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Dr Bryan White  
EDITOR  
School of Music, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT (UK)  
e mail: b.white@leeds.ac.uk  
tel: (+44) 0113 343 8228  
fax: (+44) 0113 343 9181



EDITORIAL BOARD: Clifford Bartlett, Clive Brown, Nancy Hadden, Ian Harwood, Christopher Hogwood, Peter Holman, David Lasocki, Richard Maunder, Christopher Page, Andrew Parrott, Michael Talbot

# EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

Dear Readers,

May I open with an apology for the late appearance of this issue of *Early Music Performer*. This is the second issue since the journal has been restructured, and we are still in the process of building up a backlog of articles and news items which will allow us to run to a strict timetable. We expect that your next issue will arrive in August as advertised, and in the meantime, we appreciate your patience.

I think you will find that this issue of *EMP* offers a wide range of subjects. Amanda-Louise Babington's article on Handel's solo sonatas provides a good introduction to the difficulties surrounding this area of Handel studies, and includes quick reference information for performers trying to decide which sonatas to play, or, given the confusion over numbering and authenticity, even which ones they are playing. Clifford Bartlett's lecture given at the NEMA day last November provides a personal view of his approach to editing music. His discussion nicely balances theoretical questions with the nuts and bolts of putting the music on the page. Mark Goodwin's article on the sea-change in the choice of material for E strings might at first glance seem to stretch beyond the bounds of 'early' music. However, one of the great advances that has in part resulted from the early music movement is an increasing desire to study and understand the way music was performed in the past. The idea of 'historically informed performance' has for many years been a feature of the performance of music from the Baroque era, and it has been spreading gradually to encompass the music of the Classical and Romantic periods. Mark's article on gut and wire E strings came to my mind this past November when I attended a performance of *Jenůfa* by Opera North. While listening to a violin solo (in which act I cannot recall) I found myself

thinking how different it probably sounded in the first run of performances in Brno in 1904; in all likelihood it was performed on a gut E string with little or no vibrato. And what of the singers—how different might their approach to technique have been? Roger Freitas's article in the latest issue of the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* tackles the issue of vocal production in the performance of Verdi's operas. Freitas trained as a singer, and like me, was taught that 'proper' singing was based on certain 'timeless physiological truths', namely that one should sing with an even larynx and with a continuous vibrato. Freitas, however, is able to show convincingly that this was not the approach taken by singers and teachers contemporary with Verdi, and that one of the great pioneers of a physiological approach to vocal pedagogy, Manuel Garcia II, advocated vocal tones produced by both a high and low positioning of the larynx. His article draws on Verdi's letters, Garcia's treatises, and early recordings, and I highly recommend it to anyone interested in singing and opera. I sincerely hope that the information he provides will filter through to singers, and perhaps more importantly, vocal teachers and those responsible for hiring singers in opera houses. Certainly a return to the precepts of Garcia's teaching might bring a variety of vocal tone to operatic performances, which to some ears is missing today.

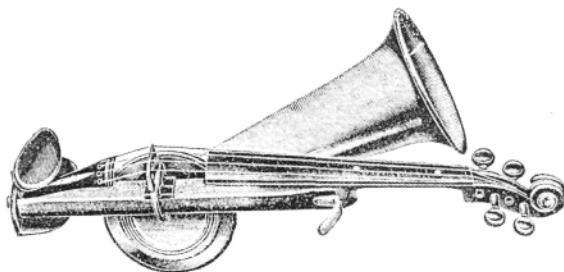
The front cover is taken from Thomas Busby's *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians Ancient and Modern* (London, 1825). It is a facsimile of Haydn's autograph, but the piece from which it is taken is not named. Can you identify it? Answers and more in the next issue.

# THE VIOLIN E STRING: FROM GUT TO STEEL IN FIFTY YEARS

MARK GOODWIN

From the nineteenth century up to the early decades of the twentieth century, there is reliable evidence of widespread dissatisfaction with certain characteristics of the gut violin string, and in particular the gut E. Performers regularly snapped strings whilst playing in public—there are accounts of performers breaking up to six strings in a single hour.<sup>1</sup> Strings would snap if the violin was left in a room where climatic conditions were likely to change, and adverse effects were to be expected when playing in any humid environment. Perspiration of the left hand could corrode the gut fibres leading to a possible break and sometimes a player would fit a new gut string, only to discover that it was ‘false’.<sup>2</sup>

Improved manufacturing techniques were developed by string makers to combat such short-comings, and alternative materials were explored with the hope of producing a more durable string which retained the admired warm tonal quality of gut. While progress was made on the manufacturing of G, D, and to some extent, A strings, all pre-twentieth century attempts to improve upon the gut E string had failed to tempt the mainstream performer to turn his back on the old ‘catgut’. The inherent tonal qualities of the gut string, it is widely argued, cannot be matched by a synthetic substitute and the highest praise that can be given to such a string is that it sounds ‘as warm as a gut’.<sup>3</sup>



1. This violin was advertised in *The Strad* early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by *Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd.*

Nowadays, a combination of various steel and synthetic materials inhabit the peg-boxes of the vast majority of violinists – Pickering, in 1992,

went so far as to say that, ‘Even the most passionate advocates of gut strings nowadays use steel E’s for standard instruments’.<sup>4</sup>

Franz Thomastik, in his 1932 publication *Die Stahlsaiten*, apparently implied that the relatively sudden change in use of E string material was a transition of practicality as much as musicality. Pickering observes that, ‘The general impression is that, in improving such things as tuning stability and longevity, something is lost in quality [when using metal or synthetic strings instead of gut].<sup>5</sup> It would not be surprising to find a certain amount of controversy and resistance associated with this reform—especially in light of the old violin-makers’ saying, ‘You can do anything you want to a violin—just so long as you don’t change anything’.<sup>6</sup> The maker of the *Horn Model Violin* [illus. 1] was obviously unaware of this maxim.

However, Pickering adds that,

In the area of strings, we’ve been fortunate that there aren’t those deep-rooted prejudices and reactionary attitudes that prevent musicians from trying new types of strings. The reason for this is that the old strings don’t always work so well. Musicians, being practical people, find that if something makes their playing easier and better, they are perfectly willing to try it.<sup>7</sup>

To understand the evolution of the E string and the controversy it caused, it will be necessary to look at the history of the gut string, detailing various opinions of it, its shortcomings and attempted solutions to these shortcomings.

## THE UNWITTING PRELUDE

In order to understand fully the reasons behind the eventual near-universal use of the steel E string, it is important to put this radical reform into context by exploring the various issues relating to gut violin strings at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. This period of violin history served as an unwitting prelude to the supremacy of the steel violin E string. Late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century issues of *The Strad* are a vital source of information, offering three different types of evidence—namely, articles, letters to the editor, and advertisements. It would often be the case that an article in one issue would initiate a series of responses in the *Correspondence* section. The main issue concerning violin strings at this time was not which material to use but where to get the best material from. It was widely accepted that the finest gut strings came from Italy—an opinion that had remained largely unchallenged since the 1600s.<sup>8</sup> John Dunn, a leading performer of the day, was a devotee of Italian gut strings but found that they were difficult to obtain:

London vendors do not seem to have any knowledge of the very best Italian makers of catgut [...] I am obliged to procure mine—the best Italian strings possible—direct from headquarters on the continent.<sup>9</sup>

Dunn went on to imply his willingness to supply other British violinists with good Italian strings. Readers' responses to Dunn's article included the following statement from a 'Lancastrian' which offers a clear insight into the quality of strings available to the public.

There could not possibly be a more opportune proposal than that [...] put forward by John Dunn [...] that he should make arrangements for supplying violinists with really good and genuine Italian strings [...]. There was never a time within my memory of thirty years when it was so difficult to get even a tolerably good string. [...] Some years ago I got strings at Augener's. These were said to be the same as used by Joachim, and were excellent. Not one in a dozen was false, and they wore well, sounded well, and were a pleasure and satisfaction to play on. Now all is changed, [the strings] are just as dear as the best used to be, whilst their quality will not bear a moments comparison. Often, now, I get a whole bundle of strings handed me to choose from: not one of the lot will be as thick as the smallest measurement on my gauge [...] and I have sometimes to go away without purchasing, which is always a painful thing to do. This evil of very thin strings is widespread. They

really look as if made from only two strands of gut, whereas all firsts should have three strands [...] and if you buy you will often find that not one of a lot will even bear tuning up to pitch. The strings are rotten before they are ripe.<sup>10</sup>

There was widespread eulogising of Italian string makers at the turn of the twentieth century; Hart informed his readers that,

Musical strings are manufactured in Italy, Germany, France and England. The Italians rank the first in this manufacture, their proficiency being evident in the three chief requisites for strings—high finish, great durability, and purity of sound. [...] The English manufacture all qualities, but chiefly the cheaper kinds; they are durable, but unevenly made, and have a dark appearance.<sup>11</sup>

John Broadhouse went so far as to imply that string makers all over the world were wasting their time by trying to compete with the Italian makers. He believed that only the gut of an Italian sheep was a suitable E string material for a soloist:

The best—indeed the only first strings suitable for solo playing—come from Italy. All attempts in more northern countries to produce E strings of the goodness, delicacy, and equality of the Italian firsts, have up to now, and are likely to remain, absolute failures, for they lack the one vital and indispensable material—the peculiar quality of gut.<sup>12</sup>

Reactionary comments were instantaneous. W. Woolf contradicted Broadhouse's claims with the following statement:

I think it my duty to protest in the interest of facts brought before me during the many years of experience in connection with this branch. [...] The great market for the purchase of the intestines of the sheep and lamb today is Great Britain, and many of the leading Continental manufacturers pay periodical visits to purchase at these markets. High prices generally range at these sales, and the best products are as a rule purchased by the Saxon string makers. [...] String factories on the Continent depend only upon [British] supply in the matter of gut.<sup>13</sup>

As these quotes suggest, the majority of performers were not using or seeking alternative string materials but were more interested in trying to obtain a constant supply of quality gut strings. Even when a good set of strings had been found, the performer's troubles were far from over. Below is a selection of accounts which highlight some of the difficulties

performers encountered in using their cherished gut strings. Even the finest Italian strings could not be relied upon under certain conditions:

Everyone knows the great sensitivity to moisture of gut [...] in a musical context it makes itself noticeable in a very disturbing way. With every change of moisture in the air, the gut string goes out of tune and changes its sound character. In warm rooms, the thin strings tend to break during playing. With sweaty hands, the loss of purity of the fifths (as far as it was there before) is unavoidable.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Arbuthnot had already noted, in the eighteenth century, that:

I have found that the single fibres, both of animal and vegetable substances, are lengthened by water or by moist air; a fiddle-string moistened with water will sink a note in a little time, and consequently [it is] relaxed or lengthened one-sixteenth. The steam of hot water will sink it a note in five or six minutes.<sup>15</sup>

As a consequence of this natural phenomenon, a player's breath (and that of anyone else present) would often make gut strings go flat:

Playing in a concert hall where the heat of the room is a moist heat, one's fiddle would go flat and conversely if the heat in the room was dry and burning, the strings would lose their natural moisture, get sharp, and be in serious danger of snapping.<sup>16</sup>

Nachéz reminisced in 1918 that, 'The first time I heard Sarasate play the Saint-Saëns Concerto, at Frankfurt, he twice forgot his place and stopped. They brought him the music, he began for the third time and then—the E string snapped!'<sup>17</sup> It is clear that Sarasate was having a bad day, and any violinist who has ever experienced these incapacitating moments will know that the sweat soon starts pouring—reputedly the gut E string user's worst nightmare. 'The player whose hands perspire heavily is truly to be pitied [and in such a case], even a seasoned Italian [string] cannot always be depended upon.'<sup>18</sup> Flesch suggests a remedy for the problem of heavy perspiration, 'Excessive perspiration is one of the most unwelcome gifts of an often too cruel Mother Nature. Treatment by an experienced specialist in skin diseases would be indicated.'<sup>19</sup> Heavy perspiration was apparently still hampering gut string users in the 1930s; an advertisement in *The Strad* reads:

Perspiration rots your strings, is injurious to your instrument and seriously impairs your playing. There is no need for you to suffer this inconvenience if you use *Perex Anti-Perspiration Cream*. This Scientific

Preparation is highly recommended to all instrumentalists who are troubled with this malady.<sup>20</sup>

Maud Powell, interviewed in 1919, remembered that, 'twelve years ago one humid, foggy summer in Connecticut [...] I had such trouble with strings snapping that I cried: "Give me anything but a gut string."'<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps even more frustrating than moisture, for a violinist, was the phenomenon of 'false' strings. 'Lancastrian', writing to the editor of *The Strad* in 1898 observed:

A false string never sounds the true ostensible note; there is another note, or notes, sounding at the same time, and it is difficult to decide which note predominates. These other notes are not the legitimate overtones and are out of true harmonic relationship with the ostensible or intended note.<sup>22</sup>

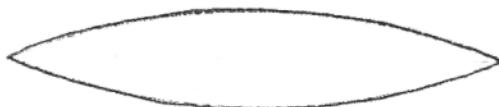
False strings were a common source of complaint amongst the violin playing community at the turn of the twentieth century. 'Lancastrian' continued:

If I write to a purveyor of violin strings and he sends me a dozen, and I find that every string is false, what remedy have I against the vendor? This has happened to me again and again. I have had whole bundles of strings, all false. Apparently well made enough, and not wanting in durability, but false as the devil!

The writer then explains that he was in Padua where he 'bought a large lot of strings, I soon tried these strings. All false! I gave [back] the whole lot, excepting those I used for tying on luggage labels, parcels etc.'<sup>23</sup> Spohr claimed that one could spot a false string before putting it on the violin:

This is done by taking the string between the thumb and fore-finger of both hands, at those points where it rests on the bridge and the nut; straining it moderately tight; and putting it into vibration with the fourth finger of the right hand. If then, a similar figure to the following [illus. 2], is formed from its vibrations: the string is true, and fit for use.

## 2.



but if a third line appears, as in the next figure [illus. 3]; it is, on the contrary, false.<sup>24</sup>



Heron-Alen doubted the reliability of this test claiming that:

A string which may seem true at a slight tension may quite possibly be false at the higher tension to which it is subjected when applied to a fiddle, though as a rule a string will be false at a low tension whilst it is true at a higher.<sup>25</sup>

The most common cause for a string's falseness was when it was found not to be of uniform diameter along its vibrating length. This fault could often be attributed to careless workmanship or simply occurred because gut is a natural fibre and one cannot always expect natural fibres to behave in a uniform way. In 1993 Pickering pointed out that, 'Accuracy and uniformity of diameter to a fraction of a thousandth of an inch is attained by cylindrical grinding nowadays, but pre-twentieth century gut strings must have varied considerably more in that respect.<sup>26</sup> He was right of course; many violinists found that the diameter of their strings varied along their length. Spohr observed: 'Nearly all strings [...] are somewhat thinner at one end than at the other.<sup>27</sup> Solutions to such problems were largely ineffective. String makers tried many variations on the same basic principles of string making in the hope that they would produce a more durable string, but their efforts were in vain; the same problems continued to hold back the progress of violin virtuosity. One can imagine a string maker of the day thinking that if a new string material could be found, that would be unaffected by climatic conditions, would be durable, would stay in tune, and would have a good tone then it could open the door for a whole new level of violin performance and virtuosity.

#### ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGIES: THE RISE OF STEEL

At the turn of the twentieth century the tonal quality of the gut string was held in such high regard that a large majority of players clung to its use, putting up with all of its shortcomings. Steps were taken in the manufacturing process to try and improve the durability and stability of the gut string, but none of these came close to eradicating the problems. Naturally, the E strings were most problematic. Strung up to the maximum tension they are always on the verge of disaster.<sup>29</sup> Revolutionary improvements in the gut string were not to be expected and so new string materials were experimented with. The silk—used almost exclusively<sup>30</sup> as a string material in Asia for centuries—did not suffer from many of the problems of gut, and so it won many advocates and was a

common commodity by 1885.<sup>31</sup> It was seen by many as the answer to the emerging gut versus steel controversy. For players troubled with perspiring hands, and for hot or damp climates, silk strings were invaluable, and they made up for in convenience what they certainly lacked in tone.<sup>32</sup> They were apt to fray and get ragged, and acribelle, as the silk strings were then known, once gone wrong, was 'ghastly with a ghastliness more easily imagined than described.'<sup>33</sup> The tonal qualities of the acribelle were not much admired in comparison with those of the gut string; the tone was considered thin and wiry, and less sympathetic than that of a gut.<sup>34</sup> Thomastik wrote that the silk string did not [...] have a satisfying tone and that it couldn't be made thinner<sup>35</sup> than a gut because its specific gravity was more or less the same.<sup>36</sup> The acribelle would stretch up to 20% when brought up to pitch, which created problems in keeping it in tune, and its dull tone and lack of brilliance was a result of the many individual threads rubbing against each other. A glue substance was added to these strings to combat this problem but it made the string brittle and rough.

Piper commented in 1921 that the silk string had hitherto been regarded as the only possible substitute for the gut string when the use of the latter was impracticable for whatever reason.<sup>37</sup> It was considered indispensable to players who were afflicted with unduly sweaty fingers, but its tonal deficiencies were such that 'no player of any discernment would be likely to use an acribelle string for [solo] work if he could avoid it.'<sup>38</sup> Mr. R. Müller ran a very persistent advertising campaign c.1900-1920 selling both gut and silk strings. He made bold statements as to the quality of his strings and offered money back guarantees if his customers weren't satisfied. Müller's claims about his lines of silk strings included, 'Much better than old line Acribelles. I have overcome the annoying harshness. Tone is full and rich. You will be amazed'<sup>39</sup> (see illus. 4). However, the silk string never achieved sufficient popularity, or the respect, for it failed to satisfy the long and intricate list of requirements for a suitable violin string material. Bearing in mind Thomastik's claim that, 'If one is no longer going to use the gut string, there is not much choice—only silk or steel,'<sup>40</sup> then it was to be hoped that steel would prove a more satisfactory option. Steel, the material which was eventually to supplant gut, had been in use for many years but had been seen as a very poor alternative to silk.

The following two statements were made in 1883 and 1932 respectively; 'This [steel E] string is advertised as superior in tone to the finest Roman. It is not superior; it is inferior'<sup>41</sup> and; 'The radical seriousness of the concert platform compels the artist against all sentimentality to acknowledge [the steel E string's] advantages.'<sup>42</sup> These two statements suggest that a significant change of opinion had occurred within the violin community within half a century,

yet there are no written publications that exhaustively chart this change of opinion. Though books from this period invariably contain a short section on the history and construction of gut strings, they never explore the change of attitude which resulted in the near-universal adoption of the steel violin E string. A likely reason for this lack of written material is that the performers of the day would have all experienced the rise in popularity of the steel E string first hand, and so a book detailing what every player already knew would hardly have been a best-seller. The most insightful exploration of wire E string issue from the period is *Violin Mastery* written in 1919; it contains a series of interviews conducted by Frederick H. Martens with nineteen of the leading performers and teachers of the violin (including Heifetz and Kreisler). Some of the artists interviewed share their opinions of the wire E string in a very frank manner and excerpts from the book will inform the following discussion.

The author of *The Violin: How to Master it* (1883) referred to the steel string as 'an American invention':

From a specimen submitted to me for notice by a dealer, which I have tested on my own violin, I have made the following observations: (1) The sound of the string is metallic: it lacks the velvety softness of the gut string; and it is always objectionable to have strings of different quality on a violin. The difference in running from one to the other is offensive to the ear. (2) The sound of the open string is decidedly bad; but it improves steadily as you ascend till, from C upwards, it seems clearer than a gut, but somewhat ear-piercing in quality. [...] the natural [harmonics] are not in tune. The harmonic E in the centre of the string is a quarter tone flat [...]; and the harmonic E an octave above that [...] is a semitone flat. [...] The harmonics, too, have also the ear-piercing quality of tone instead of the fluty softness of the gut. (3) The string has a disagreeable echo, and seems to vibrate in a sneaking way, even when only the other strings are being played upon. (4) The tone is clear and brilliant only with a strongly pressed bow. With a light bow [...] it fails to give either a good note or a ready response. [...] (5) It is exceedingly difficult to tune. The wire is already strained to its utmost, and does not yield even so much as a silk string, which may be *tugged* into tune when the peg refuses to adjust the difference. From these facts I conclude that the [steel] string is not suitable for

solo playing of the purest order, nor for orchestral playing of the higher kind, in the midst of which one has very often to tune the first string by a mere speculative touch of the peg; [...] the metal string, like the silk, acts injuriously on the tone of the other three.<sup>43</sup>

4.

ADVERTISEMENTS. THE STRAD 1906/2017 363  
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**R. MÜLLER: HIS PAGE.**

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Special Solo E, A, D & G. INCOMPARABLE. Wear double of other gut.

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NEW ACIRIBELLES:—"Little Imps," "Sentinel," "Crack Shot," "Black Rose."

All much better than old line Aciribelles. I have overcome the annoying harshness.

Tone is full and rich. You will be amazed.

Many more Dealers have lately applied for my New Manufacture Strings. This is because Violinists demand them. Many thanks. But this is not enough. Everyone of you will realize that these Strings deserve to be in every shop without any delay, so that every player can get them where and when he likes. Do not expect the Dealer to know what you want. He cannot know. Tell him what you want. Every Pupil should have a set of these Strings.

ONCE MORE! Ask all your friends how they like my samples. Go to the Dealers and insist upon seeing my New lines. If you cannot see them send to me for sample assortment. But don't wait. I take full responsibility for all I say. Therefore you make the most satisfactory purchase with me. If you are not satisfied with any String of mine Dealers supply, send me the string, the envelope, and name of Dealer, and I will make good all the damage. Mind and do this. I want you to say all you can against my Strings. It will help me.

All my Strings are carefully gauged. Tell me what you want—gut or gut, and what sizes; order E, A, D and G. I am not sending out any more free samples. My New Manufacture Strings are worth double of all others. They are a century in advance of everything else. If you find it is not true, I return your money and you keep the Strings for nothing.

Please send me a list of all Violinists in your district. I want to send them my new and interesting Booklet on Strings.

ALL NAMES OF STRINGS ARE REGISTERED.

If you find any difficulty in obtaining my Goods through the Trade, please write to me direct:

**R. MÜLLER, 30, Spencer Avenue, Bowes Park LONDON, N.**

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Piper reminisced in a 1921 article that,

Wire strings [...] are not by any means a novelty. I made a brief trial of one such nearly forty years ago [...] the things then in use were I believe dangerous, besides being unsatisfactory in other ways, and caused some nasty little incidents by snapping in the player's face.<sup>44</sup>

In light of these comments regarding the 1880s, it is no surprise to find that advertisements of this time are devoid of any reference to the 'despised'<sup>45</sup> wire E string. Dealers may well have stocked them but perhaps chose not to advertise them for fear of upsetting the traditionalists, or perhaps they did not believe there was a sufficiently large market to warrant the cost of advertisement. Not a single advertisement from the first issue of *The Strad* in 1890, through to 1920 offers a steel E string for sale. The first reference to the steel E string in an advertisement occurs in 1911 and is, in fact, a

criticism. In it R.Müller draws similarities between violin strings and cigar connoisseurs:

You all know that there are four kinds of cigar. (1) The Havana. (2) The good cigar. (3) The ordinary cigar, and (4) The no-thanks-old-man-I'd-prefer-a-pipe-if-you-don't-mind. So too, it is with strings. The no-thanks-old-man-I'd-prefer-wire type of string is far far too commonly sold.<sup>46</sup>

Müller then goes on to liken other types of string to the remaining three types of cigar, not surprisingly concluding that his own strings are like the Havana. The fact that Müller felt the need to undermine the quality of wire E strings suggests that his business was threatened by their presence. A decade later, such fears were confirmed as *British Music & Tennis Ltd.* advertised, on a full page, their new *Cathedral* and *Summit* lines of 'rust resisting steel strings'.<sup>47</sup> The existence of an earlier, largely undocumented, trade in metal strings is indicated by statements such as, 'The old unplated string always gave a better tone than the plated string, but unfortunately it was so liable to rust'.<sup>48</sup> The advertisement perhaps marks a time when string makers felt public opinion was no longer quite so hostile towards the steel string, and that it would not harm their image to be seen producing them. The advertisement's appearance seems to indicate that public demand for steel strings was strong enough to warrant a company paying for a full-page advertisement.

Somewhat surprisingly, neither the *Correspondence* pages nor any articles that appeared in *The Strad* during this same period of c.1890-1920 contain a single reference to the steel violin E string. It is quite possible that by 1914, people had more important things to worry about than the choice of material used for one's violin string; the First World War had begun, creating a European and American shortage of material with which to make strings, and also of labourers to manufacture them. Gut supply was limited for two reasons; firstly, it was reserved for surgical stitching during the war and secondly, much of the gut had hitherto been imported from Germany. Steel was not plentiful either because it was needed for military purposes. Apparently, German violinists were not suffering from the same shortage of gut strings because, as late as 1920, professional German orchestral players were signing contracts which stipulated that steel strings were not to be used.<sup>49</sup> Amidst such a conservative attitude to the violin, one wonders what reaction a player might have received had he arrived at a rehearsal with a 'Horn Model Violin' tucked under his chin (see illus. 1).

*Violin Mastery* was published the year after the First World War ended, and the comments of the various artists interviewed in this book (recorded between December 1917 and September

1918) are strikingly frank; the polarisation of the two emerging opinions is readily apparent. Of the sixteen artists interviewed (from Europe and America), eight put forward their opinion on steel E strings. Below are the statements of the five artists who advocated of the gut E string at the time the book was published.<sup>50</sup> 'As to strings, [...] I never use wire strings—they have no colour, no quality,' says Mischa Elman. Samuel Gardner, in his twenty-eighth year when *Violin Mastery* was published, commented:

I think that wire strings are largely used now-a-days because gut strings are hard to obtain—not because they are better. I do not use wire strings. I have tried them and find them thin in tone, or so brilliant that their tone is too piercing. Then, too, I find that the use of a wire E reduces the volume of tone of the other strings. No wire string has the quality of a fine gut string; and I regard them only as a substitute in the case of some people, and a convenience for lazy ones.<sup>51</sup>

David Mannes, a 'well-known violinist and conductor'<sup>52</sup> approached the 'Gut Versus Wire Strings'<sup>53</sup> issue from an interesting angle:

If Stradivarius, Guarnerius, Amati, Maggini and others had ever had wire strings in view, they would have built their fiddles in accordance, and they would not be the same we now possess. First of all there are scientific reasons against using wire E strings. They change the tone of the instrument. The rigidity of tension of the wire E string where it crosses the bridge tightens up the sound of the lower strings. Their advantages are: reliability under adverse climatic conditions and the incontestable fact that they make things easier technically. They facilitate purity of intonation. Yet I am willing to forgo these advantages when I consider the wonderful pliability of the gut strings for which Stradivarius built his violins. I can see the artistic retrogression of those who are using the wire E, for when materially things are made easier, spiritually there is a loss.<sup>54</sup>

Tivadar Nachéz was interviewed during a war-time visit to the States:

I cannot use the wire strings that are now in such vogue here. I have to have Italian gut strings. The wire E cuts my fingers, and besides I notice a perceptible difference in sound quality. Of course, wire strings are practical; they do not 'snap' on the concert stage.<sup>55</sup>

The final artist, out of those interviewed, who spoke unfavourably about the use of the steel E string was Toscha Seidel, a young Russian performer:

As to wire strings, I hate them! In the first place, a wire E sounds distinctly different to the artist than does a gut E. And it is a difference which any violinist will notice. Then, too, the wire E is so thin that the fingers have nothing to take hold of, to touch firmly. And to me the metallic vibrations, especially on the open strings, are most disagreeable. Of course, from a purely practical standpoint there is much to be said for the wire E.<sup>56</sup>

Bearing in mind Thomastik's claim that all serious performers were using steel E strings on stage by 1932, it would be interesting to learn just how long it took for these players to finally submit to the rapidly improving quality of steel E strings being offered. Piper, writing for *The Strad* believed that the phrase 'he that *complies* against his will is of his own opinion still,'<sup>57</sup> could be aptly applied to many violinists of the day.

Looking now at the remaining three artists who made comments about the wire E string, one cannot fail to notice just how far apart the two poles of opinion were at this time. Eddy Brown had been using a wire E string ever since he broke six gut strings in a single hour performing at Seal Harbour, Maine:

A wire string, I find, is not only easier to play, but it has a more brilliant quality of tone than a gut string; and I am now so accustomed to using the wire E, that I would feel ill at ease if I did not have one on my instrument. Contrary to general belief, it does not sound 'metallic,' unless the string itself is of very poor quality.<sup>58</sup>

Jacques Thibaud had similar difficulties with gut strings:

Yes, I use a wire E string. Before I found out about them I had no end of trouble. In New Orleans I snapped seven gut strings at a single concert. Some say that you can tell the difference when listening between a gut and a wire E. I cannot, and I know a good many others who cannot. [...] When I told [Ysayé] I used a wire E he confessed that he could not have told the difference. And, in fact, he has adopted the wire E just like Kreisler, Powell and others, and has told me that he is charmed with it—for Ysayé has had a great deal of trouble with his strings. I shall continue to use them even after the war, when it will be possible to obtain good gut strings again.<sup>59</sup>

The final positive testimonial for the wire E string from *Violin Mastery* is given by Maud Powell:

Well I use a wire E string. I began to use it twelve years ago one humid, foggy summer in Connecticut. I had had such trouble with strings snapping that I cried: 'Give me anything but a gut string.' The climate practically makes metal strings a necessity [...]. If wire strings had been thought of when Theodore Thomas began his career, he might never have been a conductor, for he told me that he gave up the violin because of the E string. And most people will admit that hearing a wire E you cannot tell it from a gut E. Of course, it is unpleasant on the open strings, but then the open strings never do sound well. And in the highest registers the tone does not spin out long enough because of the tremendous tension: one has to use more bow. And it cuts the hairs: there is a little surface nap on a bow-hair which a wire string wears right out.<sup>60</sup> I had to have my four bows rehaired three times last season. [...] But all said and done it has been a God-send to the violinist who plays in public.<sup>61</sup>

The article 'Wire E Strings' appeared in *The Strad* in 1921. Piper, the author, explained that he has been asked,

to contribute a short paper on the subject of these [wire E] strings, which for some little time have been extensively used by orchestral and cinema players in preference to the silk article which had hitherto been regarded as the only possible substitute for gut strings, where the conditions of playing made the use of the latter impracticable for economic or other reasons.<sup>62</sup>

The writer then commented that recently imported Italian gut strings had failed to satisfy and that the supply was 'intermittent' and 'scanty'. He added that, 'Two or three of our British string making firms are producing good sound gut E strings, but the supply is limited, and the makers [...] have to contend [...] with labour difficulties which entail high prices.' Piper then observed that:

