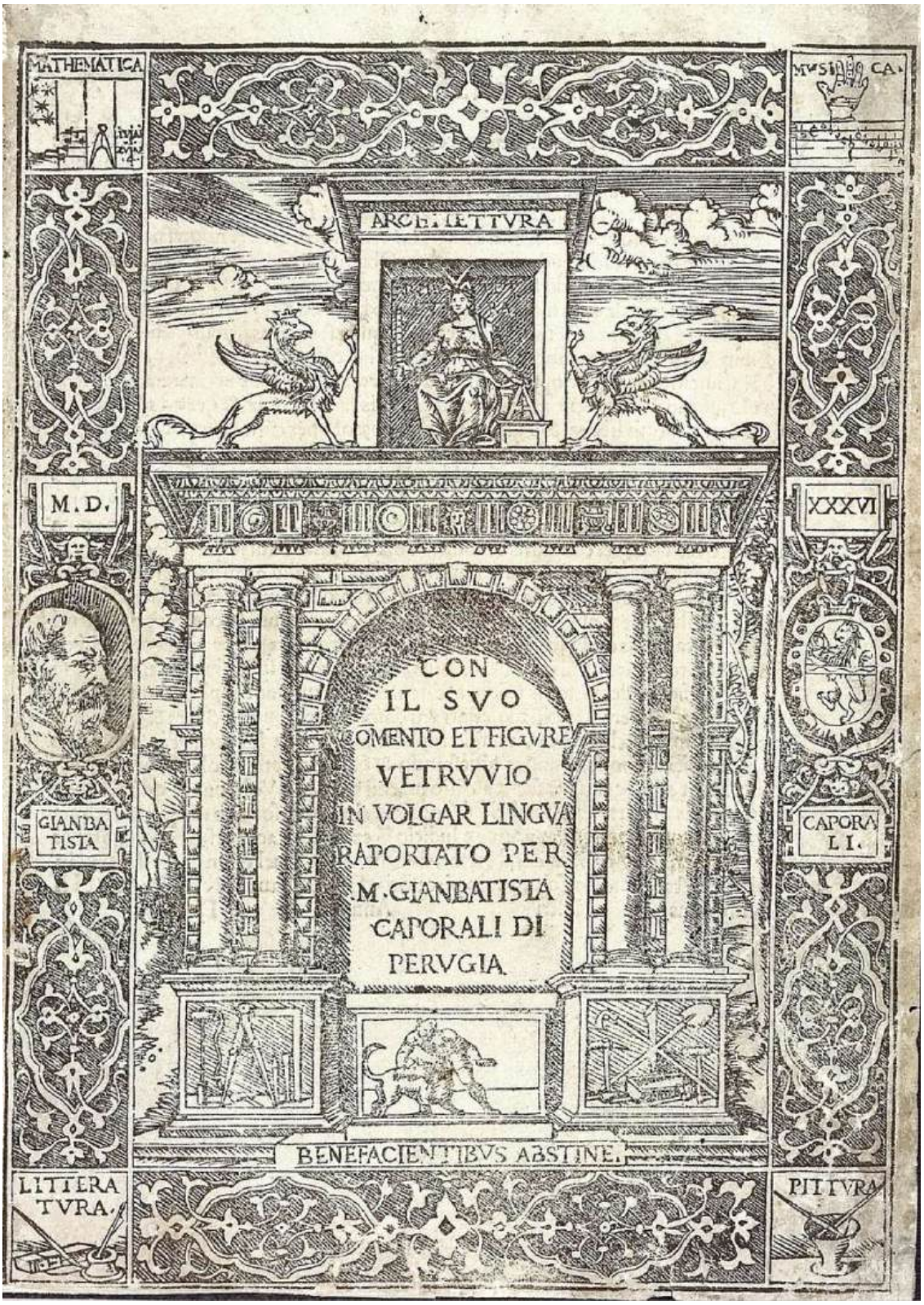
Illus.13a Altarpiece, musical notation

Caporali, a polymath in the style of Alberti and da Vinci (poet, painter, architect, mathematician and musician), was at the centre of a learnèd circle that embraced the charming and *fecundissimo giovene* from Arezzo upon his arrival in Perugia in 1507. Pietro and Giovan Battista began a lifelong friendship, attested by a series of letters. The frontispiece of the older man's 1536 *Commento a Vitruvio* details all his interests, including, in the upper right corner, a Guidonian hand and a fragment of a melody (illus.14).

The possible connection between Aretino and Caporali's painted part-song rests mainly on the text found in the altarpiece. The first three lines are repeated almost word for word in Aretino's 1542 comedy, *Lo Ipocrito*. They are not found elsewhere, hence the inference that Aretino wrote them. The music itself is the work of a gifted amateur – Caporali? Aretino? A member of their circle? A collective effort? And might Pietro Pictore have painted that section? If so, it would show considerable mastery. But as late as 1532 an enemy scolds him for having exchanged his brush for the pen, and in a letter of 1549, the 'Scourge of Princes' himself says, 'Bitte [his nickname for Caporali] è me, e io son lui'.[6]

A recent article finds numerous concordances to the part-song's opening melody dating from the 15th to the 17th centuries, and suggests that the snippet was a popular pilgrimage tune.[7] The writer, an art historian, conveniently sets aside differences in rhythms, intervals, pitch and accentuation. Most of what they have to offer are falling scale sections of varying lengths, similar to the first notes of the part-song. This is on a par with musicologists who find quotes between composers, or within a composer's own works, in every pattern of three or four notes, or who find Bach predicting the date of his death through number codes. I suspect one could find an equal number of sources proving that inversion or retrograde was being worked upon the fragment. But the closest of these near-parallels is, in fact, the brief melody on Caporali's frontispiece. The translator and

commentator on Vitruvius may have been recalling his masterwork of a quarter-century previous –- whoever composed the part-song and its text, and actually painted it. Either that, or the snippet was somehow in the Perugian air at the time.



Illus.14 Gianbatista Caporali, Commento a Vitruvio *(1536) (photo: digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de)*

More intriguing, to this writer at any rate, are the initials 'A W' neatly carved in a couple of musical graffiti on detached frescoes now in the Pinacoteca Comunale in Assisi, also claimed as concordances in the article just mentioned. They date from the time Adrian Willaert went to Rome.

I will close with a comparison between music and painting, similar to that posited by Leonardo da Vinci — verses which Caporali included in his *Capitolo del honore della Pittura*:[8]

> E come nella musica si sente
> La concordanza d'ogn'alta harmonia
> Per voce acuta e grave differente
> Così in pittura vol ragion che sia
> In superficie, sua disposizione
> Di colori e d'effectii in varia via
> E tanto vien più nobil sua ragione
> Quant'è l'veder più del odire impregio.

(And as in music is heard the concord of all the noblest harmonies in various voices, high and low, so with a painting reason demands that the disposition of colors and effects upon its surface be varied in different ways; and its place is ennobled [over music] to the degree that sight is more honoured than hearing.)

Glen Wilson, born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, looks back on a long and distinguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by a mild stroke. He taught at the Würzburg Musikhochschule for many years, and has recently published a biography called Hitler's Harpsichordist: The Passionate Life and Troubled Times of Eta Harich-Schneider. *http://www.glenwilson.eu*

Notes

[1] Francesco Federico Mancini (ed), *Il Palazzo dei Priori di Perugia* (Ponte San Giovanni, 1997).

[2] Mariano Guardabassi and Francesco Santi, *Il Portale Maggiore del Palazzo dei Priori* (Perugia, 1953).

[3] This given name was originally a hypocoristic suffix.

[4] For essays on this complex, see Anna Bisceglia, Matteo Ceriana and Paolo Procaccioli (eds), *'Pietro Pictore Arretino', Una parola complice per l'arte del Rinascimento* (Venice, 2018). See also William T. Rossiter, "'I was Born in One City, but Raised in Another": Aretino's Perugian Apprenticeship', *Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies* (2023), https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12861.

[5] *Opera Nova del Fecundissimo Giovene Pietro Pictore Arretino zoe Strambotti Sonetti Capitoi Epistole Barzellete & una Desperata* (Venice, 1512).

[6] Bisceglia, Ceriana and Procaccioli (2018), pp.27 and 13 respectively.

[7] Biancamaria Brumana, 'Percorsi musicali della devozione: graffiti del Cinquecento in un ciclo pittorico della Pinacoteca Comunale di Assisi e le loro concordanze', *Imago Musicae*, xxix (2017), pp.53-76.

[8] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Misc. 1912.10.

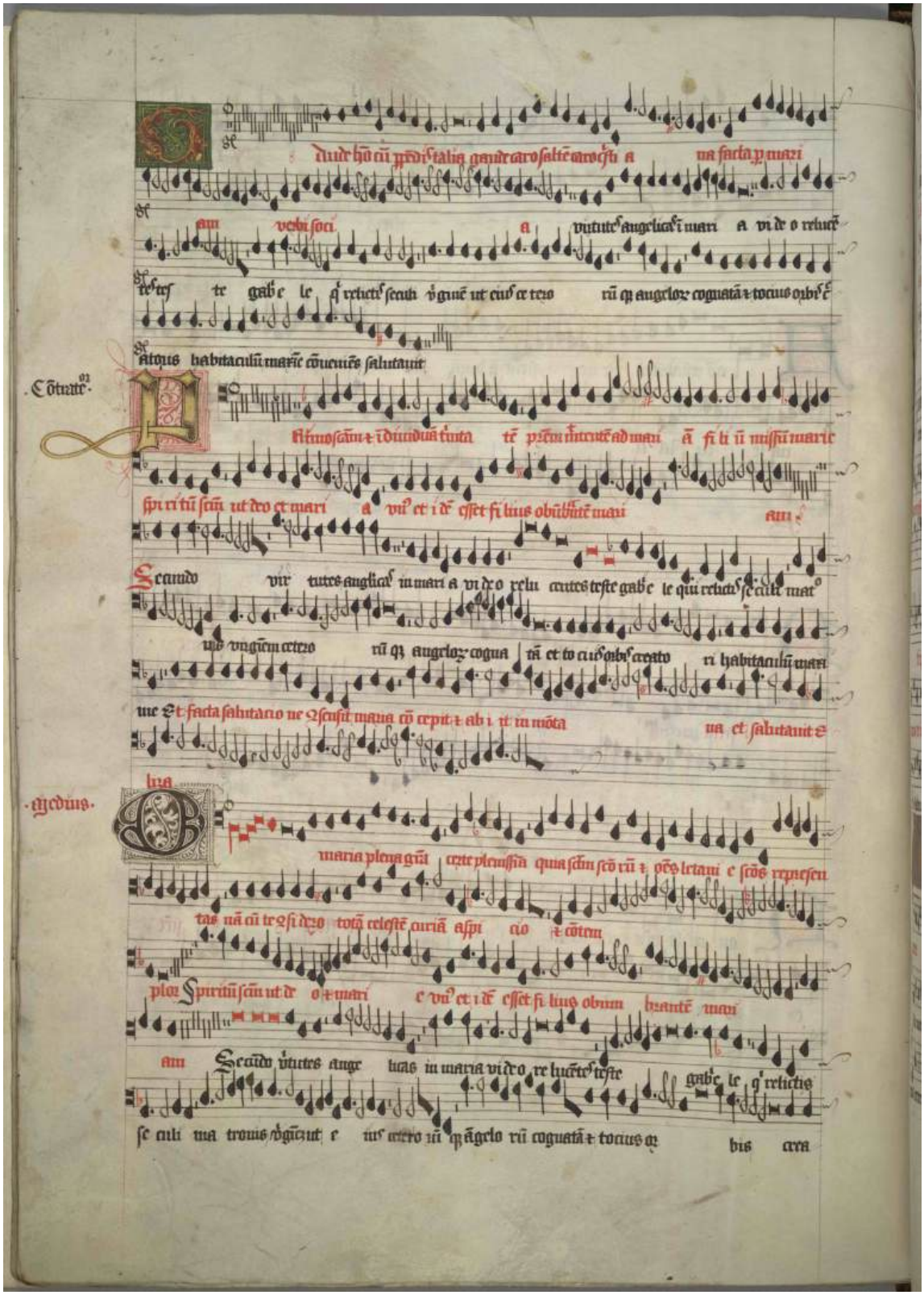
Historical performance from Renaissance choirbooks

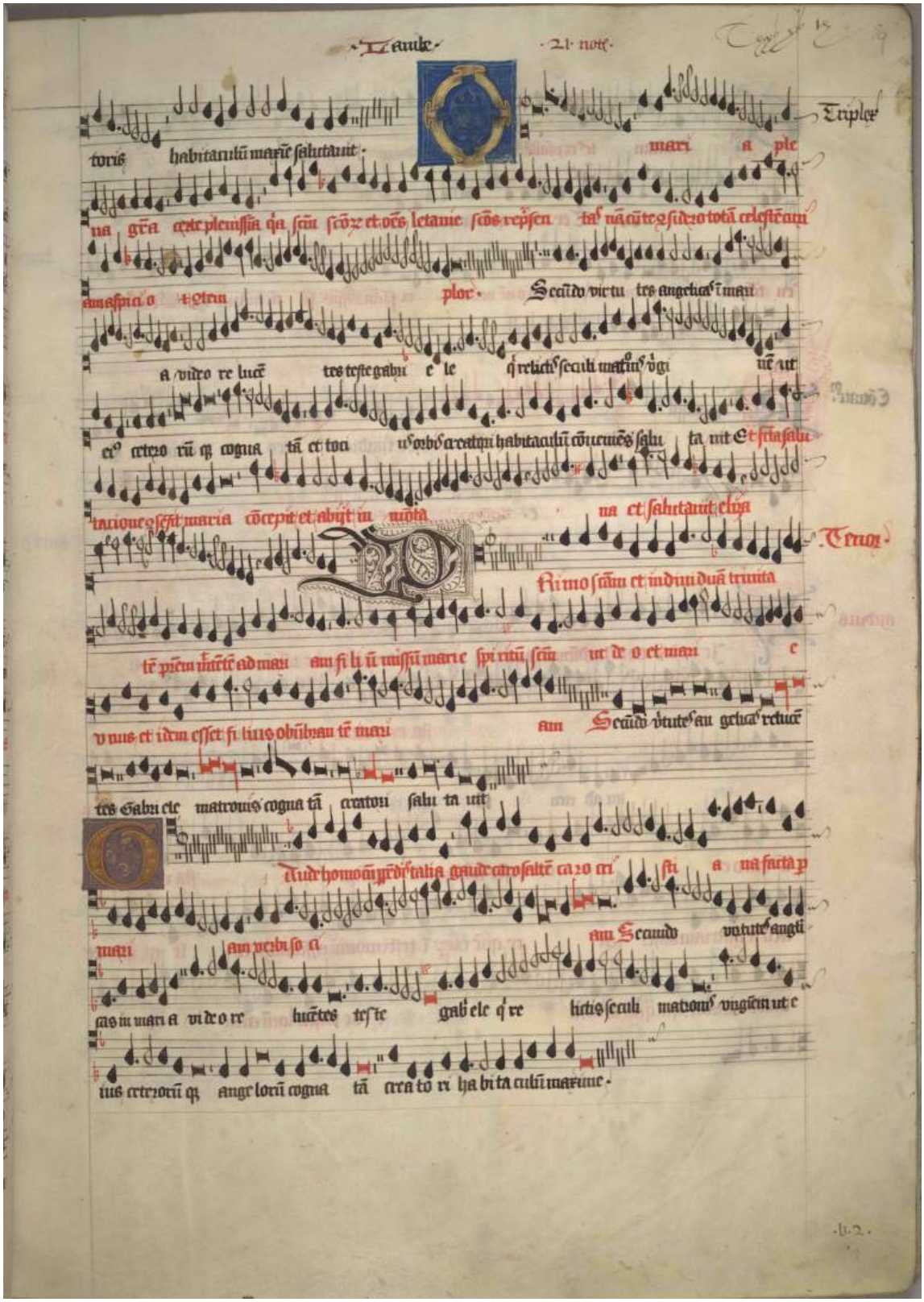
Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla

Introduction

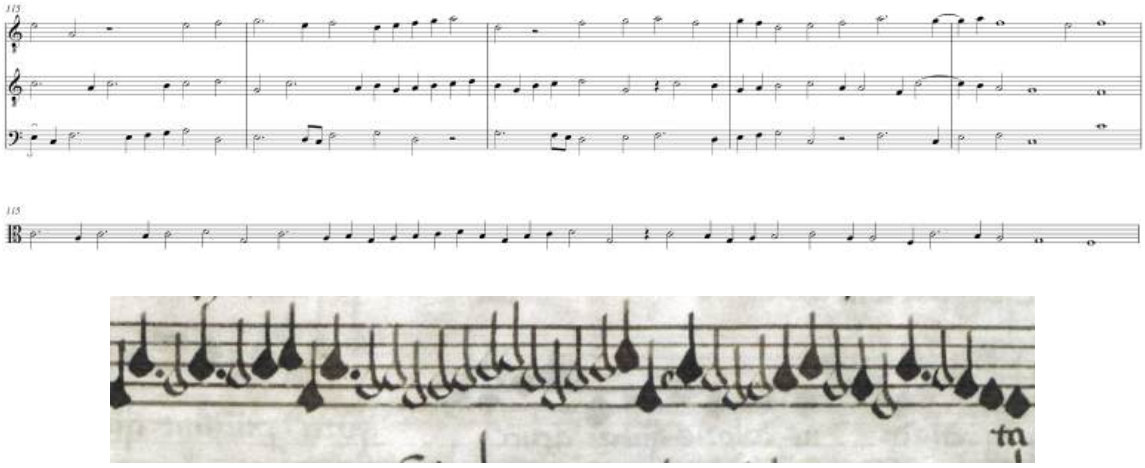
Choirbooks – single large-format manuscript or printed[1] volumes designed to be shared by a group of singers – were in use from the Middle Ages until about the end of the 19th century. Their longest survivors were plainchant collections, but polyphonic music was often copied in this way from the 15th century[2] until the early 17th century, with further instances of use thereafter (for example, Domenico Scarlatti's *Missa quatuor vocum* in G minor).[3] Their heyday seems to have been during the early 16th century, and three notable surviving collections from the Tudor period are familiar today, the choirbooks now located at Lambeth Palace, London,[4] Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge[5] and (still in its original location) Eton College.[6] These are the last survivals of the tradition in Britain,[7] whereas numbers known or extant in continental archives in Germany and Spain are much more substantial: Lassus' choir at Munich seems to have had access to about 75 choirbooks, and Toledo Cathedral still possesses about 130 parchment chant choirbooks.[8]

Previous studies of these sources have tended to focus on their repertoire contents rather than their original usage,[9] and the editing of this music from source into modern edition conceals a number of key issues that must have severely affected their practicality as performing sources. In particular, the exceptional rhythmic complexity of early Tudor repertoire – including votive antiphons[10] and masses by Browne, Davy, Fayrfax, Lambe, Ludford and others – poses major challenges to singers. For example, a brief reduced-voices extract (ex.1) from Walter Lambe's (1450/1-after 1504) six-voice antiphon *O Maria plena gratia* (the opening of the complete work in the Eton Choirbook is at illus.1a/b) requires absolute precision from the singers in order to make harmonic sense. First is shown a modern barred score transcription, then a barless version of the Tenor voice alone, then a facsimile of the same section from the Lambeth copy (Lambeth vi 12;[11] Eton is incomplete for this work).





Illus.1a/b Walter Lambe, O Maria plena gratia *(opening), Eton Choirbook, ff.8v/9, © Eton College/DIAMM*



Ex.1a/b/c Walter Lambe, O Maria plena gratia *(excerpt): modern transcription; modern transcription of Tenor with original clef and no barlines; facsimile from Lambeth. The text is '[Baptis-] ta'*

In fact, such English sources contain some of the most complex music of the period, within the esoteric *Musica Speculativa* tradition, such as Lloyd's *O quam suavis* and Fayrfax's *O quam glorifica* (his DMus submission) and *Albanus* masses.[12] The format was standard in a number of institutions in the early 16th century:[13] 'in 1524 all the polyphonic music at Magdalen College, Oxford was contained in choirbooks, nine of which had been bought between 1518 and 1524',[14] and these were supplemented in the early 1540s.[15] King's College, Cambridge – the sister institution to Eton – had in 1529 '5 great bokys wyth rede lether conteynynge the most solemne anthems off v partes', which sounds very similar to the Eton Choirbook (described there as 'a grete ledger of pricke song ii folio'), but it also had numerous sets of partbooks (both paper and parchment) in sets of three to six.[16]

While polyphonic partbooks existed in parallel with choirbooks,[17] because of their restricted numbers – usually one book per voice part, to share – as many as 16 choristers at King's still had to crowd round one smallish volume containing their part, probably placed on a lectern. At exactly the same time that Fayrfax's 'Regali' Magnificat was being copied into the Eton Choirbook, his Missa 'Regali ex progenie' was copied into partbooks at King's College (1503-4);[18] why particular formats were used for particular repertoire in different places is unknown.

The greater visibility afforded by a choirbook (the Caius volume is an enormous 72 x 49 cm) offered an advantage in terms of size. Such 'Choirbooks recur in inventories until the late 1540s, but evidence of their being newly copied after 1540 is sparse and ambiguous. Surviving Henrician sources of polyphony newly copied after 1525 are all in partbook format'.[19] None of the other pre-Reformation Oxford and Cambridge sources mentioned above have survived, so whether the three extant Tudor choirbooks contain in any sense a representative repertoire survival is uncertain: their source locations do not appear to have included some of the major English choral institutions, from York to London to Canterbury.

Producing manuscript music is very labour intensive, and such sources normally contain only the content necessary for a performer.[20] The apparent difficulty of using early sources such as Eton has led a number of modern scholars to suggest that there were alternative versions - all now lost - for actual use, an improbable concept at scale. Hugh Benham wonders whether some surviving choirbooks 'were library copies rather than "performing editions"; and indeed the few signs of actual use would seem to re-inforce this';[21] while Roger Bray notes 'Nearly all the manuscripts which survive today must have been library- or presentation-copies … Performing manuscripts must have been destroyed at some stage by religious zealots'.[22] Such speculation says more about modern understanding of performing material than of actual Tudor practice.

The survival of sources to the present may well have depended on their value (a highly decorated parchment choirbook would have been regarded as worth keeping as an artistic object even when the music in it was outmoded), on the type and quality of the binding, and the way in which it was stored. Single sheet copies did exist but were exceedingly fragile, while scrolls and rolls[23] are little better; binding sewn pages between leather-covered boards is far safer, as source survival numbers attest.

As well as European choirbook traditions, equivalent sources were also created as part of the wider musical empire, as in New Spain. For example, a 1657 polyphonic manuscript in Mexico includes both music for the mass as well as works for the liturgical calendar: motets, lamentations and Magnificats, by Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), Hernando Franco (1532-1585), Francisco López Capillas (c.1615-1673) and Juan de Lienas (c.1620-1650).[24] This collection of works for four and five voices includes music from both the Old World and the New.

Representations of choirs performing from shared musical sources become increasingly common during the Renaissance; one of the earliest woodcuts comes from *Speculum vitae humana* (1468) by the Spanish bishop and writer Rodericus Zamorensis (1404-1470) (illus.2). The basic format – a director with a baton-like stick, a mixed group of choristers and adults with the youngest at the front, all sharing a single bound volume – remains fairly standard until the 18th century.

Illus.2 Woodcut of plainchant choir sub 'Cantus', from Rodericus Zamorensis, Speculum vitae humana *(Rome, 1468)*

Aspects of the Tudor choirbooks

The Eton College Statutes of 1444 provided for a foundation with a 'Provost, ten Fellows, ten Chaplains, ten Clerks, seven poor Scholars, sixteen Choristers, a Grammar Master and an Usher, a Music Master, thirteen poor Youths and thirteen Almsmen. Both Scholars and Choristers had to be poor and indigent, of respectable parentage and sound in morals. They had to be able to read and chant before admission. The Choristers were supposed to have equality with the Scholars, and lived in the college. In addition to musical training, they were to attend classes in Grammar free of charge'.[25] A reconstructed Eton wall painting from the early Tudor period (illus.3) shows a class in progress, with a master (represented as far larger in size, and with a switch) declaring *audite pueri* ('listen, boys') to twenty boys of various ages sitting on benches or stools, most of whom are holding books. This might conceivably depict a grammar class for the scholars and choristers.[26]

The Eton Choirbook was nearly all copied 1500-1504 by a single scribe, and was kept in the College Chapel, according to an inventory of c.1531. It was rebound in the third quarter of the 16th century, either for the revived Catholic liturgy under Mary I, or when it 'was found among the books stored on top of the rood loft' in about 1570.[27] By that point, only 126 of

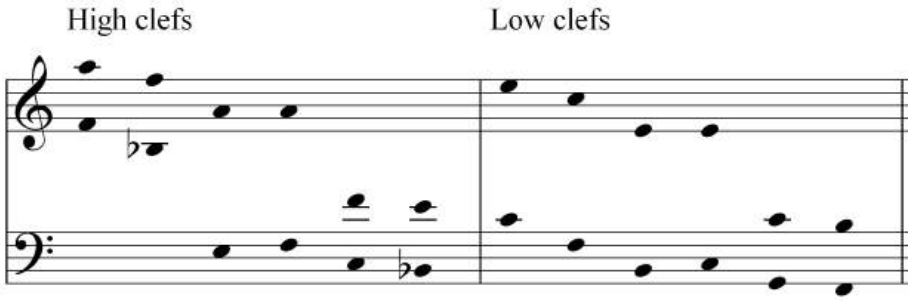
the original 224 folios remained: of the 93 works listed in the main index, 43 survive complete, 21 are incomplete and 29 are missing.

Illus.3 Digital reconstruction of an early Tudor wall painting at Eton College by Stephen Conlin, © Stephen Conlin 2010. All Rights Reserved. Based on research by Shikede and Rickerby

The Walter Lambe example from Eton MS 178 gives an indication of some of the practical issues arising from rehearsal and performance using choirbooks. His antiphon *O Maria plena gratia*[28] is the third work in Eton; only the first three pages survive there (illus.1a/b), but as the work is complete in the Lambeth Choirbook some useful comparisons can be made. It is laid out in high clefs on facing pages, with the voice names and clefs given as: [Quatreble] - G1; Contratenor - C4; Medius - C3; Triplex - C1; Tenor - C3; [Bassus] – C5.

The voice ranges (mentioned as covering '21 notes' at the head of the right-hand page)[29] indicate two high and four low voices, and are shown in ex.2 at written, then 'low clef', pitch.[30] The Treble part seems too low for even a boy alto, and a sounding pitch above A440 might therefore be assumed.[31] A choirmaster assigning singers to each part would quickly realize that the clefs here were a more useful guide to voice range than the part names (many pieces in Eton omit these names anyway): the Mean and Tenor are very similar in range, while the Countertenor lies below, rather than above, the Tenor. In modern choir terms and in low clefs, this seems equivalent to TrATTBB.[32] While the two 'Treble' parts both seem to be for boys, the Mean (later in the Tudor period, a boy's voice) is actually another Tenor. Critically,

the choirmaster can glean no more information from the score than do any of the singers, and what additional level of technical or musical understanding or knowledge he was able to or supposed to bring to performance decisions (musica ficta, dynamics, correcting errors in individual parts) – other than giving the pitch and beating the pulse – is uncertain.



Ex.2 Walter Lambe, O Maria plena gratia*, voice ranges in high and low clefs*

The standard pitch range for early Tudor polyphony was F-g^2, 23 notes when counted diatonically from the lowest man's note to the highest boy's. Composers such as Carver and Sutton expanded the range by a tone in each direction, and Cornysh (Magnficat a5) even used low C. This gives a maximum written range of C-a^2, nearly four octaves, so the issue of standardized pitches becomes important, as there is little leeway for selecting a singable reference pitch before the parts become too high for the trebles and too low for the basses.[33] Such problems are explicitly noted in the Évora Cathedral regulations of 1565: 'After finishing the lesson, the cantor or the sub-cantor will begin the responsory, at such a pitch that everyone can sing it honestly, and it is better that the lowest note is not heard than the highest note sounds out of the choir's reach'.[34]

Information about early pitch standards up to 1800 exists in scattered and incomplete form, but it is possible to estimate and sometimes measure instrumental pitches, using surviving instruments and documents.[35] How reference pitches for unaccompanied choral music such as that in the Eton Choirbook were sounded, and then transferred between performers and between spaces in venues in unknown.[36] The possibilities include singers with perfect pitch;[37] the organ (which may not have been adjacent to the performers, and in any case required a physical organ-blower and a player) or other keyboard;[38] a small separate organ-type pipe functioning as a pitch pipe; a metal object equivalent to the not-yet-invented tuning fork; a small bell; a wind instrument and so on. There are almost no relevant descriptions or iconography for any of these, but the ability to provide a sufficiently precise starting pitch for wide-range choral works must have been critical.

From composer to copyist

Early scores - related to the *tabula compositoria* mentioned by Auctor Lampadius in 1537 - as records of actual compositional activity, are very rare, and some other method of creating music and musical structures before working or fair copies were made must have been common, if not universal.[39] Paper, while expensive, was one such medium, but reusable formats such as the *cartella* (an erasable wax tablet with a history far back beyond even Roman times)[40] or the slate blackboard were also likely normal;[41] Lampadius mentions 'tablets of wood or stone'.[42] Evidence of composer choirbook autographs exists, such as De Rore,[43] and the transmission from sectional units (determined by the available space of a temporary score-like format – which might have involved several parts on each stave, as for keyboard music) into working copies and then fair copies raises some interesting issues. This transmission may have been through the composer transferring[44] sections into a choirbook format (some parts of the Carver Choirbook look like such copies) or into partbooks. Text incipits were likely necessary, but did not need expanding as complete underlay until the transfer from a *cartella*. Long-range formal elements would have needed particular care, but would also have aided planning when using a temporary format: 'Many elements of the large-scale structure of Fayrfax's works were probably decided upon in the pre-compositional stages. Some works were almost certainly constructed through the use of arithmetical proportions and number symbolism'.[45]

How composer copies were circulated to be used as accurate master copies for fair-copy use (such as the Eton Choirbook) is a different matter; material borrowed (from a composer or from existing choir copies) is always at risk of loss or damage, as well as being unavailable for use by the owner during the copying process. While some materials such as parchment were relatively easily available, a number of the pigments used for the decorated initials were rare, expensive, dangerous and difficult to work with.[46] It seems certain that such decorations were normally added by someone other than the music scribe,[47] and the binding would also have been the work of a separate specialist craftsman. Whether the music copying itself was done 'at' or 'for' Eton is an interesting question: if the number of lost choirbooks from the early Magdalen and King's inventories (see above) was replicated at the other major English choral institutions, the total would have been in the hundreds, raising the possibility that (as with the later Alamire workshop in Antwerp)[48] some at least of these were commissioned and supplied on a commercial basis from some kind of professional scriptorium rather than made in-house by lay clerks, as was usually the case in the Elizabethan and Stuart eras.[49] This also has implications for the selection of repertoire, as it might imply the existence of a 'library' set of master copies of individual works at such a scriptorium; exactly how specific a commissioning institution might have been as regards individual choices is unknown, whether supplied by an individual professional copyist or a scriptorium.

One aspect of choirbook layout formatting is of particular interest: the alignment of simultaneous page turns in all voices. While tricky to execute at speed mid-section with very large pages (see, for example, Eton Choirbook f.4v/5) this must have come from a master copy, and not have been a copyist's decision, as it would have been too difficult to calculate accurately from the separate voice parts. The concept of a first 'composer copy' post-*cartella* is important, because the parts having been extracted from some form of score (and the complexity of music by Fayrfax, Browne and others indicates that accurate vertical alignment of intricate rhythmic patterns was possible, and indeed necessary), revision was extremely difficult: a composer could re-score then revise the content, but making changes in one voice was much harder, without access to the harmonic and melodic content of the other parts. Variants in choirbooks may thus be significant, depending whether they originate from divergent sources, from composer revisions or from copyist changes at various levels of intervention – in the latter case, for example, changing ligatures is relatively straightforward (the parallel Lambeth and Caius texts are not always identical in that respect).[50] Some variants are curious, such as Eton Choirbook, f.g3v, staves 1-2, where the two parts before a *Gimell* (division of a voice) have the same rests laid out differently - Williamson believes that Eton's rests 'are grouped in a manner that is easy on the eye' but there is undoubtedly more to it than that.[51]

While Eton is remarkably accurate in terms of actual pitches,[52] ink corrections in Lambeth and Caius show insertions which were likely made as a result of checking against the master source immediately after copying, rather than any attempt to work out subsequently – through musical performance – what was missing, or in error. For example, insertions of omitted notes or passages were made in Lambeth (see Lambeth vii 13 and viii 17) in a way that looks as though singers were supposed to read such additions as part of the musical line, even where they are placed one or two staves away.

Fatal and other errors

The editing of musical texts from choirbook sources into modern editions disguises a number of serious practical difficulties that existed at the time of their original use.[53] Errors, in particular, could have major consequences for voices reading from individual lines: these include wrong notes or accidentals, inaccurate numbers of rests (especially when a voice remains silent for long time) and incorrect rhythmic values such as missing dots. Some of these mistakes would have been sufficient to prevent a section (or even piece) being performed accurately. An examination of the critical commentary from Frank Harrison's complete Music Britannica edition shows that the most common errors relate to accidentals.[54] However, rhythmic errors are much more problematic, as in Richard Davy's *O Domine Caeli Terraeque Creator*: the editor has corrected rhythm or rest mistakes in bars 79-80 and 262.[55] This work was – according to a manuscript note – written in a single day, so the level of accuracy here is impressive, if the story is true.

