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INTRODUCTION

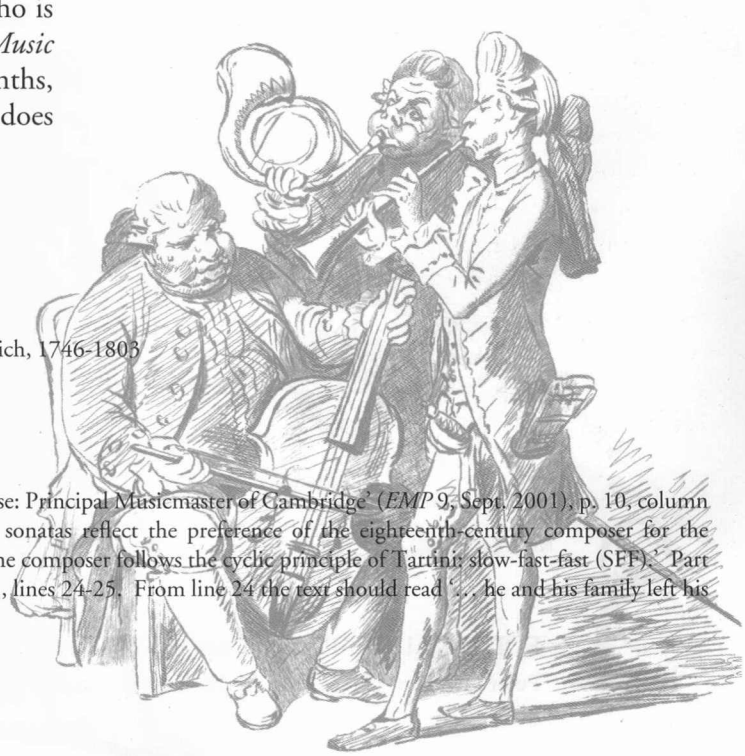
PETER HOLMAN

Welcome to the first issue of the new-look *Early Music Performer*. I write these words as the present Chairman of the National Early Music Association (NEMA), and the future Chairman of the editorial board of *Early Music Performer*.

As the result of a number of administrative changes we have made to NEMA, *Early Music Performer* has made the change from an informal house journal to a more formally produced magazine available to everyone. To that end, I am very pleased that Jeremy & Ruth Burbidge of Ruxbury Publications have agreed to publish it on a commercial basis, and that Dr Bryan White of Leeds University has agreed to edit it. Bryan is well qualified for the post, since he is a musicologist with scholarly interests in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English music, but is also active as a solo singer and choir trainer, and has strong interests in performance practice. We have also formed a distinguished editorial board that will help to shape the magazine's development and will ensure that it maintains scholarly standards.

What will *Early Music Performer* do? In the first place, it is intended to complement *Early Music Review*, edited by Clifford Bartlett – who is also on the editorial board of *Early Music Performer*. It will appear in the two months, August and January, that *Early Music Review* does not appear, and it will consist mainly of articles and news items, whereas *Early Music Review*, as its title indicates, consists mainly of reviews. Second, *Early Music Performer* will bridge the gap between the worlds of scholarship and performance in a way that existing journals generally do not. Its main function will be to bring new discoveries and fresh perspectives in the field of performance practice to the notice of performers in a readable but authoritative way. Too often, research with important implications for performers does not get the attention it deserves because it either remains unpublished or appears only in expensive or hard-to-obtain publications.

A venture like this depends on its readers. If you like what you read here, spread the word among your friends and fellow-performers. If you don't, let us know, so that we can provide you with what you do want. Either way, happy reading, and happy (historically informed) performing!



COVER:

'CONCERTO SPIRITUALE' Published 23 March 1773.
Cello – Carl Friedrich Abel, 1723-1787
Oboe – Johann Christian Fischer, 1733-1800
Horn – [Possibly] Giovanni Punto alias Johann Wenzel Stich, 1746-1803

CORRECTION:

In Leendert Haasnoot's article 'Pietro Hellendaal Hollandese: Principal Musicmaster of Cambridge' (*EMP* 9, Sept. 2001), p. 10, column 2, from line 21 onwards should have read 'Hellendaal's sonatas reflect the preference of the eighteenth-century composer for the 'melo/bass' sonata. In almost all published violin sonatas the composer follows the cyclic principle of Tartini: slow-fast-fast (SFF).' Part of this passage was transposed mistakenly to p. 9, column 1, lines 24-25. From line 24 the text should read '... he and his family left his native country towards the end of 1751'.

EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

I am pleased to be writing to you as the editor of the 'new' *Early Music Performer.* Those of you already familiar with *EMP* will find this issue a blend of the old and the new; we feature articles by past contributors Anthony Rowland–Jones and Jeremy Montagu, and display on the masthead a list of our newly formed editorial board. You will see that they are a formidable group of distinguished scholars and performers, and I wish to thank them for their support in relaunching *EMP.*

Peter Holman has, in his introduction, indicated the way in which *EMP* is to proceed, and I, with him, look forward to its development. The journal has much to build on and you will find in this issue a résumé of its history in the form of a list of the full details of articles from issues 1-9 of *EMP.*

I happily recommend to you the three new articles in this current issue. Anthony Rowland–Jones continues his researches into iconographical evidence on performance practice and Jeremy Montagu offers an interesting and challenging evaluation of the past, present and future state of the Early Music Movement. Many readers will be familiar with Neal Peres Da Costa through his work with Florilegium, but fewer of you may have had the opportunity to hear him play Mendelssohn and Brahms. His exploration of this literature as a performer has been accompanied by extensive research into eighteenth- and nineteenth-century piano techniques, in which he has combined the study of performance treatises with evidence provided by early piano rolls and audio recordings. His findings, some of which are presented here, suggest a style of performance very different to what one normally hears today, and one which, to judge by Neal's application of it in practice, is both refreshing and extremely expressive.

EMP will regularly be offering short news briefs on topics of interest to performers and lists of articles relating to performance practice. Though the list provided in this issue is far from exhaustive, there is much of interest to pursue, and I hope that in future it may become more comprehensive. With that end in mind, I will be grateful for both news items and articles you as readers have come across. I will briefly note the first article listed in this issue, especially since *The British Journal of Aesthetics* might seem an unlikely place to search for essays on performance practice. However, Peter Kivy's article has less to do with the details of how one performs than with the philosophy that underpins the approach to performance. He offers an interesting examination of the way in which the term 'authentic performance' has been superseded by 'historically informed performance', and whether there is any substantive difference between them in the meaning. His argument, which follows on from his earlier book, *Authenticities,* suggests that they are one and the same, and whether one agrees with him or not, there is much food for thought.

I will close by offering several words of thanks: first to Mark Windisch, who edited the last issue of the old *EMP,* and who helped to tie up the remaining loose ends; to Ruth and Jeremy Burbidge, who have brought great enthusiasm to the new *EMP;* and finally to Peter Holman, whose advice has been invaluable in developing the journal. I hope you, the readers, enjoy it.

SOME ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE ON SMALL ENSEMBLES IN MID-16th-CENTURY VENICE

ANTHONY ROWLAND-JONES

Considerable caution is called for in coming to conclusions about performance practice from works of art. There are plenty of small-group concert scenes in 16th-century pictures and even more in the 17th century, especially by Caravaggio and his followers, but they cannot always be taken as representing actual practice. Artists often depicted musical instruments for their manifold symbolic associations.

De Hooch, for example, kept a lute for the lady and a recorder for the gentleman to symbolise harmony and fruitfulness in his Amsterdam portraits of married couples. Moreover, in portraiture generally, the presence of the instruments was a form of flattery, suggesting that the artists clients were more musically accomplished than they actually might have been. The instruments also produced an attractive pose and an added focus of interest to the portrayal. One is on safer ground where the purpose of a picture seems to be more for decoration than for conveying a message or idea, neither representing actual people, nor appearing to have any non-musical significance. As will be shown later in this article, in some pictures music-making is depicted as a decorative element in the background with no apparent iconographic relationship to the picture's main subject. Making allowances for a painter's own musical interests, and artistic considerations, these pictures are more likely to represent actual ensemble groupings of their own time and region. They may therefore be regarded as forming a separate category from the main body of Italian concert scenes which are the subject of Iain Fenlon's chapter in the *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, where the artists would have expected their representations of music-making to be interpreted in a symbolic fashion.[1]

Two pictures, frequently reproduced, where music-making is the main subject but which are probably purely decorative, are displayed in the Museum of Decorative Arts in the Hôtel Lallemant in Bourges (illustrations 1 and 2).[2] They constitute a pair, almost certainly for placing over doors, showing, at a cursory glance, a group of four singers, with music, outdoors in a flowery meadow with a lake and mountains behind, and then the same four playing instruments (but without music) in a similar setting. These pictures, and an important group of others which I believe are related to them, are the subject of this article. What do they tell us about performance practice, where, and when?

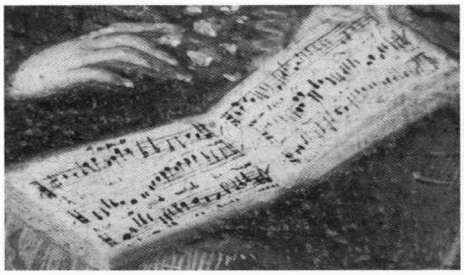
It will soon be noticed that the people in the two Bourges pictures are not quite the same. The male singer has a moustache, while the lutenist does not; and the features of the harpsichord player do not easily match those of any of the three singing ladies. The recorder player's right-hand finger position[3] is clumsy (though this could be the artist's clumsiness rather than the player's); and the instrumentalists, who look out towards us, seem rather posed. If these were actual ensembles meeting regularly, the vocal quartet would have been better served with repertoire if the two men in the pair of pictures had formed a group with two women, especially as the shape of the partbooks suggests that a madrigalian quartet, normally SATB, is being sung. The subject of the paintings is more likely to be one of delight in music-making, with the artist using studio models, rather than portraiture.

Although the composition of the vocal quartet might be called into question, it at least suggests that Renaissance adaptability was such that three women and a man wishing to sing together were able to find suitable music.[4] The instrumental ensemble, however, is unexceptionable. The grouping of flute or recorder, bowed strings, and plucked strings can be found in iconographic sources from the early 15th century onwards,[5] and is the basis of the English consort.[6] The Bourges picture provides some evidence that such a grouping could have been well established in the place and at the time it was painted. No surviving music before about 1600[7] specifies a mixed consort, and the style of the pictures points to their having been painted at an earlier date than that. So the instrumental group also needed to create their own repertoire by adaptation. The pairing of the pictures could be conjectured to suggest that the four instrumentalists adapted from four-part vocal music, perhaps even the same music.

This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that the instrumentalists do not play from music. In 16th- and early 17th-century pictures of music-making it is quite common for instrumentalists to be without music, although music-books or sheets are generally shown when music is being sung, probably as much for the words as the music.[8] The Bourges picture is a reminder that Renaissance instrumentalists were often expected to play their music from memory, supported and seasoned with improvisation. Today we are so used to the availability of printed music that it is easy to forget the extent to which Renaissance instrumental music depended on improvisation based on memorised compositions and familiar formulaic patterns.

1. Anon., mid-16th-century Venetian, *Musique champêtre* – vocal quartet
(Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Hotel Lallemant, Bourges)

2. Anon., mid-16th-century Venetian, *Musique champêtre* – instrument, quartet
(Bourges – a pair with illustration 1)



3. Detail of music held by upper-left singer in illustration 1

To make ensemble music in this way calls for a high degree of skill. Yet the players in these pictures are unlikely to be professional musicians. All documented 16th-century professional instrumentalists and singers, were, until the 1580s, male,[9] yet in the Bourges pictures the women outnumber the men by three to one. Their dress is patrician; they are upper-class amateurs making music for their private enjoyment in a beautiful environment. Even if the artist may have indulged in some idealisation, he shows us music-making that could only take place in a highly cultivated society.

The location and period of such a society could be ascertained by knowing when and where the pictures were painted. Documented provenance, style, and, in this case, the players' costume, and the recognition of the music being sung, could all, in principle, contribute to such a process. Three of these apparently promising lines of enquiry lead to dead ends; the fourth produces rich rewards.

The provenance of the two Bourges pictures is a mystery. It can only be traced back to 1945 when the pictures were discovered among hoards of works of art looted from French houses during the war by the occupying Germans.[10] They show signs of having been hastily bundled into a sack as the paint surface has striations caused by scratching and rubbing. They were at first identified as 'Ecole Franco-Italienne. Fin du XVI siécle,' and at one point attributed to Nicolas Tournier (1590-1660) who painted genre scenes of music-making, but it is now recognised by the Museum that they are earlier, and Venetian in origin. The mountains in the background resemble the Dolomites north of Venice, and similar backgrounds appear in other paintings by Venetian artists such as Bellini and Palma Vecchio. The documentation files in the Bourges Archives are mainly filled with requests for reproduction permission, although one letter suggested that the artist could be Bonifazio di Pitati Veronese. The present attribution as 'mid-16th-century Venetian' has not been challenged.

The resources of the Fashion Research Centre at Bath show that the lack in the 16th century of the type of documentation which exists for more recent periods (fashion plates, etc.) makes it difficult to arrive at any precise dating of the dresses worn in the Bourges pictures. Surprisingly, fashion in dress seems to have changed rather slowly in mid-16th-century Venice. In portraits of women from the 1520s by the Brescian painter Savoldo, who worked mainly in Venice, one can find costumes similar to those of the Bourges ladies, who I would conjecture were probably painted some twenty to forty years later; for example, his *Portrait of a woman* (1525) in the picture gallery of the Capitoline Museum in Rome (PC 49) shows a dress with the same type of embroidered square bodice, puffed sleeves and plaited hair. The costumes confirm the Venetian origin of the pictures, but do not provide accurate dating.

If the singers' music could be identified, it would provide a date after which the picture was painted, although even some secular music could remain in circulation for several decades before its popularity was overtaken by new compositions and styles and it became forgotten.[11] The artist seems to wish us to identify the singers' music, since all four parts are visible. Moreover, the music of the upper-left singer is held upside down - (see illustration 3), as if the artist intends us to read it – unless he is implying that the singer knew her part so well that she had not noticed she had opened her book the wrong way up. Or he may just be teasing us. The music may be unclear because of the damage sustained by the painting, but only the upper-left singer's music has a time-signature. Her clef appears to be C2, so she would sing the top line. One can only guess what clefs the other two women sing from, but it could be C3 in both cases. The man's music has an F clef which may be the normal F4. Iain Fenlon, who is very familiar with 16th-century madrigal manuscripts, saw my photographs and has permitted me to quote his opinion – 'My impression of the photographs is that the artist has seen musical notation and understands it, but has depicted it schematically. The painterly style is too rapid and sketchy for this to be an actual inscription which we are meant to read. There are moments of legibility in the notation, but the words are not decipherable and I don't believe that they were ever meant to be.'

4. Bonifazio di Pitati Veronese, *Mosé salvato dalle acque* (Brera Gallery, Milan)

5. Bonifazio, *Il ricco Epulone* (Accademia Gallery, Venice)

6. Bonifazio, detail held in illustration 4

In assigning a painting solely on grounds of style, art historians rely on knowledge (for example of an artist's method of application of paint, or his palette of colours), and on experience, together with a certain amount of hunch. In the Bourges pictures, however, there are some indicators in the direction of Bonifazio, a contemporary of Titian in Venice. These may not be very significant independently, but together build up to a measure of credibility. The two pictures might have required only two or three models, as an artist could, within limits, make changes in dress, or (as in the case of the man) just in the details of a costume, in hair-styles, or, again only slightly, in physiognomy. Artists drew their models from their own family and from 'professional' models. The latter would include cultivated Venetian courtesans, several of whom would have been skilled musicians. A courtesan/model might find work in several studios, but she could easily stay with one painter who provided continuity of demand and good reward. Although a place and period may be characterised by a recognisable type of physiognomy, the features of the Bourges musicians and of some personages in paintings produced by Bonifazio in the later part of a long and successful career (he was born in 1487 and died in 1553) are so remarkably similar that it seems possible that they are based on the same models. Such models appear in Bonifazio's two masterpieces, *The Finding of Moses* in the Brera Gallery in Milan (illustration 4), and *Il ricco Epulone* (or *Dives and Lazarus*) in the Accademia Gallery in Venice (illustration 5).[12] Moreover, both pictures are noteworthy for the role that music plays in them, and both include representations of written music. But the music-making is in no way a requisite of the subjects of these pictures. Other artists do not include music-making in their paintings of the finding of Moses, which was a popular theme in the art of the period.[13] It is as if Bonifazio had reached a point where he could indulge a private passion; furthermore, both paintings include, again with no relevance to their subjects, the portrayal of a woman, possibly the same model, who is listening enrapt to the music near her. No other painter has so successfully captured the appearance of a person moved by music, especially in the Venice picture.

