

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



INDEX

<i>Early music on postage stamps of the world</i> , Douglas Briscoe	p.3
<i>Tudor music: a selective bibliography of writings, 2008-2019</i> , Richard Turbet	p.9
<i>Italian madrigals in the Paston manuscripts</i> , Francis Knights	p.24
<i>Composer anniversaries in 2020</i> , John Collins	p.45
<i>Tudor polyphony and beyond</i> , Anne Roberts	p.50
<i>Colchester Early Music</i> , Lizzie Gutteridge	p.54

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Reports

<i>Bach Network 2019</i> , Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla	p.57
<i>The current state of performance practice studies</i> , Francis Knights	p.59
<i>Blending past and present: collections and collectors</i> , Anne Beetem Acker	p.60
<i>Music in eighteenth-century Britain</i> , Mark Windisch	p.68

News & Events

News	p.70
Obituaries	p.70
Societies & organizations	p.71

Conferences and Events worldwide having been cancelled, this issue contains no listings section, which will resume in the Autumn issue.

Early music on postage stamps of the world

Douglas Briscoe

A stamp collector from childhood and a lover of classical music from my mid-teens, I came very belatedly (about ten years ago) upon the happy idea of collecting worldwide postage stamps on the subject of classical music. I soon found that these exist in great numbers. Eventually I was dismayed to discover that there were enough such items for me to be able to post birthday or other anniversary stamps on my public Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/doug.briscoe.942>) for almost every single day of the calendar year! Since 2015, when I began making the posts, I've learned of the existence of many more stamps on the subject, and of course in recent years quite a few more have been created to add to the ever-growing number.



Illus 1



Illus 2

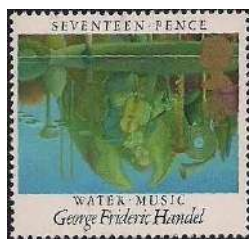


Illus 3

Postal services all over the world, even countries that have no strong Western classical music tradition, have honoured the Great Masters, their works, performers, musical instruments, ballet dancers, concert halls, opera houses, music festivals and so on. Naturally each country tends to focus on its native sons and daughters, with occasional tributes to the Big Names – Mozart alone has over a hundred different commemorative stamps, more than any other composer, from more than fifty nations, including such geographically removed lands as India (illus 1; stamps are not all illustrated to scale), Chile (illus 2), and Kyrgyzstan (illus 3). English-speaking countries, however, have tended to be very reticent on the subject of classical music. The UK has issued only a handful of composer stamps, for such figures as Vaughan Williams, Britten, Delius and Purcell (illus 4), the last three having appeared only within the last decade or so. I should add that the Royal Mail in the 1980s also issued sets of stamps for British conductors (Henry Wood, Barbirolli, Beecham, Sargent) and musical nature pictures (Holst's *Planets*, Elgar's *Sea Pictures*, Delius's *On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring* and Handel's *Water Music* (illus 5)) and in 1992 recognized the sesquicentennial of the birth of Sir Arthur Sullivan with a set of four stamps depicting G&S operettas. Further, the 21st century thus far has seen UK stamps for Margot Fonteyn and Kathleen Ferrier. Stamps for Henry VIII, needless to say, memorialise him for other accomplishments than his compositional efforts, and only last year has the Royal Mail put out issues remembering Prince Albert (though one of them shows the Royal Albert Hall). The United States, too, like Canada and Australia, has been rather remiss: I remember being disappointed when Aaron Copland's centenary passed in 2000 without philatelic recognition.



Illus 4



Illus 5

It may not be surprising to learn that two of the countries most assiduous in this area have been Austria and Germany. Indeed, the very first stamps to honour classical composers formed a set of seven issued by Austria in 1922 (Haydn and Mozart (illus 6), Beethoven, Schubert, Bruckner, Johann Strauss Jr, and Hugo Wolf). Germany followed suit in 1926 with Beethoven and Bach (illus 7), though these derive from a set of ‘definitives’ (designed for routine daily use) rather than ‘commemoratives’ (to mark specific subjects). In 1935, for the 250th anniversary of the births of Bach and Handel and the 350th of Schütz, Germany produced its first set of classical music commemoratives (illus 8). If we restrict ourselves to composers from before 1800, Italy comes next with a Pergolesi stamp (illus 9) from a 1937 set that also honored Spontini.



Illus 6



Illus 7



Illus 8



Illus 9

Aside from the matter of the earliest *stamps* on the subject, the very earliest *composers* represented on stamps have included Hildegard of Bingen (illus 10) (German issues of 1979 and 1998), Adam de la Halle (illus 11) (France, 1985), Oswald von Wolkenstein (illus 12) (Austria, 1977), and John Koukouzelis (Bulgaria, 1983 (illus 13), Albania, 1995, and Macedonia, 2008). From 1961 to 1963, Liechtenstein issued a beautiful series of minnesinger stamps with illustrations drawn from the Codex Manesse. I offer those for Heinrich von Frauenberg and Walther von der Vogelweide (illus 14), who is also represented on stamps (not shown) from Austria and Germany. The German one comes from the earlier of two sets of *minnesinger* stamps from 1970.



Illus 10



Illus 11



Illus 12



Illus 13



Illus 14



Illus 15

The later Middle Ages and Renaissance have been better represented, with Dufay, Binchois, Ockeghem, Obrecht, Willaert and Lassus all seen on a collective Belgian issue (illus 15) of 2006. Although Josquin has no stamp of his own, his image appears in the selvage (border) at the left side of that issue. Machaut (France 1977), Palestrina (Italy, 1975), Victoria (Spain, 1985), and Sweelinck (Netherlands, 1935) have all received their due (illus 16), as have Antonio de Cabezón, Jacobus Gallus and Paul Hofhaimer. Claudio Monteverdi has appeared on stamps of Italy, San Marino, Bulgaria, Germany and, most recently, Hungary (2017) (illus 17). There are also stamps for Guido d'Arezzo and Hans Sachs.



Illus 16



Illus 18

For the Baroque, Johann Sebastian Bach is philatelic king, with approximately fifty stamps printed thus far. I offer a collage centred on a striking minisheet from the Soviet Union (illus 18). Note at lower right the German stamp specifically paying tribute to the Brandenburg Concertos. Handel, Domenico Scarlatti and Vivaldi—fittingly, some would argue—have fared less well, and oddly enough Scarlatti has been honoured, not on stamps from Italy or Spain, but rather from Ireland and—prepare to raise an eyebrow—the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (illus 19)! I love the 1978 Vivaldi stamp from Monaco (illus 20), a country that has a long tradition of issuing stamps for non-Monegasque composers and musicians, including a currently ongoing series devoted to opera singers of yore (Patti and Chaliapin, for example, are among them). Telemann has stamps from both East and West Germany, and other Baroque composers who can be seen on stamps include Frescobaldi, Corelli, Lully, Rameau and Couperin.



Illus 19



Illus 20



Illus 21

Among the later 18th-century composers philatelically represented (besides Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven) are C. P. E. Bach, Quantz, Johann Stamitz (but not Carl), František and Jiří Antonín Benda (yes, both of them, on two separate Czech issues from different years), Gluck (illus 21), Cimarosa and Salieri.

As mentioned above, most countries do tend to focus on their own contributions to the world, and this naturally leads us down some rather rarely travelled avenues. Before beginning my collection, I must confess I'd never heard of the Maltese composer Francesco Azopardi (1748-

1809) (illus 22), the Venezuelan composer José Ángel Lamas (1775-1814) or many others.