In this eminently unsatisfactory state of affairs the improved, plated steel wire E string has come along, and has apparently 'come to stay.' I hold no brief for the wire article, but am constrained to admit, after a good deal of experiment with it, that it possesses several good points, and is in the main nearly as much superior to the silk string

as the gut E is to the latter. That it can be used most effectively for the highest class of solo work has been amply demonstrated by the redoubtable Heifetz and other well known public players.<sup>63</sup>

It is difficult to leave any of Piper's text out of this paper because it dates from the time when the issue seems to have been most controversial and his article contains a wealth of information. He believed that the common claim that steel strings can damage the instrument was 'arrant nonsense,' adding:

the steel E is easier to play on; the fifths are pure and true; the tone very clear and searching, though lacking some of the roundness of a first-rate gut string; and as to its durability—when properly used—there can be no question whatever. It will last for many months and stands well in tune. The metallic quality, which one would naturally listen for, is by no means so prominent in actual use as might be expected; in fact there are many players [...] who are unable to detect any metal in it, except perhaps in pizzicato passages. To all this must be added the undoubted fact that the extreme high notes are less apt to "squawk" than those produced by a gut E even of good quality.<sup>64</sup>

Piper concluded his list of pros and cons saying, 'Last, but not least; it is cheap!' and then compared the wire E string of 1921 with that of 1880, which he says was dangerous and prone to snap: 'The up to date string does not seem to be open to this objection, though it requires to be brought to pitch gradually to avoid snapping it in the process.'<sup>65</sup> Apart from the actual content of the above comments, spanning only four or five years, the manner in which these comments are made may offer an insight into the attitudes of the violin community in general. There seems to be, in some cases, a reluctance for an artist or writer to commit wholeheartedly to either E string material. From *Violin Mastery*, advocates of the gut E aim strong and damning insults at the new wire article, but then add comments such as: 'Of course, from a purely technical standpoint there is much to be said for the wire E,'<sup>66</sup> and, 'I regard them as a substitute in the case of some people.'<sup>67</sup> Conversely, Piper, though advocating the steel E, acknowledges that, 'I do not expect in writing thus to convince every reader who scans this page that my view of the matter is correct.'<sup>68</sup> He rather weakly challenges gut E advocates, suggesting that, 'any player who is sufficiently unbiased to give the metal E a fair and proper trial will be forced to the conclusion that "there is something in it" after all.'<sup>69</sup> In contrast, the gut E advocates speak out passionately against the wire E, taking little care to avoid insulting those who choose to use it.

5.

The first *Strad* advertisement to offer steel E strings appeared in 1921 (see illus. 5). Not a single gut string was offered for sale and even all-metal A and D strings were offered—these strings, offered by *British Music Strings Ltd.*, consisted of a thin steel wire core, wound with one or more laminations of aluminium and/or copper wire.<sup>70</sup> The company, at this time, offered over two hundred lines of strings but used this advert exclusively to advertise their steel strings. Their next advert carried two convincing statements; 'Many world famous artists now use the Steel E Strings [...] including Jascha Heifetz himself,' and, 'Max Mossell (a major figure in the organisation of the Birmingham Promenade Concerts<sup>71</sup>), after trying this new string, says: "It give [sic] me every satisfaction."<sup>72</sup> So it was not only performers with a limited budget who were using the steel E string, nor was it only the 'lazy' players (as Gardner implied), but professional performers of the highest class, who could have had any string they wished.

Whilst articles about the steel E dried up for much of the 1920s, *The Strad* became steadily more populated with advertisements for the relatively new strings. *British Music Strings Ltd.*, makers of the popular *Cathedral* and *Summit*, were the most prolific in this field. A landmark advertisement appeared in the June 1922 issue of *The Strad* (see illus. 6); it features an advertisement for a steel violin E string on the front cover of the journal. *L. P. Balmforth*

obviously thought it worth the added expense to try and 'tap-in' to the potentially profitable market of steel E strings. In 1923 *British Music Strings Ltd.* advertised their *Cathedral* steel E with an endorsement by Pecskaï who 'was recently delighting the London music-loving public at the Wigmore Hall.' Pecskaï stated:

After giving up the search for a satisfactory Gut E, I tried all sorts of Steel E Strings without "hitting" the perfect one. I purchased a "CATHEDRAL" E, and at once recognised its superiority over the other Steel E's I have tried, and its freedom from the common defects of most Steel E Strings.<sup>73</sup>

6.

**THE STRAD**

A Monthly Journal for Professionals and Amateurs of all Stringed Instruments Played with the Bow.

VOL. XXXIII.—No. 386. JUNE, 1922. PRICE FOURPENCE. Annual Subscription, 5s. Post Free.

JOHN W. OWEN, VIOLIN, VIOLA & CELLO MAKER. Unparalleled quality as presented by England's Greatest Masters. 5, MERRION PLACE & 18, MERRION STREET, LEEDS.

16, Dr. Johnson Passage, BIRMINGHAM. THOS. SIMPSON, VIOLIN MAKER AND RESTORER. 6, Merton Road, HAMPSHIRE. Late of VILLA ROAD, HANSDWORTH. Personal attention given to all Repairs. IMPROVEMENT IN TONE always made a Specialty. Highest Class Workmanship. Lowest possible Charges, and Prompt Attention to all Requirements. 16, Dr. Johnson Passage, BIRMINGHAM.

L. P. BALMFORTH, VIOLIN EXPERT, MAKER AND RESTORER.

VIOLIN CHIN RESTS.

Vulcanite, finest quality, with 2 Screws, 2/4 each. (Post extra).

Large size, Vulcanite, very popular design, 3/- each. (Post extra).

Large Vulcanite Plate, very comfortable, strong screws, 3/4 each. (Post extra).

New Grand Strad Pattern Chin Rest as used by all the leading professionals, 4/- each. (Post extra).

Monster Volume of 19 STANDARD OVERTURES for Violin and Piano. Only 6/6. (Postage, 9d. extra).

BALMFORTH'S latest improved Violin Steel E Adjuster.

ONLY 1/6 EACH.

The most popular Steel Violin E String on the market.

**"SILVERIN."**

PRICE 3d.— each or 2/6 per dozen

5, PARK LANE, LEEDS.

Only a month prior to this advertisement's appearance, *British Music Strings Ltd.* were offering for sale, 'the perfect Gut E string at last'<sup>74</sup>—one wonders why they didn't recommend it to Pecskaï who was merely looking for a 'satisfactory Gut E.' Two years later, the *Cathedral* Steel E is advertised as being, 'Far superior to gut or silk strings, and the old style steel E.' Despite this claim *British Music Strings Ltd.* continued to publish full-page advertisements exclusively touting their gut strings. For the rest of the 1920s through to 1939, a fairly even balance of steel and gut E strings were offered: *Pirastro* launched an impressive advertising campaign starting in 1929 offering chrome steel violin strings; *Pinnacle Strings*

advertised their line of gut strings on the front cover of the June 1935 issue of *The Strad* along with a collection of endorsements from professional players; and the *Thomastik* range of steel strings entered the market. In 1932 a rare flurry of discussion regarding the steel E string appeared in the *Correspondence* pages of *The Strad*. W. J. K. Toms claimed that steel E strings wore down the nap on the bow hairs so rapidly that one's bow needed rehairing every few weeks. He also complained that the high tension of steel E strings necessitated the frequent renewal of the bridge, the fingerboard, the nut, and the peg.<sup>76</sup> It is extremely interesting to find that in the very next issue, John Dunn wrote to *The Strad* editor in direct response to the above complaints. Dunn appears in several advertisements during the 1920s endorsing gut E strings and denouncing the new steel E string, though in this letter he confesses:

Sir,—Replying to Mr. Toms, I became a convert to the wire E some three years ago, after an agonising experience in trying to play on a gut E, which whistled in the humid atmosphere of a seaside concert room. Like, no doubt, many more, I would not dream of going back to the gut E. The advantages of the wire E far outweigh its disadvantages.<sup>77</sup>

Dunn ends his letter in an almost arrogant way, seemingly implying that wire E users were now happy that they were using the best violin E string available; 'Wire E users must have smiled, as I did, at the absurd list of disadvantages enumerated by Mr. Toms. They do not exist, of course.' M. Inst. B. E. replied to Mr. Tom's letter too, saying, 'Many very well-known performers use the steel "E." I see Menuhin's violin on the front page of the current H.M.V. list displays the despised string! Economy demands its use, and the steel "E" will live on.'<sup>78</sup>

In 1932 *Thomastik* wrote about the future prospects of the new steel string; 'One must say that in contrast to gut, whose processing has come to the end of its possibilities, the steel wire is at the beginning of this and from year to year it wins more convinced adherence.'<sup>79</sup> *Thomastik* then spoke of the types of players who were using the steel E; 'For a long time the steel E has not [merely] been a substitute which the beginner uses out of economy, but the greatest violinists play on them today on the grounds of quality.'<sup>80</sup> *Thomastik* explained that he wrote his book in order to tell the reader that the sound of the steel string had improved and was now more attractive to serious players. He also wrote about the positive impact the steel E string was having on teaching. He states that gut strings went out of tune before the child arrived home and that for pupils unable to tune their own instruments and therefore forced to practise with out of tune strings, 'Steel strings always stay in tune until the next day.'<sup>81</sup>

There is a suggestion of cultural imperialism in Thomastik's writing as he proposes that the reputation of European culture could be improved by having its orchestras use steel strings, thus allowing full orchestral music to be taken to the tropics (where a gut string could not withstand the climate). Thomastik recognised the threat that recordings were having on live performances and claimed that using the new steel strings could help prevent live music being superseded by recorded music:

In this critical situation, the transition from gut to steel strings for stringed instruments, is a step which is immediately suitable to help the province of live music through a new impulse towards instrument building and teaching despite mechanical music.<sup>82</sup>

Any culturally imperialistic thoughts of the steel string that Thomastik may have had cannot have been encouraged by the following news from October 1939; 'Since our last month's announcement, war has come upon us, and by now we are beginning to settle down to the new conditions and changes which it has made.'<sup>83</sup> This was the message contained within an advertisement of *L. P. Balmforth & Son* on the front cover of *The Strad*. The advert continues, 'For the moment we have adequate stocks of Pirastro, Thomastik and Goldbrocade Aluminium, but we would advise customers to buy now, as these will be unobtainable when present stock is exhausted.' The same company reported in 1942 that, 'Owing to the shortage in raw materials we are unable to offer any aluminium wrapped or gut strings at present'<sup>84</sup> and then in 1944, 'We regret that owing to metal shortages we have been obliged to discontinue our well-known chrome steel strings for the time being.'<sup>85</sup> Several shops continued to offer both gut and steel E strings throughout World War II claiming, as ever, that they were the finest ever made, but there is evidence to contradict such claims;

Dear Sir, - Fiddle players who, during a world war, have embarked upon a search for satisfactory metal strings must have been struck by two things, - the surprising number of brands still marketed and the extraordinary variation in their quality.<sup>86</sup>

The author of this letter to the editor of *The Strad* goes on to complain that none of the strings being offered are as good as the *Thomastik* strings that were available before the war, that their purchase is a 'sheer waste of money' and that they are 'useless for practical purposes.'<sup>87</sup> The writer suggests that manufacturers should join forces during war-time and collaborate with 'known converts to the use of metal strings' to produce satisfactory strings for general use by the ordinary player.' Philip Pou, the

then joint manager of *British Music Strings Ltd.* replied claiming that the writer, 'cannot have any conception of the difficulties of obtaining special types of wire when everything is strictly controlled and [...] rationed.'<sup>88</sup> Pou ends his letter, 'Good English Gut strings are still available in good numbers, so why not use them and cease to fret after unobtainable enemy products?'

Even as late as 1948, there is plentiful evidence that the use of metal strings was not universal. Though a Mr. E. Natali suggested that 'improvements in the metal strings are gradually overcoming the prejudice of the gut-string users,' *Strad* readers continued to make comments such as 'I personally believe that gut strings are far superior especially for the refined playing that quartets demand,' and 'Gut strings cannot be beaten for tone providing they are the best quality.'

## POSTLUDE

Bearing in mind the steadily growing numbers of steel violin string advertisements that were appearing in *The Strad* c.1920-1940 and later (including offers of full-metal A and D strings), and also bearing in mind Thomastik's quite reasonable prediction that all-metal strings would soon be used for all four violin strings, one could reasonably expect the shelves of our modern-day violin shops to be stacked full of the most durable, beautifully toned, perfectly constructed sets of steel violin strings that any violinist could wish for. However, as a result of the early music movement, some performers are turning their backs on the 'invincible' modern steel strings and are instead using gut strings as part of an overall effort to recreate the circumstances under which the repertoire they perform, usually dating from the Baroque or Classical period, was originally performed. This research suggests that gut strings may be appropriately reintroduced not only to the repertoire of the Romantic era, but also to that of the early twentieth century. Perhaps a return to gut would mollify Mr. Wulme-Hudson.

For more years than I can remember, there have been numerous inventions and patents of all kinds, claiming all sorts of things for the "improvement" of the instrument, but the last of these, I think, is the worst. Viz., the wire core strings, with their "ironmongery" attachments, etc. [...] Within the last week or so we have heard two recitals by well-known players—one a lady—and in both cases the tone was appalling! [...] In the case of the male player the lower strings were more like a muted trumpet, and in both cases the same dull, mechanical, metal noise all through the register. For 200 years or more, violin makers of the world have been making [...] instruments of

individual character. Now all are brought to one hard level and all beauty killed by wire!'<sup>92</sup>

*Mark Goodwin earned a BA in Music from Bretton Hall College of the University of Leeds, and has subsequently worked as a special needs learning mentor in a local secondary school. He may return to the classroom in the future but at the moment he is trying to establish himself as an international piano dealer (already with clients in Japan and Belgium) with the help of the internet.*

#### NOTES

1. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p.35
2. A term which will be explored later.
3. Making gut strings, <http://www.daniellarson.com>. 1/4/01
4. Norman Pickering, 'Problems in string making', *Catgut Acoustical Society Journal*, ii (May 1993), p.1
5. Ibid.
6. Norman Pickering, 'A new type of string', *Violin Society of America Journal*, xv (Nov 1995), p.26
7. Ibid.
8. Ephraim Segerman, 'Strings through the ages', *The Strad*, xciii (1988), p.53
9. John Dunn, 'Violin Playing', *The Strad*, VII (1896), p.140
10. Lancastrian, *Correspondence*, *The Strad*, vii (1896), pp.179-80
11. George Hart, *The Violin: Its famous makers and their imitators* (London, 1884)
12. John Broadhouse, 'Facts about strings', *The Strad*, xvi (1905), p.103
13. W. Woolf, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, xvi (1905), p.180
14. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten* (Vienna, 1932), p.1
15. J. Arbuthnot, 'An Essay concerning the Effects of Air on Human Bodies' (London, 1732), p.61
16. Ed. Heron-Allen, *Violin Making as it was and is* (London, 1885), p.205
17. Fredrick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p.172
18. A Professional Player, *The Violin and How to Master it* (Boston, 1883), p.27
19. Carl Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing* (New York, 1924)
20. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxxiii (1932), p.131
21. Fredrick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p. 194
22. Lancastrian, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, ix (1898), p. 19
23. Lancastrian, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, ix (1898), p. 19
24. Louis Spohr, *Violin School* (Vienna, 1833), p. 7
25. Ed. Heron-Allen, *Violin Making as it was and is* (London, 1885), p. 208
26. Norman Pickering, 'Problems in string making', *CAS Journal*, ii (May 1993), p. 1
27. Louis Spohr, *Violin School* (London, 1843), p. 7
28. A professional Player, *The Violin: How to Master It* (Boston, 1883), p. 26 (Original edition (Edinburgh [c. 1878]))
29. Norman Pickering, 'Problems in string making', VSA, xv (1995), p. 28
30. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten* (Vienna, 1932), p. 3
31. Ed Heron-Allen, *Violin Making as it was and is* (London, 1885), p. 214
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. A professional Player, *The Violin: How to Master It* (Boston, 1883), p. 27
35. A small diameter is a good thing to have in a musical string.
36. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten* (Vienna, 1932), p. 2
37. Towry Piper, 'Wire E Strings', *The Strad*, xxxi (1921), p. 302
38. Ibid.
39. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xvii (1907), p. 363
40. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten*, (Vienna, 1932), p. 2
41. A professional Player, *The Violin: How to Master It* (Boston, 1883), p. 27
42. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten* (1932), pp. 3-4
43. A professional Player, *The Violin: How to Master It* (Boston, 1883), p. 26 (Original edition (Edinburgh [c. 1878])), pp. 27-8
44. Towry Piper, 'Wire E strings', *The Strad*, xxxi (1921), p. 302
45. M.Inst.B.E, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, xxxxii (1932), p. 564

46. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxii (1911), p. 198

47. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxii (1921), p. 131

48. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxii (1921), p. 131

49. Walter Kolneder, *The Amadeus Book of the Violin* (Portland, 1972), pp. 52-3

50. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p. 50

51. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p. 64-5

52. *Ibid.*, p. 146

53. *Ibid.*, p. 157

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-2

56. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), pp. 225-6

57. Towry Piper, 'Wire E Strings', *The Strad*, xxxi (1921), p. 302

58. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p. 35

59. *Ibid.*, p. 269

60. This complaint about having to re-hair one's bow more often when using a wire E string was still being made in the late 1930s but Pickering, speaking at the twenty-third annual convention of the VSA in Pennsylvania in 1995 has dismissed this assertion: 'Bow hair is as smooth and shiny as a bright cylinder. There are scales, but they have to be magnified about 5000 times in order to be visible'. (Norman Pickering, 'A New Type of String', VSA, xv (November 1995), p. 31)

61. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), pp. 194-5

62. *Ibid.*, p. 302

63. Towry Piper, 'Wire E Strings', *The Strad*, xxxi (1921), p. 302

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. Frederick H. Martens, *Violin Mastery* (New York, 1919), p. 226

67. *Ibid.*, p. 64

68. Towry Piper, 'Wire E Strings', *The Strad*, xxxi (1921), p. 302

69. *Ibid.*

70. Eric Halfpenny, 'All Metal Strings for Bowed Instruments', *The Strad*, xxxiii (1933), p. 492

71. The English Kreisler, <http://www.hyperionrecords.co.uk/notes/67096.html>, 21.04.01

72. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxii (1921), p. 344

73. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxiii (1923), p. 456

74. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxiii (1923), p. 356

75. Advertisement, *The Strad*, xxxvi (1925), p. 142

76. W.J.K. Toms, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, xxxxii (1932), p. 507

77. John Dunn, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, xxxxii (1932), p. 614

78. M. Inst. B. E., 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, xxxxii, (1932), p. 564

79. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten* (Vienna, 1932), p. 3

80. *Ibid.*, p. 4

81. *Ibid.*, p. 53

82. Franz Thomastik, *Die Stahlsaiten* (Vienna, 1932), p. 58

83. Advertisement, *The Strad*, l (1939), October front cover

84. Advertisement, *The Strad*, lii (1942), February front cover

85. Advertisement, *The Strad*, liii (1944), February front cover

86. E. L. Thomsett, 'Correspondence', liii (1942), p. 269

87. E. L. Thomsett, 'Correspondence', liii (1942), p. 269

88. Philip Pou, 'Correspondence', liv (1943), p. 5

89. E. Natali, 'Gut strings and moisture', lviii (1947), p. 278

90. A. W. Cooper, 'Points from letters', lviii (1947), p. 66

91. A. W. Gibbons, 'Points from letters', lviii (1947), p. 208

92. Geo Wulme-Hudson, 'Correspondence', *The Strad*, xxxxviii (1938), p. 429

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# HANDEL'S SOLO SONATAS

AMANDA-LOUISE BABINGTON

According to a recent survey by BBC Radio 3, there are, on average, eight performances of the music of George Frederic Handel given each day in Britain. This illustrates, to some extent, the popularity of this composer, born in Germany (Halle) in 1685 and naturalised as a British citizen in 1727. While many of these performances will be of choral works, the popularity of the solo sonatas is attested by their regular appearance in concert programmes, on radio broadcasts and in exam syllabuses.<sup>1</sup>

For those wishing to inform their performances of the sonatas with information on the performance practice of Handel's day, primary source material is in short supply. Although there are several anonymous treatises,<sup>2</sup> Handel left no instructions for the performance of his sonatas, nor, it seems, did anyone else living in London at the time. Performers must therefore rely on secondary evidence: books and articles written about Handel, his sonatas and the times in which they were composed.

The solo sonatas present particularly thorny problems. The first of these involves their identification. Since their first publication in c.1730-1,<sup>3</sup> they have been allocated varying titles and numbers. The only coherent system of identifying the sonatas is that created by Bernd Baselt in his *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis (Händel-Handbuch, Band 3)*.<sup>4</sup> Even the *Händel-Handbuch*, however, has its problems; its high level of detail and relative inaccessibility make its use impractical for many performers. Unfortunately, most literature prior to 1994 (and most editions to this day)<sup>5</sup> fail to make use of Baselt's HWV numbers<sup>6</sup> and instead refer to the sonatas by their numbers as variously allocated in the 'Roger', Walsh, Chrysander or other editions (see below). The only clear list identifying each sonata by its HWV number is to be found in Terence Best's article 'Handel's Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity'.<sup>7</sup> The second problem performers will encounter is determining the number of solo sonatas that Handel wrote. Several sonatas of doubtful authenticity are commonly ascribed to Handel in editions without any explanatory note. Unravelling these attributions takes a surprising amount of time and patience. Despite the invaluable research into the authenticity

of the sonatas undertaken by Terence Best (editor of the HHA<sup>8</sup> volumes of solo sonatas), Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish,<sup>9</sup> and others, modern editors continue to publish under Handel's name works that have been proven to be spurious,<sup>10</sup> thus perpetuating unnecessarily a confusion originating with John Walsh in the 1730s.

Amongst modern literature on Handel and his music, there is rather a limited amount devoted to the sonatas. This is perhaps because little evidence exists as to their early performance history. The circumstances surrounding the composition of the works, and their first performance can only be suggested speculatively, by combining reliable facts, such as dates of manuscripts of the sonatas, with knowledge of Handel's activities at the time. With regard to the latter, there are three invaluable sources: Mainwaring's *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (1760), Deutsch's *Handel: a Documentary Biography* (1955) and Donald Burrows's volume, *Handel*, in the Master Musicians series (1994). Mainwaring's *Memoirs* might seem slightly conversational to the modern reader but the book is the earliest biography of Handel and the earliest full-length study of any composer. Furthermore, much of what Mainwaring writes is backed up by the primary evidence (e.g. contemporary newspaper articles and letters) that make up the fabric of Deutsch's account: extracts from Mainwaring's *Memoirs* are published in Deutsch's biography alongside the relevant evidence. Burrows's biography deals with Handel's life and his music in great detail, incorporating information from a wide range of sources—from Mainwaring to current advances in Handel scholarship.<sup>11</sup> The result is an invaluable, easy-to-use reference book which lists dates, works and Handel's circumstances side by

side, and allows the reader to build a reliable framework within which to place the sonatas.

Reliable dating of the sonatas has been aided greatly by the comprehensive cataloguing of the autograph scores, most recently by Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish (1994). Their work not only catalogues all of Handel's autographs but also the watermarks and rastra measurements, thus aiding considerably the accurate dating of the watermarks. This supplements the 1927 catalogue of the Royal Musical Library autographs by William Barclay Squire and the 1893 catalogue of the autographs in the Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum by J.A. Fuller-Maitland and A.H. Mann.

The foundation of Burrows's and Ronish's approach to the autographs rests upon the work of Jens Peter Larsen, whose list of Handel manuscripts in *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources* (1957, 1972) was the first to classify and list watermarks for all the sources included.<sup>12</sup> Larsen's watermark classifications were refined by Hans Dieter Clausen in his *Händel's Direktionspartituren* (1972).<sup>13</sup> With regard to the sonatas in particular, Terence Best's articles 'Handel's Solo Sonatas', 'Further Studies of Handel's Solo Sonatas' and 'Handel's Chamber Music; Sources, Chronology and Authenticity'<sup>14</sup> provide important scholarly resources.

### Sources and Authenticity

Twenty-seven solo sonatas are attributed to Handel in sources dating from his lifetime. Of these, autographs exist for sixteen: HWV 357, 358, 359a, 360, 361, 362, 364a, 364b, 365, 366, 367a, 369, 371, 377, 378 and 379.<sup>15</sup> Some of the sonatas exist in several manuscript copies from Handel's lifetime. The largest of these, owned by a friend of Handel, Charles Jennens, is thought to date from c.1730-2 and is now housed in the Henry Watson Library, Manchester. It contains seven trio sonatas and ten solo sonatas, including the only copy of HWV 363a. Other early manuscript copies of Handel's sonatas form part of collections of music by several composers and are housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (c.1725), the Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Brussels (early 18th Century) and the private collection of Guy Oldham (early 1730s).<sup>16</sup>

The sonatas were printed in two editions during Handel's lifetime,<sup>17</sup> each containing twelve sonatas. Though the title page of the first edition, c.1730, claims to have been printed 'A Amsterdam chez Jeanne Roger', it was in fact prepared by John Walsh the elder, a London publisher.<sup>18</sup> Numbers I, V, and IX (HWV 359b, 363b and 367b) were transpositions by Walsh for the 'Roger' edition of HWV 359a, 363a and 367a.<sup>19</sup> Walsh subsequently published a second edition, this time under his own name, in about 1730. This edition is essentially the same as the 'Roger' except for the substitution of Sonatas no. X and XII (HWV 372 and 373) with two different sonatas (HWV 368 and 370). All four sonatas are believed to be spurious—see below

for details. Apart from this change, the corrections made by Walsh are mostly minor in nature but include changing the tempo of the first movement of HWV 362 from the 'Roger' 'Grave' back to the 'Larghetto' of the autograph. Walsh also rectified the mistake made in the 'Roger' edition of movement order in HWV 363b<sup>20</sup> and reinstated the fourth movement of HWV 365, missing in the 'Roger' edition. Lastly, he removed the sixth movement of HWV 367b from HWV 363b, where it had been placed as the third movement in the 'Roger' edition, and placed it with the rest of HWV 367b.

### Fig.1; Editions

HWV	Roger/Walsh <sup>21</sup>	Chrysander	HHA
357			IV/18, 29-35
358			IV/18, 3-5
359a			I/18, 10-14
359b	No.1, 1-5	xxvii, 6	IV/3, 7-
360	No.2, 6-10	xxvii, 9	IV/3, 16-20
361	No.3, 11-15	xxvii, 12	IV/4, 2-9
362	No.4, 17-21	xxvii, 15	IV/3, 21-7
363a			IV/18, 36-40
363b	No.5, 23-6	xxvii, 19	IV/3, 28-32
364a	No.6, 27-30	xxvii, 22	IV/18, 6-9
364b			
365	No.7, 31-6	xxvii, 25	IV/3, 33-41
366	No.8, 37-40	xxvii, 29	IV/18, 32-5
367a			IV/18, 19-28
367b	No.9, 41-7		IV/3, 42-51
368	No.10, 49-52 (W)	xxvii, 37	IV/4, 22-7
369	No.11, 54-7	xxvii, 40	IV/3, 52-6
370	No.12, 58-63, (W)	xxvii, 42	IV/4, 28-39
371		xxvii, 47	IV/4, 10-20
372	No.10, 49-53, (R)	xvii, 51	IV/4, 40-50
373	No.12, 59-62, (R)	xvii, 54	IV/4, 46-53
374		xlviii, 130	IV/3, 57-62
375		xlviii, 134	IV/3, 63-7
376		xlviii, 137	IV/3, 68-75
377			IV/18, 15-18
378			IV/18, 41-4
379		xxvii, 2	IV/3, 2-9

HWV 368, 370, 372 and 373 are all believed to be spurious (see Fig.2); no autographs or manuscript copies of these four sonatas exist—unlike most of the other sonatas for which there is at least one manuscript source. Walsh's aforementioned substitution of HWV 372 and 373 in the 'Roger' edition with HWV 368 and 370 for the later Walsh edition casts further doubt on their authenticity. Additional evidence is found in the form of ink annotations to these sonatas in the copies of later editions of the 'Roger' and Walsh housed in the British Library. The annotations in the 'Roger', both in the same hand, appear at the top of the first page of numbers X and XII and read: 'NB. This is not Mr

Handel's'.<sup>22</sup> In the copy of the Walsh edition, at the top of the first page of HWV 368 and 370, and annotation in a different hand than that found in the 'Roger' reads: 'Not Mr Handel's Solo'.<sup>23</sup>

Fig. 2; Spurious & doubtful sonatas

HWV	Instrument	Key	Remarks
368	Violin	g	Walsh Sonata X
370	Violin	F	Walsh Sonata XII
372	Violin	A	Roger Sonata X
373	Violin	E	Roger Sonata XII
374	Flute	a	Walsh & Hare <sup>24</sup>
375	Flute	e	Walsh & Hare
376	Flute	b	Walsh & Hare

A comparison of these four sonatas with the other violin sonatas does nothing to dispel doubts surrounding their authenticity. HWV 370 is in F, a flat major key in contrast to the keys of sharp majors and flat minors in which the authentic violin sonatas are written. Also, the solo part of all four sonatas extends below c',<sup>25</sup> the lowest note found in any of the authentic violin sonatas. Elements of style within these four sonatas also contribute to the doubt surrounding their authenticity. In the first movement of HWV 368, for example, bb. 14-15 contain quintuplets, a rhythmic figure not found in any of Handel's other sonatas.<sup>26</sup> Another suspicious feature occurs in HWV 372 where the treatment of e'' in the fourth movement, b. 54 is most unlike Handel's usually careful placement of this note. Here, the choice of notes in bb. 53-54 requires a leap across two strings from 1<sup>st</sup> position to 4<sup>th</sup> position, a risky and un-Handelian move that is made more exposed by the insertion of a quaver rest in the bass line; nowhere else in the violin sonatas is there an example to match this (Ex.1).

Ex.1; HWV 372/4, bb.53-54



Furthermore, only two of the authentic violin sonatas feature double-stopping, and even then only in very small amounts. In HWV 371, a two-note chord appears at the end of the first movement, and in HWV 361 there is three-part counterpoint for twelve bars of the second movement. In contrast, all of the four spurious sonatas include double-stopping. In HWV 368, 370 and 373, it is confined to isolated chordal appearances such as b. 21 of the third movement of HWV 370 (Ex.2).<sup>27</sup>

However, the second and fourth movements of HWV 372 use double-stopping as a basis for their main theme.