Paintings by Bonifazio and his followers have two other characteristics which could link them with the Bourges pair. An unusually large proportion have a landscape background or are in open-air settings; and they show a remarkable ability and delight in painting flowers and other plants, with almost botanical accuracy – again in contexts where those flowers are not essential, either literally or symbolically, to the subject. Mountainous backgrounds are of course common in many paintings, but Bonifazio's backgrounds show little variation from one picture to another in their particular view of mountains with a town beneath them. He painted many *Sacra Conversazioni* with the Virgin and Child and various Saints as devotional pictures for Venetian families, with the same distant landscape as in the Bourges pictures.[14]

A comparison between the Bourges pictures and works known to be by Bonifazio, especially the two at illustrations 4 and 5 above, gives the impression that the Bourges pictures are not by Bonifazio himself – they are not of the same quality. This subjective view can be confirmed by comparing the way in which the Bourges artist paints his representational music with the music in Bonifazio's *The Finding of Moses* in the Brera. Illustration 6 is a close-up photograph of that music,[15] which is also representational, and the method of depicting it is completely different. It seems very unlikely that in a matter of such relative unimportance the same artist should paint his representational music so differently. If, however, the Bourges painter used the same models as Bonifazio, and imitated him in other ways, it suggests that the Bourges painter was an artist working in Bonifazio's studio.

In her excellent *Profile of Bonifazio*,[16] Simonetta Simonetti (hereinafter referred to as 'SS') describes[17] the prestigious commission which Bonifazio was awarded in 1529 to decorate the Palazzo Camerlenghi in Venice, a state building housing several magistracies. This was a vast and ongoing undertaking which would engage Bonifazio and his workshop all his life. By 1529, however, he would probably have started to acquire assistants, and the commission suggests that he was by then recognised as an artist of great ability, who could assimilate the new ideas of the time, but within bounds of convention and unlikely to shock or to indulge private fancies. His commissioned subjects were mainly biblical or religious; SS's

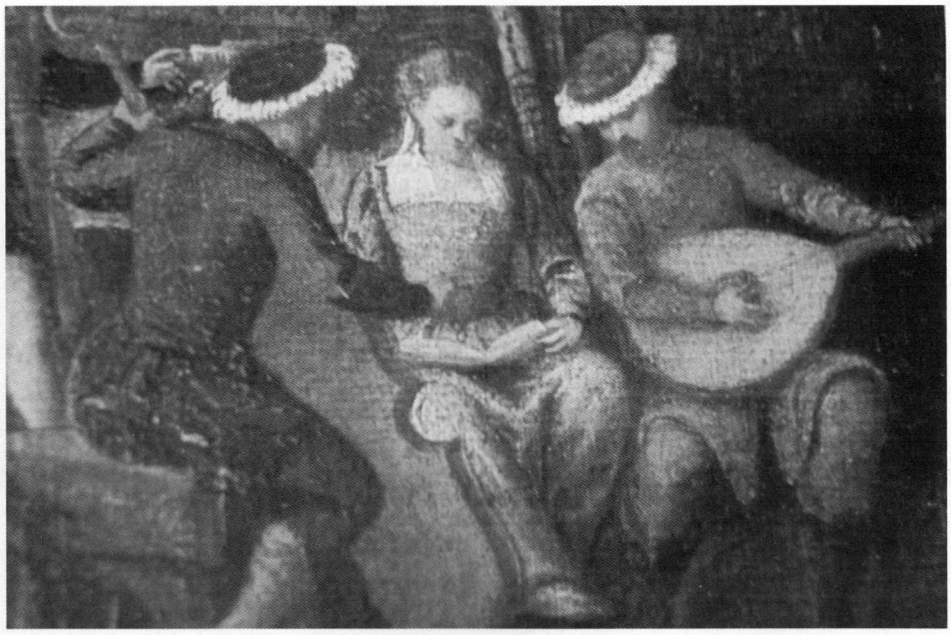
7. Bonifazio, sketch of an instrumental quartet (Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

catalogue of the 67 works correctly assigned to Bonifazio shows a rather narrow range of titles, but with a slight increase in non-biblical subjects in his later years. His admiration for his fellow artists, such as Titian, with whom he was compared and sometimes confused, Palma Vecchio (who was probably his teacher), Dosso Dossi and Lorenzo Lotto, was reciprocated by Venetian painters' respect for him as a member of their guild, the *Scuola de Pittori*.[18] He seems to have been an unostentatious, probably slightly reserved man,[19] for he attracted few anecdotes – and no Venetian scandals; indeed there is very little documentation about him at all. His paintings are those of an artist who is far more than merely competent but only occasionally on the verge of being a genius. He employed an unusually large number of workshop assistants, several of whom, such as Jacopo Bassano and possibly the young Tintoretto, were to become major artists in their own right.

Acceptance by a master into his studio implied an understanding that the assistant would be given structured training (Tintoretto's was particularly rigorous), in return for which the assistants, unless encouraged to, would not, so long as they remained in the studio, develop an individual style of their own. The assistants were taught to imitate the paintings of the master so closely that their work was virtually indistinguishable from the master's own contribution to the paintings in his name. Bonifazio was supremely successful in this – his clients accepted the paintings without demur, and art historians have made themselves more confused with more mistaken attributions of paintings to Bonifazio than to any other 16th-century painter. Bonifazio-style paintings were produced by his studio for several years after his death, which could be the case with the Bourges pictures. Studio assistants were also employed to make copies, with or without the master's collaboration, of paintings seen and then wanted by other clients, although to a greater or lesser extent such copies could vary from the original, presumably with the master's and the client's agreement, or perhaps even encouragement. This resulted in a studio producing a series of similar but not identical pictures on a theme originally painted by the master, which happened with Bonifazio's *The Finding of Moses*, thereby unwittingly benefiting music iconography.

There are two paintings, quite different, by Bonifazio himself of *The Finding of Moses*. The first, in the Pitti Palace at Florence, is horizontally long with rounded ends,[20] perhaps painted, as were a number of other Bonifazio pictures commissioned for Venice palaces or villas in the Veneto, for a particular space, like the Bourges pictures. Its length invites more than one focus of attention, although Bonifazio to some extent integrates it with his usual mountainous background which includes some delightful landscape vignettes. He deals with his central subject, the baby Moses in a cradle being handed to a patriarch-like figure, with six personages grouped side by side on the same level in the manner of a *sacra conversazione*. At the right, beyond a tree-trunk which divides off this part of the composition, is a much more interestingly grouped picture of a woman playing a lute, a man playing a bowed string bass (from here on simply referred to as 'bass'), and a woman talking to another woman in nun's habit beside her, while a turbaned man and a woman close to the trees behind look down listening to the music. SS (catalogue no.39) dates this picture as 'ca. 1540'. It says something for Bonifazio's calibre that the Pitti *Moses* was for several centuries believed to be by Veronese, and was then assigned to Giorgione.

Although musical instruments appear very occasionally in Bonifazio's earlier pictures,[21] the Pitti *Moses* is probably his first to include a scene of ensemble music-making – only a duo in this case, but the studio copy extended this to a quartet. The musical group in Bonifazio's Brera *Moses*[22] consists of two singers with music, one a woman dressed as sumptuously as the Bourges ladies, and the other a man, together with a man playing a cornett. The partbooks, again in madrigal format, are clearly shown for us to see – indeed the man turns his book so that it is easier for us to try to read, but more difficult both for him and the woman beside him, as well as for the cornettist who looks down towards both music-books but must have difficulty in reading either of them. As we know from illustration 6, the music being shown to us is not decipherable. Was this apparent *jeu d'esprit* of Bonifazio's the origin of the upside down music-book in the Bourges picture?



8. School of Bonifazio, *The Finding of Moses* – detail of musicians (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

The Uffizi Gallery in Florence possesses two sheets of sketches made by Bonifazio, both splashed by ink, one of them badly. The sketches are rough, but the players' involvement in their music-making is expressed more physically than in the Bourges pictures. One group consists of a lute, a viola, a spinet (played by a woman leaning slightly back), and a male cornettist (illustration 7). The other, which has a little sketch of a transverse flute player at the bottom, shows less clearly the same man playing the lute, two singers (a man and a woman), a man with what may be a recorder, and perhaps the same woman at the spinet; exceptionally for Bonifazio, but like the Bourges instrumentalists, she looks at us rather than towards the other players. One wonders whether Bonifazio's obvious interest in catching the attitudes and spirits of musicians making music led to his asking his pupils to develop their artistic skills in the same way, with different types of ensembles. This might explain why in the Bonifazio circle there are so many versions of *The Finding of Moses* which use the subject as an excuse to paint music-making in a pastoral setting. There appear to be ten such paintings extant, including two of Bonifazio's own which must pre-date the other versions.[23]

In no particular order, for the studio versions are very difficult to date exactly, they are as follows:

•*Moses saved from the waters* or *The Finding of Moses* (both these titles are shortened below to *Moses*) Palatine Gallery, Pitti Palace, Florence, almost certainly painted by Bonifazio himself. [from left to right] Lute (woman); bass (man).

•*Moses* Academy, Vienna. Reworking of the Pitti *Moses*, but with more musicians and fewer bystanders. Lute (man); woman singer with music-book; recorder (man); viola (man);

•*Moses* Brera Gallery, Milan. Certain Bonifazio. Two singers, a man and a woman, each with a partbook, and a third possible woman singer behind; cornett (man). See illustrations 4 and 6.

•*Moses* New South Wales Art Gallery, Sydney. Bass (man); ?recorder (man); lute (woman).

•*Moses* Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Bass (man); woman singer with music-book; lute (man). Illustration 8.

•*Moses* Gemäldegalerie (No. 208), Dresden. Lute (man); woman singer with music, and possibly second woman singer; lira da braccio (man, kneeling, with music-book on ground).

•*Moses* Dreyfuss collection, Frankfurt. Bass (man); woman, probably with a wind instrument, which might be a recorder; lute (woman).

•*Moses* Sotheby's sale, July 1983. Lute (woman); bass (man); alto recorder (man). All three musicians, seated or crouching, look at two music-books on a low table.

•*Moses* Sotheby's sale, July 1986. Man, seen from behind but probably playing a lute; woman singer with music-book.

•[*Moses* Previously Chigi collection, Rome, now location unknown. No photograph seen. Referred to in SS, A147.]

•Bonifazio sketch, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, No.1454 E. Lute (man); woman and man singers sharing music-book; recorder (probably, man); spinet (woman).

•Bonifazio sketch, Uffizi, No.1455 E. Lute (man); viola (man?); spinet (woman); alto cornett (man). See illustration 7.

•Bonifazio *Il ricco Epulone* Accademia Gallery, Venice. Lute (woman, who could also be singing); recorder (probably, man); bass (man). All the musicians bend forward to concentrate on the open music-book held for them by a negro boy servant. As Bonifazio has chosen to make the musicians the centre-piece of his composition, thereby completely disassociating Dives from the begging Lazarus (see illustration 5), and as the setting is not pastoral, in its copying[25] this picture did not lend itself to the ensemble variations in paintings derived from subjects where the musicians are in the background or otherwise remote from the main subject.

Background music-making ensembles are found in two other Bonifazio School subjects. One is Diana and Actaeon, where the fashionably dressed musicians are even more incongruous immediately behind a background of near-naked nymphs; their pastoral music-making goes on without awareness of the events in the picture – the shame of Diana and her nymphs and the cruel metamorphosis of Actaeon into a stag, in the distance being hunted to his death. SS lists a now lost painting on this subject attributed to Bonifazio (A264), and it was painted twice by his followers:

•*Diana and Actaeon* Hampton Court (No.48), London. Two women singers with music-book; transverse flute (woman,

standing); lute (woman, sharing the music-book); bass (woman); lira da braccio (man).

•*Diana and Actaeon* Christ Church collection, Oxford. Two (?three) women singers with music-book; transverse flute (man, standing); lute (woman, with music-book); lira da braccio (woman). The flautist and the lira player both follow the lutenist's music, which therefore cannot be in tablature.

The other subject, with only one representation, which might have been painted to decorate the front or inside lid of a chest (*cassone*), is:

•*Aeneas and Dido*[27] Musicians play within a portico while a meal is served to Dido and Aeneas. Bass (man); wind instrument, perhaps recorder (man, with spectacles); lute (woman).

•Another cassone, with the arms of the Gherdadesca family of Florence, shows, across the front, scenes of pleasure in playing games and music, in the usual pastoral setting with trees and a distant range of mountains. The music group comprises: man singer; cittern (woman); ?viola, obscured (woman); harp (woman).

An enigmatic 'Allegory' in the Berlin gallery, which is ascribed to Bonifazio by SS (41) and dated 'ca. 1540' - the same year as his Pitti *Moses*, includes a musical group in the background on the grass by trees, again set well apart from the central subject: bass (man, kneeling); woman singer with music-book, sitting; man standing with wind instrument sharply curved at the bell end (?crumhorn).

Three paintings in the School of Bonifazio group show al fresco ensembles which are not in the background of a mythological or other subject. It seems that Bonifazio himself was not commissioned to paint a Concerto, although one such in the National Gallery,[28] London, is, it seems, so doubtfully attributed that I have not listed it here – but it is a beautiful portrayal of three ladies, two of them with lutes, and two are singing. The three paintings are:

•*Konzert im Freien* (in a Munich collection). Bass (man); transverse flute (man, standing); woman singing from music-book, her right arm in an expressive gesture; lira da braccio (man, kneeling to overlook the singers' music). Illustration 9.

•*The Gardens of a Villa in the Veneto* (location not known). Seated round a table with three music-books: woman singer, her hand in a gesture similar to that of the soprano singer in the Bourges picture; cornett, half-hidden by the table – it could be a tenor, or lysarden (man); small lute, (woman); bass viol (man). Illustration 10.

•Another, formerly in the Kerr collection, Derbyshire. Same title and artist, but a different villa and a different ensemble round the table: man with what looks like a very small lira da braccio, keeping time with his bow; man singer holding music-book; ?lute (woman); recorder (man); bass viol (man). Illustration 11.

The above two pictures, especially the first, show the same exactitude as the Bourges pictures in the painting of flowers. Perhaps it was the same artist?

We may now, with some confidence, add:

•Bourges, vocal. Four singers each with a part-book (three women and a man). Illustration 1.

•Bourges, instrumental. Spinet, on a trestle table (woman); lute (man); recorder (woman); large bass (woman). Illustration 2.

If several uncertainties, some considerable, are accepted, the instruments in the 21 ensembles in which they occur are as follows: lute (or cittern) 18, bowed string bass (varying sizes) 13, spinet 3, harp 1, recorder 9, transverse flute 3, cornett 3, crumhorn 1, lira da braccio[29] or viola 8. Fifteen of these ensembles include singers, and six are purely instrumental.

Bonifazio's predilection for painting music-making groups on otherwise unoccupied patches of greensward in his pictures has created a record which is unique in its extent and homogeneity of the composition of small-group amateur ensembles during a period not likely to be outside 1540 to 1560, and in one region. As symbolic or other considerations do not seem to affect their verisimilitude, we may reasonably conclude that this is how upper-class Venetians actually made music during sojourns in their summer villas in the Veneto, as is shown in illustrations 10 and 11, and probably on other occasions. There is only one picture with singers alone, but this may be because Bonifazio thought that painting instrumentalists in action was more of a challenge to his pupils.

It is notable that, during a period noted for the development of consorts of the same instrument in different sizes, every ensemble in these Bonifazio groups, except the one vocal quartet, is mixed voices and instruments, or mixed instruments. The total number of musicians portrayed is 83 (42 men and 41 women). 25 of these are singers (including a singer who also plays a lute), with women far outnumbering men (by 20 to 5). But of the 59 instrumentalists, 37 are men and 22 women. The Renaissance world of amateur music-making, on this evidence, looks very different from that of professional music-making, at least in one-to-a-part ensembles.