Let's turn now to some of the lovely stamps portraying musical instruments and their makers, beginning with the latter. Naturally, Antonio Stradivari has an Italian stamp, but who would have expected to find ones from Mexico and, more exotically, North Korea (illus 23)? The long-lived German violin maker Matthias Klotz (1653-1743) got a stamp in 1993, his countryman Arp Schnitger (1648-1719) having been thus honoured in 1989 (illus 24). In anticipation of the millennium, a number of countries (including the UK and the US) issued large sheets or series of stamps recalling significant events of the preceding thousand years, and the island of Nevis included one stamp noting the invention of the fortepiano by Bartolomeo Cristofori (illus 25) (although, according to my researches, they got the date wrong by a decade or so). French harp manufacturer Jean-Henri Naderman (1734-1799) received a beautiful French *timbre de poste* just six years ago (illus 26).



Illus 22



Illus 23



Stamps honoring
Matthias Klotz and
Arp Schnitger

Illus 24



Illus 25



Illus 26

A few examples of 'period' instruments on stamps are: an 18th-century lute on a stamp from Germany, a mandora from the same century on a Canadian issue, a Swedish clavichord, a handsome Belgian set (from which I have selected three) representing the Musical Instrument Museum in Brussels, and a 1592 lira da gamba and a serpent (!) from the DDR (illus 27). I just recently acquired an attractive pair of hardbound books from Luxembourg Post devoted to sixteen of the country's pipe organs (illus 28) on stamps issued from 2007 to 2009. Many nations



Illus 27

have issued stamps depicting their folk instruments, and I can't resist showing a few of these as well (illus 29). In 1989 the Soviet Union began to produce a gorgeous series of folk instrument stamps, with one intended for each of its fifteen republics, but the USSR collapsed before the set could be completed. Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan took up the torch by emulating the design, but the series remains incomplete, with a total of only thirteen stamps. I offer also a Polish bagpipe, a Bosnian *sargija*, and, travelling farther afield, a Moroccan *oud*, an *erhu* from Hong Kong and a hand piano from Botswana.

On the subject of performing musicians (those

who were not also composers) (illus 30), the Portuguese opera singer Luisa Todi (1753-1833) is the only one I can think of who was active prior to 1800, but early music specialist Philippe Herreweghe would certainly seem to fit the permissible parameters for this newsletter's readers.

The topic of ballet is a very common one in the hobby, but an 18th-century ballet, to the best of my knowledge, is acknowledged only once: a Danish bicentenary stamp recalls the 1786 première of *Cupid and the Ballet Master Lurer* (aka "The Whims of Cupid and the Ballet Master"), with music by Jens Lolle (1751-1789) and choreography by the Italian dancer Vincenzo Galeotti (1733-1816). Even the occasional opera librettist can be found on stamps. Carlo Goldoni, in fact, has no fewer than five! But insofar as I know, there is none yet for Metastasio.

Few concert halls or opera houses from 1800 or earlier survive in their original avatars:



Illus 30



Illus 31



Illus 28



Illus 29

La Scala in Milan (illus 31) is one, though it was heavily damaged during World War II. Bayreuth's Margraval Opera House, dating from 1748, was fortunately spared during the war, so it has come down us from the 18th century virtually intact and is portrayed on a splendid large German stamp from 1998. Though not designed as a concert hall, of course, Olaf's Castle in Finland, built in 1475, has served as the site for the Savonlinna Opera Festival from 1912 to 1917 and 1967 to the present. On the subject of music festivals, one that specifically meets NEMA's desiderata is Croatia's Varaždin Baroque Evenings, established in 1971 and recognized on a stamp in 1998.

Partly in order to fill the odd hiatus in my calendar-based online posts, I frequently resort to using the many stamps for poets whose verses have inspired composers. In my further explorations into the byways of classical music in philately, I've found that many are the postage stamps that display reproductions of paintings on musical subjects, the nation of Panama having issued a whole set of these. From that group we offer works by Vermeer and Laurent de la Hyre. The monochrome Russian stamp from 1966 shows Caravaggio's canvas "The Lute Player",

in which the music on the open score has been identified as a work by Jacques Arcadelt. The French stamp presents a ravishing anonymous Renaissance Allegory of Music (illus 32). I would like to add that in the year 2017 I contributed to an American online arts magazine, *The Arts Fuse* (artsfuse.org), a daily article on all the arts as found on the world's postage stamps. These articles are still accessible: at the site, search for the name of an artist with the word 'stamp' added, and there you will find many images of art works great and minor, the innumerable poet stamps, and much more.



Illus 32

I should at least mention the profusion of stamps issued by countries, mainly in Africa and the Caribbean, that are produced more to earn revenue from foreign collectors than for actual postal use. These kinds of things are often disdained by most 'serious' collectors, but some of them are quite beautiful, nonetheless. In recent years this burgeoning industry has tackled a wide variety of subjects, offering colourful sheets of stamps on everything from Zeppelins to Elvis. Less popular topics have not gone unrepresented, and many sheets exist for the more famous composers and performers. One example should suffice. Having begun our survey pictorially with Mozart, so shall we conclude, with this lovely sheet issued by Guinea-Bissau (illus 33) in 2006 for the 250th anniversary of the composer's birth.



Illus 33

Douglas Briscoe worked as a classical music radio presenter in Boston, Massachusetts from 1977 to 2005 and has on occasion been known to write notes for concerts and CDs.

Tudor music: a selective bibliography of writings, 2008-2019

Richard Turbet

Following the publication in 1987 of the first edition of my guide to research about Byrd, the publisher, Garland, invited me to compile another such guide to a musical topic contemporary with Byrd. Since no other composer had received attention sufficient to fill a book, it was agreed that I would compile a selective annotated guide to Tudor music in general, excluding Byrd (Turbet, Richard. *Tudor music: a research and information guide, with an appendix updating William Byrd: a guide to research*. Music research and information guides, 18. New York: Garland, 1992). This was awarded the C. B. Oldman Prize as the best musical reference book published in Britain that year. Sixteen years later, to celebrate the 80th birthday of the Byrd scholar John Harley, I compiled a further selective bibliography, excluding Byrd, in the form of an article, without annotations except where essential, covering the years 1992-2007 (Turbet, Richard. "A selective bibliography of writings about Tudor music 1992-2007: for John Harley on his eightieth birthday". *Fontes artis musicae* 55 (2008): 340-62). The current article continues that thread to the present.

Unlike my recent Byrd bibliography ('Byrd bibliography, 2012-2018', *NEMA Newsletter* iii/1 (Spring 2019): 24-37) which aims to be comprehensive in its coverage, this checklist again eschews annotations except where they are necessary to shed light on an article's contents, it is again selective, and it excludes Byrd. It also includes a few articles from the period of the previous bibliographies; these articles were overlooked but are still sufficiently current and worthwhile to be listed here. Where applicable, it follows its predecessor's divisions by subject, with the same indexes for authors and musicians (this time including an entry for the Eton Choirbook), and with a list of cross-references between subjects at the end of each subject-division. As in my article for John Harley cited above, where only one article is taken from a monograph, the title of that monograph is included in the body of the entry for the article, but where two or more articles are taken from the same monograph, the monograph is given its own separate entry in the numbered sequence, within square brackets [] to indicate that while it is a source for more than one article about Tudor music, its contents cover many other subjects. Entries are alphabetical by author in all sections except the last, Individual Composers, where they are alphabetical by composer and then by author. The Tudor period is still defined as running from the Eton Choirbook to Adrian Batten.

INDEX

General	p.10
Sacred vocal music	p.10
Secular vocal music	p.13
Instrumental music	p.14
Performance practice	p.16
Theory and education	p.16
Bibliography	p.17
Source studies	p.18
Tudor music since the 17th century	p.18
Individual composers	p.19

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See also 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 104, 108, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 133, 140, 145, 150, 151, 152, 153.