The most serious errors are those which affect the horizontal component; that is, the rhythm. Most critically, any errors in substantial stacks of rests would result in a voice coming in either too early or too late; for example, on the first page of John Browne's *O Maria Salvatoris Mater*, the Superior Contratenor contains four not six breves rest at one point. It is possible that the singers themselves might have been able to identify such problems, work out solutions and remember them, but the source itself was not amended, so the knowledge of this correct would have resided in the memory an individual person.[56] Where counting errors over long spans existed, their location in the section would have been important: a rest error near the end of a section would be less damaging than one at the beginning, where a part reading the incorrect notation accurately might find itself out of alignment with the other voices throughout an entire section. Sometimes passages are slightly garbled, resulting in rhythmic errors, all of which could have thrown the music out: Hacomplaynt, *Salve Regina*, Treble, bar 22 has a dot missing, while the Mean, bars 23-24, contains a garbled passage that is too long by a semibreve; Horwood's *Gaude Virgo Mater Christi*, Tenor, bar 46 has a four-note pattern borrowed in error from the stave just above. Such mistakes (sometimes several dozen in a single work) are not unique to English sources, and can be found in the Leiden Choirbooks[57] and elsewhere; even composers like Cipriano de Rore miscounted the rests in their own music.[58]

Elsewhere, while clef errors (Lambe, *Stella Caeli*, Treble, bar 51) are serious if not noticed, individual pitch errors might have seemed no worse than one voice singing a wrong note. There are also missing pause marks, and errors with stave accidentals or note accidentals, again less critical. Mensuration errors (Turges, *Gaude Flore Virginali*, Mean, bar 155) are another area of danger, and it is not always clear that copyists understood these matters fully: Bray points out that the source of Ashwell's *Missa Ave Maria* contains four verbal proportional indications in the Agnus Dei, three of which are incorrect.[59] Disputes about notation could become heated, even violent: in Courtrai in 1558 two singers were reprimanded for fighting in the sacristy during High Mass because of a debate 'concerning the difference and value of musical notes'.[60]

Where such source errors were identified in rehearsal, it is not known what might have been done to correct or understand these; corrections to early manuscript and print copies that look as though they are performer (rather than copyist) emendations seem rather rare, and that may be because writing materials (whether pencil,[61] or pen and ink)[62] were not available in the rehearsal space, especially if that was also the performance venue, for example a cathedral quire.[63] Nor it is certain who would have been responsible for, or have had the authority for, annotating material in this way, if it was even permitted to write on a luxurious parchment codex.

Evidence of usage

As has often been observed, the surviving Tudor choirbooks show relatively few signs of use. The most obvious damage expected would be dirty or torn corners at the bottom right, as a result of page turns;[64] there are two such small tears in Caius (the parchment of which is paper-thin), and some minor marks in Eton (for example, ff.c1 and d2).[65] However, the remarkable condition of the surviving parts of Eton might suggest that the later 16th-century rebinding, when so many pages were removed, retained only the undamaged (hence unused) portions. If the missing pages were those that had suffered from actual usage through rehearsal and performance, this might imply that the surviving manuscript is now not so much a record of what the Eton choir *did* sing, as what they did not.

Musical issues

Ensemble size

A key factor to be taken into account, both from a musical as well as a practical perspective, was the size of the ensemble performing from choirbooks. The number of singers varied considerably, and Tudor records from the second half of 16th century show 'Fully choral services were to be heard from then onwards in some forty or so cathedrals, churches and chapels in England, Ireland and Wales, sung by choirs ranging in size from no more than eight to as many as forty-four men and boys'.[66] This range was likely similar for the earlier period. The smaller ensembles would not have been able to tackle the largest scale works, while the biggest groups (assuming all singers were present, and not distributed according to some form of rota) would have had great difficulty reading from a single book, no matter how large.

As an example of a known large ensemble from the continent, the 12-voice *Missa et ecce terrae motus* (attributed to Antoine Brumel (c.1460-c.1515), but likely dating from several decades after his death)[67] provides an interesting case: it survives in a choirbook (64 x 45 cm) prepared for Lassus in Munich in about 1570,[68] which actually names 33 adult court singers - including Lassus himself on Tenor 2; adding the choristers and possibly some instrumentalists results in a very large ensemble that may have been beyond the scope of one manuscript. This could be an instance where some additional pages were copied, or some other expedient adopted, in order to make a performance possible. However, an illustration by Hans Mielich (illus.4) from exactly the same time depicts the Munich ensemble with the composer (in yellow, second left) kneeling, and his choir gathered round a lectern in three rows in the Hofpfarrkirche, with about six choristers and more than two dozen adults. They might be singing from a chant rather than a polyphonic choirbook, but thirty voices sharing one source seems remarkable. Overall, Lassus had at his disposal some 90 musicians, including 16 boys, five or six castrati, 13 altos, 15 tenors, 12 basses and 30 instrumentalists. In Spain, Toledo Cathedral still possesses massive large-print chant choirbooks (up to 84 x 56 cm in size, with only four staves

per page), which may have been intended for use by as many as 200 people present in the quire.[69]

Illus.4 Hans Mielich, Illustration of Lassus and the Munich court choir (c.1565-70) in the Laurentius Hofpfarrkirche. Detail from a manuscript of Lassus, Psalmi Poenitentiales

One choirbook where a large minimum number of performers is known is the Carver Choirbook,[70] made for an unidentified Scottish institution. It is not one of the largest volumes of this kind (39 x 30 cm), and contains Carver's *O bone Jesu* in no fewer than 19 parts, laid out on facing pages.

The Conductor

Among the many practical problems that arise in the performance from a choirbook the role of the conductor (more accurately, a musical director who gives the beat) is central. The visibility issue is important, and the iconography (see below) ambiguous; is setting the pace at the beginning sufficient, or is the beat maintained continuously?[71] Where was he located in relation to the choir, and was it important that all the choir could see him? Was the conductor responsible for turning the pages, or indicating when this was to be done? How was this managed, if the part he was singing, or following, had rests at that point? How aware was he of what all the other voices were doing? How did he correct mistakes? What interpretative decisions (if any) did he make in rehearsal or performance? Who was responsible for decisions about *musica ficta*? To what extent was he responsible for selecting repertoire, in addition to teaching it to the musicians? - that singers in some places may have been rebellious in terms of repertoire choices is shown by a 1565 injunction from Évora Cathedral: 'Singers will be

obliged to sing whatever the master orders them to, whether motet or solo, according to his judgement, without making any excuse'.[72]

Rehearsal and preparation

The rehearsal process for the choristers and lay clerks is likely to have been different, with the former drilled separately in order for them to be able to accurately read the complex notation in sources like Eton. A 1513 regulation from Durham Cathedral notes that choirmaster Thomas Ashwell was to give the boys music lessons 'carefully and adequately four times a day on all ferial days, that is twice in the morning and twice in the afternoon, and shall hear their renderings, keeping from them nothing of his knowledge in these matters'.[73] The process may have amounted to learning-as-memorization.[74] The lack of documentation about the comparable training of the adult singers in England at this time suggests they were responsible for their own learning, and if this involved extended contact with the musical text this creates practical problems as to its accessibility, both in terms of time and place. If a choirbook was not to be moved (or was too large to be easily moved) off its lectern, each singer would have had to study his part in situ, and only at a time when the chapel or church was not otherwise occupied with services. A small number of surviving separate voice-part fragments have been suggested as a 'rehearsal' or 'learning' copies, such as Buxton 96 or Arundel Castle Ms. A340.[75] The former at least is rather questionable, as it is a large-format parchment copy (not a small paper copy) from an institution not known to have had the relevant musical resources.[76]

Sightreading

That sightreading then existed as a concept in choral music is shown by a musical event early in Henry VIII's reign: 'For a while, the choir of Wolsey's chapel was considered superior to the Chapel Royal. Henry was unhappy with this and so in the days following Christmas 1517 he requested a competition between the two choirs; each having to sight read an unknown work in the presence of the other, Wolsey, and the King himself. Even the master of the King's chapel, William Cornysh, conceded that the Cardinal's choir was indeed superior, noting in particular the quality of the boys'.[77] How much repertoire was treated this way in actual services cannot be known.

At Évora Cathedral in 1565 the regulations indicated that, 'We strongly recommend that the chapelmaster have the singers sing at the lectern works of different composers, from amongst those most suitable for this, that is, a work now by one, now by another, so that the singers are practised in it all and an unfamiliar Mass or other work is never presented to them at the lectern'. In other words, the singers should build up a repertoire and never have to sightread. The positioning of the performers is also specified: 'The place of the chapelmaster is in the middle, facing the lectern and next to it, the contraltos and basses on his right hand, and the tenors and tiples on the left, and the choirboys in the middle in front of the singers'.[78]

Legibility and part location

The note-heads in the Eton vary in size and legibility through the copying process, with (for example) larger versions at ff.k6, l6, t5 and smaller at a4, d2, g2v, g6, h4, i6, q2, q5 and bb1. Text readability with the rather cramped gothic font used may also have been an issue, with the clarity or separation of individual letters seemingly not regarded as critical (see Eton f.d3).[79] However, as only five texts accounted for about two-thirds of the pieces in that choirbook (Magnificat, Salve Regina, Gaude Flore Virginali, Stabat Mater Dolorosa and Gaude Virgo Mater Cristi), the words may have been sufficiently familiar to the singers to be used in performance a reminder rather than to be read afresh (other less-used texts might have been memorized separately as part of the rehearsal process).

Another concern is the splitting of voices, the 'Gimell'; this is indicated by the actual word appearing on the page, but the second voice is written out straight after the first, and those singers would need to be able to locate this starting point immediately. More of a problem comes when the split voices rejoin: this time, the second voice carries straight on into the recombined part, but as this is not indicated in any way the first voice needs to be able to find the correct passage, possibly just by looking for the next text phrase (see Eton ff.g3v and h2v, and Lambeth v 10).

Further aspects of these problems can be seen in the Lambeth Choirbook: accidentals are often small and faint (for example, Lambeth iii 9), the barlines look very similar to rests (Lambeth viii 3), and there is even an example of tiny chant-like notation in Fayrfax's Agnus Dei from his *Missa Albanus* (Lambeth iii 9). It is curious that some of this vital musical information is not made clearer for the benefit of singers reading from a distance. In addition, clarity is now impacted by some acidic ink print-through from the other side of the folio (for example, Lambeth viii 8 and Eton ff.c2 and c3v), but this may not have appeared until well after copying.

Singers would have faced the constant challenge of counting numerous rests during reduced-voice sections without losing their sense of pitch, and a number of works also pose the challenge of counting large numbers of repeated notes accurately: for example, 21 repetitions of the same note (Lambeth ii 2), 26 notes on only three pitches with constant change of duration (Lambeth iii 1) or 82 repeated notes using only six pitches (Lambeth iii 15).

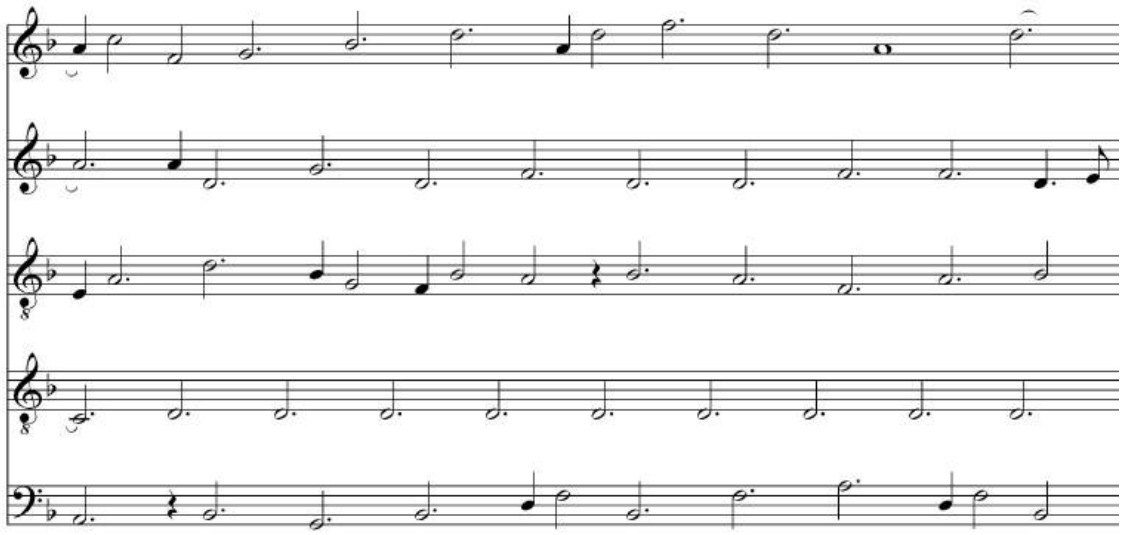
Getting lost

One of the principal practical difficulties in working with separate parts is that while the ear can confirm that a player or singer *is* or *is not* aligned with the harmony and rhythm of the other parts, listening to find out where one *should be* in the latter case is very difficult without seeing the music of the other performers (and assuming *they* are all in the right place).[80] Much

rehearsal time can be spent 'learning' the sound of the whole work in order to understand the harmonic and other context of a performer's own part, and this is especially important where there is no score to consult.

With music of such complexity as that of the Eton choirbook, it is only natural to expect that singers got lost during a rehearsal or service. In fact, the purpose of rehearsals might have been precisely to familiarise the choristers (in particular) with the most tricky sections, and to provide points of recovery. [81] Such points of recovery could have been identifiable by ear, once singers were sufficiently familiar with a work, and may include cadences, sequences, imitative sections and characteristic melodic motifs.

For one example of rhythmic complexity that would have made ensemble precision a challenge, see the passage from the Credo of Fayrfax's *Missa O Quam Glorifica* (ex.3), where the two mensurations used (C and O, differing between the voices, and called 'double mensuration' by Roger Bray)[82] are transcribed as 6/4, shown here without barlines.[83] While the underlying pulse is maintained in the tenor, the part is at the bottom of its register, and the text is a melisma, so it is very unlikely this could have provided a solid metrical foundation. All of the other voices are syncopated, and it would have taken a great deal of practice to achieve metrical clarity here, when no one voice part knew what the others were doing.



Ex.3 Fayrfax, Missa O Quam Glorifica, Credo, 'bars' 86-90, Treble, Mean, Contratenor, Tenor and Bass. Clefs modernized, text underlay '[de-] ce-[lis]' omitted

Fayrfax's choirs and virtuosity

An inscription in the Lambeth Choirbook (Lambeth i 16) states that the *Missa O Quam Glorifica* was written by 'Doctor ffeyrfax for his forme in proceadinge to bee Doctor', which

explains the level of technical virtuosity shown; whether it was intended for his Cambridge DMus of 1502 (he may have been exempted from the usual composition 'exercise' submission, 'sua eruditio potest stare pro forma ad incipiendum in musica') or that in Oxford nine years later is uncertain.[84] Regardless, the degree process is important, as (insofar as can be ascertained from the early Tudor regulations for the universities), after the deposit of a copy of the work with the Proctors,[85] the second part of the submission involved a formal performance of the work, likely in the relevant university church, which then served as an academic meeting place; thus, Fayrfax's most challenging mass is a rare example of a work known to have been performed, and thus to have been performable from normal partbooks or choirbook. Who the choirmaster and singers might have been is unknown, although the latter are likely to have been members of one of the principal chapel choirs, or the complete ensemble, loaned or hired. At this early stage of the BMus and DMus composition degrees, who within either university would have been academically qualified to assess and recommend the granting of such a degree is uncertain; and if the submission was not in a score format,[86] the work can hardly have been meaningfully assessed from separate voice-parts in any case.

One at least of the five-part masses of Fayrfax, the *Missa Albanus*, was written for St Alban's Abbey, where the composer seems to have been associated (if not formally employed) from 1502; the remainder were probably intended for the Chapel Royal, where he had been appointed in 1497, or earlier. Given the extreme complexity of these masses, their destination ensembles must have been of an exceptional standard. The question arises as to whether the functioning of a choir would have been impacted by the condition of its ecclesiastical host institution, for in 1489, not long before the composer's connection with St Alban's, a major argument broke out between the controversial abbot William Wallingford (accused of decades of dishonesty, embezzlement, simony, usury and violence) and the then Archbishop of Canterbury, John Morton, which also drew in King Henry VII and Pope Innocent VIII. Wallingford died in office in 1502, with the abbey in a decline from which it never recovered.[87] Similarly, at Ramsey Abbey, a 1517 Visitation revealed that only two or three of the forty monks were attending High Mass, that the Prior was a drunkard, that the senior monks gambled, and talked through services.[88] This was a particularly bad case, but it is hard to believe that choir discipline generally was superior to clerical discipline.

Disciplinary records from later in the 16th century and into the 17th record numerous infractions from British lay clerks, including chronic absenteeism, fornication, drunkenness, gambling and unpunctuality; some were too old to function well, and there were also instances where choirs were grossly understaffed.[89] The situation pre-Reformation may possibly have been better (records are sparse) but there the additional complexity of the liturgy meant problems for the choral provision: 'At High Mass on Sundays and festivals a substantial proportion of the choir was engaged about the ceremony of the service and thus unable for much of its duration to participate in the singing'.[90] In both cases, a nominal full complement of adult singers may not have been present or available, and the same may have been true of

the choristers, where boys whose voices had broken ('dry choristers') remained on the books but without being part of the choir. At King's College, Cambridge, these numbered at least eleven during the last two decades of the 16th century.[91]

The level of difficulty of the early Tudor style varied, with reduced-voice (likely solo) sections requiring more in terms of agility, range and vocal technique; some composers made the full section more straightforward in terms of rhythmic complexity, and there are also genre differences (Fayrfax's masses are much harder than his votive antiphons). A rare monastic repertoire example can be seen in the four-voice Magnificat by William, monk of Stratford Langthorne, 'dompnus Wyllimus Stratford monachus stratfordie', in the Eton Choirbook. This is for men's voices only, and is relatively undemanding, with considerable regularity of imitation. Whether or not William was rare in being a monastic composer is unknown; the pre-dissolution documentation for music is sparse, although there may have been some secular musicians (such as Tallis at Waltham Abbey, briefly) providing expertise and composer.

The role of memory

A significant proportion, perhaps the majority, of singers working from a choirbook would have had at least some difficulty in reading from the source, either due to excessive distance or poor lighting. The most plausible explanation of the fact that such performing methods were standard was that direct 'reading' of the music and text was supplemented in some way using memory: the notation may have served as a general visual aid rather than a prescriptive detail. Rehearsals may have allowed time for such memorization, at a period when these skills were more in common use and operated at a higher level than they do today.[92] Chorister-only rehearsals could have involved drilling the music through repetition, while the numerous reduced voice sections (frequent in the Eton Choirbook antiphons, and amounting to as much as two-thirds of a work's length) might have been rehearsed and learned privately by small groups of singers or soloists – provided always that the musical sources were accessible to the singers when they were needed.

Repertoire size

Early service music lists are very rare, and it was not until the end of the 19th century that cathedrals produced printed lists of service repertoire. The earliest known list is from Durham Cathedral for June 1680, where the month's music included 21 canticle settings for Matins and Evensong, and 47 anthems.[93] This repertoire was relatively simple by comparison with Eton, both technically and musically, so provides little guidance as to earlier practices. One should certainly avoid the belief that a manuscript collection represents a 'performing repertoire', but whether Eton College Choir sang all 24 Magnificats from their 'grete ledger' in the first decade of the 16th century, or just one or two, cannot be known. Given the difficulty of the music, it

seems likely that the working repertoire of well-known pieces of complex polyphony was not (and did not need to be) that large, and would have taken time and effort to add to.

Iconographical evidence

Scholars of music have used historical visual evidence of various kinds for many years, including paintings, drawings, engravings, *intarsia* and sculpture, sometimes with insufficient appreciation of the ambiguities and inconsistencies that artists can bring to the representation of musical activities and instruments – as D. Thomas Hanks observes, 'a picture is not always worth a thousand words'.[94] In particular, it is easy to assume that finely-detailed and high quality works are graphically accurate representations. However, early art abounds with imaginary instruments, musicians and buildings, or pictures that are schematic or modified for artistic rather than representational reasons. The difficulty comes in assessing the level of accuracy intended, or indeed possible. For example, a Renaissance lute with five instead of six courses in a painting might be an instance of a non-standard instrument having existed; an adaptation for unknown reasons; a simplification; or a simple error, and the difficulty comes in judging which. While there are (for example, at Urbino) *intarsia* depictions so precise that it is possible to use them as plans to reconstruct working musical instruments, at other times the number of performers, their location or activity may not be usable as firm evidence. At the very least, however, a representation that appears to show actual people, instruments or activity should have been accurate enough to be meaningful to those who saw it at the time. The artist's intended level of accuracy may also deliberately vary, depending on what (persons, objects, backgrounds) is being shown; for example, the main outlines of figures and objects may be sketched from life in order to be worked up later, but backgrounds might be completely imaginary. It is also possible that some of the people shown, in addition to Ockegham and Hofhaimer, are actual musicians (for example, Gaffurius himself), even if they cannot now be identified.

The following choirbook illustrations,[95] generally in chronological order and nearly all from the first half of the 16th century, need to be examined in detail to see what they might tell us today; in particular, whether the scene shown conforms to other historical sources and surviving physical objects, and to what is now understood of the location and function of the musical activity they appear to depict. All are from the continent; although woodcuts were introduced into Britain by Wynkyn de Worde in the very late 15th century, they were less common than in mainland Europe,[96] and Sir Thomas Elyot noted in 1531 that domestic artists were thought to be poor: 'englisshmen be inferiors to all other people, and be constrayned, if we wyll haue any thinge well paynted, kerued, or embrawdred, to abandone our owne countraymen and resorte unto straungers'.[97]

'Ockeghem' and his choir

Illus.5 Anonymous French book-painting (c.1523), depicting a choir including an elderly Johannes Ockeghem (c.1410-1497) wearing glasses. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr.1537 f.58v. Creative Commons

Nine singers of various ages are gathered round an ornate double-sided lectern, on a cupboard base containing bound volumes and with internal storage space accessed by an arched door at the side (illus.5). The music (a Gloria) is shown as a large individual leaf (possibly an unrolled scroll), cut in an architectural shape at the top, with five lines of polyphony, rather than an actual choirbook volume. The stand is placed so that daylight from two of the three clear-glass windows behind provide illumination, and the performing space appears to be a side chapel

rather than the main body of a church. One figure at the back may be beating time, while a smaller (probably younger) singer at the front is touching the music (possibly following his part with a finger), and has a colleague's hand on his left shoulder. Whether the Ockeghem figure is supposed to represent a posthumous portrait of the aged composer is unknown, but the other singers have generic rather than individual faces.

Schlick woodcut (1511)

Illus.6 Woodcut from Arnolt Schlick, Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten *(1511)*

A woodcut image (illus.6) from about the same time, from Arnolt Schlick's (c.1455–after 1521) *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Speyer, 1511), again shows a single-leaf format (or

possibly an opened scroll), with three boys and one man (or two) singing to the accompaniment of an organ and a mute cornett; the bellows-blower is also shown. The cornettist has no music, but the organist does, and is also using the pedals. That the organ could be used to accompany music sung from a choirbook (but using their own separate music) is indicated by later Portuguese manuscript notes indicating when music was either to be *p^a cãtar ao orgaõ* ('to be sung with the organ') or *p^a cantar* ('to be sung').[98]

Gaffurius woodcut (1512)

The well-known Gaffurius woodcut (illus.7) appears to show a choirbook performance – or possibly a rehearsal. It exhibits a large number of interesting features: first, the background seems architectural as much as ecclesiastical (note the way the illustration's own border matches the ornate wall decoration), with a perspective chequered floor and a decorative arch (possibly with a door) in the background. Although a luxurious formal building, there are no signs of religious or liturgical orientation, no significant church imagery in the decoration (there appears to be a small cross above the lectern), and no altar or clergy. No light sources are evident.

Second, there are about 17 singing figures (the number at the very back is unclear), with three smaller ones (presumably choristers) at the front; the three forward figures display the 'hand on shoulder' practice described by Giorgio Vasari (1568)[99] in respect of the marble relief carving made by Luca della Robbia for Florence Cathedral's *Cantoria* (singing gallery) in 1431-38: that shows a choir, with 'the musical director beating his hands on the shoulders of the younger singers'.[100] Recent research has shown that this type of physical contact between musicians placed close together makes a real difference to ensemble precision.[101] In Gaffurius, the (singing) senior figure in a dark cope is in the foreground, with right hand slightly raised as if time-beating - but in a way hardly visible to the singers. There is a mixture of choir-like clothing, including garb with monastic cowls; while some figures have headwear or tonsures, most do not. There are two additional figures, one leaning on the lectern and another younger one sitting on a lockable chest in the foreground looking at a small (prayer?) book; two other closed volumes with clasps are next to him.

The substantial and ornate lectern is on a panelled octagonal base with double doors at the front; above, a turned and carved post supports a very large (probably double-sided) angled lectern, which has an arch cut into the side, possibly suggesting a hollow interior that could be used for storage of some kind. Tassels dangle from each side, appearing to connect with cords or ribbons to locate places in the book. A comparison of the size of the figures to the lectern suggests that their relationship may not be in accurate perspective: the enormous lectern appears to be about nine feet high (although some surviving examples are taller still), the music volume is about 2 ½ x 2 feet (plausible) but the singers are placed very far from its pages. This spacing may be for artistic reasons in that it allows detail of the church

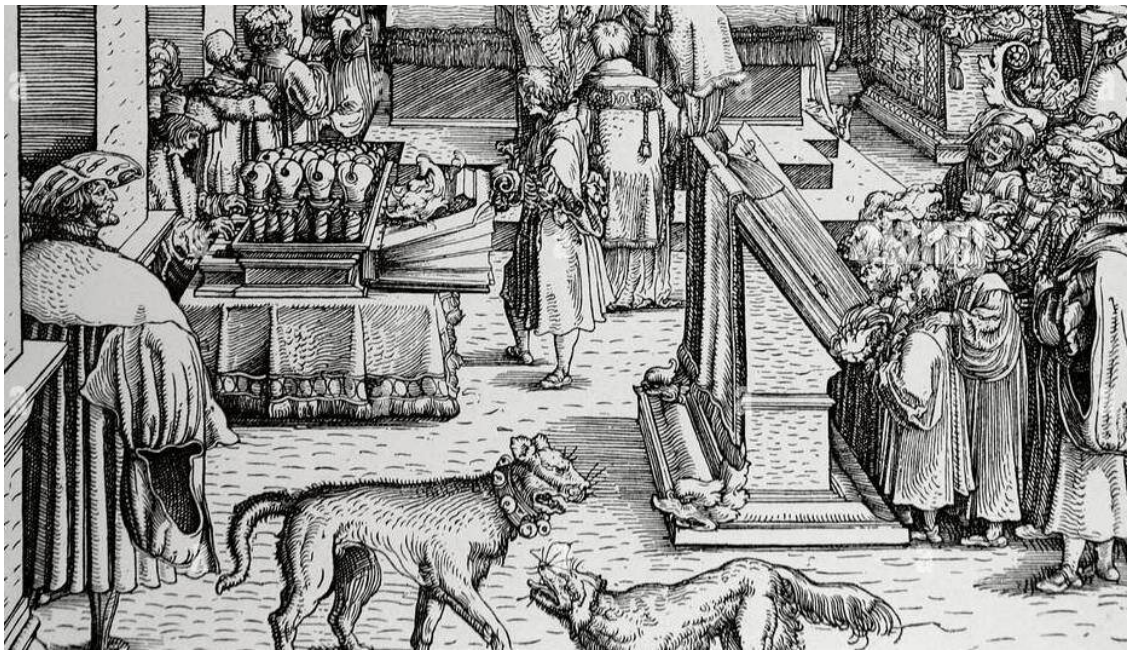
background to be clearly shown. Curiously, the boys at the front are looking upward at such an angle that the contents of the music (also at an angle) must be unreadable. It is also not clear how the pages could be turned, as they are beyond the stretch even of an adult arm.

Illus.7 Franchinus Gaffurius, Practica musicae *(Venice, 1512), frontispiece; this engraving appears in the Venice edition but not the 1496 Milan original*

The music itself is ambiguous: the two facing pages of the large bound volume contain the texts 'BENEDICAMUS DOMINO' and 'DEO DICAMUS GRASIAS', in capitals and with a double barline separating them. There is a C4 clef on a five-line stave, as for polyphony, but the single-line musical notation (black notation with long, breve, semibreve and tail-less minim, including ligatures and a *custos*) looks more like chant, although is not indentifiable as from the notes.

Maximilian woodcut

A massive set of woodcuts concerning the life of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519)[102] includes an image of him at mass in his chapel (illus.8). The detail shown is considerable, and the image looks plausibly realistic (see, for example, the quarrelling beasts in the foreground). The choir at bottom right is hard to make out even when enlarged, but seems to show six choristers and three adults grouped round a very large choirbook, placed on a floor lectern with hangings on the other side. The furthest figure has something in his left hand, so may be conducting (not that any of the choristers can see him). Unlike some of the other images, the singers are very close to the music, so could turn the pages easily. This is another quite rare representation where the voices are accompanied by (or possibly, are in alternation with) a keyboard, in this case a large table-mounted regal with an assistant to blow the bellows (the curious large resonators nearest the viewer should be at the bass end of the keyboard).[103] The player is thought to be Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537).



Illus.8 Maximilian I attending mass in his Augsburg palace chapel. Woodcut (c.1518) by Hans Burgkmair (1472-1550), bottom third of image shown

Attaingnant woodcut (1523)

A further illustration (illus.9) from the same period is rather harder to decode. Four adult and two boy singers are gathered round a small choirbook on a lectern, with six staves or groups of staves possibly representing a six-voice piece. The second singer from the left has his left hand raised, as if beating time, and the performers are rather casually gathered round the music, standing or sitting, and some leaning on their hands or arms. The space appears to be recessed or else shows descending steps, with substantial decorated pillars or other bases on each side. The stonework between them even shows the inserted iron ties used to bind the blocks together. It is unclear from the picture itself whether this is an informal, a social or a liturgical rehearsal or performance, but the publication it appears in is of sacred music.

Illus.9 Title page of Pierre Attaingnant, Sextus liber duas missas habet *(Paris, 1532), detail*

Susato woodcut (1546)

The Susato image from 1546 (illus.10) has some similarities with the previous images, but is much less finely cut than some, with simpler detailing. The representation is clearly a liturgical performance - appropriate as a illustration accompanying a volume of masses - and also seems plausible. However, some features suggest that it might be a reworking or re-use of a woodcut from elsewhere.

The ensemble is uniformly attired in surplices, with four adult singers and three choristers in front of a tall (but not impossibly so) ornate lectern. They are accompanied by a single sackbut player to double the bass voice, and there does not appear to be an active director. In the background three clergy or members of the congregation sit in stalls in a row, while in front a (singing, speaking or mouthing) bishop kneels (his mitre is on the floor) with a highly-decorated cope faces the altar, where the priest is celebrating the liturgy with lit candles. A shield at the bottom of the image seems to be an overlay, but the heraldry is too sketchy to be

deciphered; however, it may refer to the aristocratic status of the bishop. The clergy are tonsured, but not the singers.

Illus.10 Tylman Susato, Liber primus missarum quinque vocum *(Antwerp, 1546), woodcut with a sackbut accompanying a choir*

The location might be the quire, or else a large side chapel; a window in the background shows the north wall of the building, and an elaborate roofed Gothic tomb with recumbent effigy is east of that. The type of architectural decoration (as well as the figurative carving on

the *prie-dieu*) seems more north Italian than Netherlandish, so this may not depict Antwerp in 1546, but another country, and possibly an earlier date too.

The singers here are much closer to the eye-height choirbook, although it is at a steeper angle, so the choristers are again craning their necks. The book itself is much smaller, and the musical notation included too schematic to read.

Finck woodcut (1556)

The Finck woodcut (illus.11) has many similarities with the previous examples, but seems to show a service rather than a rehearsal. Some 15 adults and six choristers are crowded round a low-level lectern (again, on a very ornate figurative stand). Their clothing seems to be more like livery than ecclesiastical. Three of the singers and one of the players wear hats (one with a feather), presumably as a sign of status, and the age of the adults seems mixed. Instrumentalists are grouped among the singers, and there is a slide trumpet at the front, with two bass crumhorns raised up at the back, while one other player has a mouthpiece (perhaps a dulcian) in use, but no with instrument visible. The central figure is directing and looking back at the musicians in a very engaged way, using his left hand in some kind of indicative gesture with his fingers in pairs, and possibly pointing at the music with his right. The scraggy dog at the bottom left may be intended as either real or symbolic.

The large-format polyphonic score is laid out in four parts, in slightly the wrong order, with Dis[cantus] on the left and Ten[or], Alt[us] and Bas[sus] on the right, with a final double barline for each. This may be because the conductor's hand was carved first, meaning there was insufficient room for two staves on the left-hand page. The Alto part has a C3 clef, and each voice includes a symbol or two representing notes. The building is fairly plain and probably generic, with an arched doorway and two windows shown; it might be sacred or secular, probably the former.