As in the later six-part 'English consort', plucked strings supported by a bowed bass outnumber (by 35 to 24) the 'melody instruments'. It seems that the idea of what was to become the baroque thorough-bass might already have been in embryo form in Venice by the mid-16th century.

In the Bonifazio-group ensembles, the spinet and harp appear to be women's instruments, and cornetts and crumhorn are played only by men. Otherwise, instruments are played by either men or women – lute, men 7, women 11; bass, men 11, women 2; recorder, men 7, women 2; transverse flute, men 2, women 1; and lira/viola, men 6, women 2.

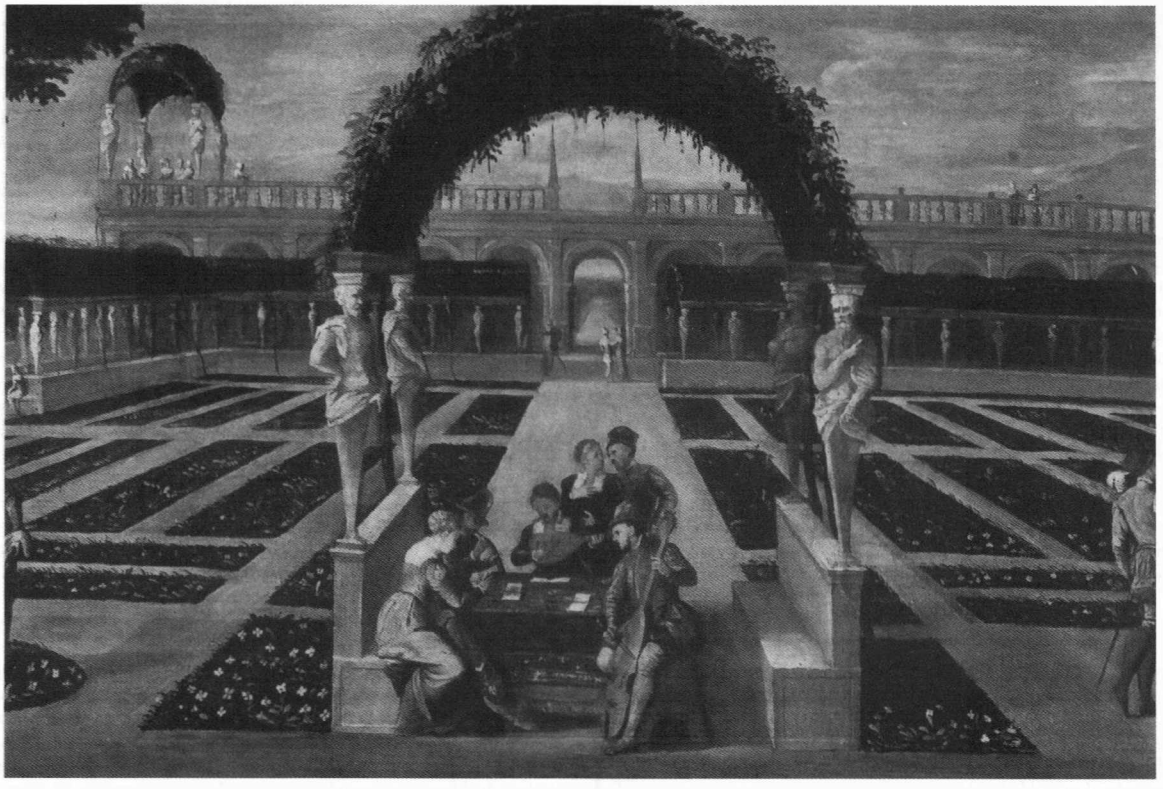
The 'School of Bonifazio' pictures illustrate the resourcefulness of Renaissance amateur musicians in arranging what must originally have been vocal music to suit these varied ensembles. They suggest that early music groups of today could be much more adventurous in making their own arrangements from madrigals and other secular Renaissance part-music.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to those mentioned in the text and Notes, I should like to acknowledge the help and encouragement of Anthea Brook of the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute, University of London, Catherine Whistler, who enabled me to photograph the Ashmolean Moses, *and the Director of the Ashmolean, Christopher Brown, who at the time of my starting this research was Chief Curator of the National Gallery (where I have also had help from Gabriele Finaldi), Anna Keay, Assistant Curator at Hampton Court Palace, and the Librarian of the Fashion Research Centre at Bath. David Lasocki and Ian Harwood commented very helpfully on my text. And I express my gratitude to the Music Research Committee of Anglia Polytechnic University in Cambridge for financial assistance for visits to Bourges and Milan.*

SEE p.12 FOR NOTES.

9. School of Bonifazio *Konzert im Freien* (Fleischmann, Muinich)



10. School of Bonifazio, *The Gardens of a Villa in the Veneto* – part, showing musicians (Colnaghi, 1959 – location unknown)

11. As illustration 10, same artist, different villa – part, showing musicians (location unknown)

NOTES

1 It is easy to underestimate the extent to which an apparently straightforward 'concert scene' may have symbolic connotations. This is well brought out in Iain Fenlon's chapter (30) 'Music in Italian Renaissance
2 Painting' in *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (London, 1992), pp. 189-209.

I am indebted to M. Pierre Bailly, Attaché Principal à la Conservation,
3 Musées de Bourges, for the considerable help he gave me during my visit to Bourges, particularly with photography.

In this position it would be difficult to cover the thumb hole under the instrument, and one might assume that this lady was not herself a recorder player. But it was as usual in the Renaissance period, and later, for the right hand to be uppermost as for the left hand (modern practice), and offset
4 little-finger holes on each side of the recorder made allowance for this, the unused one being plugged with wax.

If one of the ladies was a low contralto she might have sung the tenor line of selected SATB pieces where the tenor part was narrow in compass and high in range. The quartet could, within limits, have shifted pitch to facilitate this. Or they might be singing in three parts with one doubled – but in that case a partbook would have been shared. Music for three female voices was fashionable in the late 15th and early 16th centuries in the manner of the
5 *Concerto delle donne* of Ferrara, and a bass could possibly have been added; but that music was noted for its difficulty.

The earliest iconographic example of this ensemble that I know of is a small scene within an altarpiece in the church of San Miguel,Cardona, Catalunya,
6 painted by Pere Vall in c.1405 where St Peter welcomes arrivals at the gates of heaven to the music of a group consisting of fiddle, lute and recorder.

Ian Harwood's book *"Six Seuerall Instrvments": The 'English Consort' and its Music, c.1570-1620* will be published shortly by Ashgate. For a discussion on earlier Renaissance ensemble music, and a short bibliography, see Crawford Young, 'On the Trail of Ensemble Music in the Fifteenth
7 Century' in *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, op. cit., pp. 143-5.

8 Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* was published in 1599. Two of the Walsingham Consort MSS bear the date 1588.

9 The partbooks would also show underlay, though music printers were often less than helpful in this respect.

The emergence of the professional woman singer in late 16th-century Italy
10 is discussed by Laura W. Macy in Ch.14, 'Women's history and early music', in *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, op. cit., pp. 93-7.

Recovered pictures where the owner could not be traced were exhibited by the Direction des Musées de France at Compiègne from 1950 to 1954 and those still not claimed were then deposited at various museums with the catalogue suffix MNR (Musées Nationaux Récupération pour les
11 peintures). The two Bourges pictures bear the Louvre numbering MNR 308 and 309.

See, for example, the reference to Cipriano de Rore's madrigal *Anchor che col partire* in my article 'Paintings with performance practice implications in
12 the recent Royal Academy Exhibition *The Genius of Rome, 1592-1623'* in *Early Music Performer*, 9, Sept. 2001, pp. 13-16.

The similarity is apparent between the lutenist in the Bourges painting and the man lying next to a kneeling woman in a striped dress at the left of the Brera *Moses*; and, although there is a generalised Venetian female
13 physiognomy associated with the paintings of Palma Vecchio, the kneeling woman closely resembles the Bourges ladies.

Veronese (Paolo Cagliari) painted the subject at least five times. In some of these pictures (e.g. Prado and Washington NGA) a dwarf carries, but does
14 not play, a recorder, and there is a dancing group – but no musicians – in the background.

The master artist would probably paint a series of standardised details for his workshop artists to copy so that the products of the studio would be recognised as those of the master. Some artists specialised in such details and when they set up their own studios would continue to collaborate with
15 their former master; for example, Jan 'Velvet' Brueghel painted the flowers in many of Rubens's pictures, and Francis Snyders painted the animals.

I am grateful to Dr Pietro Petraroia, Soprintendente of the Brera Gallery in
16 Milan, for exceptionally having permitted me to take photographs of the Bonifazio *Moses* and to use them in this article.

Simonetta Simonetti ('SS'), 'Profilo di Bonifacio de' Pitati', in *Saggi e Memorie di storia dell'arte* 15 (1986), pp. 83-133, with 87 black and white plates (pp. 235-77). This is by far the most authoritative account of Bonifazio (note SS's alternative spelling) since that of Dorothee Westphal (Munich, 1931). SS chronologically catalogues, with commentaries mainly relating to attribution, the 67 works which she ascribes to Bonifazio, and then lists by location 264 attributed works, with the suffix A. This is followed by a bibliography. The Bonifazio canon is too puzzling for art historians ever to agree upon it, so I have accepted SS's opinions for the purposes of this article. She does not include a host of pictures described as 'School of Bonifazio' or 'Follower of Bonifazio' which have not at any point
17 been ascribed to Bonifazio himself. I acknowledge in particular the help I
18 have had from SS's introductory critical commentary (pp. 87-95).

19 SS, pp. 86-7

20 SS, p. 87

21 SS, p. 88

A panel painting, 31 x 114 cms.

It is interesting that very few works by Bonifazio other than those covered by this article include musical instruments, even in subjects where they may be expected, such as the shepherds at the Nativity (often with bagpipes or a recorder), a subject which occurs thirteen times in SS's two lists, or the

Coronation of the Virgin (with instruments of soft music). I know of only two recorder representations in Bonifazio's *Adorazione dei Pastori* paintings; one has a shepherd boy with a recorder at the furthest right of the picture, away from the central scene, while in another (Prado, no. 269, dated c.1523) the head ends of two duct-flutes emerge from the panier of a young shepherd in conversation with Joseph. In *Cristo in trono e santi* (Accademia, Venice; SS 11, dated 1530) an angel/putto sits on the podium of the
22 throne, tuning his lute, an image probably derived from Giovanni Bellini – Bonifazio was inspired by both Giovanni and Gentile Bellini.

SS 61. She dates it 'ca. 1545' but other scholars have suggested a date as late as 1549. A Brera Gallery commentary says that Bonifazio 'used the subject as an excuse to paint an open-air holiday scene in which the luxuriousness
23 of the clothes melts into the opulent landscape, dotted with little genre scenes.' It compares the painting to a tapestry.

I have omitted, as too marginal to this list, a School of Bonifazio *Finding of Moses* in the Szeben collection, Budapest, which shows three young women, one with a tambourine, a second with cymbals, and the other holding something which might be another percussion instrument, but which cannot be seen as her hands are obscured by the second girl. There is also
24 an 'ascribed to Bonifazio' *Finding of Moses* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, but with no musical group.

25 The full title of this gallery is Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Kunste, Vienna.

SS lists four copies under 'attributed works' – A18, A240 and A241, all location unknown, and A82, the *Dives and Lazarus* in the National Gallery,
26 London – NG 3106. There is a 'School of Bonifazio' copy in the Schloss Faisanerie at Weimar.

27 The Christ Church version is attributed to the Dutch painter Lambert Sustris, who studied in Venice before 1548, possibly with Bonifazio.

This is a totally different picture from Bonifazio's own canvas on the same subject, now in a private collection in Venice, listed 44c by SS. My
28 illustration of the cassone panel has been noted as 'Benson collection' and is attributed to Andrea Schiavone, a talented pupil of Bonifazio.

NG 2903, catalogued (1995) as 'Italian mid-1520's, possibly by an artist from Friuli'. SS A88. It has also been attributed to Palma Vecchio. For other concert scenes, see H. Colin Slim, 'Two Paintings of "Concert Scenes" from the Veneto and the Morgan Library's unique music print of 1520', Ch. XVI in *Painting Music in the Sixteenth Century* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2002). Professor Slim also agrees that the music held by the
29 Bourges vocal quartet is representational, not real (personal communication).

Confusion in identifying the instruments in these ensemble scenes is inevitable, and the draughtsmanship of some of the artists is less accurate than one may wish for. In mid-16th-century Italy the lira da braccio was more common than the viola (da braccio). I have used the former term when the flat heart-shaped pegboard of the lira can be made out in the pictures. See Sybil Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (Newton

DISLOCATION IN PIANO PLAYING: A NEGLECTED EXPRESSIVE TECHNIQUE

NEAL PERES DA COSTA

The development of recording in the late-nineteenth century is of great significance, providing for the first time direct evidence, which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost, of the features of individual musicians' performance styles. Early acoustic recordings, player-piano recordings (rolls), and pianists shed light on the performance traditions of approximately the last hundred and fifty years. From these, it has become clear that late-twentieth-century traditions and styles are quite different from those of even sixty or seventy years ago.

The transfers and reissues of many of the earliest acoustic recordings (in the case of Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) as early as 1889) and piano rolls to long-playing records and compact discs provide the most important primary evidence for late nineteenth-century and, in some cases, earlier traditions. Several of these transfers provide examples of the most famous and revered artists of the second half of the nineteenth century such as the soprano Adelina Patti (1843-1919), the violinist Joseph Joachim (1831-1907), the pianists Carl Reinecke (1824-1910), Theodor Leschetizky (1830-1915), Camille Saint-Saëns (1838-1921), Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), and Vlademir de Pachmann (1848-1933), as well as a younger generation of pianists such as Jan Paderewski (1860-1941), Fanny Davies (1861-1934), Moriz Rosenthal (1862-1946), Carl Friedberg (1872-1955), Adelina de Lara (1872-1961), Ilona Eibenschütz (1873-1967), Etelka Freund (1879-1977), and many others. The surviving audible evidence preserves vital information about general performing practices of the mid- to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as the idiosyncrasies of their music-making.

One of the most significant differences between the style of piano playing preserved on recordings from around the turn of the twentieth century and the characteristic style of piano playing at present is heard in the employment of an expressive device whereby the melody is separated from the accompaniment by the dislocation of the hands, i.e. playing one hand after the other.[1] Many early recordings reveal frequent use of this technique while more recent recordings and live performances employ it far less or not at all. In general, piano playing during the past forty or fifty years has become characterized by an increasingly neat and synchronized style of playing that is faithful to the musical notation. This significant change in attitude and practice is one of the many reasons why early piano recordings often sound curiously disjointed by present standards.

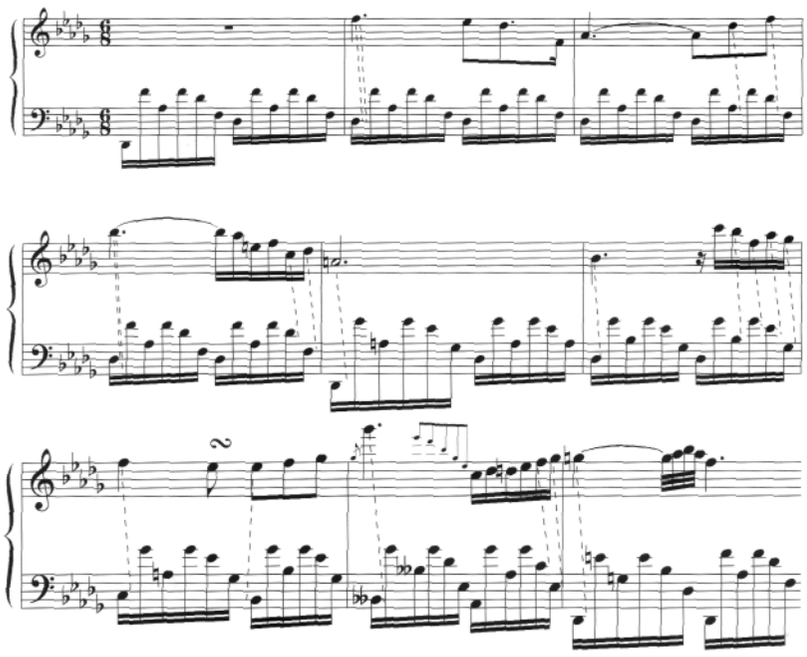
Dislocation describes a momentary separation between the left and right hands achieved by various means. This expressive technique is not exclusive to, but is particularly noticeable on, recordings of solo pianists. The most popular method is to delay a note of the melody in the right hand so that it is placed directly after the corresponding accompaniment note in the left hand. In fewer cases, the right hand precedes the left.