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See also 9.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

Alexander, G. 44
 Altschuler, E. 45
 Andrews, P. 126
 Austern, L. 11, 102
 Bailey, C. 63
 Banfield, S. 46
 Benham, H. 12
 Bowers, R. 13, 96, 97, 150
 Bryan, J. 64, 65
 Butler, K. 1, 2, 14, 112, 121
 Chaudhuri, S. 47
 Cole, S. 127, 128, 129, 151, 152

Collins, D. 103
Conner, T. 66
Darlington, S. 149
Day, T. 130
Dirksen, P. 67
Dixon, A. 147, 153
Dokter, J. 9
Dominguez Romero, E. 48
Duffin, R. 49, 122
Duguid, T. 15
Dwyer, B. 131
Fellowes, E. 132
Fitch, F. 16, 17
Fleming, M. 68
Flynn, J. 18, 104, 105
Gair, B. 19
Gale, M. 69
Gibbs, D. 20
Gibson, K. 50, 51
Goodwin, C. 53
Gough, M. 133
Grapes, K.D. 52, 136
Green, A. 149
Gwynn, D. 70
Ham, M. 123
Harley, J. 124, 154
Harper, J. 21, 71
Harwood, I. 53, 106
Hauge, P. 137
Heinrich, S. 142, 143
Helms, D. 107
Heminger, A. 108
Humphreys, D. 54
Hunt, B. 98
Johnstone, A. 22, 23
Jurgensen, F. 72
Kenny, E. 55
Kim, H. 24
Knights, F. 109
Koster, J. 73
Latham, E. 45
Leach, E. 56
Ledbetter, D. 74
Lindberg, J. 75
Lyman, A. 25
McCarthy, K. 26, 57, 155, 156
Mahrt, W. 58
Mann, D. 76
Marsh, C. 4
Marshall-Luck, R. 146
Martin, D. 77
Milsom, J. 27
Monson, C. 28
Morehen, J. 99
Murray, T. 78, 113
Nelson, K. 110

North, N. 138
 Oddie, J. 79
 O'Dette, P. 80
 Ortiz, J. 5
 Page, C. 81
 Payne, I. 29, 59, 60, 157
 Phillips, P. 30
 Pinto, D. 31
 Pople, A. 134
 Purser, J. 8
 Quinn, I. 82
 Rastall, R. 32, 100, 114
 Rayment, L. 61
 Robinson, R. 83
 Rooley, A. 84
 Roper, A. 33
 Rossi, M. 144
 Savage, R. 115
 Sequera, H. 125
 Shaw, R. 85
 Siemens, R. 141
 Sims, L. 116
 Skinner, D. 34, 35, 36
 Smith, D. 9, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90
 Smith, H. 91
 Smith, J. 10
 Smith, M. 140
 Spohr, A. 92
 Tavener, R. 145
 Taylor, A. 148
 Taylor, R. 9, 72
 Temperley, N. 37
 Treacy, S. 38
 Turbet, R. 93, 117, 118, 135, 139, 158
 Ulrich, J. 39
 Van Orden, K. 119
 Wainwright, J. 40
 Williamson, M. 41, 42, 94, 95, 101, 120
 Willis, J. 43
 Wilson, C. 62

INDEX OF COMPOSERS AND OTHER MUSICIANS

Brade, W. 92
 Browne, J. 16
 Bull, J. 67, 116
 Byrd, W. 72, 93
 Campion, T. 62
 Cornysh, W. 20
 Dering, R. 40
 Dowland, J. 50, 51, 56, 65, 69, 75, 80, 84, 85, 91, 115, 131, 136, 137, 138
 East, T. 112
 Eton Choirbook 16, 17, 30, 41, 108
 Gibbons, O. 31, 74, 79, 139
 Giles, N. 140
 Henry VIII 107, 141

Holborne, A. 65, 93
Holborne, W. 47
Holmes, M. 47, 106
Hume, T. 142, 143, 144
Johnson, E. 47
Johnson, R. 145
Kirbye, G. 54
Leighton, W. 100
Milton, J. 32, 114
Morley, T. 47, 48, 53, 109, 113, 132, 146
Mulliner, T. 105
Mundy, W. 147
Paston, E. 125
Peerson, M. 32
Philips, P. 9, 25, 57
Richardson, F. 93
Rogers, E. 63
Sheale, R. 148
Sheppard, J. 149
Tallis, T. 12, 22, 23, 26, 27, 33, 34, 38, 42, 72, 97, 133, 134, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158
Tomkins, T. 72
Tye, C. 39
Ward, J. 29, 59, 60
Waterhouse, G. 103
Watson, T. 58
Watton, W. 124
Weelkes, T. 29, 45
Whythorne, T. 110
Wilbye, J. 60
Yonge, N. 58

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Italian madrigals in the Paston manuscripts

Francis Knights

Introduction

The English madrigal, one of the most characteristic genres of Elizabethan music, was directly derived from its older Italian cousin. Enormous numbers of madrigals were printed in Italy in the 16th and early 17th centuries, and a significant number of copies soon found their way to Britain, where they were hugely influential on many different musical genres. The language barrier proved a problem, most English performers and copyists seeming to have been reluctant to engage with foreign texts, so collections by Thomas Watson and others of ‘Englished’ Italian madrigals appeared in the late 16th century, with contrafact texts. The term ‘Englished’ comes from the title of Watson’s anthology *The first sett, of italian madrigals englished not to the sense of the originall dittie, but after the affections of the noate* (London, 1590),¹ and refers to the practice of substituting new English texts for Italian ones.

Manuscript copies taken from the Italian prints give a good idea of the type of works circulating in print in England, and the composers most favoured. One of the largest contemporary collections was assembled by the Norfolk gentleman Edward Paston, a friend of William Byrd, and the 310 works surviving in his manuscripts are assessed here, showing what material he had access to, how the copying process took place, and how the manuscripts could have been used in performance.

Edward Paston (1550-1630, illus 1),² linguist, poet, traveller, lutenist and collector of music, was part of the well-known Norfolk Catholic family which produced the well-known ‘Paston Letters’ a century earlier.³ A very large number of surviving English music manuscripts from the late 16th century and early 17th century can be associated with him,⁴ comprising about 45 sets of vocal and instrumental partbooks.⁵ Paston was the son of a Gentleman of Henry VIII’s Privy Chamber, and a godson of King Edward VI; his important literary and cultural connections are clear from printed references in the 1580s and 90s. The Pastons were staunch Catholics, like Byrd, and Edward kept an illegal mass centre⁶ which may have been a focus for Catholics in North Norfolk.



Illus 1 Edward Paston, aged 78

These surviving music manuscripts include about 1350 works, two-thirds of which are continental in origin: continental motets and masses (479), Italian madrigals (310) and French chansons (103), virtually all apparently copied from printed sources imported into England from the mid-16th century onwards. The Italian and French pieces are untexted. As well as an enormous repertoire of lute intabulations⁷ drawn from both this continental (illus 2) and English repertoire, the Paston books are especially rich in the music of William Byrd, and contain a large number of otherwise unknown pieces. How Paston came to have access to some 200 published continental mu-



Illus 2 Lute intabulation of Victoria's 'Ne timeas Maria', opening (British Library Add. MS 29246, f.32)

sic exemplars is not known, though many were Netherlands and German reprints (mostly anthologized) of Italian and French publications.⁸ The restrictive terms of the legal patent granted to Tallis and Byrd by Queen Elizabeth I in 1575 regarding the importation of music may possibly have resulted in Byrd himself sourcing continental prints which were then given, sold or loaned to Paston or other musicians and collectors. This monopoly (later transferred to Morley) specifically and comprehensively prohibited the commercial importation of any foreign music by anyone else.