Ex.2; HWV 370/3, b. 21



Like HWV 368, 370, 372 and 373, no autograph or manuscript copies exist for HWV 374, 375 and 376, a fact that casts doubt on their authenticity. All three are found only in an edition of 1730, printed by John Walsh and Joseph Hare, but unlike the spurious violin sonatas, these sonatas cannot be differentiated from the other flute sonatas on the grounds of key or range. Stylistically, HWV 374 and 376 could possibly be by Handel, though their simplicity would suggest that they be very early works, pre-dating his Italian sonatas. Neither sonata contains any borrowings, a suspicious fact given that borrowings, both within and across genres, are common in all of Handel's works. The contents of HWV 375, on the other hand, though consisting mainly of music that is certainly by Handel, casts further doubt on the authenticity of this sonata. The first two movements are transpositions of the first two movements of sonata HWV 366 (for oboe, c.1712), and the fourth is a transcription of a minuet in g minor for keyboard, HWV 434 / 4.<sup>28</sup> Given Handel's extensive re-use of his own music, this is not unusual; what is remarkable is that the third movement of HWV 375 is stylistically unlike any of Handel's other music, including the other three movements of HWV 375. When combined with the lack of autographs and manuscript copies, these details suggest that HWV 375 is a compilation, probably by John Walsh, of music by Handel and another composer.

While the c. 1730 editions are the most important in terms of Handel scholarship, it is important for performers to know of another, published in 1879 by Friedrich Chrysander in an edition for the German Handel Society and designated Opus 1 (see Fig. 1). The solo sonatas were never published under this title in Handel's lifetime<sup>29</sup> but lack of clarification on this point by subsequent scholars, including biographers and editors, has led to some confusion as to which works belong to 'Handel's Opus 1'. The Opus 1 designation was an invention of Chrysander's. In the interests of historical accuracy, it should be avoided, unless perhaps when referring specifically to Chrysander's edition. Chrysander is believed<sup>30</sup> to have had knowledge of the Walsh edition when preparing his own edition of 1879 but not of the 'Roger'. He

nevertheless guessed at the existence of the latter, and dated it 1724, wrongly attributing it to Witvogel, an Amsterdam publisher. Chrysander also knew of another edition, prepared *c.* 1793 by Samuel Arnold as part of his collected works of Handel.<sup>31</sup> Arnold used the 'Roger' edition and dated it *c.* 1724. It is probable that Chrysander derived his hypothetical 1724 edition by Witvogel from this source.

Finally, mention must be made of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe. This scholarly edition has not only contributed greatly to the establishment of as authentic a musical text as possible but has also done much to iron out elements of confusion that surround the sonatas. Each volume contains a preface, giving general information about the works, as well as details regarding the sources. This makes the HHA an invaluable source for both performers and non-performers. The volumes containing the solo sonatas are IV/3, IV/4 & IV/18; IV/4 is the most recent, printed in 2001, and comes in a box with a separate performer's part (containing the melody and bass lines). The 'Preface' and 'Editorial Policy' are printed in English and German and the critical notes on each sonata are very detailed; the volume also contains facsimiles of excerpts from the autograph scores and the 'Roger' and Walsh editions. Volume IV/3 (1995) is the next-most recent sonata volume. It is similar to IV/18, containing facsimiles, English and German text and diagrams illustrating the relationship between the sources of the sonatas. Volume IV/18, last published in 1982, is more difficult to use for those without German, since the accompanying text is given in that language only.

### Instrumentation

Six of the twenty-seven sonatas attributed to Handel are for recorder (HWV 360, 362, 365, 367a, 369 and 377). Three are for oboe (HWV 357, 363a and 366), nine for violin (HWV 358, 359a, 361, 364a, 368, 370, 371, 372 and 373), four of which are spurious, and one is for viola da gamba (HWV 364b). Eight are for flute (HWV 359b, 363b, 367b, 374, 375, 376, 378 and 379), of which two are of doubtful authenticity. One is probably a compilation by someone other than Handel, and three are transpositions of sonatas originally written for violin, oboe and recorder. The latter first appeared in the 'Roger' edition and were probably transposed by the edition's real editor, Walsh, in an attempt to capitalize on the rise in popularity of the German flute in the 1720s. Handel himself set a precedent for the practice of transposition when compiling HWV 379. In it he adapted two movements of the violin sonata HWV 359a, transposing them to e minor to better suit the flute.<sup>32</sup>

**Fig.3; Instrumental groupings**

Instrument	HWV	Date	Key	Range
Recorder	360	c.1725-6	g	g'-e'''
	362	c.1725-6	a	g'-f'''
	365	c.1725-6	C	g'-c''
	367a	c.1725-6	d	f'-d'''
	369	c.1725-6	F	f'-d'''
	377	c.1724-5	Bb	f'-e flat'''
Oboe	357	c.1707-10	Bb	d'-b''
	363a	c.1711-16	F	c-b flat''
	366	c.1712	c	d-d flat''
Viola da Gamba	364b	c.1724	g	
Violin	358	c.1707-10	G	g'-e'''
	359a	c.1724	d	c'-e flat'''
	361	c.1725-6	A	c'-e'''
	364a	c.1724	g	c'-d'''
	368	c.1731-2	g	g'-d'''
	370	c.1731-2	F	g'-b flat'''
	371	c.1750	D	d'-d'''
	372	c.1730-31	A	g'-d'''
	373	c.1730-31	E	b'-d'''
Flute	359b	c.1730-1	e	d'-f'''
	363b	c.1712	G	d'-d'''
	367b	c.1730-1	b	d'-c'''
	374	c.1730	a	d'-c''
	375	c.1730	e	d'-e'''
	376	c.1730	e	e#'-d'''
	378	c.1707	D	d'-b''
	379	c.1727-8	e	e'-c'''

Some confusion surrounds the instrumentation of the sonatas. Though most modern editions provide seemingly authoritative designations of the solo instrument of each sonata, the autograph manuscripts of HWV 359a, 363a, 365, 367a and 377 all fail to indicate a particular instrument. In these cases, the performer is entitled to know on what evidence the editor has suggested a particular instrument, but remarkably few editions, apart from the HHA, bother to discuss such details.<sup>34</sup> Nor is it easy to find discussions on the instrumentation of the sonatas; for this reason, the author has compiled the following tables.

**Fig.4a Sonatas with contemporary indications of instrumentation**

HWV		Source
357	'Sonata pour l'Hautbois Solo'	autograph
363a	'Haut.b Solo'	MS in Brussels (early 18 <sup>th</sup> -century)
366	'Haut.b Solo'	autograph
361	'Violino Solo'	autograph
364a	'Violono Solo'	autograph
371	'Sonata a Violino Solo e Cembalo'	autograph
360	'Sonata a flauto e Cembalo'	autograph
362	'Sonata a flauto e Cembalo'	autograph
365	'Sonata a flauto e Cembalo'/'Flauto Solo'	MS in Manchester (c.1730-2)/ Roger and Walsh
367a	'Sonata a flauto e Cembalo'	autograph (early version of mvts. 6 and 7)
369	'Sonata a flauto e Cembalo'	autograph
378	'Traversa Solo et Bass Continuo'	MS in Brussels
379	'Sonata a Travers e Basso'	autograph
359b	'Traversa Solo'	Roger and Walsh
363b	'Traversa Solo'/'Sonata a Traversiere e Cembalo'	Roger and Walsh
367b	'Traversa Solo'/'a flauto e Cembalo'	private MS (early 1780s)
364b	'Per la viola da gamba'	Roger and Walsh/private MS
		autograph

**Fig.4b Instrumentation of sonatas without contemporary indications**

HWV	Suggested melodic instrument	Case regarding instrumentation
358	Violin	Autograph source provides no title or indication of instrumentation. Upper range of the last movement suggests violin, though the part does not go below g'. Perhaps violino piccolo <sup>35</sup>
359a	Violin	Autograph source begins in the middle of a page, preceded by HWV 364a, labelled 'Violino Solo'
363a	Oboe	Labelled 'Hautb.Solo' in manuscript Litt XY 15. 115 in the Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Brussels.
365	Recorder	Labelled Flauto in a privately-owned manuscript, copied in the early 1730s. <sup>36</sup> Also in 'Roger' and Walsh editions.
367a	Recorder	Early autograph of the seventh movement is on a sheet headed 'Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo' (though this may refer to the fragment of HWV 362 on the same sheet). A copy in a private manuscript in London is headed 'Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo'. The key and range (f'-d'') suits recorder. The difference in key (a minor third) between this and the version for flute (HWV 367b) is a customary one between music of the time for the two instruments.
377	Recorder	The range (f' - e flat '') is too high for the oboe and not low enough to match the range of Handel's genuine flute sonatas; also, the key is one common for the recorder but not for the flute. The violin is unlikely to have been the intended instrument as the third movement was transposed into the more suitable key of A for use in the violin sonata HWV 361.

The question of the intended solo instrument is not the only issue of instrumentation requiring explanation. The instrumentation of the basso continuo is in fact more ambiguous, given that little record survives of either Handel's specific wishes or of contemporary practice in this repertoire. Of the authentic sonatas, only two (HWV359a and 377) do not contain indications of melodic instrumentation in any contemporary source.

However, none of these titles given to the sonatas provides an unambiguous indication of continuo instrumentation; the performer is left to determine the different implications of 'Solo', 'e Cembalo' and 'e Basso'. For example, does 'Violino Solo' suggest any meaning beyond an indication that only one violin is meant to play the melodic line, or might one construe the absence of 'e cembalo' to indicate that a string instrument alone should take the bass line? HWV 371 was one of Handel's last chamber works; might the 'e Cembalo' in its title suggest the use of harpsichord without the support of a string bass instrument, or might it be an unintentional change in Handel's method of titling works? Like the titles of the violin sonatas, those of the oboe and flute sonatas do not offer definitive information on the correct instruments for the continuo line. The titles found in the 'Roger' or Walsh editions of the spurious sonatas are no more helpful; they merely offer 'violino solo'. The Walsh and Hare edition, however, suggests 'a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin'. This phrase was a standard formula at the time,

though it is not clear whether it should be taken literally. There is evidence at the time for the accompaniment of sonatas by harpsichord or cello alone, but the phrase can also mean that the continuo part was thought of equally as the province of the keyboard player and the string player. Solo sonatas were written out and printed in two-stave score, and pictures show that it was standard practice for the string player to read over the harpsichordist's shoulder.

The presence of figures above the bass line in the autographs of HWV 359a, 360, 361, 362, 364a, 365, 367a, 369, 371 and 377 suggests that Handel intended these sonatas to be accompanied by harpsichord. This, however, is unlikely to suggest that sonatas lacking figuring were intended to be performed without a keyboard instrument.

Finally, there is the possibility that the titles of the sonatas are linked to the context of their autographs—i.e. where they were written or stored. For example, if the autograph was kept with several other sonata autographs, Handel may have felt that all that was needed to distinguish each sonata was its intended melodic instrument, hence, 'Violino Solo' and 'Hautbois Solo'. However, if the sonata autograph was placed amongst works of a different genre, he may have thought it necessary to label it more precisely—hence 'Sonata a Violino Solo e Cembalo', the title of HWV 371, whose autograph manuscript occurs amongst works of mixed genres including two concertos, two overtures and an orchestral suite.

**Fig. 5; Performances**

HWV	Date	Handel's whereabouts/possible place of composition	Possible venues/occasions for performance
357	c.1707-10	Italy	Soirees/gatherings at houses of patrons, e.g., Cardinal Ottoboni
358			
378			
363a	1711-16	London, Dusseldorf & Hanover	Courts of Dusseldorf & Hanover.
366			Public concerts (e.g., at Stationers Hall) or private gatherings at the houses of friends and acquaintances in London.
359a	1724-26	London	Public and private concerts in London.
360			Large number of sonatas for recorder suggests the presence, at this time, of a particular recorder player, perhaps a friend or a prominent professional.
361			
362			
364a & b			
365			
367a			
369			
377			
379	c.1727-8	London	Must have been written for a particular occasion or person as Handel very busy during this year as principal composer at the Royal Academy (a 60-night season to fill) plus his court activities.
371	c.1750	London	Handel's first sonata composition in 20 year. Written for a particular occasion or person?

When considering the choice of continuo instruments, it is perhaps best to remember that the sonatas were sold to, and perhaps originally written for, the general public. Domestic music making played an important part in eighteenth-century life, and the sonatas were no doubt performed at home as casual entertainment with whatever instruments were available. By taking into account the information outlined above, today's performer can make historically aware decisions regarding suitable instrumentation for any particular performance.

### Chronology and Context.

The sonatas can be placed roughly into four chronological groups. Most were composed between 1707 and 1728.<sup>37</sup> HWV 371 stands apart from the others; composed in about 1750, it was one of Handel's last instrumental compositions. Given the way in which national performance styles differed in the eighteenth century, and the way they changed over time, accurate dates can be of considerable importance in developing an historically informed performance. Information on where Handel copied manuscripts of the sonatas can be found in Donald Burrows's and Martha J. Ronish's catalogue.<sup>38</sup>

During his time in Italy, Handel secured the friendship and patronage of many, from Prince Gian Gastone de Medici of Florence to the Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili in Rome—despite Handel's staunch Protestantism. There is no documented evidence surrounding the compositional circumstances or performance of any of the three Italian sonatas, but Mainwaring mentions that Handel composed 'Resurrectione and one hundred and fifty Cantatas, besides Sonatas and other Music' while in Rome in 1708-9.<sup>39</sup> HWV 357, 358 and 378 may have been composed for a musical gathering at the house of one of his patrons or their friends, though no written evidence exists to confirm this. However, we know from Deutsch that Cardinal Ottoboni, for one, held weekly concerts in his palace, and as a patron of Handel is likely to have invited him to contribute: '... every Wednesday he [Cardinal Ottoboni] has an excellent concert in his palace ...'<sup>40</sup>

Handel's next sonatas, HWV 363a and 366, were written either in London, Hanover or Dusseldorf. Handel was in London from February to June 1711, after which he returned to Hanover, visiting Dusseldorf on the way. He stayed in Hanover from July 1711 to August 1712 before travelling again to London. The paper type of the manuscripts containing these sonatas has been dated to between 1711-1716, but is of the same general type as the autographs dating from Handel's permanent residence in England (1712-1759). Once again, performance of the sonatas is not recorded, but a plausible hypothesis is that they could have been played at any of the private concerts which commonly took place in the homes of the upper

classes. Some may have been written for the many benefit and subscription concerts which occurred all over London in varying sizes of venue. We know that Handel's music was performed at such concerts from advertisements such as that found in the Daily Courant of 1714: 'This Day ... at Stationer's Hall, for the benefit of Mr. Wells and Mr. Kenny, will be an excellent consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, performed by Eminent Masters, English and Foreign. Among other choice Compositions, a celebrated song of Mr. Hendel's.'<sup>41</sup>

After about 1716, there is a gap in Handel's sonata output. This is probably due to commitments away from venues and occasions for which sonatas were appropriate, initially at Cannons Park, where he was 'employed'<sup>42</sup> by the Earl of Carnarvon from August 1717 to early 1719. Handel's compositions from this time are four anthems, two oratorios and some works for keyboard; he also used the time to prepare many of his keyboard works for publication. On his return to London, Handel was involved in the founding of the Royal Academy of Music (an opera company based at the King's Theatre, Haymarket) a venture that undoubtedly occupied his time until the next group of sonatas appeared in c.1724-6. These number nine in total (HWV 364b being merely a suggestion for the transposition of HWV 364a 'per la viola da gamba')<sup>43</sup> and were composed at a time when Handel's music dominated the opera season at the Haymarket; perhaps his popularity among opera audiences resulted in a demand for chamber music. Or perhaps he was just in demand in London society. Significantly, six of these nine sonatas were written for recorder; in fact, all of Handel's solo recorder sonatas date from this period. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the circumstances surrounding their composition or performance. Handel may have been writing for a particular professional recorder player, or an acquaintance particularly fond of the instrument, or he may have been thinking of publishing a set of sonatas.