Galle engraving (1590)

A larger ensemble appears in a later engraving from the same city (illus.12), with some similar features. It shows a bishop celebrating a Catholic mass, with numerous acolytes and senior clergy in attendance. The main music ensemble size is unclear (the distant back row might be congregation rather than performers), but it may show some six choristers and seven or so surpliced adults at the main lectern, all placed on a raised platform; mixed in with them are two cornetts and three sackbuts, although some of the players have no sightline to the actual music, so could be playing from memory. A central figure has his right hand raised, probably directing, and one of the front left singers seems to be holding a lens in a handle (a proto-monocle), to see better.

Illus.11 Hermann Finck, Practica Musica *(1556), woodcut*

Illus.12 Philippe Galle, engraving of two choirs and instrumentalists from Enconium Musices *(Antwerp, 1595), after Johannes Stradanus (1523-1605)*

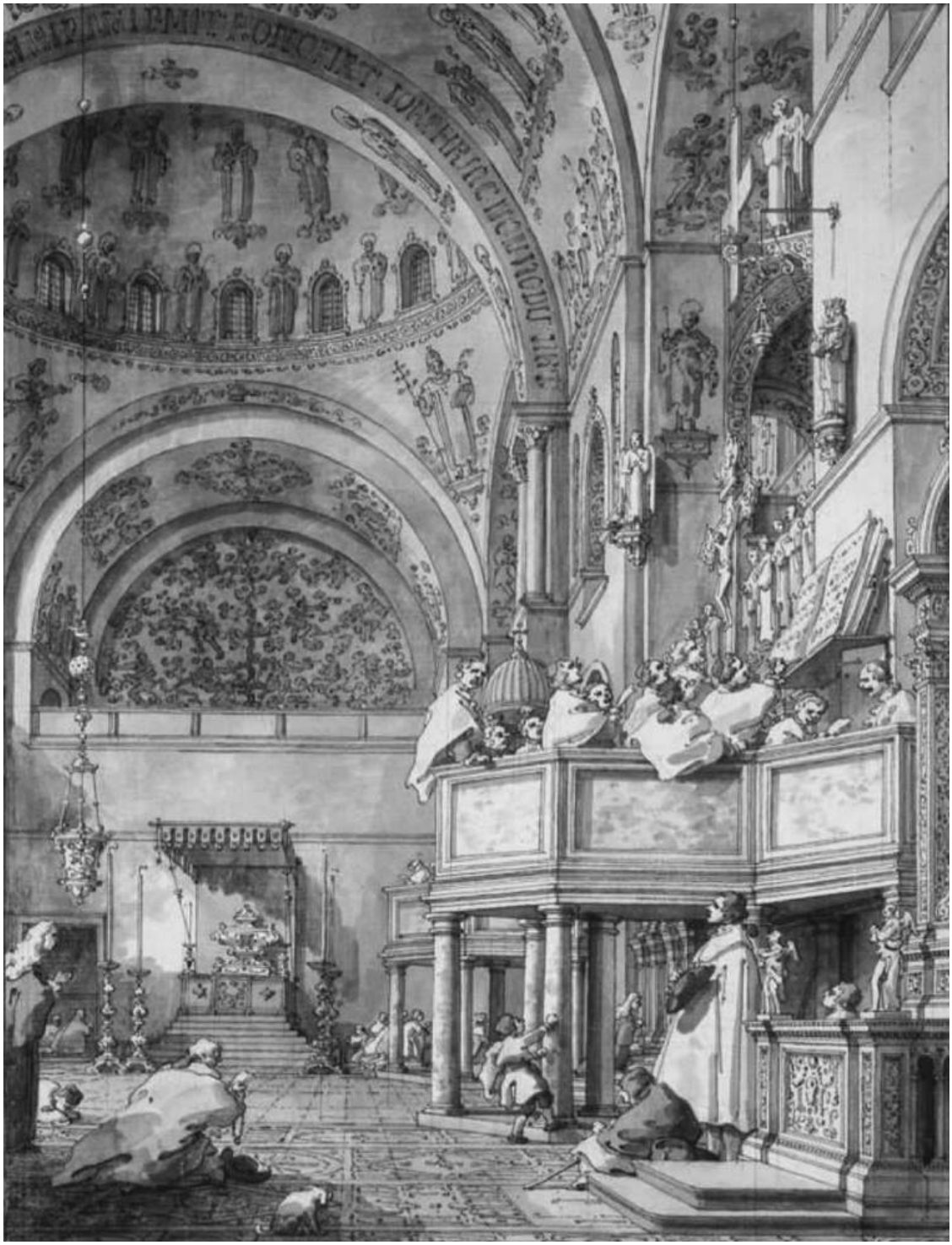
The lectern is above eye height and steeply angled,[104] and although the music pages are very full of notes, nothing specific can be made out. There seems to be a rod with a tassel lying across the bottom, possibly to hold the pages flat (a tight binding would have made the music harder to illuminate evenly, or read, due to the curvature of the pages in the middle). The two candles on large stands nearer the altar would be ideal to light the choirbook, were they either side of it; perhaps the service is shown occurring during daylight hours, or perhaps candles for the musicians have been omitted for clarity. Strikingly, there is a further ensemble of similar size behind the reredos on the right, where (if the perspective is accurate) there are no sightlines to the western group – if this is polychoral performance, it is by ear only.[105] They are performing at another lectern, but with the music placed on the other side, and at least one further cornett and sackbut are present.

The text below the engraving translates as: 'The church cultivates a divine civilization by the arts of harmony, and embellishes many mysteries with songs. In the holy shrines there sounds sweetly the well-modulated instruments. The pipe blends harmoniously with the Tyrrhenian trumpet. The muses lift mundane minds heavenward'.[106]

Canaletto drawing (1766)

The fine Canaletto drawing (illus.13) is from much later, and seems accurate enough to have been drawn – or originally sketched – from life. It shows the interior of St Mark's, Venice, facing north (more or less unchanged today), with the musicians placed in the southern *bigonzo*. There appear to be seven surpliced adult singers facing a massive choirbook on an angled shelf above them, with the one closest to it either directing with his right hand, or else having just turned the page. Two other people nearer the viewer are not looking at the music, so may or may not be part of the ensemble, or else be resting instrumentalists. On the floor of the basilica are (mostly kneeling) figures in prayer, and animals; some may be tourists, rather than attending to the liturgy. The two small figures under the *bigonzo* seem to be children playing.

Apart from the credible perspective and extraordinary level of architectural detail, the most striking feature of the picture is the size of the choirbook: it could easily be 4 feet high; the symbols on the pages might be meant to represent mensural or plainchant notation. The singer sitting on the edge and turned towards the viewer may be 20 feet from the choirbook, which is surely too far to see well, even with a volume of that size.



Illus.13 Giovanni Antonio Canal (Canaletto) (1697–1768), sketch drawing of Easter Mass in San Marco, Venice (1766)

Five choirbook curiosities

References to singers making unpleasantly animal-like noises are not uncommon, especially as part of complaints from clergy hostile to music; there are comparisons of a 17th-century Exeter lay clerk sounding like a dying mare, and to other singers bellowing or howling like calves or dogs.[107] Satirical drawings or engravings can be found to represent these, including a 1523 illustration (illus.14) of a singing cow conducting a seated left-hoofed[108] goat who is playing a lute, with its case behind; note that the bespectacled cow is using a baton – unusual, but not unique.[109] Apart from human beings having been substituted by animals, the musical depictions are plausible, with a rotatable lectern on an ornate base holding a smallish polyphonic choirbook with four voices on facing pages.

Illus.14 Leonhard Beck, The Singing Cow and the Lute-Playing Goat *(Augsburg, c.1523), Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, PAS II 25/13*

One interesting feature of the Beck lectern is the dogleg post that connects the base to the supporting surface, and interestingly this can also be found in the much earlier Ghent altarpiece (illus.15) of c.1432 by Jan Van Eyck (c.1390–1441).[110] Apart from the fact that it is angels that are singing (although their facial expressions as performers seem very human), this huge set of panels seems almost photo-realistic, with the decorative vestments and finely carved Gothic lectern and base. The support arm is clearly shown as polished brass.

Illus.15 Jan Van Eyck, Angels Singing*, from the Ghent Altarpiece (c.1430–32), St Bavo Cathedral, detail*

A further colour illustration from early 16th century appears in the so-called Nuremberg 'Geese Book',[111] a manuscript picture of a wolf in pseudo-vestments with a long stick-like baton conducting a choir of seven geese, with a fox (also singing?) in the background (illus.16). The lectern is of the plain library type, with two sloped reading desks and storage spaces with doors below (similar to illus.2); the music seems to be chant. Whether this is satirical or merely whimsical is uncertain: the illustration accompanies the chant *Viri Galilei* from the Mass for Ascension, but does not seem to have a connection with it, possibly other than the phrase 'God is gone up with a merry noise'.

Illus.16 Illustration from the Geese Book *(Nuremberg, 1507-1510), f.186, detail*

Fourth, the mid-16th century 'Concert in an Egg' painting in the style of Hieronymus Bosch (illus.17), and formerly thought to be by him (it was likely adapted from an extant drawing of his), also contains animal musicians - including performers on lute and cornett. The presumed symbolism of the egg, and of the many birds, animals and activities around it are unknown, but the 'concert' part itself seems more plausible, even if the performers' headwear ranges from simple hoods to bizarre objects. Ten male and female musicians are gathered round a thick medium-sized choirbook, which has four voices laid out in the usual way. One is brandishing a stick as if conducting, while the monk in the foreground is pointing, and possibly also beating time. One musician is playing a small gothic harp, another has cheeks distended with a hidden brass instrument (or possibly a straight cornett), and one is wearing spectacles. The clothing suggests a social or professional status ranging from peasant to monk and nun, so this may all represent a satirical commentary of some kind. The music is carefully drawn, with correct clefs and voice designations: it is actually Thomas Crequillon's chanson *Toutes les Nuits que sans vous je me couche* (published 1549), composed well after Bosch's death. Perplexing as this visual symbolic tradition may be, much of the musical content of this painting may be true to life.

Illus.17 Formerly attributed to Hieronymus Bosch, Concert in an Egg *(c.1561, possibly by Pieter Huysch)*

A fifth image is also not 'documentary', in the sense that it presents a Biblical scene, but the room's interior, the musical activity and some of the clothing are historically realistic for the 16th century (illus.18). Five singers, including two choristers, are shown reading the motet *Laude Pia Dominum* by Andreas Pevernage (1542/3-1591) from a large choirbook, which is placed on a lectern standing on a table. A large and lit candelabrum above is too far away to illuminate the book itself, but that is angled close to two large open windows. One of the singers appears to be directing the performance with his right hand. King David himself plays a mid-sized 16-string harp rested against the table edge while kneeling on a cushion, and he reads from a large open book held for him by another kneeling adult figure. This may or may not be a duplicate copy of the choirbook (it is about the same size and shape), but the king seems to be accompanying the singers, and as he is using both hands is likely doing more than just playing the bass line.

Illus.18 Jodocus van Winghen (1544–1603), King David David playing the harp*, engraving after a painting*

Lecterns and lighting

Choir lecterns

The lecterns illustrated above vary greatly in size, but in design mostly follow the principle of a triangular upper box sitting on a pillar (probably rotatable, and often decorated with acanthus leaves) above an ornate base, which may itself be a storage chest. A number of historical examples survive, likely retained because they remained useable for supporting bibles and other large bound volumes for liturgical readings, or because they were substantial and valuable items of church furnishing in themselves. Two examples are shown below (illus.20a/b): a lectern from the mid-1530s in Perugia, which sits on top of a highly carved chest; and a huge four-sided example in Granada Cathedral made by Alonso Cano in 1652.[112] A simpler design would have fulfilled the same function, so the elaborate decoration of such book supports reflected the sacred importance of the objects they were designed to displayed, from bibles to choirbooks. The placement of choir lecterns was normally with the singing

facing east, and in the quire, or near the east end of the church. The 1478 statutes for the planned collegiate foundation at Middleham in Yorkshire direct that after evensong, the 'anthem of our Lady be sung at the lectern in the middle of the quire',[113] while at Évora Cathedral in 1537 the choir was instructed to 'sing at the lectern in the choir', and were told to stand together by voice-part: 'We ordain and command that each of the singers when going to the lectern to sing go to his place, that is, the tiple [male soprano] with the tiples and thus too for the other voices.[114]

Illus.20a/b Choir lectern (1535-1537) in the Basilica of San Pietro, Perugia; Four-sided lectern by Alonso Cano (1652) in Granada Cathedral

A number of reconstructions based on early illustrations have been made in modern times, such as the substantial example constructed by organbuilders Goetze and Gwynn, shown at Hexham Abbey (illus.21).[115]

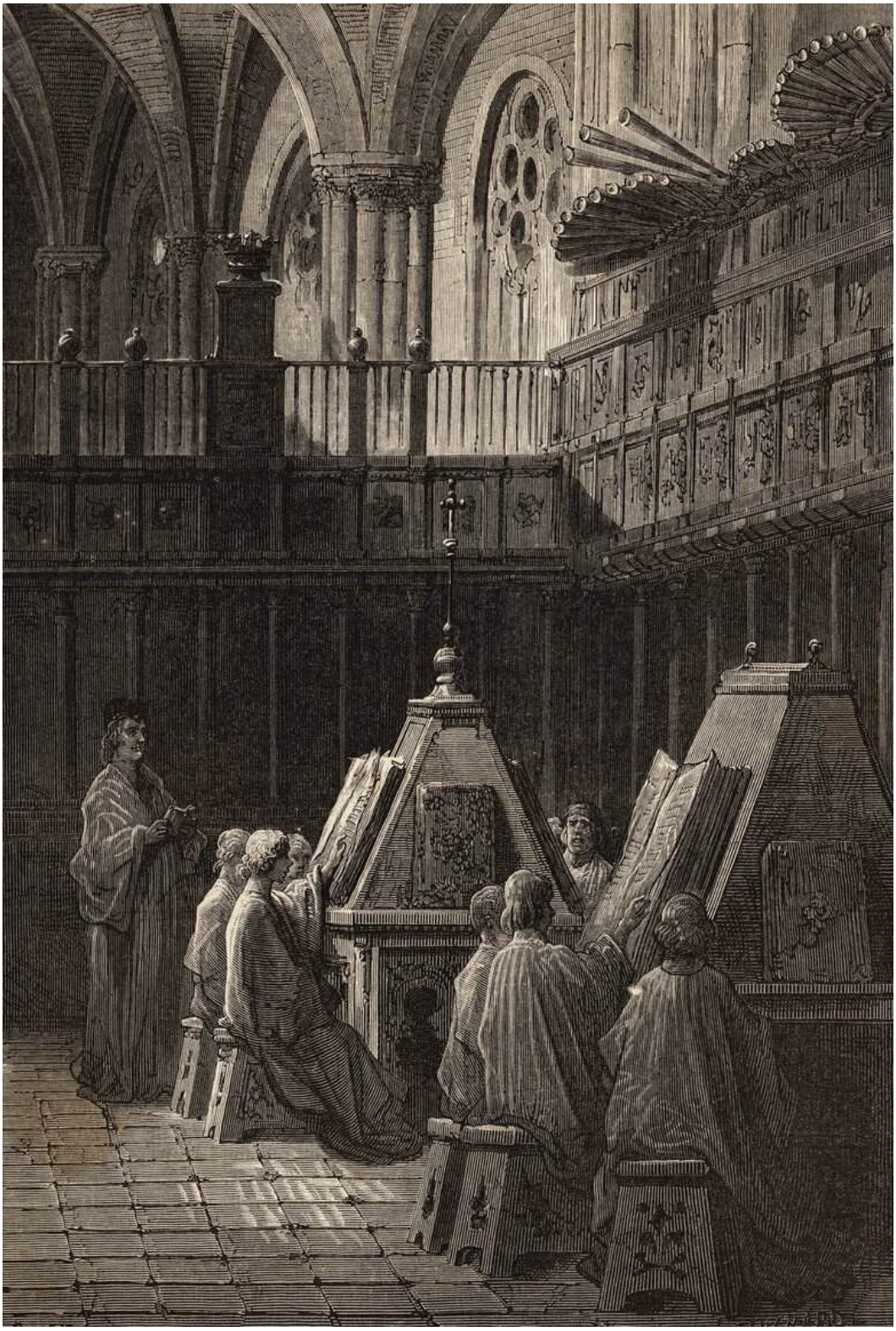
A 19th-century illustration by Gustave Doré (1876) (illus.22) is notable for showing choristers working from not one but two four-sided lecterns in the quire of Burgos Cathedral, under the direction of a chapelmaster.[116] As they are seated, this must be a rehearsal; the men (one is visible) may all be placed on the other side of the lecterns. The important feature here is that the choirbooks (possibly polyphonic, more probably chant) are duplicated for the choristers -

and possibly also for the men. This raises the interesting question as to the utility of paired choirbooks – and some chant volumes of this kind still exist at Toledo Cathedral, for separate lecterns on the south and north side of the choir.[117] Remarkably, the latest copying date for a surviving large Toledo chant book (77 x 57 cm) is 1892.[118]

Illus.21 Modern lectern by Goetze and Gwynn (Hexham Abbey, March 2020), with Ensemble Pro Victoria

Such arrangements are also found in early 16th-century Cambrai, where payment records refer to copies 'in duplicate', such as that of 1505/6: 'Item, to a vicar of St. Géry [of Cambrai] for having notated and written two new Masses in duplicate for the two sides of the choir'.[119]

The idea of choirbook duplication might seem counterintuitive, but the practical utility of having two copies in matching or part-matching manuscripts for particular rehearsal or large-scale or polychoral performance purposes might provide a possible explanation. For example, the significant repertoire overlap of the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks has often been noted, leading to suggestions that they were made for different institutions, as observed by Geoffrey Chew: 'overlapping would surely be unusual in two choir-books intended for use at the same place', and thus is an argument for the two similar volumes having been 'prepared at the same place for different destinations'.[120] In fact, they may have both been copied in Arundel in the 1520s, where the Caius manuscript was likely donated by Edward Higgons (d.1537) – 'Of the gift and enterprise of Edward Higgons, canon of this church', as the translated Latin inscription notes.[121] Interestingly, the two manuscripts may have been in Wiltshire in the early 17th century, and again in Cambridge at about the time of the Civil War, so it is not impossible that they not only originated but travelled together at some point as a pair.[122] The duplication between the two volumes is striking: there are ten large-scale masses by Fayrfax and Ludford in Lambeth, seven of which appear in Caius (the other three are by Ludford and Pasche). The seven Caius masses are grouped together at the beginning and end of the choirbook, separated by a dozen Magnificats and antiphons, only one of which is found in Lambeth. Perhaps these were special masses performed using larger choral forces, making two copies very useful, or perhaps one choirbook was principally kept in a rehearsal space and the other in the church or chapel, allowing better access for separate practice preparation.



Illus.22 Gustave Doré, engraving of Le choeur de la Cathédrale de Burgos, *from Jean Charles Davillier,* L'Espagne *(Paris, 1874)*

The choirbook-on-lectern format has also found a modern interpretation in the work of Capella Pratensis, where a very large television monitor is used to display colour images of historical or modern-copy choirbooks.[123]

Lighting

While rehearsals may have tended to take place during daylight hours for convenience, numerous sung services (especially in the winter) would have been in partial or near-complete darkness,[124] such as the regular evening antiphon at Eton College. The only source of light must have been candles, but none are shown near choirbooks in any of the iconography, nor do there appear to be any wax drips or other traces on the pages – this would be expected, due to draughts in large buildings and numerous performers breathing. How the matter of poor lighting was resolved is unknown, and memorization may have helped – in any case, it is noticeable that in almost no cases shown above can the choristers actually read from the top lines of the large choirbooks placed high above them and at an angle.

Candles were made both commercially and domestically, and in different grades, the cheaper form being tallow.[125] References appear frequently in early accounts (in 1314, the Earl of Lancaster's enormous household expenses included payments for 2319 lb. of tallow candles, 1870 'Paris' candles and 1714 lb. of wax),[126] but it is not easy to link quantity, quality and price in a meaningful way, especially for specialist needs such as the liturgy. The very detailed accounts of the Tudor prior William More of Worcester often list candles as an expense, as in 'Item payd for candylls 7½d. half a dosen', but their exact size, type and use are unknown.[127] A further option which may seem unusual for indoor church lighting was torches: there is a reference in the retrospective *Rites of Durham* manuscript (1593) to a pre-Reformation Easter morning procession in the cathedral, where a painting of Christ resurrected, together with the sacrament, was 'carried by two monkes round about the church, the whole quire waitinge uppon it, with goodly torches and great store of other lights, all singinge reioyceinge and praising god most deuoutly…'.[128] Small oil lamps (of the type also used by the Romans) are known from Tudor houses, but would have given off a very modest light.[129]

One feature that is noticeable from choirbook images is some singers' use of spectacles or a single lens (illus.5, 12 and 14). Glasses and their cases appear in the London customs accounts from about the early 15th century, showing they were imported from the continent.[130] Even with very large-print musical notation, vision from the back must have been a serious concern for older singers. By the end of the 16th century, specialist shops catered for those with poor sight, offering different strengths of lenses, as in the engraving of c.1600 by Jan Colleart (illus.23, a further Philippe Galle/Johannes Stradanus image), where customers could try out nose-mounted glasses, which came complete with cases.

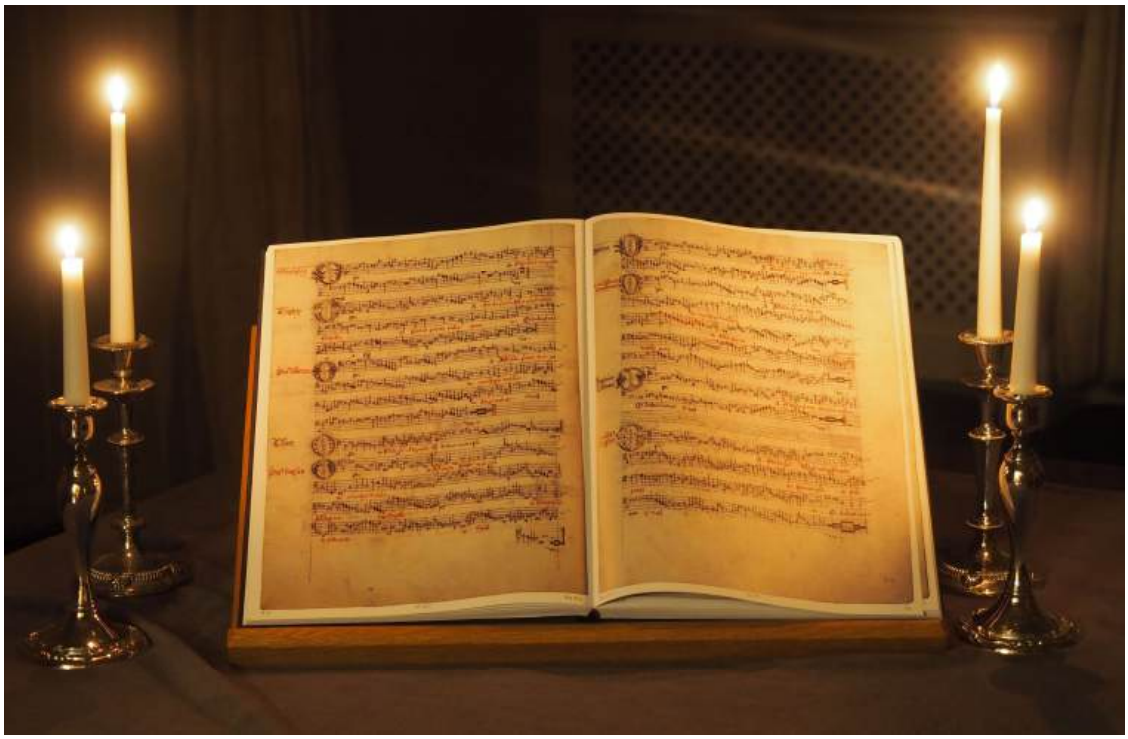
Illus.23 Jan Colleart, Conspicilla *(c.1600)*

A practical experiment gives some sense of the problems of lighting (illus.24): the substantial DIAMM colour facsimile edition of the Eton Choirbook[131] was placed on a large lectern on a table, and illuminated by four raised candles to the sides. While the original manuscript is about a third larger, and with a less reflective page surface, the photograph indicates many of the practical difficulties. First, the candles have to be sufficiently far forward to light the pages from the side, which then limits visual access to singers placed too far off-centre. Small notational objects on the page, especially accidentals, short rests and dots, are hard to make out, and the compressed and uniform text is also very difficult to read. In fact, any singer more than three or four feet away would find this facsimile difficult to actually work from, although it could still serve as an *aide-mémoire* if the music and text were very well known by the performers. The principal difficulty is gathering a full choir around such a volume by artificial light, and it is possible that services such as the Eton College evening antiphon had a 'seasonal' repertoire, with only a small number of the most well-known works used during the winter months, when candles were necessary and collective visibility was problematic.[132]

Note that page size and stave size (and therefore note size) can be separate issues as regards readability; Eton's median stave is 17 mm, slightly smaller than the 20 mm of Lambeth and

Caius, but the largest 16th century stave size on the continent is more than 30 mm.[133] The page size of the 'Brumel' mass choirbook page is similar to Eton, but with much larger staves and noteheads, written extremely clearly in a 'large print' format with the generous margins common in such Munich sources. While a typical page of Eton contains some 900 notes on 14 staves, there are only about 150 notes on 10 staves in the Munich source, which is consequently far easier to read at a distance.

Standard modern eye tests suggest that those with 20/20 vision should be able to read the text height of the Eton Choirbook from around 10' away – however, such tests are for separate high-contrast capital letters viewed against an illuminated background, and real-world situations (such as parchment choirbooks) are less favourable.



Illus.24 Eton Choirbook facsimile, illuminated by four candles. Note that the parchment colour in daylight is gray, rendered yellowish here (photo: Francis Knights)

Storage

Choirbooks were valuable objects, but how they were stored when not in use is unknown – this is critical, in terms of access for rehearsal. At Magdalen College, Oxford, six printed hymnals were 'chained in the choir',[134] which is one way of securing material from loss, if not damage – at the price of restricting access to them. The choirbook lectern in Gaffurius' 1512 engraving (illus.7) appears to have a (lockable?) cupboard below, paralleled in the St Omer

accounts for 1494/5, which refer to a payment for making 'an oak cupboard bearing a lectern, placed at the end of the choir on the side of monseigneur the provost, [in which] to place the books of discant that are in the choir',[135] while the 1525 will of Eton fellow Walter Smythe bequeathed to Eton College chapel 'all my song bokes with a Chyst to kepe them yn'.[136]

Other lectern bases (illus.5) include an open space for unsecured books. Who was even allowed to access (or borrow) very large and valuable manuscripts for the purposes of individual music practice is unknown, but they were normally the property of the institution, not the choir or an individual, so such permissions would have been the province of the senior clergy, such as the Dean or Precentor.[137]

Conclusions

The choirbook tradition lasted from the Middle Ages until the end of the 19th century, but there was considerable variety in the usage of single large-format manuscripts and printed music books across different geographical, temporal and confessional boundaries. Plainchant choirbooks seem to have been widespread in Catholic traditions, but polyphonic choirbooks had a somewhat shorter life in many parts of Europe. There were several reasons for this, including religious associations (Protestant traditions mostly discarded the format after the Reformation); and changes in musical style, such as the use of doubling, then of independent, instruments. A key factor would have been their lack of utility for rehearsal purposes compared to smaller partbook formats.

A further element in the move away from choirbooks was the fall in the cost of quality paper. It is difficult to extract prices from the aggregate and sometimes imprecise London customs records,[138] but the differential price of parchment to paper in, for example, medieval Orléans, fell from 1:4 to 1:13 between the 14th and the second half of the 15th centuries.[139] Williamson estimates the total materials, copying and binding costs for the Eton Choirbook at about double the annual salary of the Master of the Choristers, making a large parchment document an expensive proposition.[140]

Nicholas Sandon pointed out 40 years ago that 'it is remarkable how little we know about how a late medieval English choir was arranged when singing polyphony; just as remarkable is the lack of interest that has been shown in this fundamental question'.[141] While the continental iconography clearly shows choirbooks in use by ensembles small and large, their suitability for good musical performance depended on a great many factors all aligning perfectly: a well-rehearsed, expert and accurate choir at full strength performing in a well-lit space from a legible and error-free source under an expert choirmaster would have meant that even music of great complexity could have been executed satisfactorily. However, if any one of these elements was inadequate this would likely have caused serious problems in undertaking (and completing) good performances. The three Tudor choirbooks, as well as the Carver volume,

remain something of an outlier within this tradition, being orders of magnitude more difficult to work from due to their apparent lack of concern for legibility at a distance by a large ensemble; there seems to be no completely convincing explanation for this.

In many sacred music traditions, the early 16th century seems to have represented the heyday for the polyphonic choirbook, but greater practicality and lower cost meant that partbooks would soon become the wider norm for singers; the survival of ornate early choirbooks for five centuries is thus a fortunate accident.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks go to James Campbell, Christina Faraday, Matthew Gouldstone, Gaetan Naulleau, Ava Smithard-Bailey, David Tayler and Magnus Williamson for directing us towards particular items of source material or for practical suggestions, to Mark Statham for allowing us to inspect the Caius Choirbook, and to Stephen Conlin and to Eton College for permission to reproduce their copyright material. Pablo Padilla would like to thank Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, for hosting a research visit in Autumn 2024, and PASPA of DGAPA (UNAM) for financial support.

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Notes

[1] The first printed choirbook was Andrea Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum electarum quæ per excellentissimos musicos compositæ fuerunt* (Rome, 1516).

[2] See James Cook, *Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles in Continental Sources*, PhD thesis (University of Nottingham, 2014) for descriptions of some significant early examples.

[3] See Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *The Polyphonic Mass in France, 1600–1780: The Evidence of the Printed Choirbooks* (Cambridge, 2017) for late French examples; between 1607-1761 the Ballard firm published choirbook masses by forty-nine composers, dating from Lassus onwards (p.69).

[4] David Skinner, *Nicholas Ludford (c. 1490-1557): A Biography and Critical Edition of the Antiphons, with a Study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the Mastership of Edward Higgons, and a History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks*, DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1995) and David Skinner (ed), *The Arundel Choirbook: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1: a Facsimile and Introduction* (London, 2003).

[5] GB-Cgc, 667/760; Roger Bowers 'University Library, Gonville and Caius College MS 667', in Iain Fenlon (ed), *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.126-128.

[6] For the Eton background and repertoire, see Albert Mellor, *A Record of the Music and Musicians of Eton College* (Eton, 1929), Frank Ll. Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Background and Context', *Annales Musicologiques*, i (1953), pp.151–175, Frank Ll. Harrison (ed), *The Eton Choirbook* I, Musica Britannica, 10 (London, 2/1967), *The Eton Choirbook* II, Musica Britannica, 11 (London, 3/2002), *The Eton Choirbook* III, Musica Britannica, 12 (London, 3/2010), Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England* c.*1460-1575* (London, 1977), Catherine Hocking, *Cantus firmus procedures in the Eton Choirbook*, PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1995), Fiona Kisby, *The Royal Household Chapel in Early Tudor London, 1485-1547*, PhD thesis (London University, 1996), Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical* Background, DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1997), Magnus Williamson, 'The early Tudor court, the provinces and the Eton Choirbook', *Early Music*, xv (1997), pp.229–243, Magnus Williamson, '*Pictura et scriptura*: the Eton choirbook in its iconographical context', *Early Music*, xxviii (2000), pp.359-380, Magnus Williamson, 'Royal Imagery and Textual lnterplay in Gilbert Banester's O Maria et Elizabeth', *Early Music History*, xix (2001), pp.237-275, Fabrice Fitch, 'Hearing John Browne's Motets: Registral Space in the Music of the Eton Choirbook', *Early Music*, xxxvi (2008), pp.19-40, Fabrice Fitch, 'Towards a Taxonomy of the "Eton Style"', in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn* (Turnhout, 2009), pp.37-52, Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile and introductory study* (Oxford, 2010), Peter Phillips, 'Eton encounters: reflections on the Choirbook', *The Musical Times*, clviii/1939 (Summer 2017), pp.3-60 and *The Eton Choirbook Project*, https://research.ncl.ac.uk/etonchoirbook.

[7] There are also a few extant single pages from now-lost choirbooks, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. a. 9.

[8] Michael Noone and Graeme Skinner, 'Toledo Cathedral's Collection of Manuscript Plainsong Choirbooks: A Preliminary Report and Checklist', *Notes*, Second Series, lxiii/2 (December 2006), pp.289-328.

[9] See, for example, Willem Elders, 'The Lerma Codex: A Newly-Discovered Choirbook from Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xx/4 (1967), pp.187-205.

[10] See Harrison (1963), pp.81-88 and 295-344 and Noël Bisson, *English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary: The Votive Antiphon, 1430–1500*, PhD thesis (Harvard University, 1998) for the votive antiphon tradition.

[11] Foliation in Lambeth is incomplete, so references are to the ten pdf fascicles at https://imslp.org/wiki/Lambeth_Choirbook_(Various), with volume and page number; here, 'vi 12' refers to page 12 of fascicle 6, for example.

[12] Roger Bowers, 'University Library, MS Nn. Vi. 46', in Fenlon (1982), pp.118-122. See also Roger Bray, 'Editing and performing *musica speculativa*', in John Morehen (ed), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.48-73. In fact, some of the music is unperformable as presented in the surviving sources, and needs an 'edition' to be usable, as happened with the contemporary copy made of Fayrfax's *Missa O quam glorifica*.