In piano playing, dislocation occurred much more often in slow expressive music than in fast music. Often in compositions of varying characters, it was reserved for the most expressive part. Some pianists, however, applied it universally. Typically, dislocation occurred at: a) the beginnings of phrases; b) beginnings of bars; and c) moments which are harmonically strong or dissonant. In some cases, it can be heard on every beat in a bar. Dislocation occurred in a variety of combinations shown below (Fig. 1), the main underlying criterion being the separation of the hands.

At times, the aural effect of such dislocations is that the accompaniment seems aligned with the notional beat or pulse and the melody is displaced. At others, it is the melody that seems aligned with the pulse, the accompaniment sounding anticipated. It is not always possible to be sure what relationship the right and left hands have to a notional pulse, especially when dislocation

RIGHT HAND	LEFT HAND
Single melody note	Single accompaniment note
Single melody note	Chord (notes struck together)
Single melody note	Chord (notes arpeggiated)
Chord (notes struck together)	Single accompaniment note
Chord (notes arpeggiated)	Single accompaniment note
Chord (notes struck together)	Chord (notes struck together)
Chord (notes arpeggiated)	Chord (notes struck together)
Chord (notes struck together)	Chord (notes arpeggiated)

1. Types of dislocation preserved in early recordings



2. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Leschetizky, piano roll, 1906

occurs in conjunction with a modification of tempo. Dislocation is preserved on recordings as early as 1889 and continues well into the second half of the twentieth century, though with significantly declining incidence after the 1930s.[2] Still, it can be heard clearly in some recordings up to the 1950s and is employed occasionally in recordings from more recent times.

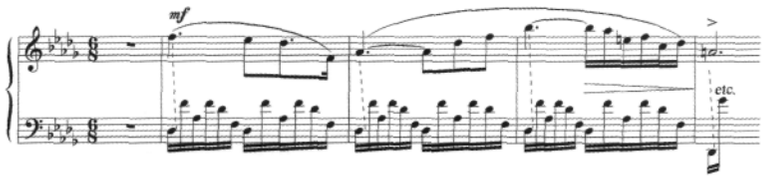
Recent research about dislocation in piano playing does not appear to have taken into account significant evidence preserved in the earliest piano recordings, particularly those of Reinecke, Saint-Saëns and Leschetizky. Certain important written texts have also been overlooked. Richard Hudson states that dislocation 'became a special characteristic of the period [the early-twentieth century]'[3] but that 'in spite of the widespread use ... by most of the acclaimed pianists over a rather considerable period of time ... the theorists and other writers never mention it as a valid means of expression.'[4] Written references cited below show, however, that there was certainly positive support for the use of dislocation in certain circles. And even when some writers verbally opposed it, their recordings reveal, in some cases, a prolific use of it. In addition, there is strong basis for believing that dislocation was commonly employed throughout the nineteenth century and that early-twentieth-century recordings capture the end of a long tradition, not the beginning of a new one.

Theodor Leschetizky's 1906 piano roll recordings provide a useful springboard for the discussion of dislocation. Leschetizky's importance as a performer and pedagogue is apparent by the vast number of pianists who sought his guidance. In a career that spanned 75 years, more than 1200 pianists studied with him. After lessons with Czerny, Leschetizky embarked on concert tours and taught extensively. He was head of the piano department of the St. Petersburg Conservatory from 1862 to 1878 after which he returned to Vienna. His home there became a centre for aspiring pianists and for visiting musicians of the day. Amongst those of his students who conducted active concert careers were Paderewski, Schnabel, Gabrilovich, Ney, Moiseiwitsch, Friedman, Hambourg, and Brailowsky. Leschetizky claimed to have upheld Czerny's precepts and is also known to have enjoyed and adopted a style of playing melodies that he heard in the performances of the salon composer Julius Schulhoff (1825-1898).

In Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, Leschetizky makes frequent dislocations that are highly expressive and create both emphasis and relief. An annotated illustration of bars 1 to 9 is provided in Figure 2 below.[5] It shows that Leschetizky employed dislocation at most downbeats as well as at several other moments in the bar. Often this seems to give poignancy to particular sequential melodic figures.

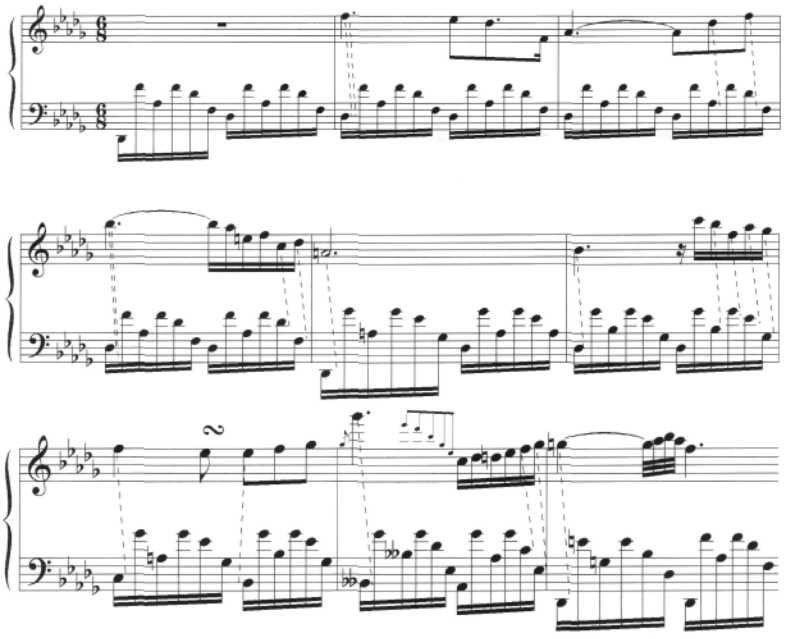
The importance of this device for Leschetizky and his circle was confirmed by one of his former students and teaching assistants, Malwine Brée (b. 1861). In *Die Grundlage Der Methode Leschetizky* (1902), translated in the same year as *The Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method* she provided an example from the same Nocturne, and stated that:

> Neither should bass tone and melody-note always be taken precisely together, but the melody-note may be struck an instant after the bass, which gives it more relief and a softer effect. However, this can be done only at the beginning of a phrase, and usually only on important notes and strong beats. (It is better for the hands to coincide precisely on weak beats.) The melody-note must follow so swiftly as to make the pause hardly noticeable for the uninitiated; e.g., in Chopin's Nocturne:

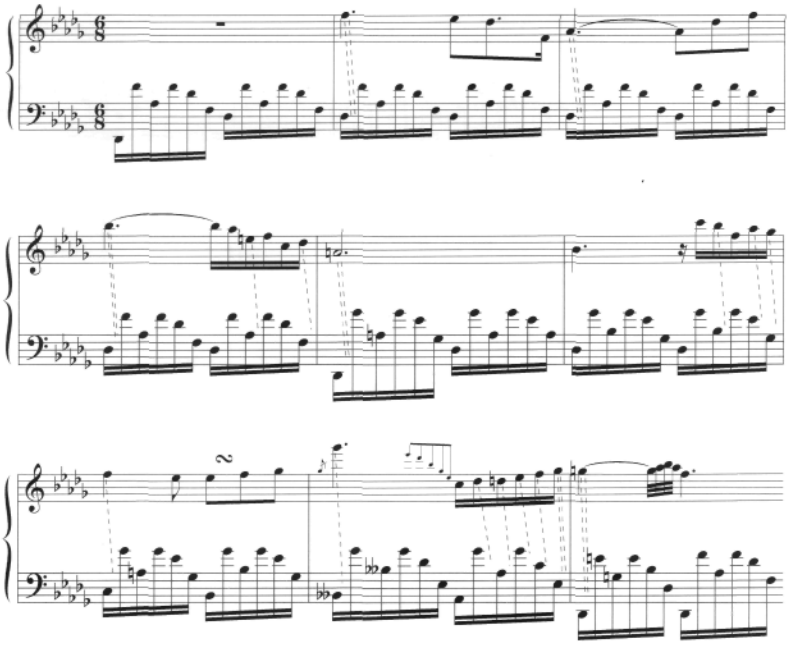


	Bar 2	Bar 3	Bar 4	Bar 5	Bar 6	Bar 7	Bar 8	Bar 9
Leschetizky	1	9,11	1,11,12	1	1,9110,11,12	1,7	1,11,12	1
La Forge	1,9	1	12	1	12	1	1,7,9,10,11,12	1,7
Powell	1	1	1,9,12	1	9,11,12	1	1,8,9,10,11,12	1
Rosenthal	1,9	9	1	1	1,12	1,7	1	1

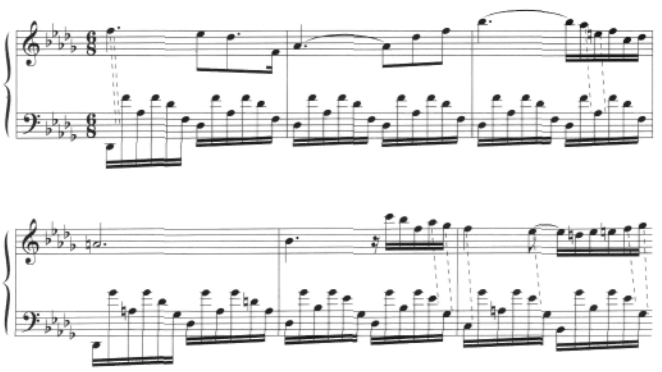
3. Comparative table showing dislocation in Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 2 to 9



4. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, La Forge, acoustic recording, 1912



5. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Powell, piano roll recording, 1921



6. Copin Nocturne Op. 27 No.2, bars 6 to 31, Pachmann, acoustic recording, 1915

Further verification that Leschetizky considered dislocation indispensable is found in the reminiscences of another of his students, Frank Merrick (b. 1886). In 'Memories of Leschetizky', Merrick relates some of the insights gained during his lessons with Leschetizky at the turn of the twentieth century:

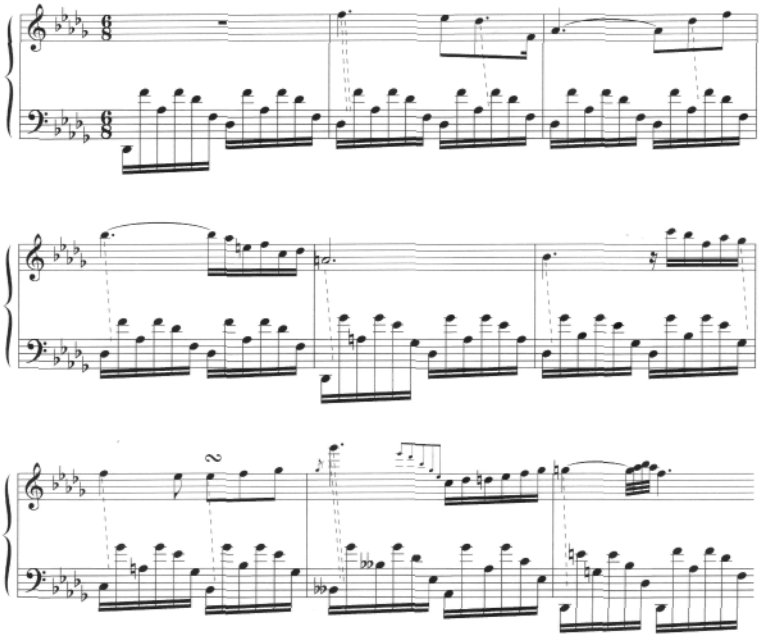
> There are some habits which Leschetizky used to advocate which have now fallen out of fashion. One was the way in which chords would be spread out in one hand, or the hands not played together. In some places he said that the right hand should be played slightly before the left, or that a 7th should be broken because of the dissonance. In those days people regarded these things as intensifying expression, but now think [of] them as over-sentimental.[6]

The style and frequency of dislocation shown in Figure 2 was not exclusive to Leschetizky, as is illustrated in the annotated examples from the same Nocturne, presented below, by pianists from within and outside his circle. For ease of comparison, the dislocations of each pianist are summarized in Figure 3. The numbers listed refer to the semiquaver beats in each bar, on which dislocation can be heard.

Two of Leschetizky's students, Frank La Forge and John Powell (1882-1963), recorded the work in 1912 and 1921 respectively. Figures 4 and 5 show the position of their dislocations made between bars 1 and 9.

Other pianists not directly associated with Leschetizky, Pachmann and Rosenthal recorded the work in 1915 and 1936 respectively. Pachmann received the gold medal from the Vienna Conservatory in 1869, and was widely hailed as a Chopin player, gaining celebrity status throughout Europe and America. Rosenthal, too, was highly regarded. He became a pupil of Karol Mikuli, Chopin's assistant in 1872, and in 1875 he went to Vienna to study with Rafael Jossefy, a pupil of Liszt. Figures 6 and 7 show the placement of their dislocations. The similarities between these and those of the Leschetizky School are clear. Pachmann's recording commences at bar 26 of the work, where the opening material is repeated. For this reason his dislocations have not been included in the comparative table in Figure 3.

Though the above pianists made dislocations in subtly different ways, particularly in respect of the degree of delay between bass and melody notes, the underlying principle was the same. From this it is clear that the practice of dislocation was not an idiosyncrasy of a few players, but a general performing practice that continued for a significant period in the twentieth century.



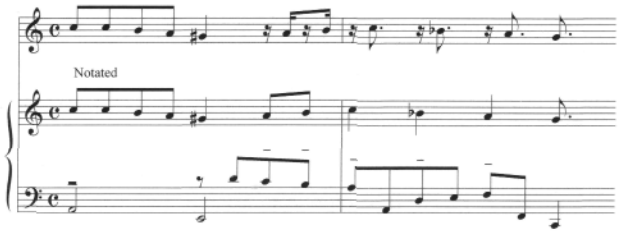
7. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Rosenthal, electrical recording

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

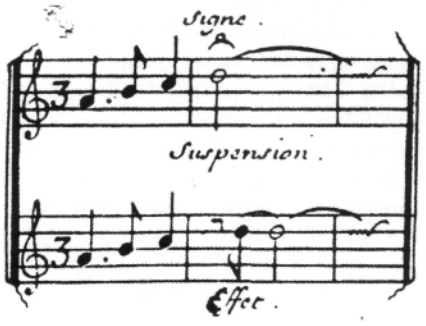
With little doubt, the practice of dislocation clearly described by Brée and mentioned by Merrick was not peculiar to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Dislocation must have been quite common, and perhaps even employed in a more exaggerated fashion, earlier in the nineteenth century. This notion is supported in an enlightening reference by Sigismund Thalberg (1812-1871) in his *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano,* Op. 70 (*c.* 1853), in which arrangements of opera arias were used as instructive pieces for the piano. Thalberg recommends the use of dislocation in a similar way to Brée, but criticizes its overuse. In his fifth rule he states that:

> It will be indispensable to avoid, in playing, the habit at once ridiculous and in bad taste, of withholding too long the production of the notes of the melody a long time after those of the bass have been sounded; thus producing from the beginning to the end of a composition, the effect of repeated syncopations. In a slow melody, written in notes of long duration, it produces a good effect, especially on the first delivery of each measure, or at the commencement of each phrase, to sound the melody after the bass, but only with an interval so brief as to be almost imperceptible.[7]

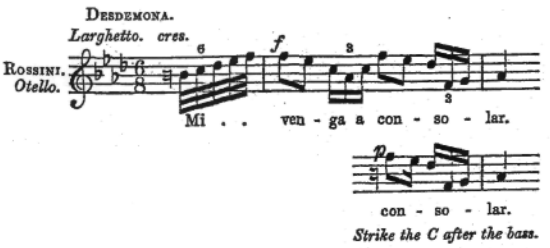
Apart from documenting the existence of the practice of dislocation, this rule illustrates that it was widespread and, according to Thalberg's sensibilities, used beyond the limits of good taste. It is obvious that the frequency with which the device was introduced, and the apparently exaggerated time lapse between the melody note and the corresponding note of the accompaniment, created in the playing of some pianists very noticeable and monotonous syncopations. How these practices actually sounded, however, cannot be determined with certainty without audible evidence.