Studies of the Paston repertory to date have concentrated on single specific genres, in the context of other English sources, and the Italian madrigal is the one significant area not yet explored.⁹ The music in the Paston collection is usually described as reflecting a conservative or old-fashioned taste. The earliest music is by Josquin and Fayrfax, and there is relatively little English music later in date than about 1585, the compositions of William Byrd excepted. However, Paston was in some areas more up-to-date with more recent continental musical developments, such as the polychoral style of Giovanni Gabrieli and Hassler, although there is no music by Monteverdi or Gesualdo, for example.¹⁰

Evidence for the performance practice of the Paston household¹¹ is found in the copies made of Italian madrigals and French chansons: the texts are invariably omitted, implying instrumental performance. In two closely-related related partbook sets (Egerton 2009-11-12 and 2010),¹² the original texts have been replaced with verses, probably of Paston's own composition, on moral and historical subjects; the music is by de Monte, Palestrina, Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder and others.¹³ Not all of the Latin and English music is fully texted either, and Paston or his scribes may have conceived this repertory in terms of the consort song: a high solo voice accompanied by a consort of viols. It is possible that the corresponding lute arrangements served as pseudo-continuo accompaniments, doubling the lower voices, as in Dowland's *Lachrimae* of 1604. Paston's domestic performing resources appear to have encompassed eight-part music (34001-2 and 34000/9-15), and even 10 parts on occasion.¹⁴

The Italian madrigals: sources

The rediscovery of the English madrigal last century owes much to the labours of Edmund Fellowes. His interest in and promotion of this repertory resulted both in a collected edition (the *English Madrigal School*) and several books. Later scholars have built on his work, especially Joseph Kerman, who in *The Elizabethan Madrigal*¹⁵ studied the relationship between the Italian madrigal and its English derivative. The very success of Fellowes, Kerman and also Alfred Einstein in charting the origins and publishing the musical texts of English madrigals may have dissuaded later scholars from tackling this subject, and relatively little research has been done in this field recently.

About a third of the 50 Paston manuscript sets contain some madrigals (see Table 1), although only nine are primarily madrigal collections.¹⁶ Interestingly, the works are more rarely attributed in the manuscripts than other genres (fewer than one-sixth of the pieces), and the process of identification of anonymous pieces has been made practicable in the first instance by the New Vogel index,¹⁷ which lists the contents of printed Italian madrigal sources. The identification of English manuscript concordances to the Paston madrigal sources has been hampered by the limited amount of published research in this area; this lack of interest probably results from the fact that English manuscript madrigal copies are generally derivative, and offer surprisingly few pieces not available in print. (The madrigal repertoire appears to have been known at the time by the widespread dissemination of printed copies, unlike most other genres). Yet although manuscript sources of English and Italian madrigals are thus often not significant as texts themselves, they do possess considerable interest as collections of texts: Elizabethan and Jacobean madrigal manuscripts were usually personal selections from printed sources, with implications for the contemporary circulation of published music and the taste of the scribes who compiled them

Table 1 Paston manuscripts containing Italian madrigals

The first two columns list the location and manuscript sigla, and the third the earliest suggested completion date for each manuscript (see above). Each manuscript is also identified by scribe, in the fourth column; the fifth gives the number of Italian madrigals in each manuscript.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Hand</i>	<i>Pieces</i>
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS	278	1591	A	33
Royal College of Music MS	2089	1591	L	7
Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, MSS. D/DP Z6/	1	1591	L	2
Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library MS. BRm 470.1.CR	71	1595	A	37
British Library, Egerton MS	2010	1597	A	24
Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tenbury MSS	364-8	1597	A	58
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS	279	1598	C	37
British Library Add. MSS	18936-9	1605	-	5
Royal College of Music MS	2036	1605	A, B	10
British Library Add. MSS	30820-2	1606	B	44
British Library Add. MS	34050	1606	A	30
British Library, Egerton MSS	2009-11-12	1611	A	23
British Library Add. MS	29247	1611	L	26
British Library Add. MSS	30823-5	1612	B	35
British Library Add. MSS	30816-9 ¹⁸	1614	C	48
Madrigal Society MSS G	28-32	1616	B	40
Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tenbury MSS 3	40	1617	L	4

The three largest manuscript collections of Italian madrigals surviving from Elizabethan and Jacobean England are the Tregian manuscripts (Lbl Egerton 3665, NYPL Drexel 4302 and Och 510-14), the Paston manuscripts and Tenbury 940-4. They contain approximately 1200, 310 and 150 madrigals respectively. All of these collections were copied after the appearance of the five 'Englished' anthologies of Italian madrigals printed in London between 1588 and 1598.¹⁹

Between 1593 and 1624 some 45 sets of English madrigals and Englished madrigals were published,²⁰ representing about two-fifths of the total of English music publications for the period. It is tempting to see this intense interest in this genre as having been sparked off by the appearance of the first Yonge and Watson 'Englished' madrigal collections a few years earlier. Joseph Kerman²¹ has identified the probable exemplars used by Yonge, Watson and Morley: three-quarters of the 138 madrigals in these collections may have been copied from as few as 19 Italian and Flemish publications. By comparison, Tregian used more than 30 prints for his 1200 or so madrigals, and Paston's scribes copied from at least 60 continental madrigal publications. As well as these manuscript copies, it is known that others were familiar with the Italian madrigal repertory. For example, Thomas Morley, in his 1597 treatise, *A Plains and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, reveals considerable familiarity with the madrigal publications of Croce, Eremita and others; in the opinion of Kerman,²² Morley was the 'mastermind' responsible for the introduction of Italian music into England.²³ The well-known list of 'Authors whose authorities be either cited or used in this booke' appended to Morley's treatise²⁴ contains all of the names which a contemporary English musician would have probably have rated most highly as madrigalists: Ferrabosco, Lassus, Marenzio, de Monte, Palestrina, de Rore, Striggio, de Wert and Orazio Vecchi. It is more doubtful, however, that the provincial amateurs such as the Kytsons of Hengrave Hall or the Cavendishes of Chatsworth,²⁵ would have had access to sufficient continental sources to be able to form their own assessment of the merits of the various Italian madrigalists; amateur understanding may have been largely conditioned by the selections of Yonge, Watson and Morley. The implications of Fellowes's statement that 'English part-books containing some of the finest Italian madrigals...survive as evidence for contemporary liking for them'²⁶ still await full investigation. It is clear that the collectors of consort music, at least, knew of Italian madrigals only in their Anglicised form,²⁷ and Fellowes's 'finest Italian madrigals' are probably those actually editorially selected for popular continental anthologies published by Gardano, Scotto, Phalèse and others rather than an expert selection made by knowledgeable English scribes.