[13] For a rare early example of c.1440, see Roger Bowers, 'University Library, Pembroke College MS 314', in Fenlon (1982), pp.103-106.

[14] Benham (1977), p.24, Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 2/1963), p.166; see p.431 for the 1522 inventory.

[15] Daisy M. Gibbs, *The Transmission and Reception of the Marian Antiphon in Early Modern Britain*, PhD thesis (Newcastle University, 2018), i, pp.164 and 182.

[16] Harrison (1963), pp.162, 432-433. See also Hugh Benham, 'Turges reconsidered: all about Edmund', *The Musical Times*, cxl/1869 (Winter 1999), pp.44-55 at 54.

[17] See, for example, Nicholas Sandon, *The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge (Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse Manuscripts 471-474): a study, with restoration of the incomplete compositions contained in them*, PhD dissertation, (University of Exeter, 1983), revised 2009 at https://www.diamm.ac.uk.

[18] Harrison (1963) pp.164 and 432–433.

[19] Magnus Williamson, 'The Fate of Choirbooks in Protestant Europe', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, vii/2 (September 2015), pp.117-131 at 123.

[20] For example, manuscripts including *alternatim* polyphony ordinarily omit the chant portions, or solo incipits in masses.

[21] Benham (1977), p.22. Some autograph choirbooks have survived on the continent, suggesting the possibility of close links between composition, notational format and performance; see Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: the craft of musical composition* (New York, 1997), p.111.

[22] Roger Bray, 'The Interpretation of Musica Ficta in English Music c.1490-c.1580', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, cxlvii (1970-1971), pp.29-45 at 33.

[23] For an early 15th century example see Roger Bowers, 'Trinity College, MS o. 3. 58', in Fenlon (1982), pp.88-90, and for a late parchment example from 1580, see Iain Fenlon, 'King's College, MS Rowe 1', in Fenlon (1982), pp.137-139.

[24] Museo de El Carmen, Mexico; illustrated at https://lugares.inah.gob.mx/images/piezas/_thumb1/76_Libro_de_coro.jpg.

[25] David G. T. Harris, 'Musical Education in Tudor Times (1485-1603)', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 65th session (1938-1939), pp.109-139 at 114.

[26] Interestingly, almost every student has their own book to read from, which seems surprising.

[27] Williamson (2010), p.11; a full description and history of the source is provided there.

[28] For an edition, see Harrison (1967), pp.31-42, with commentary at 144-145.

[29] This is counted diatonically, and seems to be principally to help the musicians know whether the work was for full choir (18-23 notes) or men's voices alone (14-15 notes); Williamson (2010), p.14. Whether it was provided by the composer, or calculated by the scribes by measuring the difference between the highest and lowest notes of the outer voices, cannot be determined. See the summary voice-range charts in David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (Iowa

City, 1986), pp.211-212. Whether Eton College could ever have mustered 13 men each capable of singing the range of a 13th for Robert Wylkynson's canonic *Jesu autem transiens* in the Eton Choirbook is open to question; Harrison (1963), pp.413-415 suggests it was intended for Compline in Lent.

[30] Andrew Johnstone, '"High" Clefs in Composition and Performance', *Early Music*, xxxiv/1 (February 2006), pp.29-54.

[31] For a discussion of the vexed question of Tudor pitch, see Nicholas Mitchell, 'Choral and Instrumental Pitch in Church Music 1570-1620', *The Galpin Society Journal*, xlviii (March 1995), pp.13-32, Wulstan (1986) and Andrew Johnstone, '"As it was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, xxxi/4 (November 2003), pp.506-525, among others.

[32] Another fragmentary source disposes them '– – Ct – B1 B2', while the Lambeth source omits voice names.

[33] This makes the pitch comment ('Ys key in a re') indicated as a tiny marginal comment next to the bass voice in the Eton copy of Horwood's Magnificat (f.z2) perplexing, as the 23-note range is entirely normal.

[34] João Pedro d'Alvarenga, 'On performing practices in mid- to late 16th-century Portuguese church music: the "cappella" of Évora Cathedral', *Early Music*, xliii/1 (February 2015), pp.3-21 at 16.

[35] Mitchell (1995). See also Andrew Parrott, *The Pursuit of Musicke: Musical Life in Original Writings & Art* (n.p., 2022), pp.401-406.

[36] For a discussion of rehearsal pitches in practice, see Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'The historical transmission of reference pitches in early music' (forthcoming 2025).

[37] The history of this ability is not well understood; for a modern medical study of the phenomenon, see Simon Leipold, Carina Klein and Lutz Jäncke, 'Musical Expertise Shapes Functional and Structural Brain Networks Independent of Absolute Pitch Ability', *The Journal of Neuroscience*, xli/11 (17 March 2021), pp.2496-2511.

[38] A few institutions banned organs, such as Syon Abbey: 'organs schal theu never have none'; Harrison (1963), p.193. See also Andrew Parrott, *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, 2015), p.82 on the instability of organ pitch over time.

[39] Edward E. Lowinsky, 'On the Use of Scores by Sixteenth-Century Musicians', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, i/1 (Spring 1948), pp.17-23. For compositional method on the continent, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xl/2 (Summer 1987), pp.210-284.

[40] That these were common in literate environments is shown by the Rule of St Benedict, where – among the few possessions a new monk was given – were a 'stylus' and 'writing tablet'; Sara J. Charles, *The Medieval Scriptorium: Making Books in the Middle Ages* (London, 2024), p.139.

[41] See Owens (1997) and John Milsom, 'Notes from an erasable tablet', in Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (eds), *'Recevez ce mien petit labeur': studies in Renaissance music in honour of Ignace Bossuyt* (Leuven, 2008), pp.195-210.

[42] Lowinsky (1948), p.18.

[43] Owens (1997), p.111.

[44] Dictation might have been an alternative, as was not uncommon for composed text in the Middle Ages; in the 20th century, both Delius and Rodrigo were able to dictate complex composed scores to their amanuenses.

[45] Benjamin Collingwood, *Methods of Analysing Early Tudor Sacred Polyphony: The Works of Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521)*, PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2008).

[46] See Ricard Gameson, Andrew Beeby, Flavia Fiorillo, Catherine Nicholson, Paola Ricciardi and Suzanne Reynolds, *The Pigments of British Medieval Illuminators: A Scientific and Cultural Study* (London, 2023) and Charles (2024).

[47] See Williamson (2010), pp.34-35.

[48] Herbert Kellman (ed), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535* (Chicago, 2000).

[49] Little is known about individual Tudor copyists, but the multifaceted biography of William Forrest – priest, poet, book collector and (amateur?) music copyist – may be instructive; see Gibbs (2018), ch.4.

[50] See also Sandon (1983), p.66 in respect of corrections to the Peterhouse Henrician partbooks.

[51] Williamson (2010), pp.26.

[52] Large-format material may have been easier to read and therefore to check; Montagnier notes that, in France, the 'The Ballard choirbooks were of a high standard and contained virtually no misprints' (Montagnier (2017), p.202).

[53] A full study needs to be done of all the error types in Eton, Caius and Lambeth, to see which errors would have fatally compromised the use of these sources for performance.

[54] Harrison (1967, 2002, 2010).

[55] Davy would have had to composed and copied some 900 bars of complex polyphony music in a day, which seems almost impossible; perhaps this is an exaggerated tale, as in that of Dr Bull adding forty voices to a 40-part motet in only a few hours (see Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'Dr Bull and a motet in 80 parts'*, The Consort*, lxxviii (2022), pp.94-108). Davy was not the only quick Renaissance composer: a letter-writer reports of Heinrich Isaac, 'I must notify Your Lordship that Isach the singer has been in Ferrara, and has made a motet on a fantasy entitled "La mi la so la so la mi" which is very good, and he made it in two days. From this one can only judge that he is very rapid in the art of composition…'; cited in Lewis Lockwood, 'Josquin at Ferrara: New Documents and Letters', in Edward Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds), *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference* (London, 1976), pp.103-37 at 132-133.

[56] A previous assumption was that manuscript copy mistakes 'would surely have been corrected had they actually been used in choir'; Anselm Hughes, cited in Sandon (1983), p.61.

[57] Patrice Nicolas, 'Errors and "Quid Pro Quos" in the Leiden Choirbooks: The case of Jacotin's Magnificats', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, lxii/1-2 (2012), pp.65-85.

[58] Owens (1997), p.249.

[59] Bray (1995), p.61.

[60] Rob C. Wegman, '"And Josquin Laughed...": Josquin and the Composer's Anecdote in the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Musicology*, xvii/3 (Summer 1999), pp.319-357 at 335-336.

[61] Pencils were likely still rather rare: the earliest mass-produced graphite pencils came from Nuremberg as late as 1662.

[62] See Owens (1997), pp.135-136 for writing materials.

[63] The front Eton index includes a number of red and black dots which may have been added later with some unknown meaning; for example, indicating works that were duplicated elsewhere in the library; works which were in the choir's repertoire; good copies; or works that contained significant errors that impacted usability.

[64] One 9th-century French scribe admonished his readers, 'wash your hands and thus take hold of the book, turn the pages carefully, keep your hand far from the page'; Charles (2024), p.140.

[65] Compare the choirbook Bologna 2216 (c.1433), where there is 'significant wear on the lower outside corners'; Ralph Corrigan, *The Music Manuscript 2216 in the Bologna University library: The copying and context of a fifteenth-century choirbook*, PhD thesis (University of Manchester, 2011), p.198; and, for Brussels 5557, Rob C. Wegman, 'New data concerning the origins and chronology of Brussels, Koniklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxxvi (1986), pp.5-25 at 15. There are also English partbooks with relatively few signs of usage (for specific historical reasons, in this case), such as the Peterhouse Henrician set; Sandon (1983), pp.117-119.

[66] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (Cambridge, 1967), p.13.

[67] It is possible this is a simple composer attribution error, or else this is a work reflecting a conceit or even musical prank by Lassus himself – the obsessive figuration, repetitive canonic patterning and excess of false relations suggest something quite unusual about the style. Interestingly, there was a very major earthquake in Ferrara (where Brumel had last worked) in 1570, the news of which reached Germany quickly via an illustrated broadsheet. See also Paola Albini, G. M. Calvi and Massimiliano Stucchi, 'The Ferrara earthquakes of 1570-1574 and the flowering of essays on earthquake history' (2012).

[68] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.ms. 1; the suggested copying date at https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00079106?page=,1 is somewhat earlier.

[69] Noone and Skinner (2006), p.293. Larger musical manuscripts have existed, such as the 5 x 5' score of the 'triple oratorio' *Potiphar*, *Jacob* and *Joseph* by Pietro Raimondi, performed in 1852; Nicholas Slonimsky, *Nicholas Slonimsky's Book of Musical Anecdotes* (New York, R/2002), pp.52-53.

[70] National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 5.1.15. See Isobel Preece Woods, *The Carvor Choirbook*, PhD thesis (Princeton University, 1984), Timothy Duguid, 'Before and After: Reforming Scottish Liturgical Music', in Ian Hazlett (ed), *A Companion to the Reformation in Scotland, c.1525–1638* (Leiden, 2021), pp.286–312, Paul Newton-Jackson, David Coney and James Cook, 'A New Polyphonic Source from Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *Music and Letters* (2024) and James Cook, 'Robert Carver and the Carver Choirbook', in Alastair Mann, Daryl Green, Joseph Marshall, and Emily Wingfield (eds), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland: Medieval to 1707* (forthcoming). James Cook is editing a facsimile edition of the Carver Choirbook.

[71] Rob C. Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo in the English Polyphonic Mass, c. 1420-70', *Acta Musicologica*, lxi/1 (January-April 1989), pp.40-65; see p.55 for a table of tempi in modern recordings from Eton. For other discussions of the complexities and ambiguities of mensural indications, see Karol Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs: Origins and Evolution* (Oxford and New York, 1993), Ruth I. DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge, 2015) and Rob C. Wegman, 'Different Strokes for Different Folks? On Tempo and Diminution in Fifteenth-Century Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, liii/3 (Autumn 2000), pp.461-505.

[72] d'Alvarenga (2015), p.7.

[73] Cited in Jane Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century', in Morehen (1995), pp.180-220 at 181.

[74] The formalization of musical memory training is relatively recent; see Jennifer Mishra, 'A Century of Memorization Pedagogy', *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education*, xxxii/1 (October 2010), pp.3-18.

[75] See Roger Bowers, 'University Library, MS Buxton 96', in Fenlon (1982), pp.114-117; Williamson (2015), p.124n; Sandon (1983), pp.120-121.

[76] However, note the danger of discounting institutions for which little or no musical record remains. For example, John Stow (1598) records that the choir of the Hospital of St Katherine's, next to the Tower of London, was disbanded in the early years of Elizabeth's reign but was 'of late years not much inferior to that of [St] Paules'; Stow (1987), p.113.

[77] Collingwood (2008), ii, p.35.

[78] d'Alvarenga (2015), p.10 and 14.

[79] Sara Charles describes such gothic form as, 'so tightly packed, so indistinguishable, so angular', and notes that scribes even had a joke sentence consisting of almost-unreadable words made up of lower-case *m*, *n*, *u* and *i*; Charles (2024), pp.281-282.

[80] For one experiment working with facsimile material, see Floris Schuiling, '(Re-)Assembling Notations in the Performance of Early Music', *Contemporary Music Review*, xxxix/5 (2020), pp.580-601.

[81] See Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla, 'The historical rehearsal of early music', *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, viii/1 (Spring 2024), pp.25-127.

[82] Bray (1995), p.49.

[83] For compositional method in Fayrfax, see Edwin B. Warren, *Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax 1464–1521* (Dallas, 1969), Stephen P. Fugler, *Pre-compositional Mathematical Planning in Mass Settings by Nicolas Ludford and Robert Fayrfax*, PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 1990), Ann Signe Edahl, *The Use of Pre-existing Material in the Early Tudor Mass Cycle*, PhD thesis (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993), Collingwood (2008) and Ian Darbyshire, *Notation of 'Esoteric' Masses in the Early Tudor Festal Repertory: A Case Study of Fayrfax's Mass O quam glorifica, its Numerical Structure, and a Comparison with his Mass Tecum principium*, PhD thesis (Lancaster University, 2002)

[84] Collingwood (2008), ii, pp.26 and 42, Bray (1995), p.60; Sandon (1983), pp.97-98 argues that this is 'incorporation' of a degree from Cambridge to Oxford, rather than two separate doctorates.

[85] See Harris (1938), pp.126 and 129.

[86] See Roger Bowers, 'University Library, MS Nn. Vi. 46', in Fenlon (1982), pp.118-122.

[87] David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England: Volume III, The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1971), pp.8-9, 77-79.

[88] Knowles (1971), p.65.

[89] See Knights and Padilla (2024), pp.48-56.

[90] Roger Bowers, 'To chorus from quartet: the performing resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390-1559', in Morehen (1995), pp.1-47 at 34.

[91] Roger Bowers, 'Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444-1644', in Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (eds), *King's College Chapel 1515-2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London, 2014), pp.259-286 at 275.

[92] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 2/2008) and Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005).

[93] Brian Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', *The Musical Times*, cxxi/1648 (June 1980), pp.99-401. The Dean at that time complained of poor behaviour by the choir ('staring, gazing, and laughing, indecently lolling, and sometimes scandalously sleeping').

[94] D. Thomas Hanks Jr, 'Women in Wood in Wynkyn de Worde's 1498 *Morte Darthur*', *Arthuriana*, xxx/1 (Spring 2020), pp.54-72 at 56. Biblical illustrations appear in England from 1539; G. E. Bentley, Jr, 'Images of the Word: Separately Published English Bible Illustrations 1539-1830', *Studies in Bibliography*, xlvii (1994), pp.103-128. For liturgical illustrations see James W. McKinnon, 'Representations of the Mass in Medieval and Renaissance Art', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxi/1 (Spring 1978), pp.21-52.

[95] This is not an exhaustive collection, but includes as many relevant images as could be conveniently located.

[96] Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts: 1480–1535* (Oxford, 1973); see also Alison G. Stewart, 'Early Woodcut Workshops', *Art Journal*, xxxix/3 (Spring 1980), pp.189-194.:

[97] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named The Governour* (London, 1531), XIV. Holbein's London-period woodcuts were made on the continent; David Paisey and Giulia Bartrum, 'Hans Holbein and Miles Coverdale: A New Woodcut', *Print Quarterly*, xxvi/3 (September 2009), pp.227-253 at 234.

[98] d'Alvarenga (2015), p.11. In late 17th-century France a bass part in a printed choirbook may be figured, but the organist could not have played from it directly; see Montagnier (2017), pp.30-31.

[99] Giorgio Vasari, trans Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, *The Lives of the Artists* (Oxford, 1991), p.67.

[100] Reproduced in Alberto Ausoni, trans Stephen Sartarelli, *Music in Art* (Los Angeles, 2009), p.209.

[101] Elke B. Lange, Diana Omigie, Carlos Trenado, Viktor Müller, Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann and Julia Merrill, 'In touch: Cardiac and respiratory patterns synchronize during ensemble singing with physical contact', *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* (2022), 16:928563.

[102] Hans Burgkmair and others, *Triumphs of Maximilian* (1516-1519).

[103] See Jack C. Schuman, '"Reversed" Portatives and Positives in Early Art', *The Galpin Society Journal*, xxiv (July 1971), pp.16-21.

[104] Generally, bottom margins are larger than top margins in choirbooks, possibly to allow for the supporting ledge blocking some visibility.

[105] There exists at least one historical reference to a 'relay conductor': in mid-16th century St Mark's, Venice, the beat of the *maestro di cappella* on the floor was relayed by the *maestro de' concerti* to the instrumentalists in the organ loft. See Ellen Rosand, 'Venice 1580-1680', in Curtis Price (ed), *The Early Baroque Era* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp.75-102 at 78.

[106] Translation by Wesa Dala Garabrandt, from J. Bunker Clark and Wesa Dale Garabrandt, 'The A Cappella Myth!', *The Choral Journal*, ix/4 (January-February 1969), pp.28-31 at 28.

[107] Knights and Padilla (2024), pp.54

[108] It is possible this part of the image was reversed in the cutting.

[109] Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Gaudeamus, Bibe, Bibe! Singing from partbooks with a baton?', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, lxvii/1-2, pp.213-222.

[110] See Elisabeth Dhanens, *Jan Van Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece* (London, 1973), and Barbara Haggh, 'The Mystic Lamb and the Golden Fleece: Impressions of the Ghent Altarpiece on Burgundian Music and Culture', *Revue belge de Musicologie*, lxi (2007), pp.5-59.

[111] See https://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?objnr=21.

[112] For some other early modern lecterns, see Barbara Drake Boehm, 'Choirs Of Angels: Painting in Italian Choir Books, 1300-1500', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, lxvi/3 (Winter 2009), pp.6-64 at 16 and Robert C. Smith, 'Two Portuguese Antiphonal Lecterns dated 1668 and 1770', *Furniture History*, x (1974), pp.20-23.

[113] Williamson (2015), p.121.

[114] d'Alvarenga (2015), pp.4 and 9.

[115] https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/the-new-choirbook-lectern.

[116] Jean Charles Davillier, *L'Espagne* (Paris, 1874).

[117] Noone and Skinner (2006), p.293.

[118] Noone and Skinner (2006), pp.313 and 327.

[119] Craig Wright, 'Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai 1475-1550', *The Musical Quarterly*, lxiv/3 (July 1978), pp.295-328 at 298. The same was true in Dufay's time, although not for all his own works; see Alejandro E. Planchart, 'Notes on Guillaume Du Fay's Last Works', *The Journal of Musicology*, xiii/1 (Winter 1995), pp.55-72.

[120] Geoffrey Chew, 'The Provenance and Date of the Caius and Lambeth Choir-Books', *Music & Letters*, li/2 (April 1970), pp.107-117 at 112.

[121] For two different views of the choirbooks' origins, see David Skinner,'Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks', *Early Music*, xxv (1997), pp.245-266 and Roger Bowers, 'More on the Lambeth Choirbook', *Early Music*, xxxiii/4 (2005), pp.659-664.

[122] Chew (1970), pp.115-117.

[123] See https://cappellapratensis.nl. Other ensembles who have worked from choirbooks or choirbook facsimiles include the Clerks' Group and The Song Company**;** see also Williamson (2015), p.127-129.

[124] Note that the Carthusian order specifically held its services in darkness, 'except for a lamp for the choir book'; Boehm (2009), p.30.

[125] For aspects of early lighting effectiveness and costs, see Judith Milhous, 'Lighting at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1780–82', *Theatre Research International*, xvi/3 (1991), pp.215-236, Betty Crowe Leviner, '"Luminous and Splendid": Lighting Colonial Virginia Interiors by Candlelight', *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology*, xxxi/1 (2000), pp.17-20 and Roger Fouquet and Peter J. G. Pearson, 'Seven Centuries of Energy Services: The Price and Use of Light in the United Kingdom (1300-2000)', *The Energy Journal*, xxvii/1 (2006), pp.139-177.

[126] John Stow, ed Valerie Pearl, *The Survey of London*, 1598 (London, 1987), p.79.

[127] Ethel S. Fegan (ed), *Journal of Prior William More* (London, 1914), p.94.

[128] Cited in Knowles (1971), p.135, from Joseph Thomas Fowler (ed), *Rites of Durham, being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, & customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression, written 1593*, Surtees Society, cvii (Durham, 1903). For Renaissance hanging lamps, see Elisa P. Sani, 'Renaissance Light', *Journal of Glass Studies*, lix (2017), pp.193-205.

[129] Stow (1987), p.93, describes outdoor summer festivals in late Tudor London, with 'lamps of glass, with oil burning in them all the night; some hung out branches of iron curiously wrought, containing hundreds of lamps alight at once'.

[130] Stuart Jenks (ed), 'The London Customs Accounts', *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*, lxxiv (2016-), Hansischer Geschichtsverein Lübeck, online at https://www.hansischergeschichtsverein.de/london-customs-accounts, with an introduction to the complete series in ii/9.

[131] https://www.diamm.ac.uk.

[132] Seasonal weather also affected copyists: 12th-century writer Orderic Vitalis included a note at the end of volume 4 of his *Ecclesiastical History* that, 'numbed by the winter cold I turn to other pursuits; and, weary with toil, resolve to end my present book here. When the warmth of sweet spring returns I will relate in the following books everything that I have only briefly touched upon …'; Charles (2024), pp.128-129. There is little evidence for heating in cathedrals, churches or chapels in Britain before the 19th century (Bill Bordass, *Heating your Church* (London, 1996)), and the only real record of a monastic scriptorium (St Gall, Switzerland) shows a similar situation: 'A puzzling and possibly inexplicable feature of the design of the scriptorium is that it shows no facility for heating … If the scriptorium was not heatable, it could not have been used for writing in the winter. The omission is startling'; Walter Horn and Ernest Born, 'The Medieval Monastery as a Setting for the Production of Manuscripts', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, xliv (1986), pp.16-47 at 25.

[133] Thomas Schmidt, 'Über Quantität und Qualität', in Theodor Göllner and Bernhold Schmid (eds), *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext* (Munich, 2006), pp.191-211 at 195.

[134] Harrison (1963), p.167.

[135] Kirkman (2020), p.133.

[136] Williamson (2010), p.50.

[137] However, Williamson (2010), p.47, suggests that 'books of polyphony were viewed as personal, not institutional property', at least with regard to Eton. Material from living donors might have been regarded either way.

[138] See Jenks (2016-). For the importation of musical instruments recorded in customs sources, see Francis Knights, 'Musical Instruments in the London Customs Accounts, 1380-1537', *Bulletin of the Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historical Instruments*, clxiii (November 2023), pp.27-46.

[139] Orietta da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge, 2020), p.87. For discussions of parchment usage in Britain, see Stuart Henderson, *A Study of the English Parchment Industry between 1650 and 1850*, MA thesis (University of York, 2018) and Sean Paul Doherty, Stuart Henderson, Sarah Fiddyment, Jonathan Finch and Matthew J. Collins, 'Scratching the surface: the use of sheepskin parchment to deter textual erasure in early modern legal deeds', *Heritage Science*, ix/29 (2021), article 29. The monk Johannes Trithemius wrote *In Praise of Scribes* (1492) that 'The word written on parchment will last a thousand years. The printed word is on paper. How long will it last? The most you can expect a book of paper to survive is two hundred years'; Charles (2024), pp.305-306.

[140] Williamson (2010), pp.47-49.

[141] Sandon (1983), p.119.

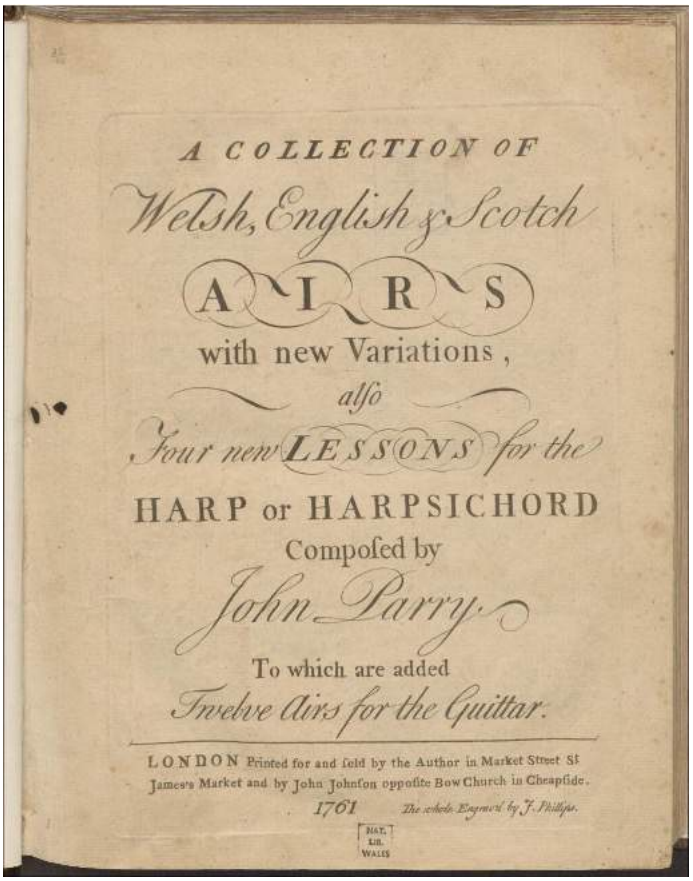
The Institutional decline of music in Wales between c.1567 and c.1760

Caitlin Parry

Welsh musical tradition has a long and rich history: the 'Eisteddfod' tradition, for example, can be traced back to as early as 1176 under the patronage of Lord Rhys at Cardigan Castle in west Wales. This long-standing Welsh festival – still enjoyed in the 2020s - takes the form of an event where musicians, singers and poets gather to perform their crafts and compete for prizes. This annual event is therefore part of an archaic tradition exclusive to Wales and remains an opportunity to celebrate Welsh heritage and creative culture.[1] The Eisteddfod tradition has thus acted as an opportunity for the laypeople to showcase their musical capabilities, and this egalitarian format was one from which Welsh music could become embedded within the nationwide psyche. Yet the absence of any Eisteddfod celebrations between 1567 and 1819 suggests increasing disregard for Welsh music as facilitated by the people, and, perhaps unsurprisingly, a declining availability of music in Wales was reflected on to the institutional level. Institutional Welsh music can be defined as that which was published and made available indiscriminately – for example, that which was performed within churches and cathedrals to the laity, and that which was published and performed publicly in secular, or even domestic, spaces. During the 16th and 17th centuries, there was a clear decline in the availability of liturgical music; investigation into diocese records and expenditures in the initial period following England and Wales's break from Rome evidence a significant process of defunding within Welsh church music, a process which was further catalysed by the intensification of religious reform in the mid-17th century amid the Interregnum period: emphasis upon simplicity of worship and the subsequent decentralisation of liturgical music catalysed further decline of institutional Welsh music. Traditional folk musical traditions in Wales are, however, harder for historians to identify. Few records of popular Welsh musical traditions survive, and as such this essay will document the changing nature and availability of institutional Welsh music throughout the early modern period. Early music witnesses such as Gerald of Wales have been used to document medieval Welsh music traditions by historians such as Philip Weller and, whilst his observations are useful in determining a basic outline of Welsh music, such documentation is ultimately basic, and his primary profession as a monk almost certainly limited his exposure to true popular Welsh music.[2]

This period of declining availability and consumption of institutional Welsh song was also catalysed by the emergence of a conceptualisation of national character in the early years of empire, capitalism and imperialism, and the burgeoning distinction between Welsh and English cultural character included discriminatory, patronising and dismissive attitudes towards both the Welsh people and their musical creativity; those like Edmund Prys were forced to make concerted efforts to ensure the longevity of Welsh song. Yet in 1761, John Parry published his *A*

Collection of Welsh, English and Scotch Airs (illus.1), proudly noting that the melodies contained therein were 'the traditional Remains of those Originally Sung by the Bards of Wales', worthy of resurgence at the eclipse of the early modern period.[3] The *Collection*'s front pages list a host of English subscribers to Parry's edition, including clergy, members of the gentry, and Esquires.[4] Such an impressive list of cultural patrons supporting Parry's publication in Cheapside, London, testifies to the permeation of a Welsh musical tradition far across the Marches border; by the time of Edward Jones's publication of *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784), the subscriber list included the Queen and Prince of Wales, as well as three pages of patrons including Earls, Lords and knights.[5] Jones was also compelled to include 'necessary directions to the reader who is a Stranger to the Welsh Language', comprising of a short paragraph at the front of the text providing non-Welsh speakers with a quick education on the Welsh alphabet and pronunciation.[6] Attitudes towards Welsh music, then, were changing. Late 18th century consumers of Welsh music did not exclusively herald from the principality itself: those of both an English and a Welsh heritage were not just open to, but actively pursuing, Welsh music. The reasons for such a revival may have included a 'pan-European' drive to better understand the antiquity of ordinary people, the formation of national identity in the wake of growing capitalist and colonial ideologies, and the improved cross-cultural networking of British populations.[7]



Illus.1, Front cover of John Parry's A Collection of Welsh, English and Scotch Airs (1761)[8]

The growth of Welsh music, then, both as a cultural commodity and as something of an antiquarian artefact, filled the vacuum left behind by the decline in its formal accessibility to ordinary people seen since the 16th century: rates of musical patronage slumped in the latter years of the Elizabethan era, the production of new Welsh language metrical psalters ceased entirely between 1638 and 1770, church organs and the spaces they inhabited were destroyed, and the 1594 Eisteddfod was cancelled entirely, with none being held at all between 1567 and 1819.[9] Religious reform has been touted by historians such as Tim Rusling and Sally Harper as explanation for such decline, but this factor should not be considered in isolation; after all, England also experienced a Reformation, yet at the same time, its metrical psalters – as Harper argues, namely those penned by Sternhold and Hopkins – enjoyed enduring popularity.[10] Liturgical changes do not, after all, necessarily explain the erosion of the popular cultural tradition of the Eisteddfod nor why Welsh musical traditions were so disproportionately affected compared to those of their British counterparts: the strength of the zeal for Welsh music seen in the Regency era – for example, in the wealthy Lady Llanover's major patronisation of the Abergavenny eisteddfodau between 1835 and 1853 - can, perhaps, be understood as reflective of the extent to which its vibrancy and accessibility to ordinary people were diluted in previous centuries.[11]

The impact of religious reformation

The Reformation, and the destruction of monasteries such as Tintern Abbey (illus.2) which had once provided communities across Wales with devotional frameworks, education and welfare provision, undoubtedly eroded the provision of liturgical music that had once acted as the backdrop to Welsh parishioners' daily lives and to both collective and individual consciousnesses. Historians such as Bob Scribner, Patrick Collinson and Tessa Watt argue that the sensory characteristics of organised religion enabled its longevity within public consciousness; music was crucial in making the word of God memorable, immersive and continuously relevant.[12] The significance of oral religion in catalysing the Reformation has been understood by historians such as Felicity Heal and Jane Dawson as critical in the era before widespread print, yet the singing of metrical psalms and hymns, and the financial provisions made for church choirs and cathedrals, were made untenable by Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and later Edward VI amid efforts to transfer ecclesiastical wealth into royal coffers.[13] Cromwell's efforts, as seen in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535), to estimate each church's income demonstrate often generous provision given to choirmasters, members of the choir and musical education at the local level and, when these records are compared to chantry returns devised over a decade after the beginning of monastical dissolution, it is clear that the Reformation catalysed a widescale decline in the accessibility of music in Wales: in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the estimated revenue of St Mary's College, attached to St Davids Cathedral – an institution so 'justly renowned for its lavish endowment, unique location and close collaboration' with this cathedral - was £111 16*s* 4*d*, but this dropped dramatically: in 1549, seven vicars were paid just £2 a year, eight more were paid only £1 6*s* 4*d*, and the final three were granted only £1.[14] Whilst Cromwell certainly possessed motivation to over-estimate such revenue – in doing so the crown and its servants would be better justified in claiming that the church had abused its financial privileges and thus was more deserving of

dissolution – *Valor Ecclesiasticus* acts as a useful guideline on how much funding Welsh liturgical musicians received. Ecclesiastical expenditure extended to those who were made redundant by the dissolution. The ease with which so many liturgical musicians were drawn away from their posts with promises of generous pensions – Stephen Greene of St Davids was granted £10 – ensured that for the church, once something of an egalitarian provider of music within the community, such musical provision was no longer fiscally feasible on the parish level: smaller churches, once dependent upon chantries' and fraternities' funding, could no longer sustain the production of high-quality music for the laity.[15]

Illus.2, Tintern Abbey, situated near Chepstow, Monmouthshire, in south Wales. The Cistercian institution, built in the 12th century, was one of the first casualties of the Henrician Reformation in Wales[16]

How convincingly can it be argued that this reduced availability of Welsh music from the church was the fault of more generalised religious reform and not from an internal disenfranchisement with music and its circulation? Certainly, eyewitness testimonies account for the personal shortcomings of individual members of the clergy, with the Hereford Diocese's chapter act book of 1512-66 noting David Orton's absenteeism in 1522, whilst in St Asaph, a policy had to be enforced allowing choristers only four bouts of absenteeism before forfeiting 4*d*.[17] Yet clearly, choirs still functioned, and those responsible for administering punishments and keeping the chapter books were ensuring the policing and continuation of liturgical music. Indeed, evidence also suggests lamentation of the decline of Wales's liturgical music, and attempts to keep it alive. In 1617, Bishop Bayly demanded an explanation as to why there were so few choristers practising in Bangor's cathedral, and the response provided by Thomas Martin, the clerk of the grammar school from which the choristers were recruited, testifies to the extent of the efforts

made by the choirmasters and teachers to teach liturgical music as effectively as possible: Martin claimed that he 'hath taken paines this twelvemonth and more to teach the singing boys…[he] hath taught one boy perfectly…and hath brought up foure or five more boyes prettilye in the skill of music, hoping they will do well in time'.[18] Here, the church was being forced to rely upon limited teaching and financial resources to the detriment of the quality of the music itself: indeed, a visitation return of just two years later lamented that the cathedral had just one competent chorister.[19]

This decline of musical accessibility in Bangor can be attributed to the religious reforms of the mid-16th century: in 1551, the issuing of episcopal injunctions there had ruled that nobody could receive Communion until they proved they could recite Our Father, the Articles of the Faith and the Ten Commandments in English.[20] Given that Bangor sits in the heartland of Wales, far removed and, at the time, largely unconnected to any English-speaking metropolis, this likely barred a significant proportion of the population from accessing services and would certainly have inhibited boys from being able to readily join the choir. The cathedral was home to eight choristers in 1549, six in 1560, five in 1565, but was reduced to just two in 1577.[21] The tone of regret in Martin's reply thus suggests an external modification of Welsh liturgical music, and indeed a sense of lamentation and determination to preserve the past can be identified throughout the late Tudor and then the Stuart regime: dedication to old traditions, including Catholicism, has been well-documented by revisionist historiographies of those such as Eamon Duffy and Lisa McClain.[22] Mr Roberts of St Davids recalled how during the Civil War, 'heaps of parchment books and rolls [had been] burnt… [and himself] being then a schoolboy, [did] carry several out of the library for the sake of the gilt letters', whilst in 1595, Morris Kyffin lamented the absence and inaccessibility of Welsh metrical psalms to the Welsh congregation.[23] Whilst Kyffin died before such a project of translation could be completed, the work was finished by Salisbury, who recalled that 'it re[j]oyced mee not a little' upon hearing of their completion.[24] His pride in his involvement in the work can certainly be contextualised within the beliefs of Protestant contemporaries that the word of God should be made more accessible: the 16th century rise of humanism, and derivative 17th century attempts to study the Bible from a more empirical perspective as opposed to an emotive one, explains the keenness of patrons to reveal God's word to the Welsh in their own vernacular.