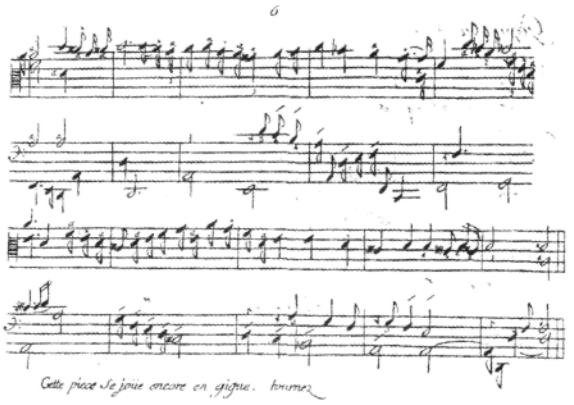
10. Bars 3 and 4 of Perrine's example, interpreted by Hudson[13]



11. Couperin, graphic illustration of the *suspension*[16]



8 Rossini Otello, with García's annotation[9]



9. Perrine, *Harpègement* or *séparation* in lute playing

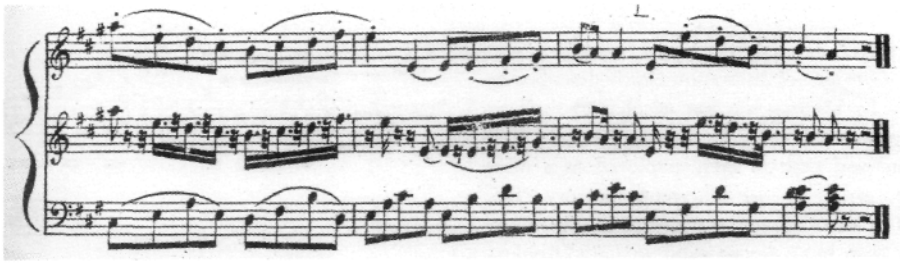
A correlation between this and practices in singing is evident in the rules of the nineteenth-century singing teacher Manuel García (1805-1906). In his *New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London, 1857), García advised that the insertion of a rest, resulting in the dislocation of the melody from the accompaniment, enhances dynamic changes in certain types of repeated figures:

> The *forte* should answer to the forte in energetic passages; in graceful ones, on the contrary, the *piano* should follow the *forte*. Every transition from one degree of strength to another, produces a marked effect; only when a *pianissimo* follows, it should be separated from the *forte* by a slight rest, striking the note an instant after the bass...This rest affords relief after loud notes, and prepares us for seizing all effects, however delicate, that follow, - especially if the first consonant that ensues after the rest is produced with vigour.[8]

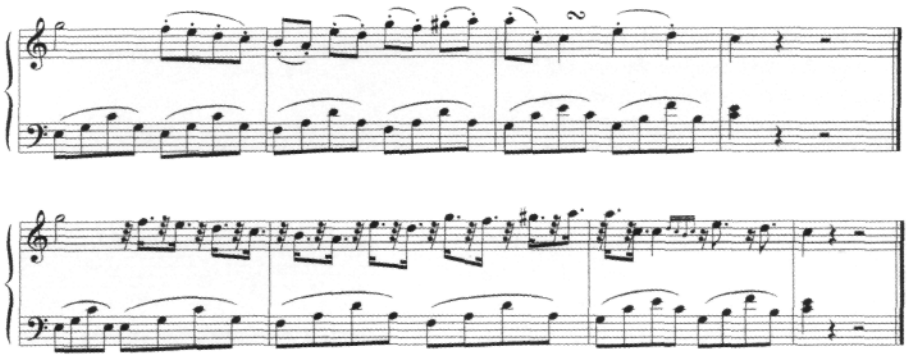
García also provided an annotated example (Fig. 8) from Rossini's *Otello*. His advice to 'strike the C after the bass' must refer to the initial consonant of 'consolar'. The similarity between this expressive vocal technique and dislocation in piano playing is clear. (See fig. 8)

In Germany during the mid-nineteenth century, the use of dislocation was certainly being positively advocated in some circles. Discussing ways of emphasizing melody notes, Sigmund Lebert and Ludwig Stark mention dislocation in their influential *Grosse theoretische-praktische Klavierschule* (1858), explaining that:

> One is allowed, and even should in most cases, play the melody notes imperceptibly later than the accompaniment, which leads to a kind of "arpeggio".[10]



12. Adam, graphic illustration of the portato



13. Pollini, graphic illustration of the portato

Again, without audible evidence it is difficult to appreciate how such apparently imperceptible delays would have been perceived in reality.

Furthermore, the practice of dislocation can be traced back to a much earlier era. Documentary evidence shows that by at least the end of the seventeenth century, lutenists often separated a melody and bass note for special expressive effect. The French theorbist and lute teacher Perrine (b. 17th century) notated this effect, calling it *harpègement* or *séparation*, in his *Pièces de luth en musique* (Paris, 1680) cited in Figures 9[11] and 10. Perrine states that 'the oblique line drawn between two notes [Fig. 9] signifies that it is necessary to play one after the other.'[12]

During the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, harpsichordists also made this type of dislocation, apparently sparingly, considering it an invaluable expressive device. In his *Pièces de clavecin* (1713), François Couperin gave a graphic illustration for an ornament called the *suspension* (Fig. 11). Later, in his *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* (1717), Couperin advised:

> As to the suspension, it must only be used in slow pieces of tender character. The duration of the silence preceding the note which is thus marked must be left to the good taste of the performer.[14]

Furthermore, he explains that:

> at the times when the stringed instruments swell their sound, the suspension of those [sounds] of the harpsichord relate to the ear (by a contrary effect) the desired result.[15]

It is apparent that, at this time, dislocation in harpsichord playing was intended to create an impression of dynamic nuance that was, strictly speaking, impossible to achieve by any other means.

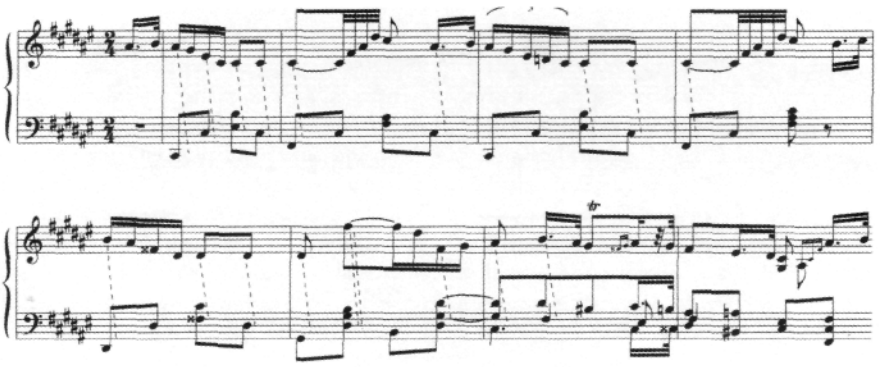
In the 1724 and 1731 editions of his *Pièces de clavecin*, Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) gave a similar graphic representation of the *suspension*. By the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly in France, dislocation seems to have become a mannerism in keyboard playing. The composer Pierre-Claude Foucquet (*c.* 1694-1772) in his *Second livre de pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1750-51) states that 'in all pieces of a gracious or tender execution, one should play the note of the bass, before that of the melody, without altering the beat, which produces a suspension on each note of the melody.'[17]

Dislocation was also prescribed for use in oration. In *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (London, 1762) Thomas Sheridan advises that 'in all speeches and harangues that are more loose, and free from fetters of measure this circumstance has given the speaker such power over the pauses, as, judiciously used, may contribute much to the main point of view, that of strongly inculcating his meaning ... He may ... make a pause before some very emphatical word, where neither the sense nor common usage would admit of any.'[18]

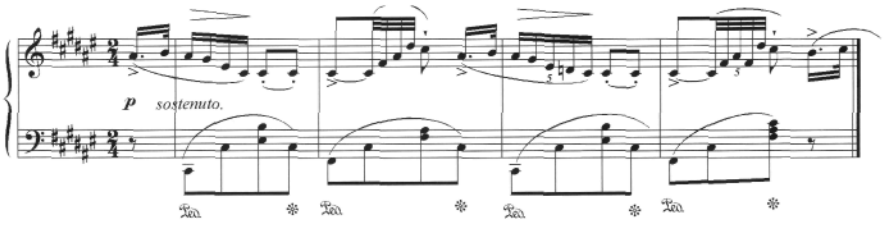
The similarities between the Baroque styles of dislocation outlined in treatise on oration and the musical references above are clear. Surprisingly, however, many late-eighteenth century writers were silent on the subject. In their influential pedagogical works, neither C.P.E. Bach[19] nor Daniel Türk[20] mentions the *suspension*, or instances where dislocation would be appropriate. The same is true of many early-nineteenth-century writers. Perhaps the practice had become so much the 'norm' that it needed no discourse.

Nevertheless, some early-nineteenth-century references to articulation signs such as the portato or slurred staccato, provide strong evidence that the delaying of melody notes achieved by dislocation between the left and right hands was desirable for expressive purposes. For example, in his *Méthode du piano du conservatoire* (c. 1804) Louis Adam provides the example in Figure 12 and gives the following advice concerning the portato:

> One must not jab at the key, but only lift the finger; this manner of detaching adds much to the expression of the melody and is sometimes made with a little retard on the note which one wishes to express thus.[21]



14. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905



15. Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 1 to 4[32]

And in his *Metodo per clavicembalo* (1811), Francesco Pollini provided the illustration in Figure 13 noting that at the appearance of portato passages in music of a cantabile character, a little delay of the melody note 'contributes not a little to the expression'.[22]

Thus, in conjunction with historical written texts, there is strong reason to believe that the practice of dislocation preserved on early piano recordings may be part of a long and ongoing tradition, rather than the beginning of a new one or an idiosyncrasy of early-twentieth-century pianism.

Many other early recordings document and highlight the importance of dislocation in piano playing around the turn of the twentieth century. Johannes Brahms's 1889 wax cylinder recording of a fragment of his *Hungarian Dance No. 1* shows that dislocation was certainly part of his expressive technique. Very careful listening reveals that he made dislocations at the beginning of several bars. Will Crutchfield has noted that:

> Some other facets of Brahms's performance are not indicated in the score. One is playing the left hand slightly before the right (you can't always tell, but where you can, he does this on just about all the accented first beats where the texture is melody/accompaniment – never on big accented chords). This he has in common with almost all of his contemporaries.[23]

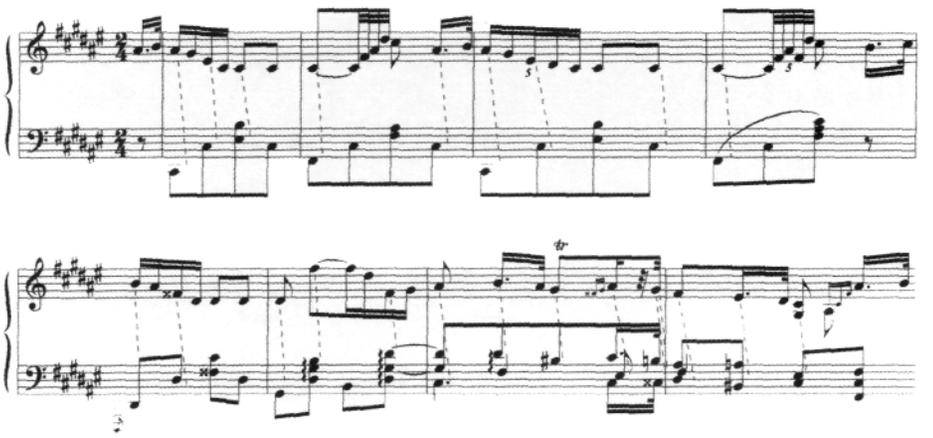
Although this type of asynchrony of the hands may not accord with the modern concept of playing Brahms's music, there is absolutely no reason to doubt that he would have employed dislocation in both slow and fast movements of his own works and those of other composers. He certainly employed a highly arpeggiated style on some occasions as is supported by the account of Rosenthal, who recalled that Brahms 'arpeggiated all chords'.[24] In addition, Brahms was severely criticized for the 'incessant spreading of chords in the slower tempos' after a performance of his Piano Concerto No. 1 in 1865.[25] Both of these references probably also described his use of dislocation. Yet more recently some influential scholars have frowned on such practices. For example, in *The Romantic Generation* (1995), Charles Rosen writes:

> 'Brahms … arpeggiated most chords when he played, according to contemporary witnesses, but I do not suggest this as a guide for performing his works'.[26]

Rosen's justification for advising against this is unclear. If Brahms arpeggiated most chords, is it not reasonable to consider this a highly legitimate Brahmsian performing practice?

Dislocation was employed by many other important pianists even though in some cases their verbal advice seems to have counselled against it. Camille Saint-Saëns seems to have taken particular interest in Chopin's style of rubato. A description of Chopin's playing, recounted by the famous singer Pauline Viardot-Garcia (1821-1910) to Saint-Saëns and published in *Le Courier musical* in 1910, gives the impression that a particular practice which shared the characteristics of dislocation had become a substitute for tempo rubato:

> In the true [rubato], the accompaniment remains undisturbed while the melody floats capriciously, rushes or retards, sooner or later to find again the support of the accompaniment. This manner of playing is very difficult, requiring a complete independence of the two hands; and when some cannot achieve this, they give the illusion to themselves and to others by playing the melody in time and dislocating the accompaniment in order to make it fall at the wrong time; or else - and this is the worst of all - they are content to play the two hands one after the other. It would be a hundred times better to play everything evenly in time and the two hands together, but then they would not have the 'artistic air.'[27]



16. Chopin, Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 1 to 8, Pugno, acoustic recording, 1903

Elsewhere, Saint-Saëns appears to convey the same message saying that:

> She [Pauline Viardot] … told me the secret of the true *tempo rubato* without which Chopin's music is disfigured. It in no way resembles the dislocations by which it is so often caricatured.[28]

Saint-Saëns's description does seem to correspond with the types of dislocation heard on early recordings. Furthermore, in his lecture on Early Music given in San Francisco in 1915, he seems again to have criticized the use of dislocation. Implying that the baroque *suspension* mentioned earlier was used only where indicated by a specific sign, Saint-Saëns emphatically denounces the apparently over-frequent use of dislocation in the early-twentieth century:

> With the clavecinistes, the multiplicity of grace notes is extreme. As a rule they give the explanation of these at the head of their works, just as Rameau did. I note a curious sign which indicates that the right hand should arrive upon the keys a little after the left. This shows that there was not then that frightful habit of playing one hand after the other as is often done nowdays.[29]

More recently, the Chopin scholar Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger has argued that 'this practice, criticized by Saint-Saëns, is clearly recognizable in the recordings of 'renowned' Chopin players of the time, notably Leschetizky, Pugno, Pachmann, Friedman, and to a lesser extent, Paderewski, and … Rosenthal.'[30] But what Eigeldinger has failed to notice or mention is that the practice is also clearly preserved on Saint-Saëns's 1905 piano roll of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2. Figure 14 presents an annotated illustration of a segment of his performance. Here, it is clear that Saint-Saëns made many dislocations, sometimes on every quaver beat of the bar. In addition, sometimes the aural impression is that he aligned the melody note with the notional pulse, anticipating the bass note; at others, the bass seems aligned with the pulse. These types of dislocation can be heard throughout the first section and during the recapitulation of the work.

Saint-Saëns appears to practise precisely what he forbids. How can this glaring inconsistency be explained? It is possible that during the period between making the piano roll in 1905 and the appearance of his *Le Courier musical* reference in 1910, he changed his mind about the use of dislocation. But this seems highly unlikely.

The answer must surely lie elsewhere. Perhaps the practices he was railing against were of a nature not preserved in recordings. These might include even more frequent dislocations with much wider gaps between the left and right hands. Another explanation might be that when he asked for the two hands to be played together, he meant almost together or more closely together. Whatever the reason for such an anomaly, the fact remains that in this case, written texts and audible evidence do not accord.