Handel's next sonata, HWV 379, was his first sonata as a British Citizen. He was naturalised in February 1727, the same year which saw the death of King George I and coronation of King George II, for which occasion Handel composed his Coronation anthems. Handel must also have been kept busy sustaining the opera house audiences with enough material for the sixty nights that made up the 1727-8 season. The burden of his activities as principal composer of the Academy and sometime court composer suggests that he must have had a particular reason to compose several sonatas, but no evidence regarding this survives.

Though the lack of evidence as to the sonatas' actual performances prevents us knowing exactly who played what and where, it is possible to speculate as to who the likely performers and venues were. The most famous violinist in London from 1714 onwards

was probably Francesco Geminiani; however, he rarely played in public and never under Handel's direction. Handel's orchestra was led by Pietro Castrucci and Giovanni Stefano Carbonelli, both pupils of Corelli. It is possible that they performed the sonatas. It is interesting to know who the most prominent professional performers were in London when the sonatas were composed, and where each was likely to be heard playing. Most of them belonged to more than one establishment, and many of them played more than one instrument, as can be seen in Figure 6.

*Amanda-Louise Babington has just received her Masters Degree (in the study of Handel's solo sonatas) from the University of Manchester. A recorder player and a violinist, she studies with Daniel Brüggen and Pauline Nobles, and has worked with a number of distinguished musicians including Peter Holman, Paul McCreesh, Antony Robson and Judy Tarling. More details on the sonatas can be found in a copy of her Masters dissertation, shortly to be available in the Department of Music library at the University of Manchester.*

**Fig.6; Performers<sup>44</sup>**

Name	Date	Instrument	Most likely to be found...
Banister II, John	1662-1736	Violin & Recorder	Drury Lane Band, from 1702; concerts in York Buildings; Queens Theatre, Haymarket from 1708; Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1715.
Barsanti, Francesco	c.1690-1772	Oboe	Opera House & Vauxhall Gardens from 1723 (with break from 1735-43)
Baston, John	1708-50	Recorder	Played concertos as interval pieces at Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1714.
Biancardi, Nicolo	1679-1741	Oboe	Cannons Park, 1718-20.
Festing, John	1720-1772	Oboe	Lord Mayors Day Royal Entertainment, 1714; Opera House, 1727; advertised concerts there, 1721 & 1729-37.
Galliard, Johann Ernst	c.1666-1747	Oboe & Recorder	Oboe band of Queen Anne, 1706; Opera House 1713.
Graves, James	1672-1731	Oboe, Violin & Recorder	Oboe band of Queen Anne, 1702; advertised concerts, 1710-12 & 1717; Lord Mayors Day, 1714 (oboe) & 1727 (violin).
Hagen		Oboe	Nothing known.
King, Robert	1676-1728	Violin & Recorder	Royal Band under William and Mary.
Kytch, Jean Christian	d.1738	Oboe, Bassoon, Flute & Recorder	Cannons concert, 1719-20; numerous advertised concerts (all instruments); Opera House from 1724; Lord Mayors Day, 1727.
Loeillet, John	1680-1730	Oboe & harpsichord	Drury Lane, 1705; advertised concerts (oboe & harpsichord); Opera House, 1708-11; private concerts in own home from 1711.
Mercy, Louis	1708-51	Recorder	In England from 1708; played recorder sonata in concert with La Tour; member of court at Cannons, 1718-19; last notice as performer for own benefit concert, 1735.
Neale, Robert	1720-44	Oboe & Flute	Advertised concerts, 1720-22 (once on flute); Lord Mayors Day, 1727; Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, 1727-35; Covent Garden Theatre, 1738-c.44.
Paisible, James (Jacques)	c.1656-1721	Violin & Recorder	1 of 24 violins at court, 1685-89; appointed recorder teacher in proposed Royal Academy of Music, 1695; public concerts; Drury Lane Theatre Band, 1702 (probably bass violin, played recorder in interval entertainments); Opera House (bass violin), 1708-11; Lord Mayors Day, 1714; public concerts (on recorder and echo flute), 1710s; Drury Lane, 1715 (interval entertainments; concertos on small recorders).
Sammartini, Guiseppe	1695-1750	Recorder	King's Theatre, 1729-38.
Schickhardt, Johann Christian	c.1682-1762	Recorder	Gave a concert at a tavern, 1732.
Smith, William	1703-55	Oboe	Advertised concert, 1703; Oboe band of Queen Anne, 1708; probably also employed at London theatres; arranged and played for Lord Mayors Day, 1714 & 1727.
La Tour, Peter	d.1738	Oboe, Flute & Recorder	Oboe band of Queen Anne, 1699; Drury Lane Theatre Band, 1703; advertised concerts, 1704-08 (oboe & flute); Opera House, 1708-c.11; Drury Lane, 1716.
Weidemann, Carl Friedrich	1725-82	Flute	In England from 1725; Handel's Tamerlano.
Woodbridge, Joseph	1720-57	Oboe & Kettledrums	Advertised concerts, 1725-35; Lord Mayors Day, 1727; from 1736 onwards as kettledrummer only at Haymarket and other theatres.

## NOTES

- For several years, the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music has included the violin sonata HWV 370 in their grade 5 syllabus for this instrument.
- For example, Peter Prelleur's series entitled *The Modern Musick-Master or, the Universal Musician*, vols. II & V, London, c. 1704-22.
- By John Walsh under the false title page of Jeanne Roger of Amsterdam.
- Thematic Catalogue of Handel's works (Kassel, 1986).
- The exception being the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, series IV/3, IV/4, & IV/18, ed. Terence Best (Leipzig and Kassel).
- Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis.
- Early Music*, xiii (1985), pp. 476-99.
- Hallische Händel-Ausgabe.
- Co-authors of *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994).
- The ABRSM is one exception, having in recent years published sonata HWV 370 with the caution 'attributed to Handel'.
- This includes Burrows's own advances in the identification and classification of paper types.
- Information on watermarks for Larsen's book was provided by O.W.Neighbour.
- Catalogue of Handel's Conducting Scores.
- Music and Letters*, lviii (1977), p. 430; *Händel-Jahrbuch*, xxx (1984), pp. 75-79; *Early Music*, xviii (1985), pp. 476-99.
- The autographs are housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and the British Library, London.
- See HHA IV/3, p. 77.
- Each edition was reprinted several times.
- Walsh was infringing Handel's copyright privilege granted in 1720, hence the false title-page.
- They also appear in the Walsh edition.
- In the 'Roger' edition, HWV 363b lacks the third movement found in the autograph, containing instead the sixth movement of HWV 367b; it also lacks the concluding minut.
- Those sonatas that only appear in one of these two editions are marked with the initial of the edition in which they appear.
- HHA IV/4, p. xiii.
- HHA IV/4, p. xiv.
- Six Solos Four for a German Flute and a Bass and two for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin Compos'd by Mr Handel Sigr Geminiani Sigr Somis Sigr Brivio. Traversa Solo by Mr Handel* (London, 1730).
- HWV 368, 370 and 372 to the g below c'; HWV 373 to the b below c'.
- The only occurrence of a similar figure is in the first movement of HWV 362, where he uses triplets.
- The other occurrences are: HWV 370; fourth movement b.52. HWV 373; fourth movement bb.22 and 62.
- HHA IV/3, p. xv.
- The only time they appeared under this title was in Walsh's advertisements for them, such as that in *The Craftsman*, 7 December 1734, where they are referred to as 'Opera Prima' (Deutsch, p. 376).
- Terrence Best, HHA, IV/3, pp. xiv-xv.
- The sonatas are positioned at the end of no.139 and beginning of no.140.
- HHA IV/4, p. xiii.
- The last movement of this sonata contains octave displacement of b, c, d and e in the penultimate bar, resulting in an unusually high range; for this reason it may possibly have been written for the *violino piccolo*, a small violin pitched an octave higher than the normal violin.
- One exception is *The Complete Sonatas for Treble Recorder*, ed. D.Lasocki and W.Bergmann (London, 1979).
- Terrence Best, 'Handel's chamber music: Sources, chronology and authenticity' *Early Music*, xiii (1985), p. 479.
- Terrence Best, HHA IV/3, p. 78.
- According to Burrow and Ronish's *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs*.
- A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs*.
- Mainwaring, 65.
- Translated from Monsieur de Blainville's diary, Rome, 14 May 1707, in Deutsch, p. 19.
- Deutsch, p. 62. Whether or not he was involved in such events as early as 1711 is not known; in the case quoted above, Handel's contribution was a song, but on other occasions it could have been a sonata since the musical content of these concerts was varied.
- From the lack of any records proving otherwise, Handel appears to have received no payment for his time at Cannons, perhaps and indication that he was treated as an all-expenses-paid guest, thus avoiding the lower status of paid servant.
- The autograph of 364a contains, after the last double bar of the first movement, a new clef, a reiteration of the g key signature and the first bar + 1 crotchet of HWV 364a under the instruction 'per la viola da gamba'.
- See David Lasocki's articles, *Early Music*, x (1982), pp.183-91, and 'The French hautboy in England, 1673-1730', *Early Music*, xvi (1988), pp. 119-130.
- Advertised concerts took place in many venues including dancing rooms, dancing schools, other schools and academies, gardens, houses & taverns. See Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Playing in England, 1640-1740', *Early Music*, x (1982), p. 189.



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phone +44(0)1434 381583 fax +44(0)1434 382877  
email: [j.edmonds@jphbaroque.co.uk](mailto:j.edmonds@jphbaroque.co.uk) [www.jphbaroque.co.uk](http://www.jphbaroque.co.uk)

# EDITING EARLY MUSIC

## THE MARGOT LEIGH-MILNER LECTURE GIVEN AT THE NEMA DAY ON 30 NOVEMBER 2002

CLIFFORD BARTLETT

Last Saturday I was in the garden centre that surrounds our house keeping an eye on our son, who is obsessed with Christmas knick-knacks, and idly gazing at its section of children's books, when I noticed that one that I knew well was labelled 'second edition'. Since my copy, while not bibliographically speaking a valuable first edition (though it does have the author's signature), is not called a second edition, I pulled it down to see how it differed. I skimmed through the editor's introduction. It described a mass of inconsistencies between early printings. The American printers corrected 'errors' that were correct, then later when the author had sent in corrections, the book was reset with corrections inserted but a new lot of errors on both sides of the Atlantic. The book was written by someone who was himself a distinguished editor. His edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Clarendon Press, 1925), was for many years the standard one of that great 14th-century poem—for all I know, it still is. If so distinguished and pedantic a professor as J. R. R. Tolkien could get into such a mess with his own writings (for the book in question was *The Lord of the Rings*), what hope is there for accuracy in the more difficult process of printing music, especially when composers seem on the whole not to be particularly gifted as proof-readers.

The job of the editor (any editor) is to turn an author's manuscript into an accurate printed edition. It is not only a process relevant to old originals. Next week, I'll be sending this script to the editor of *Early Music Performer*, so that he can edit it for the next issue. He will perform various standard tasks such as:

- check my spelling. Most mistakes are now picked up by computer spell-checks, but they can't distinguish homonyms—we nearly had Royal Navel College in the December *Early Music Review*—I was tempted to leave it and persuade our cartoonist to draw our Royals contemplating their navels in an oriental-looking educational establishment. Also, many publishers have a house style for words that have alternative spellings like Oxford University Press's penchant for 'z' as in 'organize'.
- make sure that I express what I am trying to say as clearly as possible.

- standardise the style—e.g. remove colloquialisms and asides that work orally in front of an audience but not on the page.
- make sure that I don't write anything libellous, and so on.

Editors perform even more complex tasks for composers. For a start, the notes may have mistakes: two lines that should be doubling each other don't, or a note in the alto clef may be written as if it were in the treble. The composer may write in a short-hand form, leaving doubling instruments barely sketched and repeats not fully indicated. He may not write out the underlay fully when more than one part is singing. He may be careless with accidentals, dynamics, etc. The need for editing of that sort applies to all music of all periods.

With older music, in addition to establishing what the composer intended, there is also the problem of whether, and by how much, the notation of the period needs adjusting so that a modern

performer can read it. In very broad terms, the further back you go, the more decisions of this sort an editor has to make. That is not to belittle the difficulties of an editor of nineteenth-century music. The problem of having slightly different texts in different countries is not unique to Tolkien. Haydn, Beethoven and Chopin all sold their music to publishers in different countries without bothering to make sure that what they produced was identical. Generally, only the local publisher's proofs were read, but if the autograph was with publisher A in Vienna, the composer had to prepare additional copies for Publisher B in Paris and C in London, and each of these could have further corrections or even revisions by the composer or by his copyist.

The modern editor prefers to work from the composer's autograph. Often a composer's collection of his own music was an essential part of his livelihood. Bach kept his cantatas together so that he could repeat them year after year; he was in Leipzig for 25 years, but wrote (at the highest estimate) only five cycles of cantatas, so each will have been performed on average five times. Handel retained his operas and oratorios for revivals and also as sources for recycling. We are lucky that virtually all of Handel's collection has stayed together and is now in the British Library. Bach's was split between his sons and only part now survives in Berlin.

It might seem that editing music by Bach and Handel is merely a matter of applying basic copy-editing procedures, with a little modernising of notation such as using modern clefs. With Bach, we are fortunate that for some works (though not enough) the original parts survive as well as the autograph scores. These were usually written by assistants and pupils, though very often Bach's hand is visible in corrections, and sometimes he wrote sections or complete parts. Earlier editors concentrated on the scores and ignored the parts; but the latter give vital evidence of performance practice. If there is only one copy of each part (as is the case with most of Bach's 'choruses'), it suggests that Bach's idea of a chorus and ours are fundamentally different. The parts also give further information on articulation: slurs are more plentiful, for instance. So the modern editor has to consult both, annotating inconsistencies between score and parts, and deciding what should be printed in the main text.

He will also need to sort out the different versions that the source material indicates. If Bach performed a work five times, he may well have made changes, and the performer needs to be shown these. Sorting these out becomes a real problem in the Passions. There is not even a continual process from an 'early' version to a final one; while not as extreme as the well-known problem of producing a standard *Messiah*, our image of the Passions is strongly influenced by editorial choice.

The process needed in editing Handel is more complex. Like Bach (and most composers of his time), he wrote his initial score very quickly—three or four weeks for an opera or oratorio. He then had that score copied, for much of his life by his chief copyist J. C. Smith. From then on, the copy score (usually called conducting score by Handel scholars) became his working copy and subsequent changes were made in that. However, the copy often lacks the nuances of notation found in the autograph that the editor needs to preserve, and the best editorial practice is to use the autograph as basis but incorporate explicit changes and additional material from the conducting score. Autograph and conducting score together often supply a wide range of alternative arias and transpositions, and it can be difficult to work out from internal evidence what material was cut before the premiere and what changes are for later performances. Handel often wrote the names of singers against an aria, and the printed librettos are also useful in that they generally show the version that was performed in any season. (Members of the audience bought librettos like we buy programmes, and read them during the performance, buying candles so that they could see them.) Librettos are also useful to establish the words accurately. Where Handel made a substantive change, that should be followed. Nevertheless, I find it useful to base the minor features, like spelling and punctuation, on a printed source that had probably been sent to the printer by the librettist, and perhaps even proof-read by him; even if that was not the case, at least it followed the conventions of the time.