Yet further understanding into the reduced funding from the crown received by Welsh churches and their musicians can be gleaned from expenditure lists compiled at St Davids Cathedral and St Mary's College: inspection of exactly what they spent money on, and how such funds became so scarce, can be undertaken when comparing expenditures made in 1557/8 to those made after 1566. Momentary resurgence of the Catholic faith following the accession of Mary ensured that musical provision from the crown improved for a period of five years, and, by the end of the queen's regime, the city's choristers and their teachers were well provided for. Menial expenses made for the choristers, including the mats upon which they were to stand and the wine that they drank at Communion, totalled £10 12*s* 6*d;* the clothes they wore cost a total of £24 10*s* 48*d*, and their educational provision, including the wages of their choirmaster, totalled £20 21*s* 8*d*.[25]

Wages paid to the singers came to 16*s* 17*d* for Christmas and Easter services alone: musical expenses at the cathedral therefore totalled £31 47*s* 52*d*.[26]

After 1566, however, St Davids witnessed a sharp reduction in the expenditure made upon the cathedral choir, and indeed, the Reformation at this point was well-established: Neale has described a 'Puritan Choir' of the mid-16th century calling for further ecclesiastical reform and a movement away from the Old Religion, with the queen increasingly pressured to demolish and undermine Catholic holy spaces in favour of simple, Church of England ones.[27] During this period, £6 43*s* 4*d* was spent on choristers' fees, but just £6 on the wages of their teacher, £6 28*s* 4*d* on organists and 18*s* 10*d* on the maintenance of the instrument and singing books: music expenditure at St Davids thus fell by £13 18*s* 40*d* to just £18 29*s* 12*d* in total.[28] As Harper has noted, vicars' salaries were low and often impossible to live on: Thomas Tomkins (senior) of St Davids was thus forced to leave the parish and find work elsewhere in 1563.[29]

Critically, then, ideology behind religious reform – such as that of patrons such as Salisbury – could be compatible with Welsh liturgical music in the first half of the 16th century, but the practicalities of diminished funding simply made it almost impossible for such music to be sustainably produced. With the outbreak of Civil War in the 1640s, however, and the subsequent birth of the Commonwealth, the legitimacy of performing music within the space of a church was itself undermined: the period can be described as one of a 'natural watershed' between Welsh music and heightened political activity.[30] A 1643 Bill passed by an intensely Protestant Parliament called for 'the utter abolishing and taking away of all…vicars choral and choristers', and the ruination of the musical landscape within the church was translated effectively on the local level: whilst Wrexham's organ was once one of only a few in Wales, in 1643 its pipes were melted down to make bullets for Lord Myddleton, whilst Llandaff Cathedral became an alehouse and a posting-house.[31] The magnitude of the physical transformation of the landscape has been well-documented by Alexandra Walsham.[32]

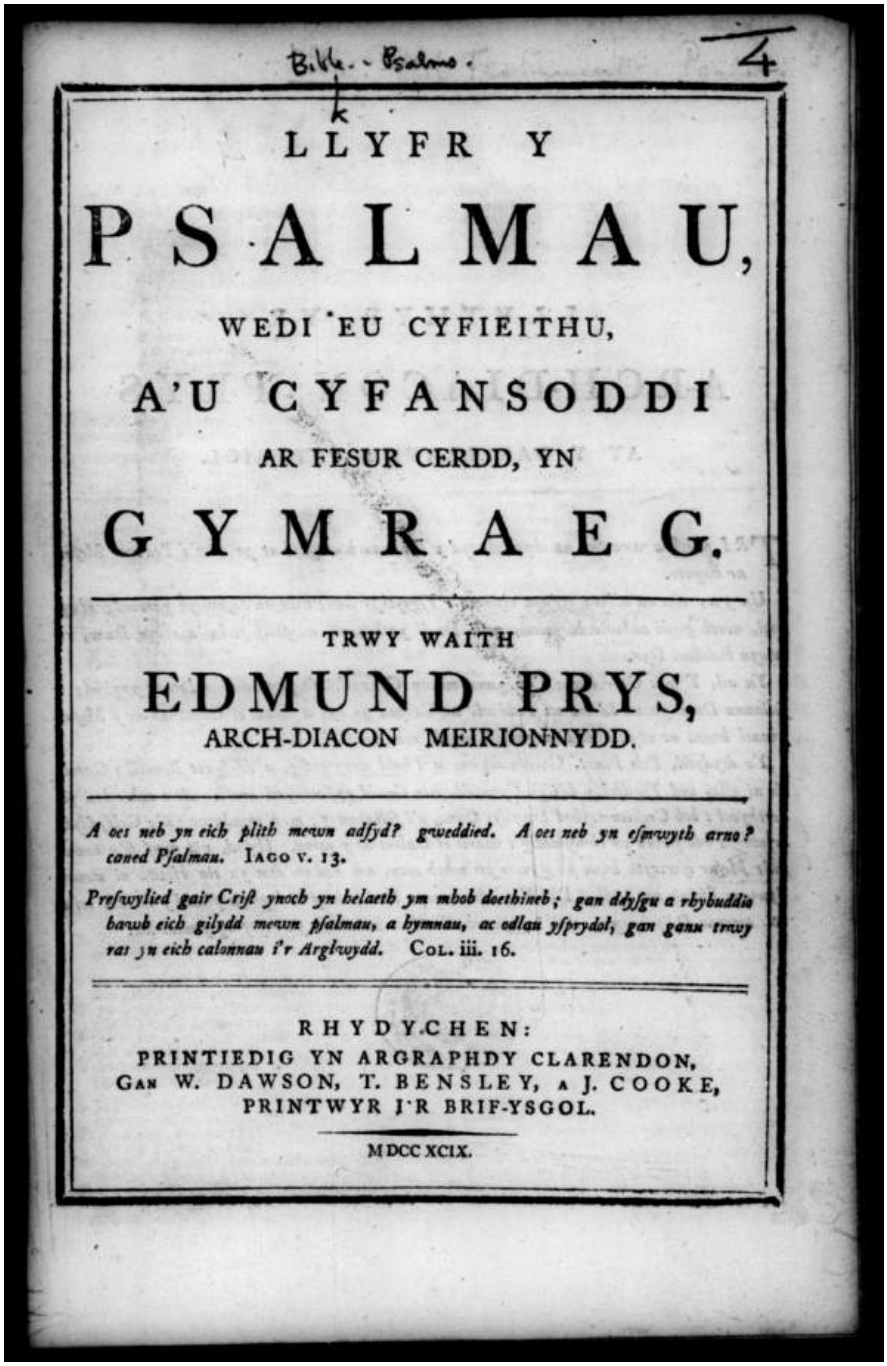
The dichotomisation of Welsh and English cultural character

The English, then, appear to have been active catalysts in the decline of the frequency in which Welsh music was accessible to those living within the principality. Hostility towards the Welsh is evident in the discrimination practised by the English against the Welsh: this was commonplace in the 16th and 17th centuries, as emphasised by histories inspired by postcolonial narratives seeking to vindicate once maligned demographics**;** Prys Morgan highlights the 'incivility' attributed to the Welsh during this period, and indeed, in *Fyrst Bok of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1542)*,* Borde's fictitious 'Welshman' claims to 'like thieving … and come of brutes blood', and claims that 'yf I haue my harpe, I care for no more'.[33] This reference to a harp, and sarcastic tone denoting its role as a corner-piece of Welsh identity, reveals the extent to which Welsh music had established itself as something of an antithesis to the English musical tradition, and there seem to have been few English families who possessed a harp of their own. Welsh bard Thomas ap Richard, for example, had to bring his own harp when performing for the English Sidney family, one of the wealthiest in the country, while even in as late as the lifetime of Edward Jones (1752-

1824), the personal harpist of the Prince of Wales, such an employee remained of Welsh origin.[34] This somewhat scathing account of Welsh musical identity is followed by the author claiming of the Welsh that 'there be many of them whyche be light fingered, and lo[v]eth a purse … lechery in manye places is to[o] much [u]sed', whilst the status of the Welsh is considered to have only been improved by their increased participation in English education: a 1594 'Dialogue of the Government' stated that 'the gentlemenn and people in wales have greatly encreased in learning and civillyte for nowe great numbres of youths are contynewally brought vpp and mayntayned at the Uniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge'.[35] Education, then, was a process through which the Welsh could enter such 'civility', and perhaps, this was the most effective method in preserving Welsh musical tradition where possible. The birth of London-centric 'Englishness', privilege and nationhood in the context of emerging colonialism and capitalism seen in the 17th century did, after all, create space for a necessary 'other' against which this new bourgeoise could be contrasted in order to legitimise its own increasing wealth and power, as well as the increasing socioeconomic gap between the state's richest and poorest. In failing to participate in the collectivisation of a national identity, the Welsh remained vulnerable to language such as that utilised in the 'Dialogue of Government': a language which dichotomised the 'civilised' English cultural tastes to the 'degenerate' ones of the Welsh. Welsh music, then, paradoxically relied upon its own decline in order to survive in even the most fragmentary form.

Whilst the migration of some Welsh people to England was by no means a smooth process of cultural integration – John Williams of Conwy, later Archbishop of York, was mocked by fellow undergraduates at St John's College, Cambridge, for his broken English, while others were mocked for believing that animals in the fields surrounding Oxford and Cambridge bleated in Latin and Greek – Oxbridge graduates such as Edmund Prys were afforded opportunities to preserve a Welsh musical tradition.[36] Prys was able to sustain the publication of Welsh music even amid its curtailment from within the Welsh borders, with his book of metrical psalms *Llyfyr y Psalmau* (1621) enjoying second and third edition publications in 1630 and 1638.[37] Why, then, was a book of Welsh music so popular? Harper has identified his use of an 878 metrical pattern as close to the traditional English one of 8686 used by Englishmen Sternhold and Hopkins; she argues that likely, the psalter 'would … never have been published had it not been for the enormous popularity of its English counterpart'.[38] Does this mean, then, that Welsh musicians were somewhat responsible for the decline of their country's musical tradition as a result of their own efforts to imitate music from across the border? After all, Prys was likely influenced by his own English education, which Harper describes as situated within 'a hotbed of Puritan activity'.[39] Instead, the publication of Welsh-language music should here be identified as an attempt at musical preservation through the use of English publishing privileges. Whilst Prys's work by no means enjoyed the same level of success as its English counterpart – the last edition of *Llyfyr* was published in 1638, while *A whole book of psalmes* (illus.3) enjoyed consistent republication between 1587 and 1687 – Prys was able to publish some original Welsh music.[40] For certain such a text was unavailable to the masses owing to its cost – its ornate lettering and large physical size made it more valuable – but any survival of true Welsh music can thus be attributed to Welsh musicians, and not the work of wealthy English patrons. The continued publication of such texts depended upon popular appeal amid the wealthy rather than sponsorship – clearly, such music

appealed to those appreciative of the Welsh tradition, and who wished to sustain its usage. Harper argues that only two of the twelve of the tunes compiled here were imitated by contemporaries, with Tune no.2 ('St Mary's'), Prys's most famous, not appearing in England until Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Music* (1671) – even then, no credit was given to the Welsh: Playford renamed the tune 'Hackney', giving it a London-based association: such neglect of authenticity catalysed a decline in the Welsh musical tradition.[41]



Bible. - Psalms. 4

k

LLYFR Y

PSALMAU,

WEDI EU CYFIEITHU,

A'U CYFANSODDI

AR FESUR CERDD, YN

GYMRAEG.

TRWY WAITH

EDMUND PRYS,

ARCH-DIACON MEIRIONNYDD.

A oes neb yn eich plith mewn adfyd? gweddied. A oes neb yn eſmwyth arno? caned Pſalmau. IAGO v. 13.

Prefwylied gair Criſt ynoch yn helaeth ym mhob doethineb; gan dyſcu a rhybuddio bawb eich gilydd mewn pſalmau, a hymnau, ac odlau yſprydol, gan ganu trwy ras yn eich calonnau i'r Arglwydd. COL. iii. 16.

RHYDYCHEN:

PRINTIEDIG YN ARGRAPHDY CLARENDON,

GAN W. DAWSON, T. BENSLEY, A J. COOKE,

PRINTWYR I'R BRIF-YSGOL.

MDCC XCIX.

Illus.3 The front cover of Llyfyr y Psalmau, wedi eu cyfieithu, a'u cyfansoddi ar fesur cerdd, yn Gymraeg/ *'The Book of Psalms, translated, and composed to the measure of a poem, in Welsh' (1799 edition)*[42]

The commercialisation of Welsh music

Whilst it has been argued that Prys was not personally responsible for the publication of *Llyfyr,* and that its emergence on the market was made possible by educational philanthropist Thomas Myddleton, a Welshman based in London, it should be cautioned that there is in fact no evidence eliminating the possibility of his direct participation in continuing a commercially viable Welsh musical tradition.[43] The 1621 editions were finalised by English printers Purfoot and Barker, and that of 1638 was set by the also English Marmaduke Parsons – yet the entire text remains in the Welsh language.[44] Whilst it is feasible to argue that the funding for *Llyfyr*'s publication came from Myddleton or his friend John Williams, Dean of Westminster, clearly the Welsh themselves were responsible for ensuring that it could be accessed by the Welsh when necessary. The same pattern of English imitation can, according to Harper, be seen in Edward Kyffin's psalms written at the beginning of the 17th century, where once more, tunes were aligned with those of Sternhold and Hopkins.[45] Again, whilst it could be suggested that Kyffin willingly turned to an English musical tradition, it could instead be argued that a process of anglicisation was inaugurated by his co-author Lord Salisbury, and that the adoption of English metrical patterns was a symptom of needing to appeal to English commercial tastes. Indeed, Salisbury promised his readers to undertake 'the printing of the Psalms in the like kinde of meeter in Brytish as they are [u]sually sung in…England'.[46] Anglicisation seems to have generated upward social mobility, with the formation of London-Welsh societies cementing the Welsh elite's musical presence in the country's capital. Richard Morris thus celebrated in 1770 that 'many great [Welsh] men have become members [of the London-Welsh society 'First Cymmrodrion'] …I don't doubt to see all the aristocrats among us'.[47] Morris's Welsh identity may have caused him to overestimate this extent of social mobility, but integration of Welsh musical practices into England was certainly visible during his lifetime, with Maria Jane Williams (illus.4) frequenting London as a renowned singer and harpist during the Regency period.[48] Clearly, as Cass Meurig argues, even Morris's homeland of rural Anglesey was not immune to the declining authenticity of the Welsh musical tradition, and far from isolated from the wider British musical one.[49]

Illus.4, Maria Jane Williams in a photograph taken in c.1865 (Welsh Portrait Collection, National Library of Wales)[50]

Why was anglicisation of Welsh music so socially acceptable? Keith Wrightson's identification of the 16th and 17th centuries as a period in which a system of social hierarchy operated in a state of limbo is useful in understanding why only certain musical practices were socially acceptable and others were not: in the centuries between the decline of the medieval feudal system and the emergence of a capitalist class one, people across Wales and England were forced to seek practices through which they could portray themselves as the embodiments of elevated social status; again, the establishment of the 'other' enabled justification of the already-wealthy's financial and social privileges.[51] Within a poststructuralist narrative, this erosion of authentic music could be understood as a very early form of cultural imperialism: indeed, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argues that Western thinking has often refused to even humanise this 'other'.[52] Music, as an opportunity through which one's social connections and educational privileges were so glaringly visible, served as a dynamic opportunity through which the Welsh elite could dichotomise themselves from Welsh music performed by the poorer members of the principality – this emerging duality in social attitudes towards Welsh musicians is evident when comparing the late Elizabethan family accounts of the Myddletons of Lleweni Hall, north Wales, with Gaol Records from just twenty years or so later (see below). Indeed, it has been emphasised that 'musical provision in the Welsh church always remained modest but … in wealthier institutions throughout Wales, particularly in the dominant town churches, and particularly where there was strong English influence', the accessibility gap between the rich and the poor to music only widened.[53]

A tune list from Lleweni Hall (illus.5), a hub of musical patronage during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, demonstrates how elite repertories were 'shaped by family tastes and connections', and thus offers insight into the nature of the music being adopted by the elite Welsh social circles, and, as part of this compilation, tunes such as 'Johnson's Medley' contain music specifically intended for the harp, an instrument itself the paradigm of Welsh musicality.[54] Indeed, Harper has argued that the list in its entirety contains 'an emphasis' on harp-playing**,** and account records from Lleweni document regular payments in 1595 for harpists Thomas ap Richard, John Llivon and a musician referenced as 'peilin'.[55] What, then, was the purpose of these men's employment? Perhaps the family simply enjoyed this music on a personal level, but it could also be argued that the Myddleton family specifically undertook musical activities to gain a reputation as cultural and thus social patrons deserving of personal connections to the English court of the period. This is clear when considering connections between Lleweni's music, alongside the masques in which it was performed, and the musical activities of Elizabeth I's own court entertainment: Harper notes that parts for renowned actor/singers Edward Alleyn and Richard Tarlton can be found in Lleweni's archives, whilst the marriage of the Myddletons into the family of the Earl of Derby – another family renowned for its role in conducting musical patronage – suggests that such musical events had granted the Welsh elite an opportunity to connect with those of a high social status.[56] The appearance of a handful of Welsh musicians at court throughout the period further demonstrates the role Welsh music could play in catalysing upward social mobility; Privy Purse expenses include three payments of £2 'to the Walshman' to commemorate St David's Day in 1492 and 1503, whilst Hugh Vaughan was paid 13s 4*d* in 1497

for bringing two harpists to court.[57] Henry Prince of Wales also made outgoings of £1 10s to 'the Welshe Musiticians' in 1608 and 1609.[58]

Illus.5 Engraving of Lleweni Hall made by William Watts, 1792 (National Library of Wales)

Musical monopolisation: the accessibility and acceptability of practising the Bardic crafts amid the Welsh population

The wealthy, then, employed those who continued to work within a framework of the Welsh tradition. The treatment of Welsh harpists such as David Keler, John Welshe, Griffeth Emlin and Thomas Lewis in 1620 was, however, far less congratulatory.[59] The Great Session Gaol Files refer to each of these men, who occupied a more freelance type of employment and were thus unassociated with the harpists employed by patrons, as 'wanderinge abrode the Contrye with his fiddle as a Roge': further references are made describing such harpists as occupying the roles of a 'rogue', 'idle person' and 'loiterer' and, with the vagrancy laws of 1572 and 1594 essentially criminalising a lack of fixed employment, such musicians were forced to contest with the threat of being labelled as such a 'vagabwnd'.[60] Even the money that could be obtained from work, Harper has estimated, only averaged at about 2*d* per performance.[61] The economic crisis of the 1590s ultimately directly impacted the vernacular Welsh musical tradition's sustainability: it made its informal practice an illegitimate method of earning money, and the opportunities once afforded to ensure the continuation of secular Welsh music were further reduced with the cancellation of the 1594 Eisteddfod.[62] Once funded by the queen, the abandonment of plans to hold a further event at the end of the 16th century signalled a slow withdrawal from Welsh

musical patronisation; increasing association between bards and Catholic recusants also further stigmatised unlicenced Welsh music practitioners.[63] No Eisteddfod was held between 1567 and 1819, and, as such, 'the bardic craft [had come under] serious threat from the changing social order': the erosion of the Welsh musical tradition had thus been largely catalysed by the country's rapidly changing socioeconomic landscapes.[64]

A professionalisation of the Welsh vernacular tradition can also be seen when comparing the oral traditions listed in *cerdd dant* anthologies. As an archaic Welsh tradition - comprised of vocal improvisation paired with instrumental tunes – the formalisation of the format of *cerdd dant* epitomised the changing presentation of Welsh music. The presentation of Morris's c.1588 compilation can, for example, be described as somewhat fragmentary in its documentation of Welsh music, whilst John Jones's manuscript of c.1605-10 consists of over 800 pages of carefully collated materials.[65] 800 pages of material is substantial, suggesting determination to collect and preserve Welsh music where possible. Yet the most compelling evidence of this professionalisation can be identified in the Robert ap Hugh manuscript, the first to synthesise Welsh popular music into the written format: compiled in c.1613, ap Hugh's efforts can be understood as the beginning of the end of an easily accessible collation of Welsh music.[66] Herein lies a paradox of Welsh musical decline: its translation to an empirical format made it less accessible to ordinary people because in writing using such musical notation, the music grew in value and became dominated by the landed classes who had already begun the process of musical monopolisation. ap Hugh's *cerdd dant* transcription was produced in the form of a small folio volume and, since folios were the most expensive forms of print available for consumption in the early 17th century, his work would have been confined to only those who could afford to purchase it. Even the written material that was available for widespread audiences could be of poor quality, as evidenced by *Llyfyr* and psalm music which, it has been argued, was difficult to read and understand.[67] Deaths of musical patrons Hugh Pennant, Hopcyn ap Sion and John Wynn further cemented what Trevor Herbert has identified as the decline of Welsh music's accessibility: no longer was musical production a financially feasible option or a universally culturally acceptable pastime.[68]

With the last Eisteddfod until the Victorian era being hosted in 1567, the mid-16th century was the beginning of the process of declining access to institutional Welsh music; the declining accessibility to formalised Welsh song was accelerated by both the Reformation and the economic hardships of the period: both processes defunded and then stigmatised the production and consumption of music created by the Welsh, both inside and outside of the church. Both phenomena also necessitated the construction of a cultural and socioeconomic 'other' against which the increasingly wealthy could contrast themselves in an attempt justify their own elevated socioeconomic status, and both the size and the resources of the English enabled its adoption of a role of a culturally dominant force. The subsequent anglicisation of Welsh music and its teaching can thus be understood in conjunction with both religious change and the declining status of the state's economy; whilst Welsh natives likely continued sharing musical enterprises with each other informally, its prominence within the community became markedly reduced.[69] Harper has argued that despite the poor quality of transcribed Welsh music, it continued to sell

well and remain popular amongst ordinary people, but she argues this on the basis that the Stationers Registers records show 800 English metrical psalters being bought by one buyer in 1629, and 8000 in 1640.[70] This instead proves the point that Welsh music was becoming increasingly inaccessible, the market dominated by the exceedingly wealthy: it was not more accessible as here implied.

Churches, once an egalitarian locus of music, were stripped of musical character, whilst the abandonment of the Eisteddfod tradition, once an opportunity for musical apprentices to gain recognition and support for their talents, left such musicians liable to accusations of vagrancy and economic uselessness. This inaccessibility of music to the poor, and increased accessibility of the rich to written music and English practitioners, birthed a cultural gap within the realms of Welsh music that remained unbridged until the formation of London-Welsh societies in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: no wonder, then, that Meurig estimates that only about a quarter of the tunes in John Thomas's manuscript (1752) were of Welsh origin.[71] Yet as Lady Greenly wrote to a friend in 1834, Welsh musicians had given her 'many very pretty popular things, and [had] s[u]ng and played on the harp … Welsh airs were introduced as much as possible and with good effect'.[72] The Welsh musical tradition, whilst not eradicated, was significantly neglected and then eroded by this process of musical gentrification – to the detriment of all.

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Notes

[1] Mark Rhodes, 'The Nation, the Festival, and Institutionalised Memory: Transoptic Landscapes of the Welsh National Eisteddfod', *Geohumanities*, vii/2 (2015), pp. 558-583.

[2] Philip Weller, *Gerald of Wales's View of Music* (Cardiff, 1997). Gerald of Wales's observations include a description of the instruments typically played by Welsh musicians – 'They [the Welsh] use three kinds of instruments: the harp…flutes or pipes…and the crwth' (p.6). Aspersions upon the usefulness of Gerald of Wales's accounts can also be found in Shai Burstyn, 'Is Gerald of Wales a Credible Musical Witness?', *The Musical Quarterly,* lxxii/2 (1986), pp.155-169.

[3] John Parry, *A Collection of Welsh, English & Scotch Airs with new Variations* (London, 1761), title page.

[4] Parry (1761), preface.

[5] Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London, 1784), p.2.

[6] Jones (1784), preface.

[7] Trevor Herbert, Martin V. Clarke and Helen Barlow (eds), *A History of Welsh Music* (Cambridge, 2022), p.171.

[8] Belton House, Lincolnshire, NT3019812, reproduced by Peoples Collection Wales, https://www.peoplescollection.wales/items/552050#?xywh=-402%2C0%2C1813%2C1281.

[9] William Reynolds, 'Middleton's household chapel: church music on the Welsh border in the seventeenth century', *Welsh Music History*, iv (2000), p.11; Sally Harper, 'Tunes for a Welsh Psalter: Edmund Prys's *Llyfyr y Psalmau', Studia*

Celtica, xxxvii (2003), pp.221-268; letter sent by Capt. Byrch to G. Carr, Secretary to the Marquis of Ormond, 12 December 1643, *Interesting Particulars of the Landing of the Irish Forces, of the Retreat of Brereton and Myddleton, of the Siege and Surrender of Hawarden, and of the State of Wales*, cited in John R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches, 1642-1649* (London, 1874), doc. XXXVI, p.11; Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (London, 2007), p.61.

[10] Tim Rusling, 'Music in Wales: Part I – Tradition & History', *Coach House Pianos,* 1 April 2019, https://blog.coachhousepianos.co.uk/music-in-wales-part-i-tradition-history, accessed 26 March 2024; Harper (2007).

[11] 'Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover ("Lady Llanover") (1802-1896)', 10 August 2011, https://www.peoplescollection.wales/content/bee-gwent, accessed 23 April 2024.

[12] Bob Scribner, 'Heterodoxy, Literacy and Print in the Early German Reformation', in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (eds), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.255-278; Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading, 1986); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), cited in Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers": Post Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present*, clxviii (2000), pp.72-123.

[13] Felicity Heal, 'Mediating the word: Language and dialect in the British and Irish Reformations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* lvi (2005), pp.261-268; Jane Dawson, 'The Word did everything': Readers, Singers and the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, c.1560-c.1638', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society,* xlvi (2017) pp.1-37.

[14] Harper (2007), p.263; John Caley (ed), *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII*, iv (London, 1810-13), p.382, cited in Harper (2007), p.63; 1546 St Davids Chantry Return, cited in Harper (2007), pp.262-263.

[15] John Wyn Evans, 'The Reformation and St Davids Cathedral', *The Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, vii (1990), pp.1-16 at 11; Herbert, Clarke and Barlow (2022), p.67.

[16] Wikimedia Commons (2020).

[17] P. G. S. Baylis (ed), *Calendar of the first Hereford Cathedral Dean and Chapter act book,* 1512-66. MS 7031/1, no.253, p.29, Hereford Cathedral Archives; Bishop William Hughes, *Injunctions of Bishop William Hughes (1573-1600) for St Asaph Cathedral* (n.d). MS SA/CR/6. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, both cited in Thomas William Reynolds, *A Study of Music and Liturgy: choirs and organs in monastic and secular foundations in Wales and the borderlands, 1486-1645*, PhD thesis (Bangor University, 2002), pp.104 and 317.

[18] Eleventh article of Bishop Bayly's visitation return to Bangor (1617), MS 22808, University of Wales, Bangor; Thomas Martin, *Letter to Bishop Bayly* (1617), MS 22808, University of Wales, Bangor, both cited in Reynolds (2002), p.147.

[19] Harper (2007), p.303.

[20] Harper (2007), p.303.

[21] *Liber Communis,* 5, 76, and *Collectanea, i,* p.43, cited in Reynolds (2002), pp.160-1.

[22] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven, 1992); Lisa McClain, 'Underground Devotions: The Day-to-Day Challenges of Practicing an Illegal Faith' in Robert Scully (ed), *A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland* (Leiden, 2021).

[23] Letter written by Thomas Tanner to Browne Willis, 1719, reproduced in Henry Thomas Payne (ed), *Collectanea Menevensia*, I, cxcv (1820), cited in Harper (2007), p.171; Harper (2003), p.246.

[24] Letter written by Lord Salisbury, 22 June 1610, owned by a Mrs Alan Gough of Gelliwig, Caernarvonshire, and shown in facsimile in John Ballinger, *The Bible in Wales: A Study in the History of the Welsh People, With an Introductory Address and a Bibliography* (Cardiff, 1906).

[25] Payne (1820), cited in Harper (2007), pp.354-356.

[26] Payne (1820). Expenses pertaining to the writing and copying out of liturgical music in St David's are not accounted for but would likely have also been substantial considering a lack of streamlined printing techniques during this period; for the Cathedral to observe a Marian Counter-Reformation so quickly, this amount may have been paid out in bulk – again testifying to the significant expenditure that ecclesiastical music once enjoyed.

[27] John Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1934).

[28] Payne (1820), cited in Harper (2007), pp.354-6.

[29] Harper (2007), p.304.

[30] Harper (2007), p.304.

[31] Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714* (Oxford University Press, 1995), p.3; Harper (2007), p.304; letter sent by Capt. Byrch to G. Carr, Secretary to the Marquis of Ormond, 12 December 1643, *Interesting Particulars of the Landing of the Irish Forces, of the Retreat of Brereton and Myddleton, of the Siege and Surrender of Hawarden, and of the State of Wales,* cited in Phillips (1874), doc. XXXVI, p.11.

[32] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).

[33] An example of a seminal postcolonial work includes Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Chichester, 2001), and one concerning Wales specifically includes Jane Aaron and Chris Williams (eds), *Postcolonial Wales* (Cardiff, 2005); Prys Morgan, 'Wild Wales: Civilising the Welsh from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries' in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack (eds), *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press, 2000); Andrew Boorde, *Fyrst Bok of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London, 1542), p.126. Cromwell's banning of the Welsh language in the principality's law courts in 1536 likely explains the English's disdain of Wales based on the use of an alternative, Welsh vernacular – the fact that harp music was accompanied by Welsh-language singing thus also explains this hostility towards the Welsh harpist tradition.

[34] Herbert, Clarke and Barlow (2022), p.94; Dictionary of Welsh Biography, 'JONES, EDWARD', (n.d.), https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-EDW-1752, accessed 5 April 2024.

[35] Boorde (1542), pp.128 and 321; George Owen, *The Dialogue of the Government of Wales* (1594).

[36] William Philip Griffith, *Learning, Law and Religion: Higher Education and Welsh Society, c.1540-1640* (Cardiff, 1996), p.93, cited in Morgan (2000), p.269. See also the character of Sir Hugh Evans in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), for the comic leverage obtained from Welsh people and, specifically, the Welsh accent.