The acoustic recordings made in 1903 of the French pianist Raoul Pugno provide more fascinating evidence of dislocation used as an expressive device. A few years after his 1903 recordings, Pugno published a pedagogical work entitled *Les leçons écrites de Raoul Pugno* (1910) translated the following year as *The Lessons of Raoul Pugno*. Pugno tackles many aspects of performance with particular reference to a few of Chopin's piano pieces, including the Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2. Fortunately, this work is one that he recorded. Like Saint-Saëns, Pugno gives the impression of being completely opposed to the use of dislocation, making it abundantly clear that in the opening bars of this Nocturne, it was not to be tolerated. Giving the example in Figure 15, he states that:

> All the first part is in a mood of peacefulness and resignation. It should therefore be played with absolute tranquility. I repeat, and shall repeat again and again: *Keep the two hands well together* [*sic*]. To hear the C sharps and F sharps of each bar in the left hand preceding the note in the right hand is a thing to make the hair stand on end, and it is wholly anti-musical.[31]

According to Pugno therefore, absolutely no separation between the right and left hands should occur at the downbeat of each bar in the illustration above. Curiously, however, in his recording made seven years earlier, he unabashedly dislocates each downbeat as well as various other beats in the bars. An annotated illustration is found in Figure 16.

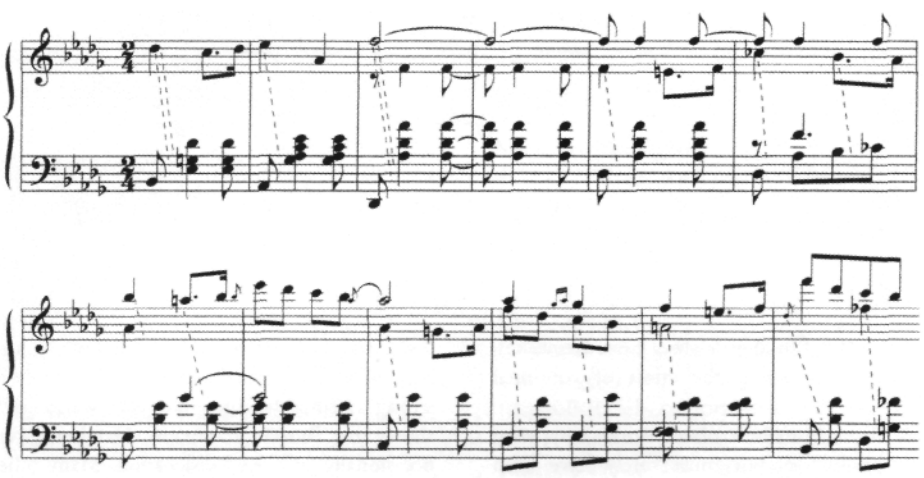
Furthermore, he adds the instruction that during bar 6, 'make your hearers wish for the F sharp. You may even isolate it a little by playing it (this is an exceptional thing) after the chord in the left hand.'[33] Figure 16 shows that this way of isolating a note was not exceptional and occurs at many other points in Pugno's rendition.

How can this glaring inconsistency between theory and practice be explained? Like Saint-Saëns, it is possible (though unlikely) that Pugno changed his mind between the time of the recording and the time of writing *The Lessons*. It is also possible

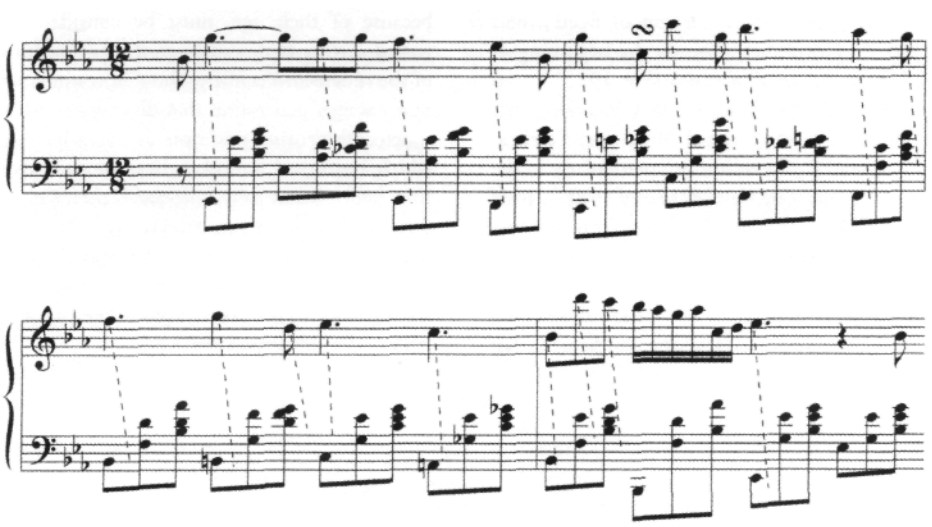
that his advice was primarily for students who may not yet have developed the taste required for the artistic use of such expressive devices. In this case, he may have considered it a lesser evil to hear the hands played absolutely together rather than with gaping and inartistically rendered silences. Yet another possibility might be that, as with Saint-Saëns, there is hidden meaning in Pugno's advice to 'keep the hands well together'. At present, this expression signifies absolute synchrony between the hands; in truth, he may simply have meant that the hands should not be played so apart as to cause ridiculously wide gaps. Hence, the expression 'well together' may mean 'fairly closely', instead of 'absolutely together'. This might explain why, in spite of their verbal advice, dislocation can be heard in both their performances.

Some early recordings may well preserve a style of playing of the works of particular composers that was scantily, if at all, documented in written texts. In this regard, Carl Reinecke's 1905 piano roll recording of Schumann's *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3 is of particular significance. During the 1840s, Reinecke's skills as a pianist and composer were highly regarded in Leipzig. He roused Mendelssohn's interest after playing at the Gewandhaus in 1843. Schumann bestowed his esteem upon Reinecke saying 'you understand me like few others' (presumably referring to Schumann's music). And Liszt, who admired Reinecke's 'beautiful, soft, legato and singing touch', employed him as piano teacher to his daughter.[34] Around 1860 Reinecke became a Professor at the Leipzig Conservatory and eventually its director in 1897. Apparently, he regarded it as his role to be a guardian of tradition.

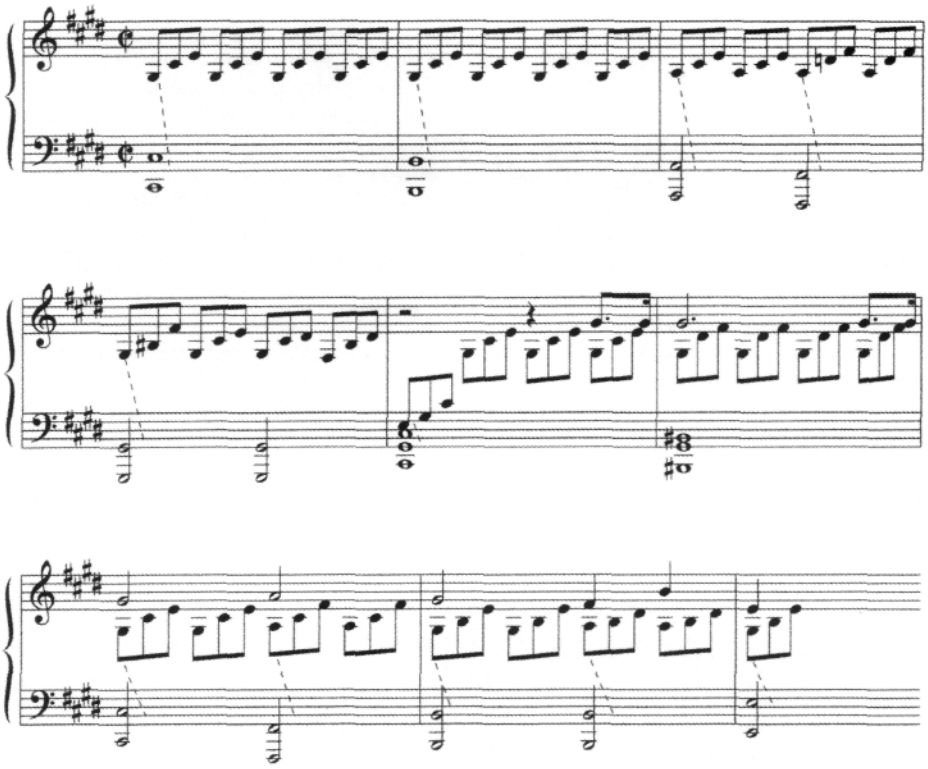
Reinecke's playing style is important, since he is perhaps the oldest pianist to have recorded. In addition, of all players, he was most likely to have known the style appropriate to Schumann's works. The most striking element of his rendition of *Warum?* is the very frequent, almost continual separation between melody and accompaniment by dislocation between the right and left hands. Reinecke's dislocations between bars 1 and



17. Schumann *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3, bars 1 to 12, Reinecke, piano roll recording, 1905



18. Chopin Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, bars 1 to 4, Paderewski, electrical recording, 1930



19. Beethoven *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Paderewski, electricalrecording, 1937.

12 are annotated in Fig. 17. On almost every beat, Reinecke's hands are non-synchronized, giving the effect of continual syncopation.

Such a style for Schumann's piano works may seem curious to modern sensibilities, but must surely have been recognizable to nineteenth-century audiences.

Dislocation continued to be employed by many famous pianists during the first decades of the twentieth century. For example, Paderewski used it prolifically in Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, the first four bars of which are annotated in Figure 18.

Paderewski also used dislocation frequently in compositions of earlier composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Indeed, during the first movement of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 2, he dislocates the beginning of almost every bar and every change of harmony (Fig. 19).

Other pianists seem to have employed dislocation more judiciously or not at all and were critical of its use. Ferrucio Busoni was one who called for its eradication, particularly in the works of J.S. Bach.[35] In *Piano Questions Answered* (1909), Josef Hofmann firmly advised against its use describing 'this limping' as 'the worst habit you can have in piano playing.'[36] In 1922, Mark Hambourg warned strongly against the use of dislocation in his *How To Become a Pianist* describing dislocation as 'Another Blunder'.[37] And, in 1930, Walter Gieseking confirmed that dislocation was still being heard in the playing of many pianists and called for its total abolition.[38] Yet force of habit remained strong. Despite the strength of their warnings, recorded evidence shows that Busoni, Hofmann, Hambourg, and Gieseking still occasionally employed dislocation. Many other pianists such as Fanny Davies, Adelina de Lara, Ilona Eibenschütz, Carl Friedberg and particularly Etelka Freund, continued to make frequent expressive dislocations until the 1950s.

In conclusion, it is evident that the practice of dislocation heard in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century recordings was not simply an idiosyncrasy or the habit of a few players, but a general performing practice. The recordings of Brahms, Leschetizky, Reinecke, Saint-Saëns and others who, because of their age, must be considered, of all those who recorded, true representatives of pianism during the second half of the nineteenth century, show in conjunction with the playing of a younger generation that dislocation was part of an ongoing nineteenth-century tradition that had historical precedents and which continued unbroken into the early-twentieth century. In this light, historically informed performances of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms and many other revered composers, should surely make use of dislocation to a much greater extent than is currently the case or considered tasteful. Try it! Suspend your preconceived notions. It's fun and above all, it's wonderfully expressive.

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NOTES

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2 See Philip, *Early Recordings*, for a fuller discussion.

3 Hudson, *Stolen Time*, p. 334.

4 Ibid., p. 336

5 N.B. the annotated examples provided throughout this article are intended as an approximate indication of what can be heard on the recordings. The use of multiple dotted lines indicates a noticeably larger delay between melody and accompaniment.

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35 See F. Busoni, 'Vortrag' to J.S. Bach, *Das wohltemperierte Klavier, erster Teil, bearbeitet und erläutert, mit daran anknüpfenden Beispielen und Anweisungen für das Studium der modernen Klavierspieltechnik von Ferrucio Busoni* (Leipzig und Berlin, c. 1894), Band 1, 181; trans. as 'Interpretation' to *The Well Tempered Clavichord Revised, Annotated, and Provided with Parallel Examples and Suggestions for the Study of Modern Pianoforte-Technique by Ferruccio B. Busoni* (New York, 1898), p. 87.

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EARLY MUSIC – EARLIER AND LATER

THE MARGOT LEIGH-MILNER LECTURE

GIVEN AT THE NEMA DAY ON 24TH NOVEMBER 2001

JEREMY MONTAGU

Peter asked me to talk about my own career in early music and my own thoughts about the movement, 'past present and future', and I felt that I should also reflect on NEMA at this somewhat critical point in its existence. The two subjects do, in fact, interact, as we shall see while meandering along.

It will be somewhat meandering because, like many people I have been in and out of early music, mediæval one day and the Strand Corner House the next (I played in the gypsy band there a couple of times – one of the great advantages of being a drummer is that you play everything and anything).

But I started in early music way back round 1950. Difficult to remember what came first. Was it the ancestor of my own instrument (I was a horn player as second study to conducting), feeling that what Mozart and Beethoven were writing for wasn't this thing I was playing, or was it when conducting Vivaldi and Bach with all those slurs and hairpins? The conservatories in those days had no classes in editing or anything like that; none of the staff ever mentioned *Urtext* or such; you played what was on the paper. They did invite Fritz Rothschild to come and talk about *The Lost Tradition in Music*, and it remained a standing joke for weeks thereafter.

I found a handhorn in a music shop in Wisbech when I was touring during the 1951 Festival of Britain. That, thanks to Eric Halfpenny, led to an introduction to Morley-Pegge, and I shall never forget sitting in his bedroom in his flat in Hall Road while he played a written C major scale, from middle C up, with not the slightest difference of tone or volume between the open and stopped notes. Eric also talked me into joining the Galpin Society, where I eventually followed him as Honorary Secretary from the mid-60s.

Conducting wasn't far behind. It was a string orchestra because that was cheaper, and we divided the programmes between ancient and modern (there's not much for strings in between!), starting with Vivaldi, Handel, or whatever else of that sort of period, and often finishing with a first performance as one way of attracting the critics and reviews. People wanted to know why the hell I was wasting money putting a harpsichord, which nobody ever heard, on the platform, and paying a continuo player. Of course we learned as we went along. I remember saying to Walter Emery after a concert that included a Vivaldi concerto with a particularly beautiful sequence of chords and nothing else for a slow movement that it had sounded like an accompaniment. 'Yes', he said. 'What to?' I asked. 'You write it,' he replied. People in those days hadn't acquired the idea of improvising such things on the spot; they didn't even know which way up to play a trill, and I had long arguments with Norman Del Mar, my conducting teacher, about the trills in the slow movement of Brandenburg 6. I remember, too, writing out a slow movement for Brandenburg 4, following Tovey's advice, but with a short movement from a violin sonata that ends with the right chords.

We played then on modern instruments, because there wasn't any alternative, though about the time I stopped putting on my own concerts, because I started to breed children and ran out of money, Bob Dart and Sid Humphreys began to use Dolmetsch bows on modern fiddles as a tolerable compromise, something Robert Donington recommended as a first step. At least we were cleaning up the parts. No Tippex in those days but one could get white ink and write over all the Breitkopf & Härtel and Ricordi slurs, bowings, and hairpins, or one could scrape them out with a sharp knife – took hours and hours, and of course one could only do it if one bought the parts. It wasn't something that Goodwin & Tabb liked on hire parts.

But this was earlyish, rather than early. We did try, we altered note values, we graced cadences, we used continuo as I said (Julian Bream once played lute continuo for the concertino while Jane Clark, who taught me so much in those days, played harpsichord continuo for the ripieno on the Fenton House single-manual Shudi – one could hire that for a concert in those days), and we did our best.

I became convinced, and I'm still sure of this, that when a German or English composer took the trouble to title a movement in French, he expected it to be played in French. A minuet might be played straight, a minuetto ornamented in Italian style, but a menuet, and many other French pieces, should be played in French style.