There is of course sufficient evidence to show that English interest in the Italian madrigal was not simply confined to a small circle of cultured London amateurs; the 'Englished' anthologies and subsequent English madrigal publications were commercial enterprises,²⁸ and it is certain that there was a real demand for Italian or Italianate music. This is also reflected in the widespread manuscript copying of, for example, the madrigals in *Musica Transalpina* at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. It is noteworthy, also, that the great majority of English copyists do not include the original Italian texts from continental prints. That the madrigals in Tenbury 940-4 are fully underlaid in Italian is unusual,²⁹ for Tregian only underlays the lowest voice in his scorebooks, and the Paston scribes³⁰ leave out the words entirely. Yonge makes it clear in his *Musica Transalpina* preface of 1588 that unfamiliarity with foreign languages was a principal reason for the publication of his 'Englished' madrigal collection, and it is likely that many Elizabethan amateurs, when faced with madrigals (and chansons) in an unknown tongue, either managed by 'leaving out the dittie and singing onely the bare note, as it were a musicke made onelie for instruments'³¹ (to quote Thomas Morley), or by using instruments instead of voices. This latter option may well have been acceptable, as Yonge also states that the music was 'for sweetness of air very well liked of all'.³²

Even without a knowledge of foreign languages, it must have been clear to the copyists that some of the Italian madrigal repertory, such as the later publications of Marenzio, was musically so dependent on the text that it would hardly transfer to instruments at all satisfactorily; on the other hand, polyphonic settings of relatively neutral poems can make successful consort music. Perhaps this is one reason why English copyists now appear conservative in their selections of Italian madrigals. In the Paston household, as was probably the case in most Elizabethan

homes, it seems that all music with Italian, Spanish or French texts was probably played instrumentally (or possibly sol-fa'd), despite Edward Paston's own knowledge of these languages.

Little is known about the physical circulation of printed and manuscript music in Europe at this time, although evidence suggests some methods of transmission of music from the continent to England; the Earl of Arundel actually commissioned a set of madrigals from Innocenzo Alberti³³ when he visited Italy in 1566, and Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* [I] preface notes that his own sources were music books 'yearly sent me out of Italy and other places'. But the way in which other musical circles, such as the recusants, obtained their foreign music is uncertain. It might be assumed that the Catholic circles shared foreign sources of supply, for music as for religious books, yet the concordances between the collections of the two most important Catholic copyists, Tregian and Paston, are comparatively few in number.

The principal printed madrigal sources used by the Paston scribes are listed in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 includes in date order those printed sources which may have been used by the Paston scribes for more than two pieces; works are in alphabetical order within each print. Details are given in summary form: only composer surnames are given (with initials where necessary, to distinguish between the various members of the Pallavicino and Nanino families, for example), and *prima pars* titles.³⁴ Titles which also appear in other identified printed sources are italicised, and these sources are cited in the fourth column (those without RISM numerical suffixes refer to single-composer prints); thus, a popular piece may appear in more than one list below. An asterisk after a date signifies 'and subsequent reprints', where known.

Table 2 Printed madrigal anthology sources used in Paston³⁵

The numbers in brackets after the manuscript source refer to the original foliation; English contrafact texts are given in italics after the original. Missing texts are indicated with empty square brackets. The fourth column shows other published appearances of the madrigal listed.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>MSS</i>	<i>Also published</i>
<i>Madrigali a tre voci... Libro primo (Gardano, Venice) 1551</i>¹⁰ [reprinted 1555²⁸, 1561¹¹, 1562²²⁻²³, 1597¹⁶]			
Lupacchino	Al assalir	30823-5 (4v)	
Gero	Le treccie	30823-5 (15v)	
Lupacchino	Per ch'al viso	30823-5 (16v)	
Gero	<i>Rare gratie</i>	30823-5 (13v)	1582 ⁸
Gero	<i>Se per colpa</i>	30823-5 (2v)	1561 ¹¹
Ferro	<i>Vel puo giurar</i>	30823-5 (17v)	1561 ¹¹ , 1582 ⁸
<i>Il quinto libro delle Muse (Gardano, Venice) 1575</i>¹²			
Striggio	Alba cruda	28-32 (28v)	
L. Vecchi	Amor, m'ha posto	28-32 (26v)	
Striggio	Ben e ragion	28-32 (19v)	
Essenga	Cor mio	28-32 (23v)	
Striggio	<i>Ninfe leggiadre</i>	28-32 (18v)	1586 ⁹
Porta	Non potea'l	28-32 (21v)	
Marri	Si soav'e l'inganno	28-32 (20v)	
Feliciani	Vivi chiar'e	28-32 (24v)	

***Trionfo di musica di diversi... Libro primo* (Scotto, Venice) 1579³**

Massaino	<i>Ne mai piu vaga</i>	30816-9 (45v)	1583 ¹⁴
Massaino	<i>Poi disse chi</i>	30816-9 (4v)	1591 ¹⁰
Bellavere	<i>Sparve ogni Nume</i>	30816-9 (6v)	1591 ¹⁰
A. Gabrieli	<i>Sperar non si potea</i>	30816-9 (5v)	1591 ¹⁰
Merulo	T <i>ra pure nevi</i>	30816-9 (2v)	1591 ¹⁰ , 1605 ⁹

***Della scelta di madrigali... Libro primo* (Marescotti, Florence) 1582⁸**

Gero	<i>Alla dolc'ombra</i>	30823-5 (8v)	
Ferro	<i>Io credea</i>	30823-5 (12v)	1562 ⁸
Gero	<i>Rare gratie</i>	30823-5 (13v)	1551 ¹⁰
A. Gabrieli	<i>Sa quest'altier</i>	30823-5 (19v)	
Lassus	<i>Valli vicini</i>	30823-5 (14v)	1588 ²⁴
Ferro	<i>Vel puo giurar</i>	30823-5 (17v)	1551 ¹⁰ , 1561 ¹¹

***Il lauro verde* (Baldini, Ferrara) 1583¹⁰ [reprinted 1593²]**

Bellasio	<i>Amor, che vid'e</i>	30816-9 (11v)	
Mira	<i>Come il lauro</i>	30816-9 (10v)	
Rovigo	<i>Liete le muse</i>	0816-9 (7v)	1597 ¹³
Pervue	<i>Pianta gentil</i>	30816-9 (41)	
de Monte	<i>Verde lauro</i>	30816-9 (24v)	1586, 1605 ⁹
Stabile	<i>Verde lauro</i>	30816-9 (27v)	1583 ¹⁴
G. M. Nanino	<i>Amor deb dimmi</i>	279 (14v)	1585 ¹⁸ , 1587 ¹⁰ , 1604 ¹¹ , 1600 ⁹
de Monte	<i>Che fai alma</i>	2010 (30v), 2009-11-12 (37v), 29247 (76)	1567, 1585 ¹⁸ , 1604 ¹¹
de Monte	<i>Ch'io scriva</i>	30816-9 (9v)	
Stabile	<i>D'amor le ricche</i>	30820-2 (29v)	1587 ¹⁰
de Monte	<i>Io son si vago</i>	278 (35v)	1593 ⁵
Vespa	<i>Madonna se volete</i>	29247 (42v), 2089 (48), 279 (1), 2010 (38v), 2009-11-12 (10v)	
Massaino	<i>Ne mai piu vaga</i>	30816-9 (45v)	1579 ³
Bevilacqua	<i>Non puo dolce</i>	71 (35v)	1582 ¹¹
Lassus	<i>Per pianto</i>	278 (27), 71 (50v)	1555, 1588 ²⁴ , 1589 ¹²
Marenzio	<i>Qual vive</i>	30816-9 (48v)	1581
B. Pallavicino	<i>Quando benigna</i>	71 (36v)	
Conversi	<i>Quando mi miri</i>	29247 (37v)	
G. B. Mosto	<i>Se voi set'il mio</i>	30816-9 (17v)	1579 ²
G. B. Mosto	<i>Se voi set'il mio</i>	30816-9 (17v)	1579 ²
Ingegneri ³⁶	<i>Spesso in parte</i>	1 (55v)	1565 ¹⁸ , 1593 ⁵
A. Ferrabosco	<i>Tu dolc' anima mia</i>	279 (10v), 29247 (64), 2010 (26v, 39), 2009-11-12 (15)	