[37] Edmund Prys, *Llyfyr y Psalmau* (London, 1621), cited in Harper (2003), p.221.

[38] Harper (2003), p.234; Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole booke of Psalmes* (London, 1631).

[39] Harper (2003), p.241.

[40] Harper (2003), p.236.

[41] John Playford, *Psalmes and Hymnes in Solemn Musick of Foure Parts* (London, 1671), cited in Harper (2003), pp.255-257.

[42] From https://archive.org/details/bim_eighteenth-century_llyfr-y-psalmau-wedi-eu_1799.

[43] Harper (2003), p.262.

[44] Harper (2003), p.223.

[45] Edward Kyffin, *Salmau Dafydd Broffwyd* (1603), cited in Harper (2007), pp.303-304.

[46] Thomas Salisbury, in the preface to William Myddleton, *Psalme brenhinol brophvvyd Dafydh gwedi I cynghanedhu mewn mesurau Cymreig* (London, 1603).

[47] Hugh Owen (ed), *Additional Letters of the Morrises of Anglesey (1735-1786)*, xlix/2 (London, 1949), p.767.

[48] Herbert, Clarke and Barlow (2022), p.189.

[49] Cass Meurig, 'Fiddle Tunes in eighteenth-century Wales' (Aberdeen, 2006), p.7.

[50] From https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_Maria_Jane_Williams_of_Aberpergwm_and_Ynyslas_%28Vale_of_Neath%29_%284671212%29.jpg.

[51] Keith Wrightson, '"Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994).

[52] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (2009).

[53] Harper (2007), p.293. How Wales's poorer citizens felt about this growing inaccessibility is unknowable owing to a lack of source material.

[54] Sally Harper, 'An Elizabethan Tune List from Lleweni Hall, North Wales', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle,* xxxviii (2005), pp.45-98; composer unknown but likely Edward Johnson; Johnson's Medley, date of origin unknown. MS 14709, ff. 7v-8, British Library, London.

[55] Harper (2005), pp.47 and p.5.

[56] Harper (2005), pp.46 and p.55.

[57] Samuel Bentley, *Excerpta Historica: Or, Illustrations of English History* (London, 1833), 'Extracts from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Seventh, 1491-1505', pp.88, 130 and 110.

[58] Andrew Ashbee (ed), *Records of English Court Music, IV* (Snodland, 1991), pp.213-214.

[59] *AB* Great Session Gaol Files*,* 4/16/4/75, transcribed in *REDW,* 129, cited in Harper (2007), p.315.

[60] Harper (2007), p.316.

[61] Harper (2007), p.311.

[62] Harper (2007), p.61.

[63] Anonymous, *Report on Wales* (1575), cited in Philip Caraman, *The Other face: Catholic life under Elizabeth I* (London, 1960), p.53. Fears that wandering men claiming to be performing musicians were actually disseminating Catholic teachings across the country intensified amid the Spanish-Catholic threat to England seen during the late 1580s and 90s.

[64] Harper (2007), p.61.

[65] Roger Morris, *Pump Llyfyr Cerddwriaeth* (c.1588), Peniarth MS 169, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth; John Jones, *Hafod 24* (c.1605-10), *CDp* MS 2.634, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, both referenced and described in Harper (2007), p.36.

[66] Robert ap Hugh, *The Robert ap Hugh Manuscript* (c.1613), MS Add. 14905, British Library, London.

[67] Harper (2003), p.234.

[68] Herbert, Clarke and Barlow (2022).

[69] Few examples of early modern Welsh folk music survive, but the lullaby 'Dinogad's Smock' was first noted as anonymous in *Book of Aneirin,* c.1295. MS 2.81, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

[70] Harper (2003), p.234; William A. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640* (London, 1957), p.215, p.337.

[71] J. Lloyd Williams (1752), MS 39, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, cited in Meurig (2006), p.7.

[72] Lady Greenly, letter to Mrs. Hastings, 22 August 1834, transcribed in A B Maxwell Fraser Papers, 1912-1980 CB/6, pp.41-22, cited in Herbert, Clarke and Barlow (2022), p.186.

Hit songs from 17th-century England

Christopher Marsh

The '100 Ballads project' has taken twelve years to complete but the website is finally live and freely available to all. It presents a collection of over one hundred highly successful broadside ballads – sheet songs that sold for a penny a piece in the marketplaces of 17th-century England. There are digital images, newly commissioned recordings, and a wealth of materials designed to help users contextualise the songs. For those who would rather go straight to the website than read about the discussions and decisions that lie behind it, the link is: https://www.100ballads.org.

The project had its origins in five overlapping perceptions. First, it seemed to me, as I contemplated the world in c. 2010, that historians and literary specialists were in the habit of drawing regularly on ballads but without paying much attention to their musical, performative and visual aspects. Second, they also generally avoided the crucial issue of the popularity and commercial success of particular songs, instead treating all ballads as if they were of equal significance. Third, musicologists were not much interested in ballads at all, perhaps regarding them as a genre that lacked the musical richness to merit dedicated study. Fourth, professional performers with an interest in early music sometimes included ballads in their repertoires but often sought out songs that were some combination of bawdy and humorous, thus skewing general perceptions of balladry and early-modern tastes. Fifth, recordings of such songs tended to involve highly trained professional musicians whose performances were either rather courtly in feel or, alternatively, characterized by a somewhat patronizing style designed to represent the lives of 'ordinary' people and their supposedly coarse culture. Of course, there were honourable exceptions in most of these categories but the general patterns seemed clear.

With these perceptions bouncing around in my head, I contacted fellow historian Angela McShane and musician Andy Watts to talk about the possibility of building a website that would stimulate discussion of all five issues (and many others too). Angela is an expert on political songs and on the workings of the ballad industry more generally, and Andy leads The Carnival Band (illus.1), a group that had recorded ballads in the past (and not only rude ones). Andy's connections to other musicians are far more extensive than my own and, through Andy's hard work, we were eventually able to record the voices of a wide range of invited singers from beyond the Carnival Band itself. These included several from the world of early music (Vivien Ellis, Victoria Couper, Edward Ingham and Lucie Skeaping, for example) and a number from the folk scene (John Kirkpatrick, Nancy Kerr and Maddy Prior, among others). I had been interested in the Carnival Band's approach to historical songs ever since hearing their wonderful recordings of 18th-century hymns, made in collaboration with the folk singer, Maddy Prior in 1990 (*Sing lustily and with good*

courage). I loved the energy they brought to the music, and this feature seemed to me more important than technical aspects of that elusive dream-state, authenticity. Members of the Carnival Band do not play on period instruments or careful reconstructions, nor do they use gut violin strings and original pronunciation. They do, however, perform historical songs in a style that suggests a thoughtful understanding of the circumstances in which such music was created and an instinctive awareness of its possible appeal both to our ancestors and to modern audiences. Perhaps that is the most that can be hoped for.

Illus.1 The Carnival Band with Vivien Ellis (photo: Peter Silver)

After we secured generous funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, discussions of our approach to performance and recording took off, sometimes growing a little heated. Initially, I encouraged Andy and the Band to move further down the road towards historically informed performance by swapping Steno Vitale's guitar for a cittern and re-stringing Giles Lewin's violin with gut. For perfectly understandable reasons, there was some resistance to these suggestions because of the danger that new instruments and strings would make it difficult for the musicians play with the freedom to which they were accustomed (and for which I admired them). I lost the second argument but won the first, and the results of introducing Steno to the cittern have been remarkable. He taught himself to play it in an incredibly short space of time and then set about developing an always sensitive and never obtrusive style of accompaniment that is one of the key features of the website (Steno plays on forty-seven of our recordings). As Steno said to me in conversation, 'I just started finding my way around it, and I found some really nice chords, and it really started to appeal to me. So I just spent a few hours playing it, and warmed to it ... Once that happened, it totally won me over, and off we went really ... It was much more versatile than I thought, and the tuning lends itself to really interesting chords which surprised me on a little four-course thing'. As readers will know, the interest lies particularly in the fact that the bass string is actually situated in between two higher strings, giving every chord that is played a different feel from that produced by strumming a guitar (a good example of Steno's style can be heard on no.16, *The lamenting ladies last farewell to the world* (illus.2)).

We agreed eventually to restrict ourselves to instruments that were definitely in use during the early modern period, but there was no insistence on exact historical reconstructions or gut fiddle strings. The list of instruments that can be heard on the website is long and varied: bagpipes, curtal (and bassoon), bladder fiddle, bones, cittern, drum, dulcimer, fiddle, jew's harp, mug and spoon, pipe, recorder, shawm, tabor and theorbo. Somehow, Jub Davis occasionally managed to sneak his double bass into the studio, and it stands in for an early-modern bass violin in two recordings. There was only one other exception to our general principle: in a few cases, we had to use later folk melodies because the original tunes could not be identified, and here we decided to allow the use of Steno's modern guitar and John Kirkpatrick's anglo concertina (the latter can be heard, for example, on song no.64, *A pattern of true love*).


The Lamenting Ladies last farewel to the WORLD.

Who being in a strange Exile bewales her own misery, complains upon Fortune and Destiny, describeth the manner of her breeding, deplores the loss of her parents wishing peace and happinesse to *England*, which was her native Country; and withall resolved for death, chearfully commendeth her soul to heaven, and her body to the earth and quietly departed this life *Anno* 1650.

To an excelent new Tune, *O hone, O hone.*

London, Printed for *Tho. Per*, at the signe of the Angell without Newgate,

Illus.2 The lamenting ladies last farewell to the world *(edition of 1655-82), Euing 183, with permission of University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections*

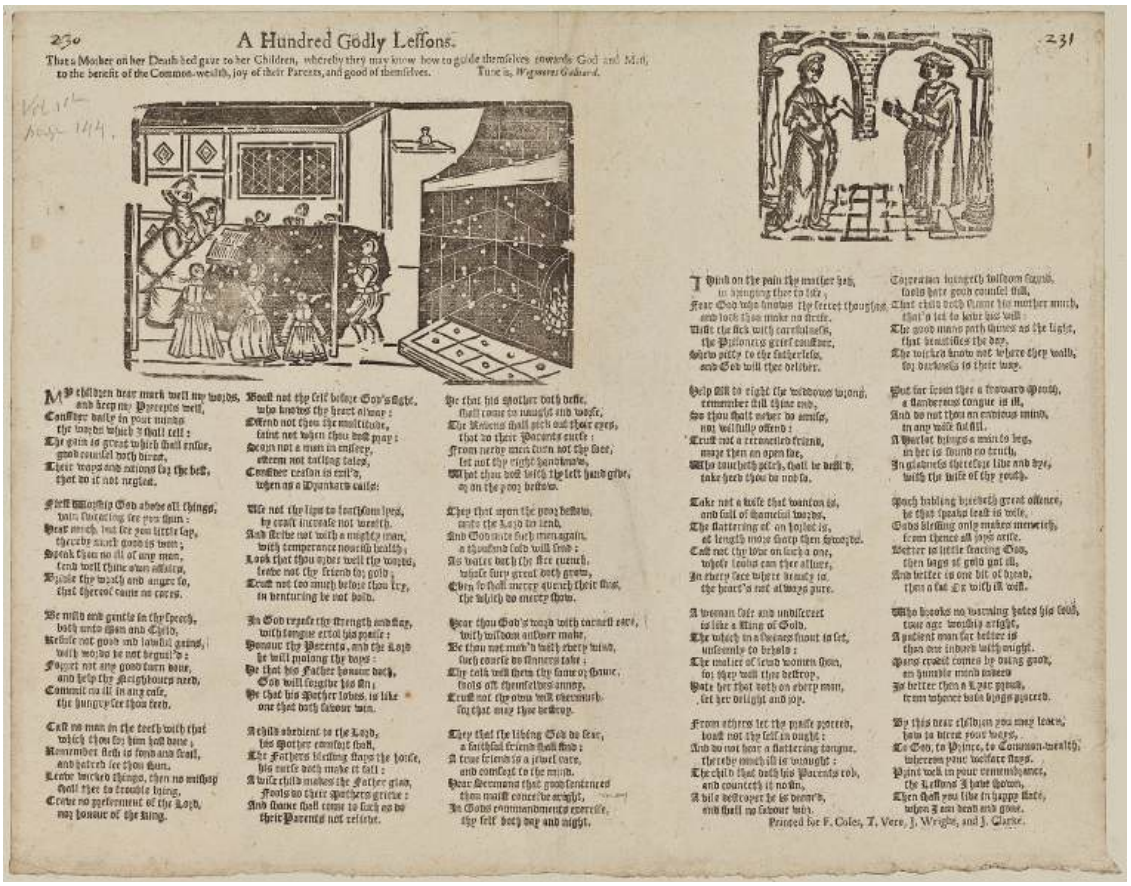
The extensive range of instruments was also a consequence of our decision to record the songs in a wide variety of styles, reflecting the fact that ballads were performed and heard on all levels of 17th-century society, from the royal court to the rural alehouse. In literature of the period, ballads are often associated strongly with the 'common' people, but they were nevertheless collected by privileged individuals such as Samuel Pepys (without the efforts of such collectors, there would hardly be any surviving ballads at all). The fact that some of the tunes are musically elaborate may also suggest that professional musicians

were more central to the performance and dissemination of ballads than has previously been realized (try no.87, *New Mad Tom of Bedlam*, for example). Most ballad-singing was clearly unaccompanied – and so, therefore, are several of our recordings – but there also references in early-modern sources to a range of instrumental accompaniments, and we have therefore sought to include a broad array of examples. Many feature only a single instrument – most frequently a fiddle or a cittern – but others draw on the musical abilities of a small band, playing together in support of the singers. And where harmony is added to a melody by instruments or by other voices, Andy attempted to ensure that his arrangements were informed by early-modern examples so that there was a clear point of contact between our performers and musicians of the past. He was well aware of the complexities of this task but took the common-sense view that even a potentially unstable link was better than none at all (our recording of song no.33, *The most rare and excellent History, Of the Dutchess of Suffolks calamity*, is an example of this approach).

Meanwhile, Angela and I were busy with the significant challenge of identifying hit songs in the complete absence of sales figures. To cut a long story short, we eventually devised a list of 120 songs, identified as highly successful on the basis of a range of indicators: the number of known editions and surviving copies; evidence to suggest multiple editions in short periods of time; registration with the Stationers' Company in London; inclusion on lists of particularly valuable songs sometimes compiled by the leading ballad publishers; the existence of specially-commissioned woodcut pictures (publishers normally used recycled pictures, investing in new and specific images only when songs had already proved successful); and evidence that individual songs generated new names for their tunes, many of which were – like the pictures – recycled from previous songs (we argue that melodies and images may have carried associations with them as they moved from song to song). There is necessarily a speculative element to much of this but the different indicators frequently reinforce one another by identifying the same ballads. These songs cover a wide range of subjects, including love and relationships, historical heroes and anti-heroes, religion and politics, and many of the narratives are characterized by a taste for tragedy and heavyweight morality. There *are* one or two bawdy ballads but they are drowned out by sad and sober songs such as *An hundred godly lessons, That a mother on her death-bed gave to her children* (illus.3).

As the process of recording began, the issues faced by the singers came to the fore. Some of the songs are extremely long: *An excellent ballad of George Barnwel an apprentice in London, who was undone by a strumpet* (no.54) tips the scales at ninety-eight verses. We therefore had to decide whether to perform whole songs or edited highlights (17th-century singers faced the same dilemma but we know very little about the solutions they devised). Here, we established full renditions as our norm, though in a few cases we were forced to omit certain verses because of the extremely long time needed to record everything. Interestingly, those singers and players who were involved at all stages of the project tended to settle into the challenge of performing whole songs more and more comfortably as time passed, as if they were re-setting their own norms in response to their deepening experience. Long after the final recordings were completed, I learned that some of the folk singers had struggled with the task of singing the words exactly as they appeared on the

original ballad sheets, being more used to modifying lyrics in order to ensure a comfortable fit with the tunes. If I had my time again, I think we might have experimented with greater flexibility here.

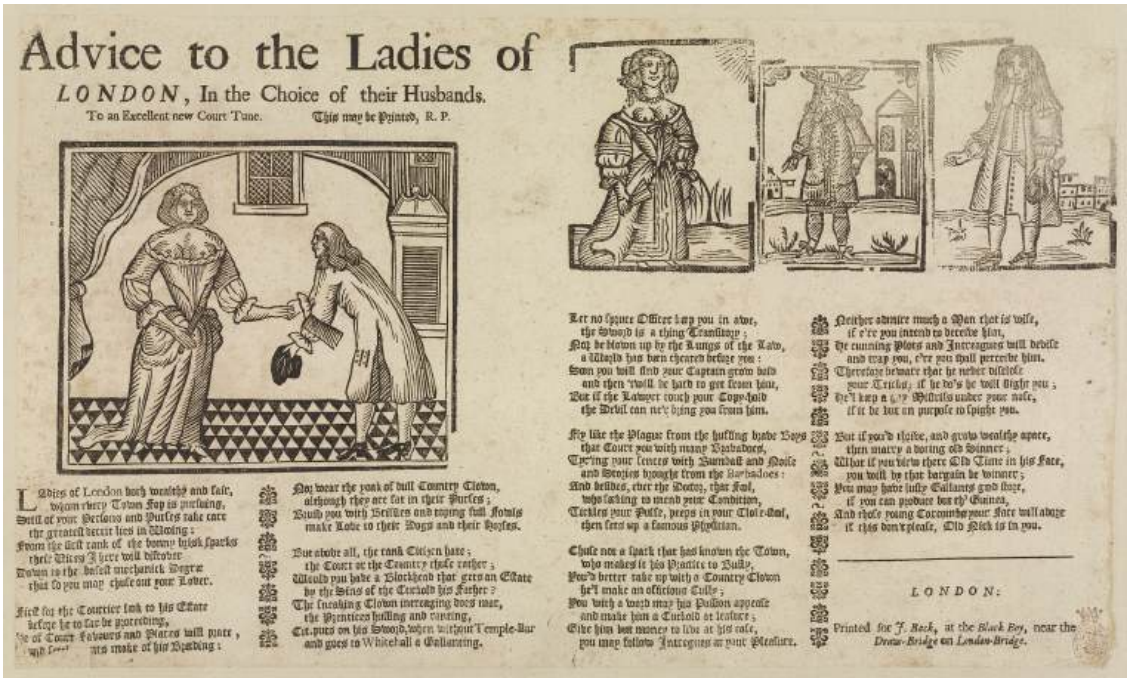


Illus.3 An hundred godly lessons *(edition of 1674-79), Euing 143, with permission of University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections*

In other respects, we encouraged singers to develop their own approaches to the ballads, based on their personal interactions with the melodies and the texts. The resultant recordings cover a wide range, including some fairly theatrical performances but many more that were relatively 'straight', in the manner often associated with folk singing (contrast number 15 about Titus Andronicus with number 35 about Dr. Faustus). Lucie Skeaping made a number of interesting recordings, developing a style that combined singing and speech as she sought – very successfully, in my view - to bring the songs to life (try no.66, *Advice to the ladies of London, in the choice of their husbands*, for example (illus.4)).

Along the way, we also staged a series of concerts – featuring the Carnival Band and the singer Vivien Ellis – and these were immensely useful in confirming that these songs, though potentially off-putting to modern audiences in certain respects, can actually work very effectively in performance, provided that some basic contextual information is delivered in advance. For concert performance, the long ballads were extensively edited, though at some stage I would welcome the opportunity to observe a modern audience

engaging with the 98 verses of the ballad about George Barnwel and the deceiving strumpet!


Advice to the Ladies of
LONDON, In the Choice of their Husbands.
To an Excellent new Court Tune. This may be Printed, R. P.
LONDON:
Printed for J. Back, at the Black Boy, near the Draw-Bridge on London-Bridge.

Illus.4 Advice to the ladies of London *(edition of 1685-88), Crawford 743, with permission of the National Library of Scotland Early Printed Collections*

The website has been live for several months and the media coverage and user feedback received so far have been extremely positive (the project was even discussed in the *Daily Mail* and in *Euro News*). So far, vehement criticism has appeared only on Facebook's infamous folk-song page, 'The Ballad Tree'. Such criticism is generally aimed at the songs themselves, rather than at the academics or the musicians – though there was also one exchange about whether my employment by a university qualified me in any way to talk about folk-songs. Most of the Ballad Tree quarrels pit a small group of aggressive and critical correspondents against a much larger group of more moderate spirits. In response to the website, members of the former group argue that printed broadsides and authentic folk-songs are entirely different categories that have nothing whatsoever to do with one another (print is associated with contamination and corruption).

They suggested, further, that 17th-century ballads were written by highly educated authors and were not actually designed for singing, despite the nomination of tunes on most sheets. They insist that the songs are actually 'unsingable' and were only ever used for the decoration of walls. One correspondent argued that there were no violins in 17th-century England and that using them to accompany ballads is therefore a gross anachronism. Of course, this is all demonstrably misguided, as has been strenuously pointed out by other followers of the page. Counter-arguments are also made on the website. For example, the 'song histories' that appear on each page reveal the intimate inter-twining of printed ballads and folksong, and several of the featured publications are the earliest known source

for songs that were collected, centuries later, by Cecil Sharpe and many others (see, for example, no.13, *The rarest ballad that ever was seen, Of the blind beggers daughter of Bednall-green*, which became the folksong known as 'The babes in the wood').

More broadly, a suspicion lingers in my mind that many of the 'hit' songs of the 17th century may prove too long, slow and miserable for modern internet users, whose attention spans are notoriously compromised. Some are undaunted – gratifyingly, one user commented 'oh these are dour and fantastic!!' – but others may find the songs harder to swallow than hilarious kittens. On the website, we argue that broadside ballads of the early-modern period were the originators of contemporary pop music but we have to admit that very few of them come in at under four minutes in duration! It helps that there is a facility on the website to play the songs verse by verse, so that nobody has to listen to entire performances - unless they wish to. No matter how the reception of the website unfolds in the years ahead, it will at least be difficult in the future for scholars and musicians to sustain the argument that early modern balladry was by definition light and lewd. Over 3000 people die in our 120 songs; balladry, to judge by its most successful examples, was sober music for serious people!

Christopher Marsh is Professor of History at Queen's University, Belfast in 1992. He is a social and cultural historian of early modern England and has published work on religion, social relations, gender and music, including Music and society in early modern England *(Cambridge University Press, 2010).*

A Matter of Perspective: Taking a Distant View of Music History

Andrew Gustar

Introduction

Investigations into the history of music usually comprise a close examination of individual composers, works, instruments, events, or publications. Musicologists are skilled at unearthing and interrogating a diverse range of sources, analyzing and interpreting the evidence, and collectively building a rich and complex historical narrative. Often overlooked, however, is an alternative methodology which can complement these qualitative studies, and reveal trends and patterns that would otherwise remain invisible. In this article I argue for a quantitative approach which, rather than examining individual entities under the microscope, takes a bird's eye view of whole populations.[1]

Music history is unusually well endowed with population-based data. For centuries, individuals and institutions have collected, listed and catalogued composers, performers, works, concerts, instruments and other elements of the musical world. There are vast numbers of library and publishers' catalogues; biographical dictionaries; composers' complete editions; thematic catalogues; inventories of instruments; and collections of folksongs, hymns, chants, sonatas and other genres. Since the early 20th century the list has expanded to include recording catalogues, record sales charts, and a huge number of other general and specialist lists, collections and databases available in print or online.

Early music is well represented in this universe of data. As well as many primary sources (such as biographical dictionaries,[2] library and publishers' catalogues[3] and repertoire-based publications[4]), there are a growing number of modern datasets focused on early music, covering topics such as printed music and manuscripts,[5] repertoire,[6] concerts[7] and instruments.[8] 'Early music', defined by date, is also covered in many more general sources.

Most of these sources are designed for consulting information about individual items. Quantitative analysis, however, requires data from many or all records in a dataset, the extraction of which is not always straightforward. Handling such data requires some different considerations and techniques from those appropriate to qualitative research, although there are many similarities, in particular the importance of a critical approach to the sources and their interpretation.

At its simplest level, quantitative analysis can indicate the size of populations (such as the number of composers) and the proportions with different characteristics (nationality, period, gender etc). This can be extended to explore geographical distributions, trends and changes over time, or the existence and development of clusters, connections and networks (teacher-pupil relationships, for example). Datasets can be compared to assess their accuracy, representativeness and bias. Snapshots of populations at different times can shed light on the dynamics of survival (of manuscripts or instruments) or of dissemination and reception history.

There are risks in constructing a broad historical narrative by piecing together conclusions from qualitative research. Such studies are, in aggregate, unrepresentative of the broader musical world in that they generally focus on the big names and ignore the many individuals or works about

which little is known. Quantitative techniques can provide hard data to support, refine, or refute hypotheses suggested by qualitative studies. They also give a voice to the multitudes of obscure composers and works which would otherwise remain unknown and ignored.

The Population of Early Keyboard Instruments

As a demonstration, I consider the Boalch-Mould Online (BMO) dataset of early keyboard instruments.[9] I am no expert on keyboard instruments, and apologize for any errors or misunderstandings in what follows: the objective is simply to illustrate some aspects of a statistical approach to studying this sort of data.

The dataset is a snapshot of a subset of a population. The snapshot is based on Boalch and Mould's original published survey, updated by subsequent research (anybody can contribute information to the current database). I will return later to consider the nature of the subset of the population of keyboard instruments represented in BMO.

Gathering and cleaning the data

Depending on the nature of the source, collecting the data can often be complex and laborious. BMO is relatively straightforward, with a couple of tables that can simply be copied from the website and pasted into a spreadsheet. The first table is a list of instruments (including a reference number, year, type of instrument, maker, present location and compass), and the second table lists makers and their locations. Every instrument also has its own page with further details, which I have not attempted to gather for this exercise, although it would be possible to do so.[10] This would certainly be desirable in a more thorough investigation, in order to take proper account of any unusual characteristics of particular instruments, such as major structural changes or doubts regarding authenticity.

The next step, also usually a lengthy process, is to clean and tidy the data into a useable form. This procedure often highlights problems such as missing information, duplicate records or inconsistent formatting. Tidying, in this case, included:

- use the makers table to give a place of manufacture for each instrument
- splitting the instrument type into a major type ('harpsichord', 'clavichord', etc), and a sub-type ('2M', 'fretted', etc)
- splitting the compass into upper and lower values, and expressing each as a numeric value[11]
- filling in missing or uncertain dates, by taking the mid-point of ranges, or a typical year based on instruments by the same maker.

Such tidying might introduce approximations (such as estimated dates), and ignore some information (such as taking the lowest pitch irrespective of whether it is part of a short octave). Judgements need to be made, such as what to do if a maker worked in two or more centres. If done in a neutral way, this process can improve the statistical weight of a dataset, although care needs to be taken when drawing conclusions.

It is often desirable to augment the data with information from other sources. For example, I assigned latitude and longitude coordinates so that makers' and owners' locations could be plotted on a map. There are online systems that will assist with this process, although it is important to check and manually correct, as far as possible, any missing or suspicious results.

Exploring the Data

The simplest exploration of any data is to count it. There are 2,374 distinct records in BMO. Of these, 1,329 instruments (56%) have complete information on date, maker, ownership, location and compass: the rest are missing at least one of these items.[12] A year (or estimated year) exists for over 97% of records, the maker is known for 95%, the current owner is recorded for 75%, and the compass for 75%.

More interesting is to count the data in different categories. Table 1, for example, shows the number of instruments by type and quarter-century of manufacture, showing how the Virginal gave way to the Harpsichord and Spinet, with the Clavichord living on after the other types had largely fallen out of fashion:

	Harpsichord	Clavichord	Spinet	Virginal	Other	Total
15C Q4	-	-	-	1	1	2
16C Q1	3	-	-	2	-	5
16C Q2	10	6	-	21	2	39
16C Q3	17	2	1	48	-	68
16C Q4	28	2	5	31	9	75
17C Q1	63	-	1	58	10	132
17C Q2	85	-	3	42	6	136
17C Q3	57	5	5	38	3	108
17C Q4	88	10	64	30	2	194
18C Q1	56	16	69	10	7	158
18C Q2	85	63	84	3	7	242
18C Q3	224	114	126	11	10	485
18C Q4	179	208	52	5	6	450
19C+	28	164	15	13	-	220
Unknown	*23*	*10*	*16*	*7*	*4*	*60*
Total	**946**	**600**	**441**	**320**	**67**	**2,374**

Table 1: Entries in BMO database by type and period

Whilst tables can be useful, trends and patterns are often clearer when presented graphically. It is also often more useful to show proportions rather than absolute numbers. Figure 1 shows countries' changing share of the harpsichord market between 1550 and 1800, with Italy's dominant position being temporarily supplanted by Flemish instruments during the early 17th century, followed by the development of French production from 1650, a brief boom in German manufacture at the turn of the 18th century, followed by British dominance by the end of the period.[13] Undated instruments have been ignored. Although the number of instruments in BMO with missing dates is quite small, this has the potential to distort the apparent trend if, for example, the chance of dates being missing varies significantly by age or country.

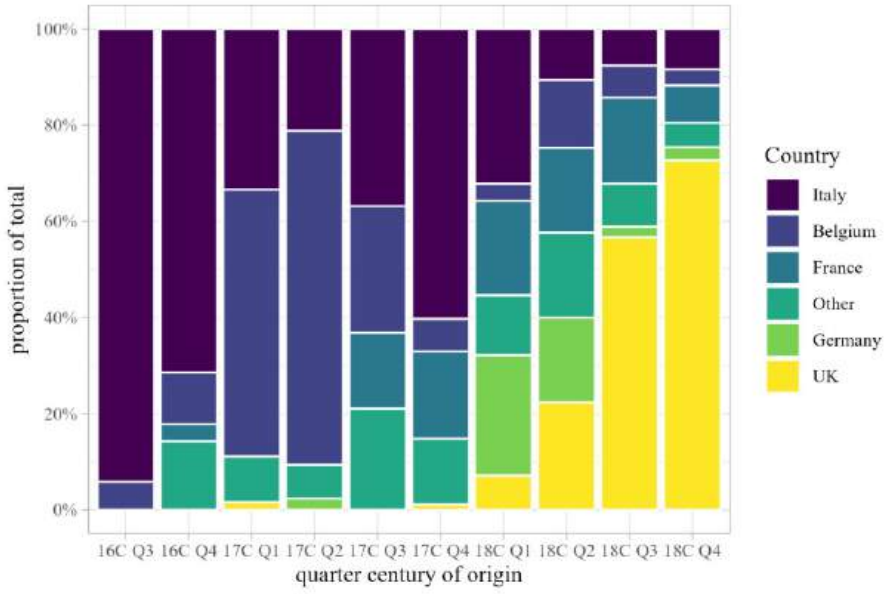


Figure 1 Harpsichords in BMO by country and quarter century of manufacture

The same data can be illustrated with maps, such as the series in Figure 2, showing the relative harpsichord production of different locations over the half-centuries from 1500 to 1800.