It was through the Galpin Society that I really got enmeshed, and because the Galpin members played their instruments, that I came to realise that it was the sound of the music that came first. After all, music is sound (that's about the only definition of music on which everyone can agree) and if you're trying to perform it, the first thing to do is to try to get the sound right. If the sound's right, the music *may* be right – if the sound's wrong, the music *can't* be right. There's plenty of modern music nowadays where the sound's all that matters – I remember one concert for brass and percussion where as we came off the platform one trumpeter said to the other 'that was a B flat part wasn't it? and his mate said 'Was it? I was playing in C' but the composer was happy as the sound was right and neither he nor the conductor had even noticed, either then or at rehearsal, that one part was a tone out all the way. Still, that wasn't early music. One advantage of first performances was that you could get away with murder – nobody knew the difference.

It was at a Galpin meeting that Michael Morrow said 'Can I give you a leaflet for this concert by our new mediæval ensemble?' I asked him 'Who's your percussion player?' and I played that concert in Fenton House on a pair of jazz tom-toms

for nakers, a side drum for tabor, a modern tambourine and so forth. It didn't seem right. There was John Sothcott on recorder, Michael on lute, Daphne Webb on viol, I can't remember what John Beckett played other than harpsichord, and me on the modern drums.

So I decided to investigate. I looked at mediæval manuscripts and carvings[1] , and then made things that looked like what the angels played. Of course no mediæval drums survive, so one could only hope that they might sound something like the originals, but drummers get pretty experienced at making odd bits of kit (Jimmy Blades made me a tubular bell for my first pantomime – you can't play Cinderella without a bell), and one gets to know how an instrument's likely to work and what it's going to sound like when you see it. I was part of Musica Reservata from then on. We had pretty staid ideas in modern terms, but they worked.

We believed, and I still believe, that dance music, as most of the surviving instrumental music is, should be played as dance music, and we believed that dancers weren't so different in the Middle Ages from what they were at the end of the 1950s. What was needed was strict tempo, as Victor Silvester proved, and solid rhythms. It was a belief for which there is no evidence save for experience as a musician who's played for dancers (not enough of our modern early music players have ever sat in a dance band) but it is a belief confirmed to the hilt by Thoinot Arbeau in 1588. Can one project his statements back two or three hundred years to the Middle Ages? Up to each of us to decide, but I know what I believe. After all, you can still hear his unvarying, repetitive, rock-steady beat in any Viennese waltz and in any Latin American dance band. If you could hear dance band drummers playing his rhythms in 1888 and 1988, why not in 1488, 1388, and 1288? Dancers still need to know which is the first beat of the bar, hence Strauss's unvarying um–cha–cha, um–cha–cha and Arbeau's dun–ta–ta–ta–ta dun–ta–ta–ta–ta – it's just two different ways of doing the same job. Trouble is that it doesn't sound flashy and with-it, and that's what sells today.

When Musica Reservata hit the major concert halls, it made quite a stir. Up to then mediæval music had been a bit quiet; most performers had started in madrigals and went on that way with a dash of country tea-rooms. Our very direct approach was a bit different. I suppose not many remember us now – our last concerts were over twenty years ago – but our drive and hard rhythms, often hard tone, were then very new. Michael Morrow had very firm ideas and he took what little evidence there is very seriously. We know what many of the instruments sounded like, so that's the sound we made, both instrumentally and vocally. We can normally see not more than one or two players in the pictures and carvings (leaving aside the psalm illustrations), so we kept away from the musical toyshop and the mediæval big band. We might use different instruments in two different pieces, but we never swapped instruments around from verse to verse like confetti, as some bands do today.

What I've told you so far, about sums up my career as an early music performer. Of course Reservata wasn't the only early music group I played with, I was playing early timpani, too, and I wasn't only involved in early music – I've played in orchestras of all sorts. I can even tell my grandchildren that I was the first person to play under a conductor in the Festival Hall. Each of the schools of music played a concert as part of the series of acoustic tests. The Guildhall did the first one. In those days every concert began with the Queen (the King then), and who rolls her up? The side drummer – Me. Later I was Beecham's number one spare, the first they called in for an extra. He was a bit different from the rest.

But one thing led to another. I've never believed in keeping secrets from other players, so I published what I'd learned and guessed about early percussion, initially in the *Galpin Journal*.[2] That started other players, pre-eminently Paul Williamson who came to me to ask why his big tabor didn't sound like mine. He went on to make all sorts of mediæval percussion far better than I did, and I used his instruments rather than my own except for the big tabor, which he never made commercially, and the tambourine because I preferred the sound of my hammer-beaten jingles to those of his cast ones which I thought were too heavy and too bell-like.

A few years later John Thomson asked Jimmy Blades and me to write a couple of books on early percussion; we had already done a joint article for him in the second issue of *Early Music*, and before that I'd written the mediæval chapter for Jimmy for his big book and my own *World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments*.[3] Jimmy's and mine were number 2 and number 3 in the OUP Early Music Series – Howard Brown's *Embellishing* was number 1, and they all came out together in 1976, the year after FoMRHI began. FoMRHI had been Eph Segerman's idea, but he talked me into dog's-bodying it for him. It was the following year that Howard chaired that big conference on "The Future of Early Music in Britain", which had been convened by Tony Rooley.

It was that conference which led to the foundation of NEMA. It was another of John Thomson's ideas, wasn't it, *Early Music*, NEMA, the Forums; we owe him a lot. Once NEMA began, it took over Chris Monk's and Carl Willetts's *Register of Early Music*, which became our *Yearbook*. That's, with all due deference to all those present who have written articles in our other publications, certainly NEMA's most important production and it is the one thing that must continue, whatever we may decide is going to happen to NEMA, today. We must hope, too, that if someone else is going to run it, whoever takes it over isn't going to go too commercial on it. It's not something we can do without, and it has always been affordable, free to members (and our subscription has never been one to break the bank) and cheap enough for non-members to buy if they don't have the sense to join us. It's also one of the things that links the Fora.

When I was planning this meander, I thought I'd look back on NEMA's history as well as my own. I thought I remembered the days when it began, all those meetings John called at Ely House, discussions for what it would do, how it would do it and all that, a constitution being argued back and forth, I seem to remember drafted by Bruno Turner. One idea that never really worked was that of exchange membership with the other organisations. I think this was mainly because none of us got round to swapping information about what we were doing and what was going on, like we should have done. But it did mean, in theory, that NEMA could speak for us all in the corridors of power if it ever got there. All the same, it was one reason that NEMA got off to such a slow start so far as the number of individual members was concerned. We all belonged to something else already, Lute Society, Galpin, FoMRHI, Recorder, Viola da Gamba, and so on, and did we need to belong to NEMA, too? Especially if our other society itself belonged to NEMA.

I thought I remembered all that, but then I thought of looking in the *25-year Index of Early Music*[4] and there was Cliff Bartlett's account of our first AGM in December 1982[5] with a reference back to our first conference in July of that year, on 'Early Music and the Critic' at which, according to Cliff, not many musicians and even fewer critics turned up.[6] So I looked back earlier in *Early Music*, and found the account of our inaugural meeting, on 31 October 1981, 'as a direct result of the famed 1977 conference on "The Future of Early Music in Britain"'.[7] So I looked up John Thomson's report of that

conference,[8] which had been organised by Francesca McManus, who was to become our first Treasurer, Administrator, and mainstay once NEMA got going. Looking it through, it's notable how the emphasis in 1977 was already divided between the practical and the educational, two aspects which have always been our prime concerns.

In the report of our inauguration, John said we 'will integrate the needs, interests and activities both of individuals (professional and amateur), and of existing societies, institutions, colleges, music departments, etc. It is an organizational experiment with immediate practical aims. These include: the creation and expansion of educational activities at every level from primary schools to universities and the lobbying of national organizations for their funding; the dissemination of information on the achievements of early music throughout Great Britain; the compilation of a national registry and directory embracing all aspects of early music; the lobbying of the press to encourage greater coverage and greater discrimination in the space allotted to early music; and the representation of early music in Britain internationally, to forge European and overseas links.

Much of that NEMA has indeed achieved, especially on education, with early music thriving in every university music department and every conservatory, though less successfully, I suspect, at the school level. We have all heard of schools where some heroic soul has gathered instruments and music together, got children enthusiastic about early music, produced some really exciting concerts, and then heard governors, even head teachers, say 'Well, we've done early music; what shall we do next year?' Least successfully at the lobbying for funding, of course, for unless you're Covent Garden you'll never succeed in getting real money in this country (and they only get a tithe of their needs). The compilation of a register, as I've already said, was and remains one of the major achievements. Lobbying the press and the dissemination of our achievements has been successful up to a point, but there are still many who don't take us seriously and who don't really understand the difference that the early music approach makes, even to quite late music. This is partly our own fault; when enough of us get up and say that authenticity is something that can never be achieved, then the reaction is 'why bother to try then?' Our own members have done us a good deal of damage over the years! European and international links have certainly been forged – some of our ensembles perform more abroad than they do here, and many of our individual performers, editors and directors are more respected abroad than here, at least as far as the general public and the media are concerned.

The publications, NEMA's own journals, carried useful articles and information, but they've never really settled down, not even to a coherent and continuing title, partly because too many of us were trying to find time to write for our other journals and newsletters, and for John's own *Early Music* and the Early Music series of books which he persuaded OUP to publish and encouraged us to write, and partly because many of us weren't really clear just which gap NEMA was trying to fill in this way. The books that John inspired through *Early Music* and NEMA perhaps were more important and achieved more, though some were pretty controversial, itself a good thing. John and NEMA, between them, achieved a hell of a lot, one way or the other. I don't need to tell you the details because you were there, but we do need to recognise the devotion that many people put into it, quietly plugging along (though that was never a very appropriate description of Margot Leigh-Milner, in whose memory I have the honour to speak today) and keeping it going, despite lack of recognition.

Let's look back at John's report of that first preliminary conference, back in 1977, in the Waterloo Room at the Royal Festival Hall.[9] Let's see just how much of that conference has borne fruit, how many of its aims has NEMA achieved, as it was set up to do.

Frankly, it makes pretty depressing reading. Two papers, Cliff Bartlett's and mine, on libraries of music and instruments, have produced no result at all (and mine wasn't just my idea – I was asked to speak on that subject), and I suspect, though it's not my field so I don't know for sure, that Peter Holman's, on editing and the need for being paid for it, hasn't had any better success. Richard Phillips's paper had better luck than some. The York Early Music Week still exists, but although his idea of an Early Music Network did get off the ground, where is it now? Of the papers on performing, the answer is pretty mixed. Yes, we've achieved quite a lot of what Chris Hogwood and Robert Donington spoke for, but to my mind a good deal less on the mediæval and renaissance, certainly a lot less than Howard Brown wanted, but I doubt whether Andrew Parrott, despite far greater musical achievements, is any better off on rehearsal time than he was then.

Could NEMA have done more to change things? Maybe. Certainly we've tried, though one problem is that we often hamstring ourselves. The fact that Peter set out the extent to which he is subsidising early music performances by doing all the preliminary editing unpaid hasn't stopped him from doing it. Nor does the fact that we are all often prepared to rehearse for nowt help in this. One suspects that an official attitude may well be 'If they're mug enough to do it, why should we waste our resources?'. And of course we are all mug enough because if we weren't, the performances wouldn't happen.

Our trouble is that the people involved in early music are there because they want to be, because they want to perform the stuff. Mugs the lot of us.

Has NEMA done enough, that it might be time to stop? I'm not sure. Certainly the public knows Early Music exists even if it doesn't know the difference between its serious applications and what rides on the bandwagon. The musical profession certainly knows. It's not like it was when I first started conducting those concerts back around 1950.

Our trouble then was that we were compromising, as I said earlier, doing our best with modern instruments. We were compromising in Musica Reservata, too, a decade later, playing at modern pitch so that we could get other players in when necessary, and then using pea-shooter trombones with two or three inches cut off the bell to make them into sackbuts, pseudo-renaissance recorders from Bärenreiter – I remember when we went in there to choose them while on tour in Kassel – they were about the first to come on to the market and the best then available. Daphne's wonderful tenor rebec was a Sumatran *gambus* that Dietrich Kessler had put a fingerboard on and a wooden belly to replace the original skin one. Don Smithers, who played like an angel some of the time, used a cornett with a trumpet mouthpiece (that was before the NEMA Conference at which he insisted on the importance of using the proper acorn-cup one), and David Munrow, while he still played with us, lipped his shawm reed so that it sounded like a dyspeptic cor anglais. Jim Tyler used an english guittar as a cittern, and as I've told you, my percussion was invented from whole cloth.

Now what worries me about the possibility of NEMA stopping is that forty years later we are still compromising. Yes, things have changed, and we're all using early instruments, you can learn any early instrument at any of the Colleges, and all our young players know all about it. But do they? Most of our early music ensembles are pretty generic. Early is early, but don't ask how early, not if you don't want some pretty brusque answers. And if I were you, I wouldn't ask if the trumpeters were using real natural trumpets rather than those things with holes like a

colander. You can look round the platform at a concert of any of our early music bands and, as one would expect, you'll see many familiar faces. Fair enough, the best players are the best players and get the best jobs – London's freelance world has always been like that. What worries me is that you often see the same instruments in their hands whether the concert is Bach, Mozart, or Beethoven. What also worries me, too, is the idea, gaining ground at present, that our symphony orchestras can play the earlier parts of their repertoire in 'an early music fashion'. Sure, it can help any performance to take all the slurs and hairpins out of a Breitkopf sets of parts, but it still doesn't *sound* the same and the instruments still don't *balance* the same.

I'm sure many of you are tired of hearing me saying that music is sound and if the sound, the noise it makes, is wrong, the music won't be right either. All the same, I'm going to go on saying it, because it is one thing that we *can* get right. There's much that we can't replicate, but some things we can, and maybe this is something that we've not emphasised enough over the years – my fault maybe; perhaps I should have shouted more and bored you more with that idea. And if NEMA were to go, that's one less venue to shout it. I said earlier something about 'the early music approach, even in quite late music'. Well, I joined the Musicians' Union over fifty years ago (I'm still a member, with a gold card to celebrate it), and every single instrument in the British orchestra has changed its sound since then. So have many aspects of playing technique. Any music written before 1950 could benefit from a real early music approach. And by that I don't just mean Simon Rattle or Charles Mackerras telling a normal symphony orchestra how to play it (though that's a good start). I mean using the right instruments, not just a baritone for the serpent instead of a bass tuba (thought that, too, is a good start), but pea-shooter trombones, narrow-bore French trumpets, wooden flutes, maybe French bassoons and horns though the Germans came into several orchestras before the war, gut A strings and covered gut D and G instead of these terrible steel strings, maybe even gut E (Kreisler never put up with the whine of a steel E, and I can't be the only one here who remembers hearing him play, and I'm certainly not the only one who can remember the Thomastik strings arriving in the mid-50s), skin timpani heads, and so on. OK, there's one band doing this, but how many gigs do they get?

At least that band is using the right instruments – they perform music *as it was played in the old Queen's Hall.* How many other bands can put their hands on their heart and say they are using the right instruments? How many bands play a concert of 1780-90 music with not one instrument made, or reproduction styled, later than 1789 and not one earlier than around 1770? How many play on a hodge-podge of German, French, and English instruments? How many of the fiddle players still take the weight with their chins instead of with their thumbs, as players did, which makes position-shift a whole new ball-game? How many of the brass players are using their ordinary modern mouthpiece or an adaption of it, which alters the sound and prevents them from bending the pitch? How many clarinets have a flat scrape on the reed, and the reed on the upper lip?

I could go on like this a long time.

That's one reason that Philip Bate gave his collection to Oxford, that Geoffrey Rendall gave his (in effect) to Edinburgh, that Edgar Hunt let his follow Philip's to Oxford. Those collections were, in part, the origin of my paper at that London conference, though there've never been the followers and emulators that we need. Those instruments could be played, they could be borrowed, they could be used. Many of our most eminent early music professionals first began when Tony Baines thrust an instrument into their hands and said 'Try that'. I followed him of course. I built up the very large library of plans and measured drawings, in which Arnold Myers has followed me, so that makers could have the information they needed to make the wind instruments to join the strings and keyboards of the Ashmolean, Royal College, and V&A. I used to encourage the makers to bring their copies to the Bate and compare them with the originals. When the copy was really close, but still sounded different from the original, I got them to swap the joints, our head in their body, their head in our body, and so on. We all learned, like that. But if I'd not allowed them to play the instrument in the first place, they'd have had no idea of what sound they were trying to reproduce.