***Musica divina* (Phalèse & Bellere, Antwerp) 1583¹⁵ [reprinted 1588¹⁶, 1591¹¹, 1595⁴, 1606⁷, 1614²³, 1623⁷, 1634⁶]**

Anonymous	<i>Amor che deggio</i>	71 (33v)	
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de Macque	<i>Amor e'l ver</i>	71 (32v)	1579
A. Gabrieli	<i>Caro dolce ben mio</i>	279 (3v), 2010(37v), 2009-11-12 (11v)	1576 ³ , 1589 ⁶
Faignient	<i>Chi per voi</i>	30820-2 (36v)	1588 ²⁹ , 1605 ⁹
Vespa	<i>Ditemi O diva mia</i>	279 (15v)	
Striggio	<i>Ecco, ch'io</i>	30816-9 (41v)	1588 ²⁹
D. Ferrabosco	<i>Io mi son</i>	71 (16)	1542 ¹⁶ , 1569 ²⁰ , 1575 ¹⁴ , 1584 ¹² , 1588 ²¹ , 1593 ⁵ , 1608 ¹⁴
de Monte	<i>La dolce vista</i>	30816-9 (42v), 340 (69v), 29247 (65v)	1605 ⁹
Marenzio	<i>Liquide perle</i>	364-8 (25), 30820-2 (1)	1580, 1588 ²¹
Felis	<i>Non so s'amor</i>	30816-9 (25, 8v)	1579 ⁵ , 1605 ⁹
de Monte	<i>Quando da gli'occhi</i>	278 (30v), 18936-9 (20v)	1571 ¹²
Ferretti	<i>Questa fera gentil</i>	30816-9 (18v)	1567 ¹³
Vinci	<i>Sappi signor</i>	2009-11-12 (19), 2010 (7v)	1604 ¹¹
Manenti	<i>Se pensand'al partir</i>	30816-9 (37v)	
Palestrina	<i>Vestiva I colli</i>	29247 (43), 2010 (9v), 2009-11-12 (4v), 2089 (46v), 279 (2v)	1566 ³ , 1585 ¹⁸ , 1588 ¹⁵ , 1588 ²¹ , 1593 ⁵ , 1600 ⁹ , 1585 ¹⁹
de Wert	<i>Chi salira</i>	71 (3v)	1560 ¹⁰ , 1561 [*] , 1593 ⁵
A. Gabrieli	<i>Sonno diletto</i>	30816-9 (28v)	1580, 1594 ⁸
Sabino	<i>Tirsi in ira di</i>	29247 (58)	1594

Canzonette a tre... libro primo (Amadino, Venice) 1587⁷ [reprinted 1594⁹]

dalla Balla	<i>Godiam' adesso</i>	30823-5 (32v)	1589 ¹⁰
Renaldi	<i>Non vedi amore</i>	30823-5 (30v)	1589 ¹⁰
Bonini	<i>Sta notte</i>	30823-5 (29v)	1589 ¹⁰
Barbato	<i>Un giorno</i>	30823-5 (31v)	1589 ¹⁰

Gemma musicalis... Liber primus³⁷ (Gerlach, Nuremberg) 1588²¹

Marenzio	<i>Deggio dunque</i>	364-8 (32v), 30820-2 (28v)	1581, 1591 ¹⁰
D. Ferrabosco	<i>Io mi son</i>	71 (16)	1542 ¹⁶ , 1569 ²⁰ , 1575 ¹⁴ , 1583 ¹⁵ , 1584 ¹ , 1593 ⁵ , 1600 ¹³ , 1608 ¹⁴
Palestrina	<i>Io son ferito</i>	29247 (42v), 2089 (45v), 279 (1v), 1 (51)	1561 ¹⁰ , 1570 ¹⁶ , 1573 ¹⁶ , 1588 ²¹ , 1593 ⁵ , 1596 ¹⁰
Marenzio	<i>Liquide perle</i>	364-8 (25), 30820-2 (1)	1580, 1583 ¹⁵
Palestrina	<i>Vestiva I colli</i>	29247 (43), 2010 (9v), 2009-11-12 (4v), 2089 (46v), 279 (2v)	1566 ³ , 1585 ¹⁵ , 1583 ¹⁸ , 1588 ²¹ , 1593 ⁵ , 1600 ⁹

Liber secundus Gemma musicalis (Gerlach, Nuremberg) 1589⁸

Marenzio	<i>Amor io non potrei</i>	30820-2 (42v)	1581
G. Pallavicino	<i>Chi fara</i>	71 (41)	

Ferretti	Dolc' amorose	29247 (57v)
G. Pallavicino	Laura soave	71 (42v)
Bissi	Tra bei rubini	30820-2 (13v)

***Fiori musicali...a tre voci... Libro primo* (Vincenti, Venice) 1587⁶ [reprinted 1590¹⁸]**

Croce	Basciami vita mia	30823-5 (45v), 2036 (31v)	
Baccusi	<i>Deb torna a me</i>	2036 (29v)	1594 ¹⁰
Stivori	Dormiva dolcemente	30823-5 (26v)	
Flori	Già fù mia	30823-5 (44v), 2036 (32v)	
G. M. Nanino	Lascian le fresche	30823-5 (40v)	
Gregori	Lunge da gl'occhi	30823-5 (41v), 2036 (21v)	
Bellasio	S'altra fiamma	30823-5 (25v), 2036 (28v)	
B. Pallavicino	Tante pianghe	2036 (30v)	

***Tertius Gemmae musicalis liber* (Gerlach, Nuremberg) 1590²⁰**

Gastoldi	<i>Amor tu che coniungi</i>	71 (27v)	1597 ¹⁵
B. Pallavicino	<i>Arte mi siano</i>	364-8 (26v), 34050 9v), 30820-2 (4v)	1596 ¹⁶
B. Pallavicino	Dolce mia cara	364-8 (43v), 34050 (24v)	
B. Pallavicino	Haime quelli	364-8 (53v)	
B. Pallavicino	Hor veggio	364-8 (54v), 34050 (16v)	
Eremita	Io seguo ardente	364-8 (41v), 34050 (29v)	
B. Pallavicino	<i>Mentre che qui</i>	364-8 (46v), 34050 (1v), 30820-2 (43v)	1595 ¹⁶
B. Pallavicino	Misero non vedi	364-8 (33v), 30820-2 (10v)	
B. Pallavicino	<i>Non mi ferir</i>	34050 (3v), 30820-2 (27v)	1596 ¹⁶
B. Pallavicino	<i>Non mirar</i>	364-8 (47v), 34050 (2v), 30820-2 (31v)	1596 ¹⁰
B. Pallavicino	Si mi dicesti	34050 (7v), 30820-2 (30v)	

***Melodia olympica* (Phalèse & Bellere, Antwerp) 1591¹⁰ [reprinted 1594⁷, 1611¹¹, 1630³]**

Philips	Amor, che vuoi ch'io	30816-9 (3v)	
Blotagrio	<i>Amor io sent'un</i>	71 (37v)	1594 ⁷
Philips	<i>Amor sei bei</i>	18936-9 (23v, 5v), 71 (30v)	1594 ⁷
Marenzio	<i>Deggio dunque</i>	364-8 (32v), 30820-2 (28v)	1581, 1588 ²¹