So what version does one publish? There are two conventional solutions. One is to try to go for the version as first performed. There is a body of belief that in Handel's case that was usually the best, since changes for revivals to meet the exigencies of singers generally lacked the creative urge that produced the original masterpiece and should be ignored when possible. The alternative is that revivals enabled the composer to shed some of the weaker sections and improve the work. In fact, I think that the editor should try to dodge this issue as much as possible. With operas, the ideal is in most cases to present the version of the premiere as the main text but to include in appendices any substantial music cut before the premiere and all alternatives from revivals. I've tried in our editions (which don't always achieve the full ideal) to make alternatives and transpositions cover the same number of pages as the original versions so that, if anyone wants to perform them, the pages can just be swapped from appendix to main sequence. I don't think that it is the function of a performing edition to give details of sketches, deletions and minor cuts: the autographs are accessible on microfilm to those who are concerned with Handel's working practices.

It might be thought that the invention of printing would have led to composers seeking publication for their works in their most accurate form. But it is not until the nineteenth century that one can assume that the majority of composers were directly involved in the printing of more than a few limited categories of their music. When manuscripts and prints both survive, the editor cannot automatically assume that one is preferable on principle. What was printed and what wasn't varied according to convention from one time and place to another. Cavalli is best known for his operas, yet none of them was printed. There were, however, two major publications of his church music. Since we have been working on Cavalli's *Missa concertata* today, let's look at it in terms of why I chose to publish it in the way I did. The 1656 *Musice sacre* follows in a tradition of seventeenth-century prints that is best known in Monteverdi's church-music publications: a mass is followed by a selection of music for Vespers and other sacred pieces. The forces required varied within these publications, but the maximum was usually two four-part choirs, two violins and continuo. The original publication was in part-books. As yet, the practice of performance from facsimiles hasn't extended very widely to this sort of music, and modern performances tend to have conductors who want to know what the performers are supposed to be doing. So scores are needed. There is a practical problem of publishing music in systems of twelve staves. If you only have one system on a page, the music is quite large, if you have two it is small. The opening of the 'Agnus Dei' in my score contains twenty bars in two systems. I experimented to see what it would look like with one system per page. One has to enlarge it quite a lot to look sensible on the standard A4 size page which, for good or ill, is the basis of any home-based publishing organisation now. Reformatted thus, the first page contains just six bars. The whole 67-bar movement takes three pages in the two-system version, ten pages in the larger version. On this basis, the complete score of the work, currently 56 pages, would come out at something like 184 pages. This has various consequences. For a start, it makes it at least twice too big to be produced by printing on double-sided A3 and binding simply with a card cover and central staples. Most publishers have a fairly close relationship between the number of pages and the sale price, so that would more than triple the price, especially as double-sided A4 sheets of that thickness require more expensive binding. But the A4 version is quite hard to read. The compromise we adopt is offering the full score on B4—a bit big for singers, who can hide from the conductor behind it, but fine for conductors themselves. For singers, we have a version that achieves greater size of type without greater length by omitting the instrumental parts—though retaining the continuo line as a means of orientation and cuing.

In the past, editors did not involve themselves in this sort of practical consideration. But now that so many scholars prepare their editions direct on the computer, they can take much more control over the final output. The reasons are not just practical. I am surely not alone in finding it easier to grasp the shape of a piece of music if I can see large tracts of it at a glance, and as a continuo player I prefer a score with as few page turns as possible. The new Monteverdi Collected Works has one opening in the spacious scoring described above with only four bars visible.

Church music in this period was published; operas were not. An operatic score was closely associated with a particular production; any revival would be different, so there was no economy in publication. Enthusiasts who wanted copies for their private libraries could afford to pay for manuscript copies. Some of the very early operas were published, but probably more as souvenirs than for performance. Monteverdi's *Orfeo* is interesting in that it had two editions between which there are minor differences. As with Tolkien, the second printing had to be done afresh since the type had been distributed, so even if there were deliberate corrections there were also fresh misprints.

When there is just one printed source, as with the *Missa concertata*, the editor's job is comparatively easy. He transcribes the original parts onto score, generally now on a computer. He doesn't even initially have to decide what clefs to use, since that can be changed instantly. He does, however, usually need to think whether note-values should be changed. Fewer programmes can do that automatically, though the system we have used for 15 years, PMS, can. Similarly, decisions on transposition can be deferred. Usually, misprints are obvious. If the editor of this script sees the word *isntrument*, he can correct it without checking with me because it is very easy to reverse the order of two letters typed with different hands on the keyboard. Similarly, if in a treble-clef violin part he finds an A instead of a C in a C major chord, he can assume that the compositor merely inserted a piece of movable type upside down. A lot of musical notation is anyway self-checking. There can, however, be a problem if a note can, to quote a remark I heard Paul O'Dette make at a lute master class, either be the most interesting note in the piece or a mistake.

Underlay is often more of a problem. Printed sources are usually reasonably consistent in spelling. If the text is liturgical, many editors follow the standard twentieth-century liturgical books (the *Liber Usualis* if the text is in it). Latin orthography was standardised as the result of the revival of learning that was a fundamental part of the Renaissance. There is a choice between i/j and u/v (JESU/IESV). If one is preparing a pedantic, scholarly edition one may make some comment on the original usage, but it is no big deal. However, the

old abbreviations (especially a line over a vowel to indicate a following 'm') survive in some seventeenth-century prints, and I reckon that treating the 'm' as editorial is unnecessary (though a few of our editions do so, because my co-editor is sometimes more pedantic than I am). 'Ae' and 'e' are often alternatives (e.g. 'praestat' or 'prestat nobis'); sometimes a special sign is used—an 'e' with a cedilla beneath it. Again, it is sensible to print the full version, 'ae', especially since the three forms are often used indiscriminately. But in Medieval music the situation is different; editors of Medieval Latin have stopped converting to standard classical orthography, and their practice is gradually being adopted by musical editors. It is normal now to leave 'e' standing for 'ae' as written, e.g. 'puelle' for 'puellae', and 'Personent hodie, voces puerile' now obviously rhymes. This can often lead to grammatical ambiguity. Where the orthography gives clues on pronunciation it should be preserved, or at least noted. Some editions add Latin accentuation marks, as in the *Liber usualis*. That strikes me as being a superfluous editorial intrusion and presumes that the pronunciation of Latin was standard. The classical rules on stress are simple, but not all countries used a strong stress-accent.

Dealing with orthography in vernacular texts can be more of a problem. Some languages have changed more than others. We are used to the title 'Hor che ciel', but virtually all Italian editors now favour omitting the silent 'H'. I find it helpful to keep French spellings like 'Jouyssance vous donneray', as a general reminder that the sound should be different, not because the use of 'y' is in itself significant. If the text is in verse, should capitals for the first letter of each line be used? Understanding the verse form is important, but it can be confusing to signpost this in underlay, especially if the text is heavily capitalised anyway; the ideal is to set out the poem as verse separately, then the choice for underlay is unimportant. Do you add punctuation? I usually assume that singers need all the help you can give them, though I'm reluctant to let added punctuation dictate an interpretation; and if a composer seems to set a phrase without leaving room for a comma, I'd be reluctant to add one. One sometimes has to decide whether a composer is deliberately changing a poem. A source can be inconsistent within itself, as in the piece that begins Monteverdi's Book VII, *Tempo la cetera*. The solo part is printed twice, in both the tenor and the continuo partbooks: the former has 'De la lira sublime', the latter 'De la tromba sublime'. The music has a triadic figure at this point (AFC) which fits the trumpet more than the lyre. One wonders whether anyone would make the amendment had the continuo part not included the more appropriate text.

Some mistakes are easy to spot. But the correction is not always obvious. Those who have sung Monteverdi's *Vespers* in choirs using mixed editions may have come across one such example in

'Dixit Dominus'. The declaimed 'Dominus a dextris' is set to an A chord. In the original edition the Cantus has a C sharp as the top note of the chord. Lower down the chord, however, the Quintus (tenor 2) has a C with no sharp sign. So, you might argue, there is an equal choice between A major and A minor. But is the choice really equal? I would argue that it is more likely for a scribe or typesetter to leave out a sign than to take the positive initiative of adding one. In a period when not all accidentals were notated anyway, the unwritten rule must have been: if in doubt, leave it out. So A major it should be.

Interestingly, that is one of two movements that were reprinted in Germany in 1615; that edition retains the C sharp for the soprano but gives the Quintus an E instead, a solution I adopted in my edition (though it hasn't stopped conductors brought up on the Denis Stevens version preferring a minor chord) When correcting a mistake, it is always worth trying to work out why it occurred. Copyists behave mechanically. They often leave out signs; if they add something, there is usually a reason for it, though it may be impossible to work out what that is.

A piece I have done a lot of work on is Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione (or La coronatione) di Poppea*. For that we have two musical sources, a scenario, several manuscript libretti and two printed ones. An important libretto (apparently copied directly from a score that hasn't survived, not from another libretto) appeared after I prepared my edition, so I haven't seen it. (I will have it available for my next assault on the work, so it may affect the conclusions I mention here.) The work was performed in the Venetian Carnival season (between Boxing Day 1642 and Shrove Tuesday 1643) and revived in Naples in 1651. The manuscripts differ considerably. One manuscript and libretto are linked with the Naples performance. The other manuscript survives in Venice and was at first assumed to be the work as first performed. But internal evidence suggests that it is a revised version (Acts I & III, incidentally, were copied by Cavalli's wife). There are many places where there are oddities in the Venice manuscript that are apparently correct in the Naples one. But the more I worked on the opera, the more I became convinced that the later scribe was making his own corrections of the mistakes, not deferring to a better copy, and he seems to have made a point of correcting all the minor deviations from the libretto of the sort that composers often make. So the editor's problem is to make the necessary amendments in the most economical way, without sharing the later scribe's assumption about the priority of the form of the libretto that he knew and his facility in freely replacing an awkward reading by a fluent one.

*Poppea* provides other editorial problems too. There is the difficulty of the role of Ottone, which seems to have been pushed up a tone or so, probably from high tenor to alto. His first solo is written,

untypically for Monteverdi, in D major, so we can assume that the lower key, C, of the ritornelli is correct. Other sections of the role seem to have been written by another composer. There are substantial sections of the work that survive only in the Naples manuscript. Most are probably superfluous—it's a long work anyway, and it is certainly not worth cutting bits of the Venice manuscript to allow time to add bits from Naples. But the edition should include them. Then there are the ritornelli. The Venice manuscript has them in three parts: the Naples has a different set on the same bass in four parts. It could be argued that in 1642/3, five parts was the norm, and a set survives in the inimitable hand of Peter Holman dating from the early 1990s.

I am frequently asked for vocal scores of the Baroque operas we publish. The normal format of vocal parts and piano reductions seems to me to be an irrelevant anachronism. The keyboard part has two functions: to give a reduction of the orchestra and to provide a continuo realisation. Most of *Poppea* is written on two staves. The harmony is simple—any operatic répétiteur should be able to supply the chords, with a little help from continuo figuring added by the editor. I'm glad to say that the only other plausible editions of *Poppea* and *Ulisse*, by Alan Curtis, follow the same practice as mine and eschew a realisation. And even as late as Handel, very few arias require more than five staves (four strings & voice) and some need only two or three. Vocal scores are useful for more complex writing (e.g. Bach and Rameau) but not for Monteverdi, Purcell and Handel—at least, not in editions aimed primarily at professional performance and expert amateurs.

An editor should not intrude more than necessary; if he does, he is likely to find his edition overtaken by advances in scholarship. A case in point is what the oboes do in Handel operas. Unfortunately, unlike Bach, Handel's performance material does not survive (apart from the *Messiah* parts copied by the terms of his will for the Foundling Hospital). Until the last decade or two, it was thought reasonable (at least in the operas) that, if the oboes played, oboe I doubled violin I, oboe II doubled violin II. But it now seems more likely that often all oboes played the top line. Handel's specification of instrumentation is vague. Sometimes the only clue that he wanted oboes is the mark 'Vl' written at the entry of the voice, which implies that they had played in the ritornello and now become *tacet*. They may possibly play other sections marked forte, or may only play the ritornelli. I have found no satisfactory way of preparing oboe parts. Sometimes I include every movement in which including an oboe is plausible. Sometimes I print a part that has all the explicit oboe parts and assume that the oboes will also have a violin part so that the conductor can decide where else they should play. I try to give violin I & II the same pagination, so that if the conductor

wants oboe II to vary between violin I & II in different movements, the pages can be photocopied and pasted over the parts and match exactly. Handel's indication of the bassoon is even vaguer; I supply a complete continuo part for the bassoon(s) and leave it to the conductor to tell them what to play.

Similarly in works like the Cavalli *Missa concertata*, it is not primarily an editor's job to decide what sections are for soli, what for tutti. I suspect that the piece was originally performed just by eight voices anyway—I think that is what *concertata* means. But when there are solo/tutti marks (which are probably intended to warn singers when they are exposed and when they aren't), I try to make them consistent.

I've made a variety of desultory remarks rather than tried to be systematic, focussing on the area in which I chiefly operate (from Monteverdi to Handel). Earlier and later music have some similar, some different problems. When you come to the twentieth century, you meet additional problems like copyright. The latest piece I've edited is the original version of Bizet's incidental music for *L'Arlesienne*. As a follow-up to the recording of that, we thought it would be nice to do the complete Vaughan Williams *Wasps* music. This presented a problem, in that the Overture and Suite are known only in their later rescored for full orchestra, but the rest of the music was for a smaller band such as would fit in the pit of a Cambridge theatre. I wrote to the Vaughan Williams Trust, but was refused permission, on the grounds that the composer didn't like the small-scale orchestration. Eventually, someone else edited the complete work for large orchestra (though fell out with the VW Trust in the process), and as far as I know it still hasn't been performed. I'd love to edit the original *Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis*, but alas, with the extension of copyright to 70 years, I'm unlikely to be in a condition to do so when it comes out of copyright in 2028.

*Clifford Bartlett is co-founder of Kings' Musik and editor of Early Music Review*

# TREASURE AT LEEDS

PETER HOLMAN

Until recently the holdings of early music in the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds have been a well-kept secret. At a recent conference devoted to eighteenth-century English music I realised that two leading experts on the music of William Croft did not know that the Brotherton has an apparently autograph score of Croft's orchestral anthem 'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious'. There was also surprise among the scholars present that the collection includes such things as a manuscript of Philip Hayes's oratorio *The Judgement of Hermes* and a large group of autographs of songs and other music by Charles Dibdin.

The Brotherton Library's holdings of early printed music are also extensive, including as they do items from Ripon Cathedral Library and the collection of Lord Brotherton, who had a particular interest in eighteenth-century English literature and, by extension, music. However, the Brotherton has now become a major centre for the study of English eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music with the acquisition of two important new collections. The smaller of the two came from Halifax Parish Church, and is the residue of the library of the merchant and amateur musician William Priestley (1779-1861), a leading light in the early years of the Halifax Choral Society. As Rachel Cowgill showed in her article "The Most Musical Spot for its Size in the Kingdom: Music in Georgian Halifax" (*Early Music*, November 2000, pp. 557-75), Priestley's library is now mostly in York Minster Library and York City Archives, though the portion that remained at Halifax Parish Church and is now at Leeds includes some treasures, including a fascinating volume of music commemorating the death of Lord Nelson in 1805, a copy of the two volumes of the 1714 edition of *Harmonia sacra*, and a number of collections of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German church music, including works by Graun, Christian Fredric Hasse, Hummel, Neukomm and Friedrich Schneider; Priestley had a particular interest in the now-forgotten religious music of Beethoven's contemporaries. Also notable are eight volumes composed or edited by Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1758-1836), amateur composer, missionary, writer, friend of Haydn, accomplished amateur composer, and minister of the Moravian settlement at Fullneck near Leeds. With the existing holdings from Ripon Cathedral Library, the Brotherton Library now has one of the best collections of Latrobe anywhere—fittingly, since Latrobe is perhaps the most important composer to come from the Leeds area before modern times.