Any fool can make a cosmetic copy, something that looks like the original, but what's the use of that, except for a film of the life of Marin Marais or whomever? (I would never, at least never after the first time, and thank God that was mine, not the Bate's, lend an instrument to be used as a stage or film prop.) What counts is the sound of the copy, and unless makers can hear the sound of the original, and get some idea of what it's like to play, they'll never make a true copy.

The same applies to the players. However accurate a modern copy may be, it doesn't have the feel, OK the magic, of the original. That's how Tony and I inspired so many players – I can still remember the wide-eyed glow on some students' faces. I doubt if any of them today are playing on originals, rather than on modern copies, for unlike string instruments, wind don't last for ever. But how many string players have ever played an original? and I don't mean one that was butchered in the nineteenth century and then more or less hypothetically 'restored' to its 'original condition'.

Can we encourage more collections to make this sort of thing possible? Maybe there are still some things that NEMA could do. Maybe, even now, nearly twenty-five years later, it could encourage performers to give or bequeath their libraries of material to institutions whence it could be borrowed, as Cliff suggested. Maybe it could encourage some more collectors to follow Philip's, Rendall's, and Edgar's examples. Maybe it could even encourage at least some museums to break the current mould and let at least some of their instruments be played, borrowed, and used.

Maybe it could do other things, too. Maybe it could publish polemic fact sheets on instruments and their techniques for different periods, just one piece of paper per instrument or period, and distribute them around the music schools. Maybe it could publish similar fact sheets on some of the other subjects covered in 1977 and distribute them round appropriate places in government, or the Lottery Commission (and we owe the Lottery to a musician, Denis Vaughan, and it wasn't his fault that governments have reneged on every single promise they made when they let it begin, that it would generate additional money for the Arts, not replace government money), or to the relevant quangos (God knows we spend enough taxpayer and lottery money on those), and the media. Maybe we should set up a website and place them there.

There is still quite a lot we could do, and in many ways NEMA is centrally placed to do it.

This address has been published previously in *Tamesis* (Dec. 2001), the newsletter of The Thames Valley Early Music Forum.

NOTES

1 See Gwen's and my recent book, Minstrels and Angels
2 *Galpin Society Journal* xxiii, 1970, pp. 104-14
3 James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and their History* (London, 1970). Mine was published very belatedly by David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1976
David Roberts, *Early Music: 25-Year Index* (Oxford, 1998)
4 Early Music xi (1983), p. 293
5 Early Music xi (1983), p. 149
6 Early Music x (1982), p. 5
7 J. M. Thomson, ed, The Future of Early Music in Britain (London, 1978)
8 J. M. Thomson, ed, The Future of Early Music in Britain (London, 1978)

THE EARLIEST ENGLISH LUTE MANUSCRIPT?

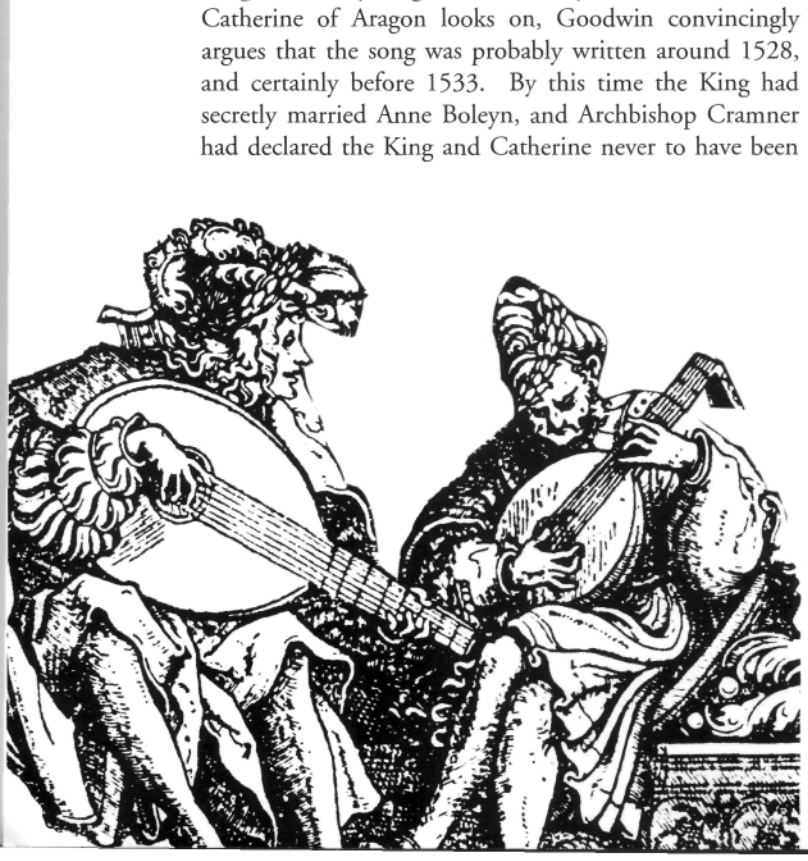
Of great interest to lute specialists, and all students of Tudor music, is Christopher Goodwin's research into what appears to be the earliest English lute manuscript. Three pieces in lute tablature appear at the end of British Library Cottonian manuscript Titus D.xi, a pocket sized book that otherwise contains the letters of St Thomas a Becket, and Walter Hilton's treatise on sin, *De imagine peccati*. The book was owned, and the music transcribed by the Yorkshire-born priest William Skipton (born *c.* 1506) who attended Eton College *c.* 1518 and became a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge in 1525. The year of his death is unknown, though the circumstances are recorded in the Eton College register:

> seduced by the Devil [Skipton] departed from the faith, associated with women in Cambridge, dressing himself in women's garments, and at length so dressed hanged himself in London for his sins.

The three pieces found in the book are 'O lux beata trinitas', a cantus firmus exercise in which a plainsong hymn provides the bass line to a freely moving and newly composed top line; an accompaniment in two parts to the song 'Ravysshed was I'; a short solo entitled 'Coll standyth' which appears to be a intabulation of a popular 'three man', or 'freeman's' song, 'Colle to me the Rysshes greene'. Goodwin suggests that these pieces are respectively 'the earliest cantus firmus exercise for lute; the earliest dedicated lute song accompaniment; the earliest popular song intabulation'. Using the text to 'Ravysshed was I', which describes Henry VIII dancing with his daughter, the young Princess Mary, while her mother Catherine of Aragon looks on, Goodwin convincingly argues that the song was probably written around 1528, and certainly before 1533. By this time the King had secretly married Anne Boleyn, and Archbishop Cramner had declared the King and Catherine never to have been married, making Mary illegitimate, all of which rendered the song irrelevant, and perhaps even politically dangerous.

Goodwin suggests that the copying of the lute music in William Skipton's book predates that of British Library Royal Appendix 58, which would otherwise be the earliest source of English music for the lute. Furthermore, by combining information from both manuscripts, he proposes a 'modest-size early Tudor lute repertoire', made up of cantus firmus pieces and solo or lute song intabulations of three man songs, which should encourage players to make their own intabluations of early Tudor keyboard cantus firmus works, and of three-part song such as those found in the Henry VIII manuscripts (published as *Musica Britannica* vol. 18, Music at the Court of Henry VIII.)

Goodwin's article, which also contains edited transcriptions in tablature of 'O lux beata trinitas' and 'Coll standyth', and Ian Payne's reconstruction of 'Ravysshed was I' can be found in *Lute News* no. 61 (April 2002). A final, more detailed report, including photographs and vocal music reconstructions is forthcoming in *The Lute*.



PERFORMANCE OF 'MOZART'S' ARRANGEMENT OF HANDEL'S JUDAS MACCABAEUS

HALIFAX, 23 JUNE 2002

RACHEL COWGILL

Mozart's arrangements of Handel's choral works for performances in Vienna, 1789-90, tend to arouse mixed feelings among musicians. That Mozart was willing to update Handel's scoring offends Romantic notions of fidelity to the work and the integrity of the artist-genius, and moves against contemporary preoccupations with 'authentic' texts and performances.

Yet when an unknown manuscript arrangement of Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* attributed to Mozart was discovered last year, among the scores of the Halifax Choral Society in Calderdale District Archives, the level of media interest was considerable, with journalists trading on the iconic status of the two protagonists and explaining the practice in terms of 'cover versions' and 'remixes'. Public interest was such that Trio and the new digital arts channel BBC Four commissioned a documentary on the discovery, and, with financial input from The Halifax Bank, filmed a public performance of the arrangement given by Halifax Choral Society and the North of England Chamber Orchestra in Victoria Hall, Halifax, on 23 June 2002. Both the documentary and the concert will be scheduled for broadcast in the UK and US some time in September.

The score of the Halifax *Judas* is not in Mozart's hand; it was probably prepared around 1820 for publication, but seems not to have made it into print. It is possible that the copyist/arranger was working from Mozart's sketches or instructions (rather as Sussmayr may have done in the 'Sanctus' and 'Benedictus' of the Requiem), but until such manuscript material comes to light, the attribution of the 'additional wind and brass parts' to Mozart will remain a moot point. (For a detailed discussion of the arrangement and its provenance see the Spring issue of *The Musical Times*.) In many respects, this arrangement of *Judas Maccabaeus* follows Mozart's procedures in his version of *Messiah*; the 'additional wind and brass parts' include three trombones, two clarinets, and enhanced roles for flutes, bassoons, and horns. Whilst on paper these enriched textures seem perilously weighty at times, in the concert hall they came across to great effect, adding drama, depth, and new melodic touches that complement without obscuring the original contours of the work. Conductor John Pryce-Jones kept a lightness of touch in the orchestral tuttis and a judicious balance between choir and orchestra, and the performance was graced by some fine solos from Mary Nelson, Victoria Simmonds, Glenn Kesby, Peter Hoare, Andrew Foster-Williams. Hoare, who studied nearby at Huddersfield University, was particularly well-cast in his vibrant renditions of 'Arm, arm ye brave' and 'Sound and alarm'. Other memorable moments included Kesby's serene account of 'Father of Heav'n', and a mellifluous but resolute 'O never bow we down' from Nelson and Simmonds, in which the additional parts, including a short passage score for 'Harmonie', worked beautifully.

The only jarring note was the use of a harpsichord for the *secco recitative*, which seems a strange decision considering the score itself dates from around 1820 and the ensemble was performing on modern instruments. In the Halifax score, there is neither figured bass nor reference to a keyboard instrument; but a more appropriate choice for the continuo would surely have been a piano, perhaps even an early instrument by Pohlmann, the Victorian Halifax piano makers, if such could have been found. This was doubtless the practice in the 1850s, when Halifax Choral Society performed the arrangement several times, having been presented with the score by William Priestley, a local wool merchant, amateur musician, and one of the society's founding members.

All in all, the concert was a real credit to the Halifax Choral Society, and to Trio, BBC Four, and The Halifax Bank, whose support enabled it to go ahead. The performing materials, which were prepared and edited by John Longstaff, are available for hire from Novello's; so for choral societies and choirs who have long savoured Mozart's embellishments of Handel's *Messiah*, this will surely be a tempting proposition.

RECONSTRUCTIONS OF TWO PRE-REFORMATION TUDOR ORGANS

DOMINIC GWYNN

The experience of listening to any piece of music is shaped by various factors. The most important contribution is that of the 'composer', but the interpretation, the sound and the surroundings also play their parts. In the case of the performance of church music in early 16th-century England, some vital clues regarding interpretation, sound and context have been missing, but through the reconstruction of two early organs, the Tudor Organ Project is bringing us closer to an evocation of the musical life of the time.

The two organs are based on the two surviving soundboards of the period, and their names are taken from the churches for which these soundboards were made; the larger of the two will be described as the 'Wetheringsett' organ, the smaller as the 'Wingfield' organ. Both churches are in Suffolk, and the organs from which the soundboards survive were made at some point between 1520 and 1540.

The reconstructed organs contain exact copies of the two soundboards, and otherwise follow models from the 1530s. Soundboards yield a great deal of the essential information about the whole organ. This information can be corroborated and expanded from surviving archival evidence for English organs, from the earliest surviving English organs in the early 17th century, and from the closest Continental examples. For the music, the most important feature is also the most securely known; that is, the pitch. We know that the longest pipes would have been five foot at C, sounding a sharp F at singing pitch.

The money for the organs has been raised by the Early English Organ Project, which was initiated by Michael Bowers, who, unfortunately, died before the first organ was made. His position was taken on by Dame Anne Warburton. The organs were made by Martin Goetze and Dominic Gwynn. The instruments are available for residencies in this country and abroad, so that a variety of audiences can learn about the performance of early 16th-century English church music. Applications should be made to the Chairman of the EEOP, Professor John Harper (jharper@rscm.com). Much of the credit for initiating the project is due to Professor Harper, and to Timothy Easton, whose extensive knowledge of 16th-century vernacular architecture has contributed to the design and decoration of the cases.

APPEARANCE

One of the aims of the project has been to attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the two organs by using information about their purpose and their original positioning. The Wetheringsett organ was used in public services at a parish church, was paid for by local merchants or yeomen, and perhaps made by East Anglian rather than metropolitan or Continental craftsmen. The Wingfield organ was made for a collegiate church, used (with professional singers) for the priests' masses, and perhaps paid for by the local magnate. It was not the main organ, and we know from a late 18th-century account that it stood on a rood loft (still extant) under an arch, which limited its height and its outline. It had two fronts, one speaking into the chancel, the other into the adjoining chapel. The soundboards themselves also provide information about appearance, including the overall size, the shape of the pipe front, and the position of the uprights between the pipes.

Both cases are made of oak and follow the style of East Anglian church woodwork of the 1530s. Both will probably be painted, using colours still seen in East Anglian churches, not least in Wingfield itself. The wooden pipes in the front of the Wingfield organ are shaped to look like metal ones, and have painted decoration.

SOUND

The soundboards, which provide clues about the stoplist and the pipe scales, the most important elements in the sound of an organ, help to fill an important gap in our knowledge of the sound of late medieval English organs. The position of the pipes, the space around them and the size of the holes on which they stand give a fairly conclusive idea about the stops. It is obvious that the pipes at the back of the Wetheringsett organ were basses, presumably a sub-octave stop. Rank I has large toeholes but little space for the pipes. We know that contemporary organs in London and Westminster had regals, and this seems a logical solution to the problem of what kind of pipes occupied rank I. Otherwise both organs have paired ranks of identical pipes at the unison, octave and fifteenth.

The evidence suggests that English organs from the first fifty years of the 16th century were built in an English style, though where obvious links exist with Continental organs, they appear to be closer to Southern European (e.g. Italian and Iberian) rather than Northern styles (e.g. Rhenish, or Flemish).

The pipes of the Wetheringsett organ are made mostly of metal and based on pipes from early 16th-century Spanish organs, while those of the Wingfield organ are wooden pipes (as they were seen in 1796) based on those in the earliest surviving English organ at Knole in Kent.

MECHANISM

Many clues about the mechanisms can be deduced from the two surviving soundboards. They specify the position of the pallets and the key action pulldowns. It is clear, for instance, that the keys in the Wingfield organ were not on the same side as the main pipe front. The Wetheringsett organ obviously had sliders, and in the Wingfield soundboard the upperboard and sliders (the end of one of the pieces of which indicates that it was pulled by a lever) survive. Otherwise the missing parts, like the keys and the bellows, will be supplied from surviving late medieval remnants in Spain (e.g. the *c.*1530 organs in the Capilla de Anaya and the Capilla Dorada in Salamanca Cathedral) and France (e.g. the 1558 organ at St Savin near Lourdes).

SPECIFICATIONS
WETHERINGSETT ORGAN

The compass is C to a", 46 notes. The longest Principal pipe is 5ft long; the actual pitch is seven semitones above modern pitch. The stop list is:

I		regal	5'
II	open metal	principal	5'
III	open metal	principa	5' (in the front)
IV	open metal	octave	
V	open metal	octave	
VI	open metal	fifteenth	
VII	stopped wood	basses	10'

THE 'WINGFIELD' ORGAN

The compass is F to g" a", 40 notes. The stop list is

I	open wood	principal	5' (alternately on both fronts)
II	open wood	octave	
III	open wood	octave	
IV	open wood	fifteenth	
V	open wood	fifteenth	

The 'Wingfield' Organ

The 'Wetheringsett' Organ

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