G. B. Mosto	<i>Dolce alpestre</i>	364-8 (36v), 30820-2 (1v), 18936-9 (53, 35), 279 (23v)	1581, 1588 ²¹ , 1583 ¹¹ , 1598 ¹⁵ , 1605 ⁹
Marenzio	<i>Ne fero sdegno</i>	30816-9 (33)	1587, 1590 ²⁹ , 1594 ⁷ , 1594 ¹⁴ , 1605 ⁹
Massaino	<i>Poi disse chi</i>	30816-9 (4v)	1579 ³
de Macque	<i>Se d'altro mai</i>	278 (3v)	1594 ⁷
Moscaglia	<i>Si dolci son gli</i>	71 (31v)	1585 ²⁹
Moscaglia	<i>Solo e pensoso</i>	71 (38v)	1585 ²⁹
Bellavere	<i>Sparve ogni Nume</i>	30816-9 (6v)	1579 ³
A. Gabrieli	<i>Sperar non si potea</i>	30816-9 (5v)	1579 ³
Merulo	<i>Tra pure nevi</i>	30816-9 (2v)	1579 ³ , 1605 ⁹
Turnhout	<i>Vorria parlare</i>	30816-9 (12v)	1597 ⁷

Florindo, e Armilla canzon pastorale (Amadino, Venice) 1593³

Colombi	Al fin le braccia	364-8 (55v)	
B. Pallavicino	Ben l'alme	364-8 (40v), 34050 (8v)	
Palestrina	Non son le vostre	279 (11v)	
Croce	Rimaser le parole	364-8 (48v), 34050 (13v)	

Nuova spoglia amorosa (Vincenti, Venice) 1593⁵

de Wert	<i>Chi salira</i>	71 (3v)	1560 ¹⁰ , 1561*, 1585 ¹⁹
D. Ferrabosco	<i>Io mi son giovinetta</i>	71 (16)	1542 ¹⁶ , 1569 ²⁰ , 1575 ¹⁴ , 1583 ¹⁵ , 1584 ¹² , 1588 ²¹ , 1600 ¹³ , 1608 ¹⁴
Palestrina	<i>Io son ferito</i>	29247 (42v), 2089 (45v), 279 (1v), 1 (51)	1561 ¹⁰ , 1570 ¹⁶ , 1573 ¹⁶ , 1588 ²¹ , 1596 ¹⁰
de Monte	<i>Io son si vago</i>	278 (35v)	1583 ¹⁴
Palestrina	Mori quasi	71 (5v)	
Ingegneri	<i>Spesso in parte</i>	71 (55v)	1565 ¹⁸ , 1583 ¹⁴
Palestrina	<i>Vestiva I colli</i>	29247 (43), 2010 (9v), 2009-11-12 (4v), 2089 (46v), 279 (2v)	1566 ³ , 1583 ¹⁵ , 1585 ¹⁸ , 1588 ¹⁵ , 1588 ²¹ , 1588 ²³ , 1593 ⁵ , 1600 ⁹

Paradiso musicale di madrigali (Phalèse, Antwerp) 1596¹⁰

Marenzio	<i>Bascia e ribascia</i>	34050 (1)	1597 ³
B. Pallavicino	<i>Ben e ragion</i>	364-8 (24v), 30820-2 (23v)	1595 ¹⁶
B. Pallavicino	Con che soavita	30820-2 (9), 364-8 (34v)	
Baccusi	<i>Dolce mia pastorella</i>	364-8 (18v), 30820-2 (37v), 34050 (18v)	1590 ^{3a}
G. M. Nanino	<i>Donna gentil</i>	279 (17v)	1582 ⁶
Palestrina	<i>Io son ferito</i>	29247 (42v), 2089 (45v), 279 (1v), 1 (51)	1561 ¹⁰ , 1570 ¹⁶ , 1573 ¹⁶ , 1588 ²¹ , 1593 ⁵

B. Pallavicino	<i>Non mirar</i>	364-8 (47v), 34050 (2v), 30820-2 (31v)	1590 ²⁰
F. Anerio	<i>Quelle rose</i>	364-8 (25v), 34050 (10v), 30820-2 (3v)	1589 ⁷

***Fiori del giardino* (Kauffmann, Nuremberg) 1597¹³**

Massaino	Amorosa	364-8 (7v), 34050 (23v)	
Hassler	Ardi e gela	364-8 (17v), 30820-2 (38v)	
Hassler	Chi mi consola	18936-9 (23, 5v)	
B. Pallavicino	Filli, tu pur sei	30820-2 (32v), 364-8 (20v), 34050 (5v)	
Preti	<i>La bella caccatrice</i>	364-8 (27v)	1588 ¹⁴ , 1592 ¹²
Rovigo	<i>Liete le muse</i>	30816-9 (7v)	1583 ¹⁰
Aichinger	Occhi quella	364-8 (35v), 30820-2 (7v)	
F. Soriano	Oscura notte	30820-2 (45v)	
B. Pallavicino	<i>Tu pur ti parti</i>	364-8 (19v), 34050 (6v), 30820-2 (33v)	1590 ^{3a}
Aichinger	Vaga ghirlanda	364-8 (26)	

***Delle pietosi affetti* (Vincenti, Venice) 1598⁶**

Anonymous	Andro di piaggia	279 (13v)	
Viadana	Il sangue a pena	34050 (27v)	
Pulsela	O tu ch'a le	364-8 (13v), 34050 (28v)	

***Scielta de madrigali* (Tini & Lomazzo, Milan) 1604¹¹**

G. M. Nanino	<i>Amor deb dimmi</i>	279 (14v)	1583 ¹⁴ , 1585 ¹⁸ , 1587 ¹⁰ , 1600 ⁹
de Monte	<i>Che fai alma</i>	2010 (30v), 2009-11-12 (37v), 29247 (76)	1567, 1583 ¹⁴ , 1585 ¹⁸
Vinci	<i>Sappi signor</i>	2010 (7v), 2009-11-12 (19)	1583 ¹⁵

***De' fiori del giardino* (Kauffmann, Nuremberg) 1604¹²**

Sweelinck	<i>Madonna, con quest</i>	30816-9 (33v)	1601 ⁵ , 1605 ⁹
de Marinis	Non mi togli	30816-9 (15v)	
A. Ferrabosco	<i>Voi volete</i>	30816-9 (34v)	1605 ⁹

***Giardino novo* (Waltkirch, Copenhagen) 1605⁷**

Molinaro	<i>Cantiam Muse</i>	28-32 (29v)	1599 ¹⁵
Leoni	Come viver	28-32 (30v)	
Casati	Dubbii frà duo	28-32 (37v)	
Croce	Qual di voi	28-32 (31v)	

***Nervi d'Orfeo* (Haestens, Leiden) 1605⁹**

Le Jeune	Amanti miei	30816-9 (1v)	
G. M. Nanino	Chi dei piangendo	30820-2 (9v)	
Faignient	<i>Chi per voi</i>	30820-2 (36v)	1583 ¹⁵ , 1588 ²⁹
Le Jeune	Dimmi donna	30820-2 (19v)	
G. B. Mosto	<i>Dolce alpestre</i>	364-8 (36v), 279 (23v), 30820-2 (1v), 18936-9 (53, 35)	1583 ¹¹ , 1591 ¹⁰ , 1598 ¹⁵
Striggio	<i>Eran le ninfe</i>	30816-9 (23v)	1592 ¹¹
de Monte	<i>La dolce vista</i>	30816-9 (42v), 340 (69v), 29247 (65v)	1583 ¹⁵
Sweelinck	<i>Madonna, con quest</i>	30816-9 (33v)	1601 ⁵ , 1604 ¹²
Marenzio	<i>Ne fero sdegno</i>	30816-9 (33)	1587, 1590 ²⁹ , 1591 ¹⁰ , 1594 ⁷ , 1594 ¹⁴
Felis	<i>Non so s'amor</i>	30816-9 (25, 8v)	1579 ⁵ , 1583 ¹⁵
Croce	<i>Ove tra l'erbe</i>	30816-9 (20v)	1592 ¹¹ , 1597 ²⁴
Marenzio	<i>Parto da voi</i>	30816-9 (19v)	1585, 1588 ²⁹
Palestrina	Quando dal terzo cielo	30816-9 (9)	
Le Jeune	Stella crudel	30816-9 (1)	
Merulo	<i>Tra pure nevi</i>	30816-9 (2v)	1579 ³ , 1591 ¹⁰
de Monte	<i>Verde lauro</i>	30816-9 (24v)	1583 ¹⁰ , 1586
A. Ferrabosco	<i>Voi volete</i>	30816-9 (34v)	1604 ¹²