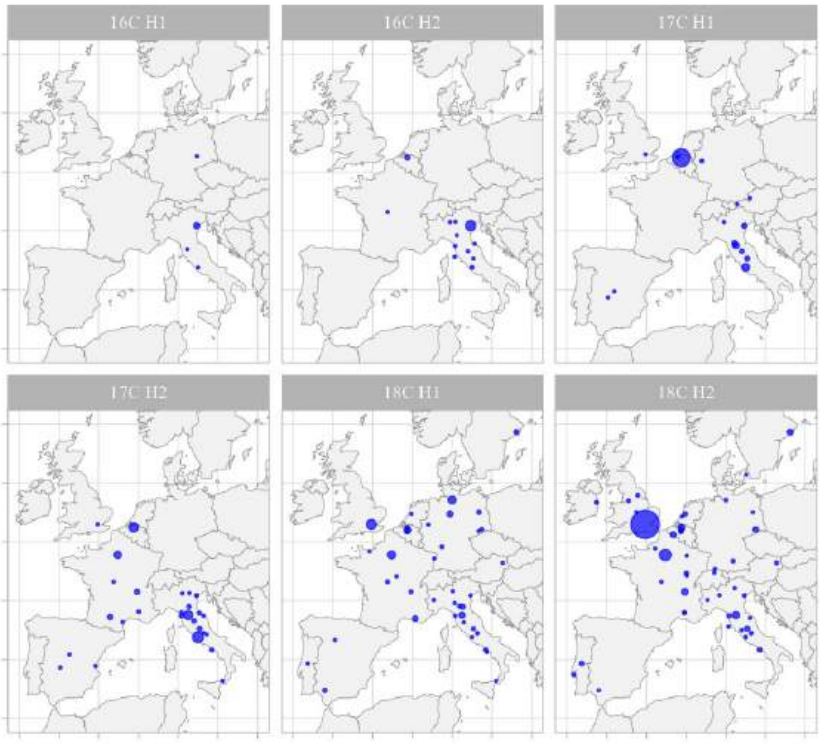


Figure 2 Origins of harpsichords in BMO by half-century of manufacture

About 60% of makers listed in BMO only have one instrument to their name, whereas a handful of families of makers are credited with 50 or more surviving instruments. Figure 3 shows the proportion of maker families against the number of instruments they produced on a *log-log* plot, where both axes increase multiplicatively rather than additively. The points fall roughly on a downward sloping straight line, indicating that makers' productivity follows a 'power law'

distribution, which is a typical consequence of market forces based on fashion and herd behaviour. The implication is that people bought Kirkman or Ruckers instruments largely because other people did so.[14]

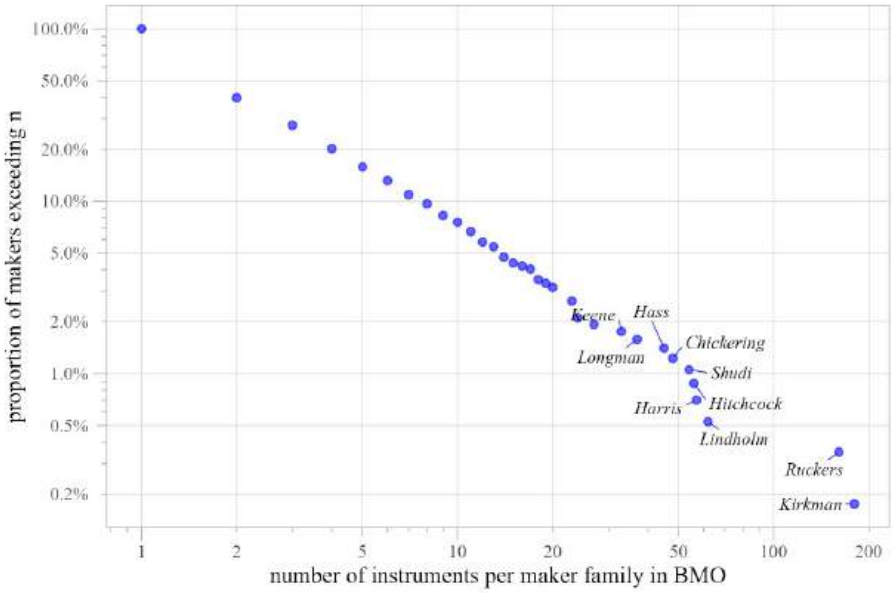


Figure 3 Number of instruments in BMO by maker family (note logarithmic scales)

Figure 4 shows the lowest notes of harpsichords from the five main manufacturing countries. In Italy, C (i.e. two octaves below middle C) has always been most common, with a handful of early examples of GG and, later, FF. 17th century Flemish harpsichords were evenly spread between C, FF and GG (interestingly, the Italians focused entirely on C harpsichords while the Flemish were at their peak). From 1680 onwards the French, Germans, and then the British largely ignored C, with FF becoming the standard. The British later even experimented with CC, although this did not catch on. Note that rebuilds (as in the 18th-century French *ravalement*, where compasses were expanded but the original maker date retained), need to be checked when assessing this data.

According to BMO, 22% of recorded harpsichords are currently in the US, followed by 21% in the UK and 15% in Germany. However, BMO is an English language source, with British and American editors, and (as is often the case) there might well be some over-representation in favour of the 'home' language or countries. It can be instructive to compare other sources - ideally from other countries or in different languages - to ascertain the nature of such bias, although in practice the available options are often limited.

Another database of early keyboard instruments is at early-keyboard.com (EK), the website of Tony Chinnery, a British instrument maker based in Tuscany, which lists 1,119 instruments.[15] The UK is home to 23% of the harpsichords listed in EK, with 19% in Germany, and just 18% in the US, suggesting a different regional bias compared with BMO.

Comparing sources also reveals something about the larger population of early keyboard instruments. If, say, only 80% of instruments in EK can be found in BMO, then, if we simplistically assume that these are random samples from the same population,[16] we can argue that BMO's 2,374 instruments only represent about 80% of the population, which would therefore be close to 3,000.

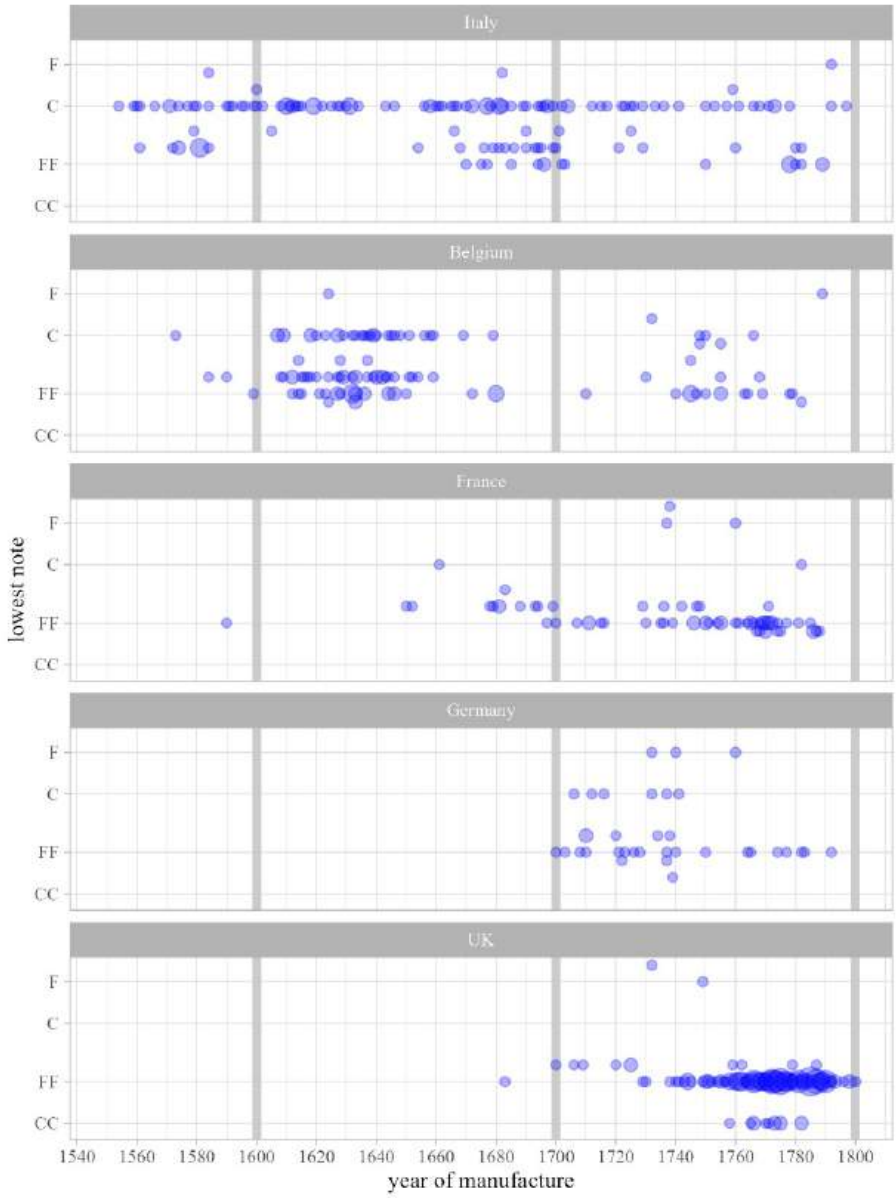


Figure 4 Lowest notes of harpsichords in BMO for main manufacturing countries, by date

Unfortunately, matching records between datasets can be particularly difficult and time-consuming, as sources contain varying information and present it differently. EK and BMO express instrument descriptions, locations, makers' names and owners in different ways, so each of these variables requires a separate exercise to compare the layout, formatting, language and any typographical errors between the two sources. This requires considerable manual intervention and can never be 100% accurate, especially with large datasets.

Having attempted to standardise and deduplicate the data on five key fields (type, year, maker, owner and location), I found that just 42% of instruments in EK matched an entry in BMO on all five fields, with another 37% matching four, and 16% matching three. Many four-field and some three-field matches are probably correct, since some information is missing from one or both datasets, so probably at least 80% of EK instruments can be found in BMO. There are definitely some entries in EK that are not in BMO, but between these and the five-field matches there are many question marks, some of which cannot be confirmed either way because of missing data.

Discussion

This brief analysis of BMO has aimed to demonstrate the power of a quantitative approach to the many datasets relevant to the history of music, and to illustrate some of the considerations and difficulties that arise. Although this example has covered early keyboard instruments, similar techniques could be used to study populations of composers, works, publications, concerts, or any topic for which data is available. Any dataset offers many potential avenues of investigation, and there are multiple analytical techniques that can be employed. There is no shortage of sources with which a dataset can be combined or compared, and there are limitless ways of presenting the results.

Like any research methodology, the success of this sort of analysis is dependent on the skill, experience and judgement of the researcher, and on the nature and quality of the data. The process is dependent upon, and revealing of, the biases inherent in the datasets. We have seen some indication that the contents of BMO may be skewed by its geographical and linguistic context, and similar biases are common across many such datasets. Other biases might result from aesthetic judgements (such as guides to recommended recordings), the availability of information (more is written about composers about whom most is already known), or differential survival rates (prestigious instruments in wealthy households were less likely to end up as firewood than basic ones from modest homes). It is also generally the case that the available data is skewed towards the regions where music has historically been most avidly collected, catalogued, studied and written about.

Quantitative techniques are perhaps most useful when employed alongside qualitative methods. They can identify and quantify patterns and trends, and are useful for testing hypotheses, but they rarely help resolve the *why* and *how* questions that are best approached qualitatively. Some historical musicologists, of course, will not be comfortable with using statistical techniques, nor with the technological wrangling that is sometimes involved in extracting useable data from complex sources. Help should not be far away, however: plenty of statisticians and computer scientists will be interested in music almost as much as they are excited by the prospect of new sources of data to play with!

Although the focused spotlight will remain an essential component of the historical musicologist's toolbox, hopefully I have demonstrated that things can sometimes be seen more clearly from a high vantage point with a powerful floodlight.

Andrew Gustar's first degree was in mathematics, and he is now a Visiting Fellow with the Open University, having been awarded a PhD for his thesis, Statistics in Historical Musicology. *His website www.musichistorystats.com contains further discussion and examples of quantitative techniques in music history.*

Notes

[1] The title of this article is inspired by Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London, 2013), who argues for a quantitative and computational approach to the study of literature, in contrast to traditional 'close reading'.

[2] Early biographical dictionaries include Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-pforte, woran der tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler &c. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste &c. erscheinen sollen* (Berlin, 1910 [1740]) and Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790). Even sources such as Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (New York and London, 1935 [1789]) have useful indexes of names that can be analysed.

[3] Such as the Portuguese Royal Library catalogue: Paulo Craesbeeck, *Primeira parte do index da livraria de musica do muyto alto* (Lisbon, 1649; Breitkopf & Co., 1762–65). *Catalogo delle sinfonie, partite, overture, soli, duetti, trii, quattri e concerti per il violin, flauto traverse, cembalo ed altri stromenti, che si trovano in manuscritto nella Officina musica di Giovanni Gottlob Breitkopf in Lipsia* (Leipzig, 1762-65).

[4] One such is Leone Allacci, *Drammaturgia* (Venice, 1755). There are also early thematic catalogues such as William Barton, *The Book of Psalms in metre* (London, 1644).

[5] Examples include the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, DIAMM (https://www.diamm.ac.uk/), or Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, RISM (https://rism.info/). Also of interest are lists of lists, such as Robert Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrunderts* (Berlin, 1877).

[6] Composer complete editions would fall into this category. Other repertoire-based datasets include the Motet Cycles Database (http://motetcycles.ch/); Cantus (https://cantusdatabase.org/); and Gareth Curtis and Andrew Wathey, 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xxvii (1994), pp.1-69.

[7] Examples include Michael Tilmouth, 'Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, i (1961) and ii (1962); and Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800* (1994) (https://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/10342/).

[8] As well as the catalogues of museums and collections, there are more general surveys such as Donald Boalch, rev Charles Mould, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London, 3/1995) or Frederick Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types* (Iowa City, 1972).

[9] BMO (https://www.boalch.org) is the online successor to Boalch and Mould (1995).

[10] The makers and instruments tables can be accessed from the website's 'Reference' menu. A better table of all instruments (including the compass information) can be obtained by using the 'Search' facility to search for the letter 'a' (or any other common character) across all fields.

[11] I used the standard MIDI pitch codes, expressed in semitones starting at CCCC = 0 (so middle C is 60).

[12] Two records (BMO numbers 267 and 1931) are completely blank. On closer inspection, the first is marked as a duplicate, and the other has a note saying that the 'Tannenberg harpsichord' does not exist. Another (2400) may be a dummy entry, as the maker is given as 'testmaker'.

[13] The chart legend attributes Flemish harpsichords to 'Belgium', a country which did not exist until the 19th century. The historical volatility of European borders means that it is often convenient to use modern countries for consistency.

[14] I discuss power laws in music history at more length in Andrew Gustar, 'Fame, Obscurity and Power Laws in Music History', *Empirical Musicology Review*, xiv/3-4 (2020), pp.186–215.

[15] See https://www.early-keyboard.com/archive/results.php.

[16] In practice, we cannot assume that EK and BMO are *independent* samples, as one may draw on the other, and both will have used many of the same original sources, such as museum catalogues.

William Byrd: A Selective Quatercentenary Bibliography

Richard Turbet

This checklist of writings about William Byrd (1539/40-1623) brings my series of Byrd Bibliographies up to 2023, the year which marks the quatercentenary of his passing. Unlike its predecessors it does not aim to be comprehensive. So much was written about Byrd and so much of that was published electronically that it has proved impracticable to trace and evaluate every item. While the current list, alphabetical by author, prioritizes material of academic and scholarly provenance which it is felt will be of use and interest to future researchers and enthusiasts, it also includes some articles which originate from outside academe or the broader world of music, and offer views of the composer from quite different viewpoints. A majority of the items listed have been published as 'hard copy', aka paper, while nearly all are accessible electronically.

The usual criteria for inclusion still apply: that the item should carry his name, or something unique to him, in its title, or be entirely devoted to him, or uniquely carry some new information or discovery about him. Numbering remains consistent with previous bibliographies, q.v. Brief notes are added when appropriate. Also included, and asterisked, are a few articles from before 2023 which have emerged since the previous *Byrd Bibliography*, plus a couple from 2024 which offer significant new perspectives on Byrd, written by authors who were particularly active during the Quatercentenary. A list of the complete sequence of these Bibliographies is appended; like the books, they include information about developments in Byrd scholarship such as the publications of significant new editions of his works, plus other miscellanea.

2023Ak Arten, Samantha. "'A knowledge easely taught, and quickly learned': learning to sing in Byrd's England". *Early music* 51 (2023): 495-505.

2023AUw Austern, Linda Phyllis. "'Well sorted and ordered': sociable music-making and gentlemen's recreation in the era of Byrd and Weelkes". *Early music* 51 (2023): 551-67.

2023Bw Bank, Katie. "William Byrd's *Come, woeful Orpheus* in context: motion as visual and musical affect". *Early music* 51 (2023): 517-33.

2023BAb Bassler, Samantha, Butler, Katherine and Bank, Katie, eds. *Byrd studies in the twenty-first century. Studies in British musical cultures*. Clemson: Clemson University Press, 2023.

2023BAi Bassler, Samantha, Butler, Katherine and Bank, Katie. "Introduction: Byrd studies, past and present", in 2023BAb, pp.1-15.

2023BRw Bredin, Henrietta. "To sing like a Byrd". *Country life* (1 March 2023): 118-20.
Note: From the article: "William Byrd not only survived a perilous period of history as a church composer, but his music is still regularly sung today, 400 years after his death ..."

2023BREv Breen, Edward. "Voices, strings & centuries united: for the 400th anniversary of both Byrd and Weelkes, The King's Singers and Fretwork join forces to reflect the contrasts, and parallels, between the two composers". *Gramophone* 100 (January 2023): 26-30.

2023BRYo Bryan, John. "One hundred years of Byrd's consort music: a performer's perspective", in 2023BAb, pp.135-50.

2023BUc Burton, Sean Michael. "Concerning the choral music of William Byrd: an interview with Peter Phillips of The Tallis Scholars". *Choral journal* 63 (June-July 2023): 18-22.

2024Bj Butler, Katherine. "Jestbooks and drinking songs: William Byrd and popular culture". *Early music performance & research* 53 (2024): 25-32.
Note: Features the catch *Come drink to me*, first attributed to Byrd in 1652. Notes Byrd's appearances in contemporary popular culture, not at all the sobersides of modern musicology.

2023BUTs Butler, Katherine. " 'Since singing is so good a thing': William Byrd on the benefits of singing". *The historian* 158 (2023): 6-10.

2023Cw Chapman, Juliana and Harris, Sharon J. "William Byrd as literary innovator", in 2023BAb, pp.31-44.

2023Gr Grapes, K. Dawn. "Reviving Byrd: the 1923 Tercentenary", in 2023BAb, pp.171-88.

2023Lw Lees, John. "William Byrd (c. 1540-1623): voices, choirs, and faith". *Organists' review* (September 2023): 8-14.

2023LOh Long, Megan Kaes. "Hexachordal solmization and syllable-invariant counterpoint in the vocal music of William Byrd". *Music theory spectrum* 45 (2023): 284-308.

2022Lr Long, Megan Kaes. "Reassessing the plagal cadence in Byrd and Morley". *Music theory online* (September 2022): 28.3.5. *

2023LOw Long, Megan Kaes. "William Byrd's pitch structure: toward a reconciliation of mode and key perspectives", in 2023BAb, pp.101-16.

2023Mw Martin, Anne. *Williiam Byrd, consort music*. Mytholmroyd: Peacock, 2023.

2023MCb McCarthy, Kerry. "Byrd in the age of exploration and exile", in 2023BAb, pp.19-29.

2023MCm McCarthy, Kerry. " 'Mr Byrde affirmes it to be truth': reflections on a 400th anniversary." *Music and musical performance* 4 (2023): article 6, pp.1-4.

B McCarthy, Kerry and Williamson, Magnus. "Notes on the Petre Gradual", in *Manuscripts, materiality, and mobility: essays on late medieval music in memory of Peter Wright*, edited by James Cook, Grantley McDonald and Adam Whittaker. Studi e saggi, 60. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2024, pp.81-108.

Note: See in particular page 83 and "Phase V: Post-Reformation afterlife", pp.93-99, regarding Byrd and his motets *Deus venerunt gentes* and *Ad Dominum cum tribularer*, especially the Secunda Pars of the latter, which begins "Heu mihi", plus a possible origin story for his *Gradualia*.

2023MCs McCarthy, Kerry. "Servants of the Church and State: Byrd and Weelkes ...", in British Broadcasting Corporation, *BBC Proms festival guide 2023* (London: BBC Proms Publications, 2023): pp.96-99.

2023MCw McCarthy, Kerry and Harley, John. "William Byrd's library revisited". *Musical times* 164 (Winter 2023): 107-15.

2023Pb Patton, Oscar. "Byrd 400 Festival". *Early music* 51 (2023): 639-40.
Note: Lincoln Cathedral, 30 June–4 July 2023.

2022Pw Porter, Wendy J. "William Byrd's Credos", in *Early English composers and the Credo: emphasis and interpretation in sixteenth-century music*. Routledge research in music. New York: Routledge, 2022, pp.199-236. *
Note: See also 2018Gi.

2023Rt Rees, Owen. ""'That worishh, that devillishe, and faithlesse song": Byrd's *Salve regina* in context", in 2023BAb, pp.81-98.

2023ROj Rodgers, Mark. "Joseph Kerman, the "Catholic" interpretation of Byrd, and the new musicology", in 2023BAb, pp.205-18.

2023ROSh Rosenholtz-Witt, Jason. "The hidden politics of the emblem: William Byrd, Elizabeth I, and Cupid", in 2023BAb, pp.65-79.

2023Sb Sargent, Joseph. "Byrd orchestrated: symphonic adaptations and an evolving reception history", in 2023BAb, pp.189-203.

2023SEw Seibert, Peter. "William Byrd (c. 1540-1623): Brittanicae musicae parens". *American recorder* 64 (Spring 2023): 10-18.

2023SIw Siso, Alexandra. "William Byrd and the Elizabethan tabernacle", in 2023BAb, pp.47-64.

2023SMl Smith, Andrew. *The life and times of William Byrd: a local history*. Blackmore: Smith, 2023.
Note: From the book: "Written and presented at Stondon Massey Church by Andrew Smith to mark the 400th anniversary of the death of the Elizabethan composer and musician." Expanded version of talk delivered 30 June 2023.

2008Sw Smith, Andrew.
Note continues: 4th ed., 2012. 5th ed., 2023.

2023SMIb Smith, David J. "Between text and act: fresh perspectives on the significance of single- and double-stroke ornaments in William Byrd's keyboard music", in 2023BAb, pp.151-67.

2023SMITt Smith, Jeremy L. *Tallis and Byrd's Cantiones sacrae (1575): a sacred argument*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2023.

2023STw Stewart, Andrew. "William Byrd". *BBC music magazine* 31 (June 2023): 60-63.
Note: "Composer of the month". Previews Byrd as "Composer of the Week", BBC Radio 3, 3-7 July 2023; repeated 26-30 August 2024.

2020Sc Sullivan, Roseanne T. "Christmas music of William Byrd, paradoxical Catholic court composer for Protestant Elizabeth I". *Sacred music* 147 (Winter 2020): 53-58. *

2023Tg Tavener, Rebecca. "The great survivor". *Choir & organ* 31 (June 2023): 21-24.
Note: From the article: "Despite living at a time of great religious and political instability, William Byrd was astute enough to keep his head (literally). The beauty of his liturgical music has meant that it too has survived over the 400 years since his death."
Reprinted in *Cathedral music* (Autumn 2023): 42-45.

2023TUa Turbet, Richard. "Afterword: Byrd studies from the twentieth to the twenty-first century", in 2023BAb, pp.218-26.

1999Vb Van Tassel, Eric. "Byrd's 3 Masses". *Early music America* 5 (Fall 1999): 37-41. *

2023Ws Wickham, Edward. "Sing we merrily: four centuries after the deaths of William Byrd and Thomas Weelkes, Edward Wickham examines their legacies". *Church times* 8378 (18 October 2023): 24.

2023WIb Williamson, Magnus. "Byrd's apprentice works: *Sacris solemniis* reconstructed and rehabilitated", in 2023BAb, pp.117-31.
Note: Confirms Byrd as the composer of *Sacris solemniis* and the five-part setting of R*eges Tharsis*, both of which are ascribed to him in their unique source but disputed or rejected by earlier musicologists. Also establishes John Sheppard as a significant influence on the "apprentice" Byrd.

Previous Byrd Bibliographies by Richard Turbet

William Byrd: a guide to research. Garland composer resource manuals, 7. Garland reference library of the humanities, 759. New York: Garland, 1987.

William Byrd: a guide to research. 2nd ed. Routledge music bibliographies. New York: Routledge, 2006; paperback reissue, London: Routledge, 2016.

William Byrd: a research and information guide. 3rd ed. Routledge music bibliographies. New York: Routledge, 2012. Awarded the C.B. Oldman Prize, 2013; presented 2014. See also 2013Mb.

"Byrd bibliography, 2012-2018". *National Early Music Association newsletter* 3 (Spring 2019): 24-37.

"Byrd bibliography 2019-2020". *National Early Music Association newsletter* 5 (Spring 2021): 20-29.

"Byrd bibliography, 2020-2021". *National Early Music Association newsletter* 7 (Spring 2023): 18-20.

William Byrd Anniversary Concerts in 2022 and 2023

The William Byrd Anniversary (quondam Memorial) Concert is given annually by The Stondon Singers (see below), usually in the Church of St Peter and St Paul, Stondon Massey, Essex, in the churchyard of which Byrd asked in his will to be buried. On 5 July 2022, conducted for the final time by Christopher Tinker, they included the following works by Byrd – *Victimae paschali*, *Ne irascaris*, *Ecce quam bonum* and (amended from the previous Bibliography) *This sweet and merry month* a6 – and on 4 July 2023 conducted by Hilary Punnett in Blackmore Priory they included *Vigilate*, *In winter cold/Whereat an ant*, *Tristitia et anxietas*, *Sing joyfully*, *Miserere mei* and *Haec dies* a6.

This brings up to date the list of all the Byrd Memorial or Anniversary Concerts, with a note of all the works by Byrd which were performed in each one, since they began in 1968 until his Quatercentenary; it includes the two concerts in 2020 and 2021 gallantly and determinedly (not to say legally) performed outdoors during the Covid pandemic. The list begins on p.315 of my first guide to Byrd research, 1987 (see above), and is updated in each Byrd Bibliography except Spring 2019. The list began in the days of pen, pencil, paper and print. Nowadays the contents of the William Byrd Anniversary Concert can be accessed electronically on the website of The Stondon Singers, among all their other 'Recent Concerts'.

Further on 'The Battle': A Discographical Finale

On the final page of the previous Byrd Bibliography (2023) I appended a postscript about commercial recordings of this sometimes-contentious piece, particularly regarding the three spurious additions from later manuscript sources which had never been commercially recorded in their entirety. This narrative now has a satisfactory conclusion. It turns out that as long ago as 1986 the French label Pierre Verany released a recording (currently still available as a download) which luxuriantly contains all three of the spurious additional pieces including both versions of *The soldiers' delight* aka *Ye souldiers dance*, besides *The burying of the dead* never before commercially recorded on a keyboard instrument, plus *The morris* (PV 786094), played on a Ruckers harpsichord of 1628 by Jean-Patrice Brosse.

An early 17th-century fragment of the work has recently been found in a 17th-centyury binding in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge.

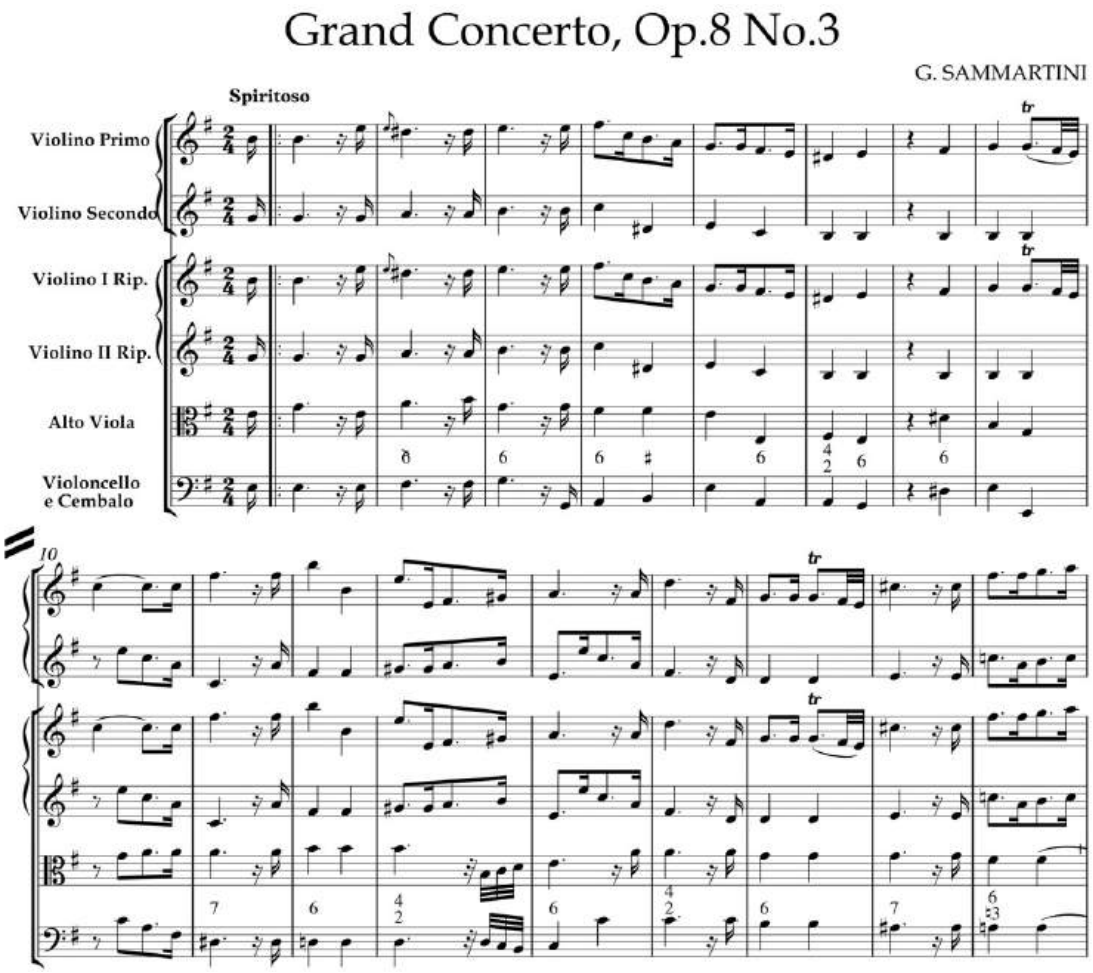
Final note

I refer occasionally to what I call Byrd's 'nadir', 1695-1841, when he was scarcely known and his music was appreciated by only a discriminating few. So I am grateful to my equally retired colleague and fellow bibliographer Iain Beavan for directing me to an albeit minimal reference to the composer in an article titled "The longevity of musicians" by E. D. of Norwich, in *The monthly mirror* (January, 1806): 20-21, stating "Bird, the scholar of

Tallis, died at the age of 80". Thankfully, in the case of the music of William Byrd, "what goes around comes around" – eventually.

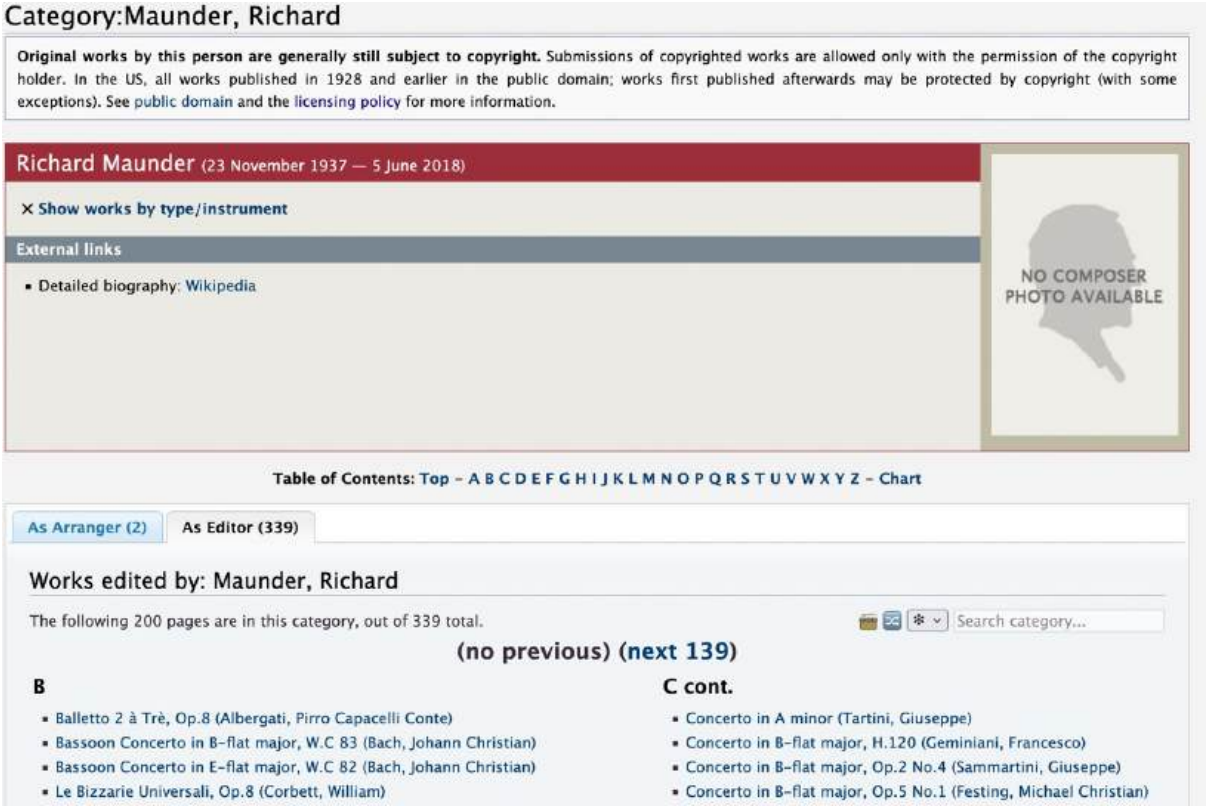
Richard Maunder Score Archive Digitised

Benjamin Knight



During his lifetime, Richard Maunder produced typeset editions of hundreds of works, mostly from the Baroque period, many of which are now available digitally on IMSLP (https://imslp.org). This includes numerous works for which no pdf edition was previously available on IMSLP or elsewhere, such as that pictured above.

Richard Maunder (1937-2018) was a Fellow of Mathematics at Christ's College, Cambridge for many years; however, he wrote extensively in musicology, as early as his undergraduate years, as one of his former students, Frank Kelly, noted in his obituary for the *Christ's College Magazine*. His musicological writings, as well as his musicological correspondence, are full of well-typeset excerpts; however, these are only the tip of the iceberg, with his collection including many works that were prepared for performance, for research or simply for his own use. Most of the typesettings reflect his own editorial adjustments; however, some seek to reflect original manuscripts.



Maunder was best known within musicology for his model of the early instrumental ensemble as only having one player per voice, which is reflected in his labelling conventions for parts. This was partially lost in the upload to IMSLP, reflecting the dominance of the contemporary many-players-to-a-part version of an ensemble. The original labellings remain visible in most file names and within the files; however, the files will have to be downloaded through links labelled with the plural part names. Some particularly short excerpts have been omitted from the upload, as have certain editorial versions where the only difference from the manuscript version was spacing.