The other collection was originally formed by the late Roger Fiske (1910-1987), and has been added to by Richard Platt, who has now generously donated it to the

Brotherton Library. It consists of more than 350 printed items, ranging in size from single-sheet songs to complete operas and oratorios, and in date from about 1710 to the 1860s. Roger Fiske wrote the classic study *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), so it is not surprising that English theatre music is well to the fore: nearly half the items are scores of operas or songs, opera libretti, or songs and other music extracted from eighteenth-century English theatre works. As we might expect, composers such as Thomas Arne, Samuel Arnold, Charles Dibdin, Thomas Linley senior, William Shield and Stephen Storace are well to the fore, and there are a number of extreme rarities, such as the libretto to Arne's masque *The Fairy Prince* (London, 1771) and the only known complete set of orchestral parts for James Hook's overture to *The Lady of the Manor* (London, 1778). However, Fiske and Platt also collected a good deal of non-theatrical music. There are many sets of eighteenth-century English keyboard concertos and songs, no fewer than 27 prints of instrumental music by Jan Ladislav Dussek, and a volume of harp music, evidently compiled by someone in Dublin in the 1790s. Reflecting another area of Roger Fiske's interests are two printed scores of Haydn's *Stabat Mater*: a beautiful copy of Breitkopf's full score (Leipzig, 1803) and, equally interesting, a copy of the vocal score Vincent Novello published in London in 1830. Novello dedicated it to Christian Ignatius Latrobe and included a fascinating preface explaining how the work came to be known in England, and the role Latrobe played in the process. It now takes its place in the Brotherton Library alongside the collection of Latrobe's own music.

When the Priestley and Fiske-Platt collections are added to the Brotherton Library's existing holdings, it is clear that Leeds now has by far the largest collection of music manuscripts and early prints of any English university north of Birmingham. I hope that it will be possible to publish a detailed catalogue in due course, and that this superb resource will stimulate new interest in English eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music among scholars and performers.

# A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WATER ORGAN AT THE VILLA D'ESTE

A recreation of the sixteenth-century water organ at the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, Rome, has been built at the Norfolk workshops of Rodney Briscoe. The organ was installed in a fountain in the famed water gardens and the official opening is scheduled to take place in February.

The original organ, built around 1570, was destroyed centuries ago and Mr Briscoe worked closely with the archaeologists at the villa to recreate the instrument. Mr Briscoe said: 'The water organ was one of the marvels of the Renaissance, but when it fell into disrepair, the skills necessary to maintain it had been lost. The organ works on a principle of creating air pressure with the suction of water plunging down a pipe. Greeks and Romans knew of it, and the Italians used it for many things, but the technology was not written down and was lost. It was assumed that the organ could never have worked, but we built a model to prove that the technique

worked as described in the contemporary sources, and then embarked on this project.'

The organ has been constructed from stainless steel and bronze, to protect it from the worst of the effects of such a damp atmosphere. As organs are normally made from wood and leather this approach brought challenges with it.

The organ has 35 notes, 4 ranks of Diapason pipes, 4ft, 2ft, 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ ft and 1ft. It is made from bronze and stainless steel, its size is 1.5 m wide, and about 2.5 m high. The notes are operated by the barrel, each of which contains four tunes. Two barrels have been made and pinned by Mr Briscoe. Each tune lasts for around



The organ in the chamber



The organ fountain at the Villa d'Este

50 seconds and the sequence is preceded by a fanfare blast. The tunes themselves are period compositions, chosen by Patrizio Barberi, a professor of music at Rome University. The first barrel contains: 'Cortege', anon. 1557; 'Ciaccona', Francesco Mannelli, who was born in Tivoli in 1595; 'Aria della Folia da Espagna', Bernardo Pasquini; and 'Canzone'; Agostino Soderini. The tunes on the second are: 'Satterella', Susato; 'La Romanesca', Valente; 'La Shy Myze', anon; and 'La Doume Calla', also anon.

The air is made by the original chambers in the back of the fountain. These have been restored and the organ has been voiced to speak on the 65mm of wind pressure which is produced. The barrel is powered by a waterwheel and the mechanism is completely automatic.

And the work did not stop at the organ. Mr Briscoe also built a new mechanism for another of the fountains in the garden, which plays birdsong, until an owl appears and the birds are quiet. Once the owl is gone the birds begin singing again. He has also made and installed a similar mechanism at a villa at Pesaro, on the Adriatic coast.

The gardens at the Villa d'Este were laid out in the sixteenth century by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, a son of Lucrezia Borgia. They contain fountains, ponds, avenues and formal gardens created by the cream of Renaissance artists. The chamber which houses the organ was designed by Bernini.

The d'Este family fell from prominence in the next century and the gardens and villa began a slow decline. Liszt lived at the villa for a time in the nineteenth century and the property was taken over by the state at the end of WWII. It is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Mr Briscoe added: 'It is a great privilege to be involved in a project such as this—a British company working at the Villa d'Este is like Italians restoring the Hampton Court maze. However, I don't think it will ever replace our main work on church organs. We look after around 300 and this will always be the backbone of the business.'

But one thing he is hoping is that his organ will not suffer the fate of its predecessor. For years after it stopped working satisfactorily it continued to make noises and disturb the villagers, until one night a mob broke into the villa and destroyed it.

W&A Boggis celebrated its 70th anniversary in 2002. It was established by William Boggis, who had worked for several large organbuilders in London. Rodney Briscoe joined as an apprentice and took over the business in 1976. As well as more than 300 tuning and maintenance contracts, recent projects have included new organs for Walpole St Peter in Norfolk and Birdbrook in Essex. Next year the company will be working on a major rebuild and new casework for Blythburgh church, near Aldeburgh in Suffolk.

# AN IMPORTANT LUTE COLLECTION AT SOTHEBY'S

On 6 December 2002, an important volume of printed and manuscript sixteenth-century German lute music was offered for sale at Sotheby's. The volume contains three separate printed editions: two miscellaneous collections printed by Bernhard Jobin, and a collection printed by Jobin of music by Giulio Cesare Barbetta. Included with the printed music is a contemporary manuscript collection of German lute tablature. The following information is drawn from the Sotheby's catalogue entry for the volume.

- i) Jobin, Bernhard. *Das Erste Buch Newerleßner Fleissiger etlicherviel Schöner Lautenstück, von artlichen Fantaseyen, lieblichen Teütschen, Frantzösischen unnd Italiänischen Liedern, künstlichern Lateinischen Muteten...in die Teutsche Tablatur* (Strasbourg, 1572).  
First edition, 50 leaves, folio, elaborate historiated woodcut title border printed from four woodblocks, woodcut German lute tablature, woodcut ornamental borders throughout, Register of pieces, contemporary manuscript additions on F4, K3v and L1v ('[Passemeko] Lorzy'), [RISM J 546 and RISM Recueils 157212; BUC, p. 557; Barclay Squire, p. 740].
- ii) Jobin, Bernhard. *Das Ander Buch Newerleßner Kunstlicher Lautenstück, von allerhand Musicartlichen Passamezo, Galliarden, Branlen, und angenehen Teutschen Däntzen...inn die Teutsche gebräuchliche Tablatur* (Strasbourg, 1573).  
First edition, 30 leaves, folio, woodcut title border, tablature and borders as in 'Das Erste Buch', contemporary manuscript addition on B3, [RISM J 547 and RISM Recueils 157324].
- iii) Contemporary manuscript of German lute tablature, including original fantasias and arrangements of madrigals by Palestrina, Marenzio, Certon and others, motets by Lassus and intabulations of German lieder and fantasias and dances.



Written in German lute tablature on up to eleven systems per page, by at least two early hands, 30 pages, folio, with six further blank pages and three pages of pen-trials and other memoranda, all with helmet watermark, after 1581.

iv) Barbeta, Giulio Cesare, *Novae tabulae musicae testudinae hexachordae et heptachordae...Neu Lautenbuch auff sechs und Siben Chorseyten gestellt* (Jobin: Strasbourg, 1582).

First edition, 42 leaves, woodcut title border as before, fine woodcut portrait of the armed composer casting his lute into the flames on verso, dedication with armorial woodcut, type-set Italian lute tablature within typographical borders throughout, on up to eight 'staves' per page, [RISM B 905 and RISM Recueils 158215].

4 volumes in one, folio (312 x 213mm.), bound in part of a late fifteenth-century South German manuscript on vellum, liners from a medieval manuscript on paper, modern fitted box.

The sixteenth-century German lute manuscript is apparently little known: it does not appear in the list of early lute sources in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (see vol. 24, pp. 44-48). It contains some fantasias (apparently original) and a work for two lutes playing in echo. There are also contemporary intabulations of vocal works by Palestrina, including 'Vestiva i colli' ('Vestiva i Colli A.s.Jo: Palasterino...Cosi le chiome mie secunda parte'), perhaps his most famous secular work, Lassus ('Sidus ex claro veniens' 5 voc: Orlando' and 'Mein einiger trost'), Marenzio ('La bella Ninfa mia' and 'Itene l'ombra'), both first published in 1581. There are also arrangements of works titled 'Quando mon mari vient dehors. G.R.', 'Fortune alors' (possibly by Certon), 'Madonna', 'Del crud'amor', 'Ein gutter Dannz', 'Ich weis mir ein Festgebautes Hauß', 'Ach herzigs Herz mit Schmerz' and 'Groß Reichtum' (the two last attributed to 'M. Hellin'). The manuscript is written in the complex old German lute tablature, in which letters are used for all the fret stops without staves, the rhythmic symbols placed above. Apart from the first two pages, most of the manuscript appears to have been written by the same hand as the small annotations found in the copies of Jobin's two editions, also in German tablature.

The surviving lute books by G.C. Barbeta of Padua (c.1540-after 1603) are 'among the most important Italian sources for the old six-course and the new seven-course lute' (*The New Grove*). The music is written in Italian tablature, the frets indicated with numbers printed on six-line staves, each line denoting a separate course. Barbeta's music contains his own dances, preludes and fantasias, with intabulations of madrigals by himself, Arcadelt, Lassus, Marenzio, Philippe de Monte, Clemens non Papa and French chansons by Jannequin and Crequillon. In the remarkable woodcut portrait, Barbeta appears casting his broken lute to the flames, rather than let it fall prey to his invidious and ignorant detractors. The book was also issued with an Italian text as 'Il tercio libro', of which there survives a unique copy in Saragossa, RISM B 905.

Bernhard Jobin was a publisher of scientific and philosophical books as well as a music printer and lutenist. The music he printed was almost exclusively for lute: including his own dances and intabulations of music by Lassus and others, together with lute music by Barbeta and Sixt Kargel. He also published the organ tablature of Bernhard Schmid in 1577.



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#### Music and Letters Vol. 83/iii (August 2002)

- Review: Jeremy Montagu, Gwen Montagu and C. R. Nicewonger: *Minstrels and Angels: Carvings of Musicians in Medieval English Churches*

#### Music and Letters Vol. 83/iv (November 2002)

- Ross W. Duffin, *To Entertain a King: Music for James and Henry at the Merchant Taylors' Feast of 1607*

#### Reviews:

- Richard Rastall: *Minstrels Playing: Music in Early English Religious Drama, ii*
- David Wyn Jones, ed. *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*
- Warwick Edwards, ed. *William Byrd, Latin Motets, ii*
- Warwick Edwards, ed. *William Byrd, Latin Motets, ii*
- Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, eds. *Madrigali segreti per le dame di Ferrara*
- Anthony Newcomb, ed. *Alfonso Fontanelli: Complete Madrigals, Part I: Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci (Ferrara, 1595); Part II: Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1604)*
- Silvia Herzog, ed. *Stefano Landi, La morte d'Orfeo*
- Floyd K. Grave, Nicole Baker, Paul Cauthen, Marita P. McClymonds and Carol G. Marsh, eds. *Ballet Music from the Mannheim Court, Part I: Christian Cannabich, Le Rendez-vous, ballet de chasse; Georg Joseph Vogler, Le Rendez-vous de chasse, ou Les Vendages interrompues par les chasseurs; II: Carl Joseph Toeschi, Mars et Vénus; Christian Cannabich, Médée et Jason; III: Carl Joseph Toeschi, Céphale et Procris and L'Enlèvement de Proserpine; IV: Christian Cannabich, Renaud et Armide; Les Mariages Samnites*

#### Opera Journal Vol. 34/i (March 2001)

- Patricia Howard, *'A Very Individual Talent for Teaching Singers': Pedagogy and Performance Practice in Gluck's Operas*

#### Opera Journal Vol. 34/iii (September 2001)

- Heidi Owen, *Faustina's Farewell*

#### Plainsong and Medieval Music Vol. 11/2 (2002)

- Neil Moran, *Byzantine castrati*

#### The Recorder Magazine Vol. 22/iv

- Anthony Rowland-Jones, *The coalman reveal'd*

# SUMMARY OF THE NEMA AGM HELD IN EALING 30TH NOVEMBER 2002

The meeting was held in the Friends Meeting House near Ealing Broadway station and was combined with a workshop on Cavalli's *Missa concertata* conducted by the Chairman, Peter Holman, a lecture by Clifford Bartlett and a concert given by Ensemble Shudi. About 20 members of NEMA being present the meeting was deemed quorate.

The Treasurer reported that NEMA had ended the year with a balance of £3,700 and that income had exceeded expenditure by £1,500. Since NEMA turnover was now under the £10,000 threshold there was no longer a legal requirement for the accounts to be audited. However, Richard Bethell, a member of the Council, has agreed to carry out an examination of the accounts and report. On 30th November NEMA had sufficient funds to meet all its obligations and would be in surplus in January 2003 when most of the standing orders were received.

The Chairman reported that the new arrangement with Ruxbury publications had worked very well from NEMA's point of view. *The 2003 Yearbook* had been produced in good time despite difficulties caused by the absence of key people who had participated previously. From the new base it was intended that the *2004 Yearbook* would be even better. *Early Music Performer* in the new format had been a great success. It was now essential that the editorial board and membership generate a pool of articles to keep up the high standard of the first issue.

In 2003 the AGM and associated events would move to Cambridge and combine with one of the EEMF Playing Days. This would hopefully begin the process in which NEMA intends to involve the Regional Fora more closely.

Peter Holman would retire as Chairman at the 2003 AGM and the Council will be considering who might replace him then. Council members Alison Ede, David Fletcher, and Mark Windisch were required to stand down having served the required three-year term. All agreed to stand again and were elected for a further 3 years.

M S Windisch  
Honorary Administrator

## The National Early Music Association Council 2002-2003

Peter Holman	Chairman	Keith Bennett	Member of Council
Jonathan Ranger	Deputy Chairman	John W Briggs	Member of Council
Jane Beeson	Secretary	Stephen Cassidy	Member of Council
Mark Windish	Treasurer/	Alison Ede	Member of Council
Clifford Bartlett	Hon Administrator	David Fletcher	Member of Council
John M Bence	Member of Council	Nancy Hadden	Member of Council
Richard Bethell	Member of Council	Glyn Russ	Member of Council