The edited repertoire is principally related to Maunder's books *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (2004) and *The Scoring of Early Classical Concertos, 1750-1780* (2014), and includes concertos by Albinoni, Aubert, J. C. Bach, Boismortier, Bonporti, Festing, Geminiani, Locatelli, Manfredini, Sammartini, Torelli and many others.

All the digitised scores and parts are available from Maunder's 'editor' page on IMSLP, and they are also made available for those seeking out particular works from the work pages. However, even this large collection of editions omits many of those that Maunder prepared.

The digitization for IMSLP was undertaken by the author, with data prepared by Simon Standage and Tom Standage from the original files, and the project was made possible by the generous encouragement and permission of the Maunder family, and with the financial support of Christ's College, Cambridge.

2023 Handel Conference Proceedings

Mark Windisch

Articles from the May 2023 Handel Conference entitled 'Politics in Opera' and held in Halle have now been printed in the Händel-Jährbuch *(2024), and are summarized here.*

Anne Dessler*, 'Monstrous Abominable Pleasures*: Climate Determinism, Anti-Popery and English Resistance to Early Eighteenth Century Italian Opera'

This article examines the attitude of people in England to the growing prevalence of Italian opera. While attitudes were by no means consistently critical of this trend, there were two streams of opposition trying to influence audiences: 'climate determinism' and 'anti-popery'. The author refers in the first of these to Greek medical literature quoting from the Hippocratic corpus which distinguishes between people of Northern cold climates being endowed with spirit but lacking intelligence, and those of warmer climates being intelligent and skillful but lacking in spirit. These ancient ideas continued well into the Medieval period and beyond. For example, William Congreve usef 'climate determinism' to defend his plays from criticism that they were dangerous and immoral. The theory was widely used but in many cases the writers positioned their own country as being in the middle ground, thus benefiting from the advantage of having both spirit and intelligence. However it was used to persuade potential audiences to beware of the malign influence of the supposed 'warm climate' characteristics

The second area of 'anti-popery' was perhaps more influential, given England's historic repugnance to what many saw as a dangerous threat to their established church. The author points out that non-Catholics in Italy suffered discrimination, especially regarding their banning from being buried in cemeteries. Italian opera and Italian performers were regarded with considerable suspicion, and Dennis and Addison are quoted as two writers who consistently published attacks on what they saw as a threat to English qualities.

Xavier Cervantes*, 'Null'altra Musica e qui gradita che la nostra? *Cultural Politics Anti-Catholic Anxiety and the Italian Operatic Community in London in the 1820s'

Xavier Cervantes takes a slightly different approach to the previous theme by enumerating the ways in which Italian opera being through-sung differs from the traditional English entertainment, which was basically a play with interspersed songs. There are some common themes such as the use of a foreign language (always invoking suspicion that what is being said or sung was seditious). The English had a feeling of innate superiority over countries like Italy and France, who appeared to them as being prey to despotic

government. Religious differences are again played up, partly fuelled by the closeness of some members of the Stuart court to their Catholic protectors, with the anxiety that this might lead to an attempt to put a Jacobite pretender on to the English throne. Jealousy by English musicians no doubt played a part in the undercurrents of criticism of the foreign musicians competing for work.

English literary figures like Steele and a great many anonymous writers propagated this line of thought, even finding a connection between the aria 'V'adori Pupille' from *Giulio Cesare* and the Catholic mass. Even the composer Giovanni Bononcini, at one time the darling of the opera-going public was brought down by xenophobic hysteria and had to return to Italy. The article goes into considerable detail of the 'Atterbury plot' after that Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester and a great supporter of Bononcini with links to many important pro-Jacobite members of the aristocracy. Even an important figure like Alexander Pope was implicated, although he was never to be directly harmed. The whole situation became enormously politicized when Robert Walpole became involved with his obsession with crushing any hopes of a Jacobite rebellion. In the end Bononcini seemed to gain a great deal of benefit through the support of his Catholic friends and English patrons through private performances of his music, although his music was thereafter rarely given public performances.

John H. Roberts, 'Skirmishing Before the Battle: The Scarlatti-Roseingrave* Narciso *of 1720'

It is recorded that Domenico Scarlatti resigned his position as *Maestro di Capella Guilia* (the Choir of St Peter's Basilica in Rome) ostensibly to go to England. Various theories had been proposed but the discovery of some records from Portugal sent back to Rome by the papal Nuncio revealed that in 1716 the Royal Chapel in Lisbon had been raised to the status of a Patriarchal Church. By 1719 nine Italian musicians had arrived in Lisbon and the King was anticipating Domenico Scarlatti's arrival. John Roberts dismisses the possibility that his departure from Rome would have caused some resentment amongst the Church authorities, but had rather to do with an uneasy relationship with his father Alessandro. The latter seems to have treated Domenico so badly that at the age of 31 Domenico had had a legal document drawn up compelling Alessandro to desist from interfering in Domenico's affairs.

In 1717 Alessandro moved to Rome from Naples to become chief composer at the Teatro Capranica. Domenico by this time had demonstrated his competence as a composer of dramatic works for Princess Maria Casimira Sobieski. However. Alessandro seemed to have favoured Francesco Gasparini - to his son's detriment - and the only commission that the son was able to get was a shared one with Nicola Antonio Porpora for *Berenice, regina d'Egitto*. With relations so bad between father and son the false information that Domenico was heading for England could well have been a ruse to put Domenico off the scent. According to Charles Burney, Thomas Roseingrave became a close friend and admirer of Domenico and did what he could to promote Domenico's music in England.

The remainder of Roberts' article is concerned with the details of the opera scene in London around 1714, and Roseingraves's role therein. By 1720 Roseingrave had begun to suffer mental problems and the Royal Academy had entered a new phase with Bononcini in charge, and a determination to curb Handel's dominance.

Graydon Beeks, 'Coriolano Transformed. Tthe Early History of Ariosti's First Royal Academy Opera'

Graydon Beeks traces the history of Attilio Ariosto from his first appearance in London in 1716 as a player of the viola d'amore between the acts of Handel's *Amadigi*. After an interruption, when he spent two years in France, possibly on diplomatic assignments, he returned to London. There he composed six operas, of which the first was *Cajo Marzio Coriolano*. Beeks has examined scores from the Jean Hargrove Music Library at the University of California, prints prepared by Richard Meares in May 1723, editions issued by John Walsh in *Favourite Songs in the Opera called Coriolanus* (without naming the composer), pointing out the most important differences. This forms a record of how works of this type and at this date evolved over time, and the difficulties on modern day musicologists in trying to construct an authoritative version for performance.

David Vickers, 'Sense and Significancy: Perceptions and images of Senesino in London 1720-1736'

Singer Francesco Bernardi (1686-1758), known professionally as Senesino, had a successful opera career taking him to Venice, Vicenza, Bologna, Genoa, Naples and Dresden before he arrived in London; David Vickers traces the career of this superstar during the 18th century. His career is well recorded by the likes of diarist John Evelyn, who was very taken with him. Bernardi seems to have led a most interesting life, including offending some of the great and good, and being very competitive with Farinelli as to payments for services.

Vickers outlines the highlights of his career, from house concerts for people like the Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Viscount Cobham, to concerts at Embassies, to a great many operatic roles. His status as a castrato aroused a great deal of interest from both sexes. He is shown, perhaps with some exaggeration, in illustrations, with one of the more famous ones showing him with Signora Faustino, and another by John Clark picturing him landing from a ship in London.

Dramatists wrote plays featuring him, especially his effect on ladies, including when he departed for his own country. Vickers records some hilarious 'outtakes' during his stage performances, where he seems to have been quite clumsy. Rolli attests to his charming personality and is complimentary about his knowledge of literature; certainly he was a powerful presence throughout his time in England

Michael Burden, 'Competing with Handel: Porpora's "Third Style" of composition in London'

Michael Burden refers to the fourth and final volume of Burney's *General History of Music* in describing the styles of divisions or diminutions of themes into shorter decorated notes: Burney considered this style to be over ornamented. The focus is on Nicola Porpora - teacher of Farinelli, Mingotti and Salembeni - at a time when Porpora was being set up in opposition to Handel, and the effect of having two competing companies meant that both suffered substantial losses in income.

Porpora hired Farinelli, who was a great hit: Burney waxed quite lyrical in describing Farinelli's vocal control. Burden describes the influence of a book entitled *The Lyric Muse*, based on a treatise by Count Alargotti, and another very influential publication, *Lettere familiari e critiche* by Vincenzio Martinelli. The latter had a background in jurisprudence but was also interested in scientific and artistic matters. The article outlines the performing principles which informed some of the best singers of the middle of the 18th century in London.

Carole Taylor, 'The World of Patronage in Handel's London, 1719-1742'

The article explores the importance of patronage to musicians who wanted to perform large stage works, which were very expensive to produce. Carole Taylor has examined the records of six of the most important subscribers to the Royal Academy of Music by looking at what clubs and societies they belonged to. The first point of interest was that of the only 4% of the aristocracy who did subscribe to these events, a significant number were Parliamentarians. The principal figures here were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Burlington, the Duke of Rutland, Lord Middlesex and Lord Lovel. Among the clubs and organisations to which they also subscribed were the KitCat Club, the Foundling Hospital, the Dilettanti Society and the Royal Society.

A contemporary comparison is made with present-day Parliamentarians, via Lady Genista McIntosh of Hudnall, and the Parliamentary debate in the House of Lords in 2022 about decreased state funding for cultural organizations by the Arts Council. Further research on the number of occurrences between 2020 and 2023 that opera was discussed in Parliamentary debates, showing 'finance' had the most hits at 33, with English National Opera a close second at 32.

Yiyun Kiu, '"Ancient Music" in Handel: The Ramifications of the Bononcini-Lotti Affair on the Academy's Experiment in English Opera'

Starting from the performance of Handel's first oratorio *Esther* in 1732, Yiyun Kiu marks this as a pivot from Italian Opera to English Oratorio and looks at the political ramifications of the new musical aesthetic. One example was of a concert with works by Stefani, Fux and Lotti, and also Handel's Te Deum; the Lotti was a particularly interesting choice because Bononcini had recently claimed it as a work of his own composition. The

work of scholars Lowel Lindgren and Colin Timms is cited in relation to the dispute between the Royal Academy (represented by Handel) and the Academy of Vocal Music (represented by Bononcini).

Bononcini was praised by his followers as representing the 'old' style, that cherished emotional depth and purity of tone, against Handel's 'new' Italianate compositions, with the rival points of view provoking furious debates as to whether the Ancients or the Moderns had greater artistic superiority. The Bononcini faction weakened their case because their champion was quite inconsistent in the application of the theory. After the Bononcini-Lotti controversy, Bononcini removed himself and the Academy showcased *Esther*, which was very well received and thus encouraged Handel to present further oratorios at Covent Garden.

Kiu has discovered several inconsistencies in modern perceptions of the Academy's activities, since it is clear that performances on music by earlier composers like Thomas Morley were performed by them. There was no clear demarcation between 'old' and 'new' music, while the Academy also took on the task of reaching music of the earlier period scientifically. There is further discussion tracing Handel's use of earlier music and texts to build on his own musical composition techniques.

Donald Burrows, 'Some reflections on the relationship between Handel and John Christopher Smith'

Donald Burrows opens with Byrom's famous quotation, 'Some say that Seignior Bononchini/Compar'd to Handel's a mere Ninny'. At the time this was written Bononcini had already been dismissed. Christopher Smith was employed as a copyist by Handel, and in 1720 he brought over his family, including John Christopher, born in 1712. The young man showed an early interest in music and Handel offered to become his master. Accordingly, he received instruction from Handel at the age of 13; he made remarkable progress and was able to find employment as a music teacher from the age of 18 (Burrows refers to research conducted by David Hunter identifying Handel's pupils). Musical examples in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Ms 260) are written on music paper from after 1728 and are thought to be in John Christopher Smith's hand. Handel has some influence in Smith's musical education but did not feel able to undertake instruction in composition, which he received from Roseingrave and, to a lesser extent, Pepusch. Burrows speculates that this might have been because Handel's methods were instinctive and that he did not want to share his ideas with another.

As a composer, Smith produced a few dramatic pieces but few came to performance. There remained a little distance between Smith and Handel until the onset of impending blindness when Handel was forced to seek assistance, from which time J. C. Smith enabled performances of Handel's music until his death. In the meantime Smith produced his own *A Midsummer Nights Dream*, a substantial work introduced by David Garrick. Newspaper reports referred to him as the successor of Mr Handel. Hans Dieter Clausen has identified

38 additions or revisions of Handel's oratorios which were composed by Smith although the full extent of his collaboration is not known.

Although there were some periods when the relationship between Handel and both father and son Smith were under stress, there is no doubt that it was a very close one. Handel was quite generous in the legacies, where he left a large sum of money and his compositions.

Burrows makes some interesting references to *The Alchemist* by Ben Jonson, of rivals who are also collaborators. An oratorio, *Paradise Lost*, a collaboration between Smith and Stanley was performed in 1760. Towards the end of Handel's life, when he was having some difficulty filling a programme, this work might have been offered but Handel would not accept a work not by him into his programme.

Colin Timms, 'Handel Translators: Humphreys, Oldmixon and Anonymous'

Colin Timms has researched the poets who translated Italian texts for eight of Handel's operas in the wordbooks which would have been sold to help English audiences understand the plots. One was Samuel Humphreys, described as 'Gent', which would have meant that he had received formal education; he sems to have enjoyed some patronage from The Duke of Chandos. Besides working for Handel he also worked for John Christopher Smith, where he supplied the libretto for *Ulysses*, and also translated from French for other playwrights. The second translator was George Oldmixon, whose main occupation was with the East India Company. Timms gives an account of his family connections with that organization.

The article compares the techniques and outcome of the translators in considerable detail. Both translators turned quite simple Italian texts into poetry using more complex structures. This contribution suggests that an academic with English as their discipline might find this subject an interesting one for further analysis.

Ivan Curkovic, 'Operatic Margins: 'The Reception of G. F. Handel in Croatia and Hungary'

After an extensive search by Franulovic, very few performances of Handel's music in Croatian were found in the period 1945-2019. Even when the Croatian Baroque Ensemble was founded in 1999, few theatres could be found willing to stage Handel's music. There were a few performances, of which the most popular were *Messiah* and *L'Allegro*; thereafter that there was very little performed more than once or twice. The situation in Hungary was somewhat different. Under the influence of German conductors like Lichtenberg there were performances in German as early as 1914 (Lichtenberg regarded German as the original language for Handel!). The article goes into some detail about the performances of Handel opera in Hungary.

Other articles

As well as the English-language articles summarized here, there are further essays in German, as well as research reports, a tribute to Terence Best (1929-2024), a Report by the President of the GFH Gesellschaft, reports from other publications, and lists of performances. These include:

Arnold Jacobshagen, 'Streit um die Oper – von Händel bis Heute'

Diana Blichmann, '*Al legittimo re la sua corona*. Lord Burlington als Widmungsträger der jakobitischen Rebellionsoper Astarto'

Gesa zur Nieden Greifswald, '*Favourite songs incoherently put together*. Alexander Pope's Händel-Bild der Jahre 1734-1737 im *Lichte Favourite Songs*.

Ina Knoth, 'George Bickhams *Musical Entertainer* als kulturpolitisches Forum'

Reinhard Strohm, 'Händels und Rolli's Oper *Scipione* (1726). Textvorlagen Aussage kunstlerische Gesraltung'

Konstanze Musketa, '*Allerley curiose materien*. Der Erwähnung Handel sim Reisetagebuch des Johann Andreas Manitius'

Annette Landgraf, 'Giovanni Bononcinis Oper *Farnace* 1723 in London'

Banbury Early Music Festival

For the launch of this new Festival in Oxfordshire last September (see https://www.facebook.com/Banburyearlymusicfest), three attendees have kindly sent us their impressions of the event; our thanks go to Heidi Fardell for arranging this. Next year's Festival will take place on 27-28 September 2025.

Having gone to my first early music festival in Bristol in the Spring I was very excited to hear about Banbury's full weekend-long early music festival of its own, and all the more so to learn it was being co-organized by members of Sound Historical, a fabulous group I have seen perform a couple of times. I was only able to make it to the Saturday due to other commitments on the Sunday, but the Festival did not disappoint and I was pleased to see so many people there. My day started with an electrifying concert by Palisander - fully worthy of their nickname, 'early music's very own Spice Girls' - playing a wide range of music on a very wide range of recorders. The highlight for me was the very early traditional Greek tune *Mandilatos & Omorfoula*, with some Palisander sparkle added.

Then I went into a packed recorder workshop in the church hall next door with Annabel Knight, who managed the room ably as always – Boismortier minuets which met the brief and a slightly more recent (!) arrangement by Annabel of *Bridge over Troubled Water* (or 'Trouble over Bridgwater' as she calls it). Time flew by and then it was back to the main church for the early music competition – really good to see the festival providing a platform for school students to perform in public. The judges were wonderfully friendly and supportive in their feedback. Hopefully next time more young musicians will take up the opportunity to showcase their skills and get instant feedback from the experienced judges.

There were singing and dancing workshops for people who like that sort of thing. Regrettably, I couldn't stay for the Calder Consort's evening concert due to train times but I had a look round the stalls in Whately Hall (the Early Music Shop set up in the Cromwell Lodge; all the Festival sites were very close together) before I left, which included what you'd expect plus some more unusual stalls like one-handed instruments for people with disabilities, and even the chance to try out a viol! I ended the day with an inspection of the famous Banbury Cross and then headed back to the station, feeling invigorated and inspired. Thank you to the organisers and here's to 2025's Festival!

Stuart Hay

We had intended going walking that weekend but the weather forecast was not good and Anthony from Oxford SRP had put out a note requesting help with stewarding, so we phoned and they were quite pleased to say 'please come', and we agreed to attend on Sunday from 10 am-Midday and 2-4 pm.

Banbury is easily reached by the M40 from Tring, and we arrived and parked within the hour – just opposite St Mary's Church, where we were greeted and taken across the road to the Whately Hotel where the Instrument Makers' Market Place was situated (illus.1); the Early Music shop was situated down the road at the Cromwell pub. We enjoyed our two stewarding sessions talking to instrument makers and attendees.

Illus.1 Instrument makers' display

I spent most of my time with the group Diabolus in Musica - their instruments are amazing and the wood carving superb. We spent our lunch time wandering around Banbury and saw the Cross plus the fine lady on the white horse, some really old-looking houses around the shopping street, and many hostelries and an exhibition of vintage and unusual cars in the square. We will definitely find time to visit again. The church is a superb baroque Church which would not look out of place in Rome, although we did not get inside until later as workshops and sound checks etc were in progress. But we were there for the concert in the evening with Sounds Historical - and 600 years of music, from Hildegard to Haydn – the performers were Heidi Fardell, Mary Tyers, Lynda Sayce and Alison Kinder. The choice of music, the venue, the singing, the instruments, everything was superb. Their previous concert – the 'Bird Fancyers Delight' was excellent, but this reached a higher level again.

During the afternoon a lot of the retailers went to the concert by Lizzie Gutteridge called 'Looping Through Time'. I must look for another performance of this as everyone spoke very highly of it. Coffee and cake were supplied - the cakes were cupcakes with the BEMF logo on the top – splendid. We will make sure that we get tickets next year for this splendid Festival.

Linda Dormer

The inaugural Banbury Early Music Festival took place on 28-29 September 2024, centred around the beautiful venue of St Mary's Parish Church, complete with evocative lighting. The project was a labour of love by three local professional early musicians, Alison Kinder, Heidi Fardell and Dylan McCaig, and should be voted a resounding success and a credit to their hard work and dedication. I was pleased to attend both days of the festival, which comprised an interesting mix of concerts and participation workshops. On the preceding Friday two of the ensembles, Palisander and the Calder Consort, had gone into local schools for various outreach projects. The Festival is a non-profit venture, with some of the concerts and workshops being financially supported by a variety of sources including the inestimable Continuo Foundation, the Midlands Early Music Forum, the Society of Recorder players, the Gemma Trust and others. There was also a network of volunteers and local businesses who became involved, and the effect was of contributions by the whole community.

Saturday began with a choral workshop with Dylan; I did not attend this, but those who did enjoyed it, working on Palestrina's *Sicut Cervus* and Victoria's *O Vos Omnes* (illus.2). There was a chance for participants and others to revisit the pieces in a liturgical context at the Festival Eucharist on Sunday morning, provided they could face an 8.30 am rehearsal! The first concert on Saturday featured the outstanding young recorder consort Palisander, who presented their programme 'Double, Double, Toil and Trouble' with their customary panache, technical prowess and improbable feats of memory. The concert was immensely enjoyable but over-ran by fifteen minutes, leaving very little time for lunch before the second workshop. This was taken by Annabel Knight, Head of Recorder at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, who did a great job coaching a mixed-ability group of players in two of her own arrangements. It is not easy to ensure that everyone is both included and learns something new in such a context, but Annabel managed it superbly.

Later on Saturday afternoon there was the weekend's only clash; a Young Early Musician competition overlapped with an introductory Baroque dance workshop with a local ballet teacher. It is always good to see dance included in early music events, given the primacy of dance forms in both Renaissance and Baroque instrumental repertoire. Ann White was clearly an enthusiast rather than an expert in Baroque dance, but the workshop offered an enjoyable introduction to the *pas de menuet*, including a chance to apply it in a short *enchainement*, something that is often overlooked at these beginner's workshops.

The Saturday evening concert, after a suitably long dinner break, was given by a young emerging ensemble, the Calder Consort, and was entitled 'Dolce Voci e Armonie, a Grand Tour of Italy'. The programme involved pieces from five Italian cities and the group was directed by festival organizer and St Mary's music director Dylan McCaig, with two Baroque violins, cello (stylishly played but clearly a modern instrument) and soprano.

Sunday began with the Festival Eucharist, followed by an instrumental workshop with Ali Kinder, another of the Festival organizers. Ali is a highly experienced workshop organizer with extensive Early Music Forum experience, and the session, looking at one of the suites from Schein's *Banchetto Musicale*, was a delight. Ali was excellent at including everyone, including multiple pitches of recorder from great bass to *garklein*, and a hammer dulcimer player, alongside viol and violin family strings, curtals and a Baroque guitar. Even in so short a workshop we had time to consider some subtleties of colour, phrasing and shape, so essential to bringing this music to life.

Illus.2 Choral workshop

The afternoon concert was 'Looping Through Time', a fascinating programme of live-looped 'early pops' with Lizzie Gutteridge's 'Consort of One'. Her ground rules included no pre-recording and no 'effects', but she was able to include an impressive range of different instrumental colour, rhythm and even vocal elements. The pieces, of which the most recent was 'Goddesses' from Playford's *The Dancing Master* of 1651, were almost all very familiar, but given an intriguing contemporary twist by the technology. There was then a long break before the final early evening concert by Sounds Historical, a relatively new ensemble made up of very experienced and versatile players. Mary Tyers and Heidi Fardell are mainly known as recorder and flute players, Alison Kinder as a viol player and Lynda Sayce as a lutenist, but for this programme, tracing the evolution of music through 600 years they all turned into multi-instrumentalists; it was difficult to count how many different instruments were on stage, despite their trademark provision of a bingo card for people to track the instruments used. This was an extremely enjoyable, accessible concert and the players' enjoyment of what they were doing was palpable throughout. For me the Castello sonata which began the second half was the stand-out piece, but the arrangement of *Paul's Steeple*, intertwining variations from the 17th century division books for violin, flute and viol, was also fascinating.

One aspect of the Festival which really helped to bring it all together was the Makers' Market, based in two nearby hotels. The Early Music Shop set up in Cromwell Lodge, while in Whately Hall there was a room full of British makers, ranging from veterans such as Tim Cranmore to the young string maker Luke Challinor, which provided a vibrant

meeting-place throughout the weekend. This was helped along by the hotel providing refreshments outside the room, and proved a great place to meet and catch up with friends old and new.

For an inaugural festival this really was a fantastic achievement, and it is excellent news that they are hoping to repeat the project next year. It has the potential to become a keenly anticipated element of the early music calendar in England.

Jane Warren

John Bence: An Appreciation

Long-serving NEMA Council member John Bence (11 October 1942 – 8 March 2024) died earlier this year, and we are grateful to his former pupil Andrew Green and to his granddaughter Susanna Bence for allowing us to print these memorial tributes.

It is with great sadness that we learnt last week of the passing of John Bence, organist and choirmaster at St Mary de Castro, Leicester, for over 50 years, following a three-year battle with Alzheimer's. John was a remarkable man in so many ways and his contribution to the music at St Mary's and further afield will never be forgotten. He established a fine choral tradition over many years which was enhanced each Christmas when he invited other singers to join the choir for the carol service – always on the first Sunday after Christmas and with John's own individual style always evident.

John had always had an interest in early music, and in 1989 established the Leicester Early Music Festival. Initially this started as a three-day event over the late May Bank Holiday weekend with most events being held at St Mary's. The Festival soon became a great success and ran for thirty years, quickly expanding to a three-week event and attracted some of the leading exponents of early music, including Emma Kirkby, The Sixteen and Michela Petri. As the festival expanded, further venues were used including Leicester Cathedral, The Guildhall, St Nicholas Church, the old costume museum and even some hostelries! Events also became more wide-ranging, including wine and whisky tastings and

festival dinners. John also ran an annual come-and-sing choral workshop on the late May Bank Holiday morning at St Mary's. This involved an intensive morning's rehearsal followed by singing what had been learnt at the lunchtime mass. The amount of work involved in arranging the festival each year was phenomenal and is testament to John's unfailing dedication and work ethic.

John also founded the Longslade Consort in 1979 – this was initially a group of ex-pupils from Longslade School, Birstall, where he was Head of Music, who wanted to carry on their music making under him after they had left. This gradually developed into an early music group and ran for almost forty years, giving concerts across the country and bringing this music to people who wouldn't otherwise have heard it.

There is so much more that could be said. John was a fine organist, teacher, instrument builder, tuner and repairer. (He single-handedly kept the increasingly failing organ at St Mary's in working order). An excellent cook, dinner companion and someone who could put their hand to almost any DIY task! Most importantly a friend to so many and someone who has touched the lives of so many. RIP John - we will miss you.

Andew Green

John Bence, my Grandpa John, dedicated his life to music. Growing up in a working-class family in Essex, he cycled nine miles a day to the nearest Church that would allow him to practice the organ. This dedication paid off as he became organist at Southend parish church long before he left secondary school. He won a scholarship to read chemistry and biochemistry at Leicester University, but before long insisted on extending his area of study to include music. He became an organist at St Mary de Castro in 1962, having spent his previous summer holidays rebuilding the organ. It was also at university that he met my grandmother and they married in 1967. He began his career as a chemistry teacher until switching to his main love of music by becoming a music teacher.

In 1990, Grandpa John established the Leicester Early Music Festival, rapidly growing it into a month-long event with dozens of concerts, workshops, and competitions. Its aim was to bring early music to diverse audiences, in varied venues and through outreach events. These included performances in schools, parks, and even pubs, and aimed to unite people of all ages through music. As the festival's driving force and visionary, he raised sponsorship, planned programs, engaged performers, and managed venues. The festival garnered thousands of attendees yearly, many of whom become loyal followers after attending outreach events.

Grandpa John also founded and served as the Musical Director of The Longslade Consort, specializing in early music. Each year, the group toured different parts of the country, performing in venues like country churches, often for fundraising events. My father and aunt remember their youth camping out in tents and caravan sites, eating amazing Chinese food cooked on a camping stove by Grandpa John. They recall playing a variety of weird and wonderful instruments on the two-week tour, jokingly referred to by the musicians as 'Community Service'. Many of the instruments were made by Grandpa John. Over the years, the Longslade Consort engaged tens of thousands of people unfamiliar with this music.

Grandpa John served as the organist and choirmaster at St Mary de Castro Church for nearly 60 years. He ran a successful Cathedral-style choir, choosing music, rehearsing, and

playing for services. His most personal legacy, however, was probably the impact he made as the Head of Music at Longslade College. There, in a state school without a classical music tradition, Grandpa John built the most successful music department in the county. He worked out what would be fun, organized concerts and got the kids excited about a madrigal group. He held fundraising events and, unstoppable in the face of lack of cash, even built a school organ with his pupils from spare parts he collected from around the country.

Many of Grandpa John's students went on to become the first in their families to go to university. Some studied music at Oxford, Cambridge and national music colleges and pursued musical careers including playing in many of the major orchestras in the country. His dedication has inspired countless young people and kept music, especially that endangered species early music, alive for all. His tireless efforts and quiet humility distinguish him as an exceptional figure in the field of music education. Repeatedly, he created something out of nothing, by sheer talent and force of will.

Grandpa John was also my loving grandfather, with his big jolly white Father Christmas beard and his unfailing kindness to my brother and me. Having him share his love of music with my aunt Elizabeth, my father, my brother and me meant I grew up in a home and family where music and performance were fundamental, to the extent that my brother is now an organ scholar at Oxford and I have centred my studies around the performing arts. Grandpa John's legacy lives on in so many of the young people whose lives he transformed, in the renewed vitality of early music in England and in the inspiration he has given to all whose lives he touched. His most profound legacy is to have shown us all that with passion and relentless commitment you really can perform miracles.

Susanna Bence

NEMA note: Richard Bethell

NEMA is sad to report that Richard Bethell, long one of the mainstays of NEMA Council, has decided to step down. For many years Richard's enthusiasm for promoting authentic performances has been the main driver of several NEMA conferences. Age and declining health have made it difficult for him to continue with the same energy that he brought to bear previously. We wish him many years of enjoyment of the music that he loves.

News and Events

News

The **London International Festival of Early Music** has appointed as its new patron HSH Prince Donatus.

Hannah Ely and **Olwen Foulkes** are the new co-Artistic Directors of Brighton Early Music Festival.

Mark Everist has been appointed as a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts de des Lettres.

Early keyboard maker **Paul Irvin** has been awarded the Joan Benson Clavichord Award for 2024 by Early Music America.

Lenora Mendes has received the Laurette Goldberg Award for Early Music Engagement from Early Music America.

Elisabeth Wright has received the Howard Mayer Brown Award for Lifetime Achievement in Early Music from Early Music America.

Giulia Nuti has been appointed Professor of Harpsichord at the Gustav Mahler Privatuniversität für Musik in Klagenfurt.

Obituaries

Baroque violinist **Florence Malgoire** (1960-11 August 2023) has died at the age of 63.

Swedish conductor **Arnold Östman** (24 December 1939-15 August 2023) has died at the age of 83.

Museum curator **Dieter Krickeberg** (d.31 March 2024) has died at the age of 91.

Organ-builder **Dominic Gwynn** (18 August 1953-24 May 2024) has died at the age of 70.

Singer and conductor **Nigel Perrin** (4 November 1947-23 June 2024) has died at the age of 76.

Tenor **Howard Crook** (d.27 August 2024) has died at the age of 77.

Singer and festival director **Deborah Roberts** (10 May 1952-9 September 2024) has died at the age of 72.

Listings

EARLY MUSIC FORA

Border Marches Early Music Forum, www.bmemf.org.uk

Early Music Forum Scotland, www.emfscotland.org.uk

Eastern Early Music Forum, 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://semf.org.uk

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

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

Conferences

The American Bach Society conference **Global Bach** will take place at Emory University, Atlanta, on 26–29 September 2024. Contact: vicepresident@americanbachsociety

The symposium **Global Musical Instrument Market: Making, Trading and Collecting in the 19th Century and the Early 20th Century** will be held at the Musée de la Musique in Paris on 18 November 2024. Contact: anais.flechet@uvsq.fr

The Handel Institute study day **Handel's Deidamia: Myth, Literature, Music** will take place at The Foundling Museum, London, on 28 November 2024. Website: https://handelinstitute.org/about/study-days.

The conference **The tradition of Italian oratorio in Vienna in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries**, will take place at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, on 27-29 November 2024. Contact: 24: adriana.defeo@oeaw.ac.at

The conference **Translating Music #1. The Idea of a Musical Work and Its Transformations Before 1800** will take place at the Grażyna and Kiejstut Bacewicz University of Music at Łódź, Poland, on 27–28 March 2025. Contact: transmus@amuz.lodz.pl

The Annual Meeting of the **Society for Seventeenth-Century Music**, will be held at Yale University, USA on 3-6 April 2025. Website https://sscm-sscm.org

The conference **Moving Music: The Transmission of Music and Sound in the Medieval and Early Modern World** will take place at Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge, on 24-25 June 2025. Contact: Katherine Emery, kne21@cam.ac.uk.

The conference **Global Music and Religious Orders in the Early Modern Era** will take place at Abdij van Park, Leuven, on 25–28 June, 2025. Contact: Henry Drummond henry.drummond@kuleuven.be.

The 21st Biennial International **Conference on Baroque Music** will take place at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire on 16-20 July 2025. Contact: Shirley Thompson, shirley.thompson@bcu.ac.uk

The **Royal Musical Association 61st Annual Conference** will take place at the Department of Music, University of Southampton, on 10–12 September 2025.

Festivals

11-27 October 2024, **Brighton Early Music Festival**, http://www.bremf.org.uk

13-16 November 2024, **London International Exhibition of Early Music**, https://lifem.org

8-15 June 2025, **Boston Early Music Festival**, http://www.bemf.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

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

Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, http://www.scgn.org/¬index.php

Swedish Clavichord Society, http://goart.gu.se/gcs

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

Vlaamse Klavecimbel Vereniging, http://www.vlaamseklavecimbelvereniging.be

Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, http://westfield.org