***Giardino novo...il secondo libro* (Waltkirch, Copenhagen) 1606⁵**

B. Pallavicino	A poco io sento	28-32 (38v)	
Agresta	Caro dolce	28-32 (43v)	
Mancini	Gia rinchiama	28-32 (41v)	
Valcampi	I tuoi capelli	28-32 (33v)	
le Sueur	La mia leggiadre	28-32 (39v)	
Sabino	La pastorella	28-32 (32v)	
B. Pallavicino	Levo con la sua	28-32 (40v), 34050 (12v), 30820-2 (6v)	
Valcampi	Ohime dove	28-32 (26v)	
Gistou	Quel Augellin	28-32 (34v)	

***Il Helicone* (Phalèse, Antwerp) 1616¹⁰**

Colombi	A te sacro	28-32 (14v)	
Capilupi	Baciami per haver vita	28-32 (1)	
Zanchii	Baciami per haver vita	28-32 (5v)	
G. B. Nanino	<i>Caro dolce</i>	28-32 (13v)	1599 ¹⁶
Savioli	<i>Hor co'l canto</i>	28-32 (12v)	1600 ¹⁶
Guaitoli	Lasso che i dolci	28-32 (11v)	
Flaccomio	Lumi miei, cari	28-32 (2v)	
F. Soriano	<i>Mestissimi concetti</i>	28-32 (10v)	1592 ²¹
F. Soriano	<i>Ninfa la falsa mano</i>	28-32 (9v)	1592 ²¹
Guaitoli	Non porta	28-32 (4v)	
Rossi	Occhi voi	28-32 (8v)	

Colaianne	Qual siepe	28-32 (3v)
Franzoni	Sogno, O pur son desto	28-32 (16v)
Zanchii	Trar mi volete	28-32 (15v)
Colombi	Udit' amanti	28-32 (6v)
Piccioni	Ut re mi fa	28-32 (7v)
Meo	Vago augellin	28-32 (1v)
Marotta	Vorro veder	28-32 (17v)

While it is evident that some of these anthologies, such as *Trionfo di musica* 1579³, *Canzonette a tre* 1587⁷ and *Gemma musicalis* 1588²¹, may not have been used by the Paston scribes (the pieces listed all being available elsewhere), others, like *Il quinto libro delle Muse* 1575¹², *Fiori musicali* 1587⁶, *Florindo, e Armilla* 1593³, *Fiori de giardino* 1597¹³ and the two *Giardino novo* volumes, 1605⁷ and 1606⁵, were clearly Paston exemplars: few of the pieces listed were printed elsewhere. The situation with regard to *Il lauro verde* 1583¹⁰, *Musica divina* 1585¹⁵, *Melodia olympica* 1591¹⁰, *Nuova spoglia amorosa* 1593⁵, *Paradiso musicale* 1596¹⁰ and *Nervi d'Orfeo* 1605⁹ is less certain. These contain a number of widely available pieces, such as G. M. Nanino's 'Amor deh dimmi', Domenico Ferrabosco's 'Io mi son giovinetta', Palestrina's 'Vestiva I colli' and 'Io son ferito', and Marenzio's 'Ne fero sdegno'. Only careful comparison of the Paston readings with the various anthology reprints and impressions may establish the actual source (or sources)³⁸ used. However, the presence of as many as eight Paston madrigals from *Il lauro verde* 1583¹⁰ in 30816-9, 71, 29247, 2089, 279, 2009-11-12 and 2010 that do not appear in other anthologies argues in favour of Paston having used this particular publication, and in the other cases cited too, there is at least one such piece. Probably Paston had access to all the anthologies in this last group.

Table 3 includes those single-composer printed sources which may have been used by the Paston scribes for more than two pieces.

Table 3 Printed madrigal sources used in Paston

<i>Title</i>	<i>Paston MSS</i>	<i>Concordances</i>
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Alfonso Ferrabosco (i), Madrigals Book 1 a5 1587

Cara la vita	279 (39v), 2010 (6v), 2009-11-12 (9)	
Chi ha corda	279 (36v), 18936-9 (49v, 31v), 2010 (8v), 2009-11-12 (18v)	
Non fingo	279 (35v), 2010 (36v), 2009-11-12 (20v)	
O crude pene	279 (34v), 2010 (40v), 2009-11-12 (40v)	
Se pur e ver	279 (33v), 2010 (33v), 18936-9 (53v, 35v), 2009-11-12 (39v), 31992 (30v)	
Voi volete	279 (38v), 2010 (5), 2009-11-12 (33v)	
Vorrei lagnarmi	279 (5v), 2010 (13v), 2009-11-12 (16)	1598 ¹⁵

Alfonso Ferrabosco (i), Madrigals Book 2 a5 1587

A la dolc'ombra	279 (7v, 25v), 2009-11-12 (41v), 2010 (21v)	
Bruna sei tu	29247 (50)	1597 ²⁴
Donna l'ardente	30820-2 (24v), 364-8 (49), 34050 (38v)	1597 ²⁴
Nel più fiorito	364-8 (51v), 30820-2 (26v)	1597 ²⁴
Non e lasso martire	279 (32v), 18936-9 (53v, 35v), 2009-11-12 (33), 2010 (2v)	

Non mi fuggir	364-8 (9), 34050 (31v, 35)	
Solo e pensoso	279 (8v), 2009-11-12 (22v), 2010 (20v)	
<i>Zefiro torna</i>	364-8 (10v), 34050 (30v, 36v)	1597 ²⁴

Luca Marenzio, Madrigals Book 1 a4 1585

Hor vedi amore	71 (53v)	
<i>I lieti amanti</i>	278 (33v)	1590 ²⁹
<i>Non vidi mai</i>	278 (10v)	1590 ²⁹
<i>Veggio dolce</i>	278 (11v)	1590 ²⁹

Philippe de Monte, Madrigals Book 1 a4 1562

Ben debbio	71 (52v)	
Già mi fu	278 (40)	
<i>Quando mi vene</i>	71 (20v)	1569*

Philippe de Monte, Madrigals Book 2 a4 1569*

Ne si dolce	71 (39v)	
O desir di quest'	71 (5v), 278 (35)	
O quanto e dolce	278 (34v)	

Philippe de Monte, Madrigals Book 3 a4 1585 [1585²⁷]

Hor son pur	278 (9v)	
Lasso, amor mi	278 (7v)	
L'oro e le perl'e	278 (38v)	
Passer mai solitario	278 (22v)	
Pastori avventurati	278 (21v)	
Quante montagne	278 (39v)	
Se col ceico	278 (8v)	

Giovanni Battista Moscaglia, Madrigals Book 2 a4 1585²⁹

Bellasio, Donna i begli occhi	71 (6v)	
Moscaglia, <i>Si dolci son gli</i>	71 (31v)	1591 ¹⁰
Moscaglia, <i>Solo e pensoso</i>	71 (38v)	1591 ¹⁰

The situation with regard to these single-composer prints is easier to evaluate. Although a number of pieces from the second Ferrabosco and the Marenzio volumes above were anthologized, it looks as though Paston's scribes had access to the prints listed above. In the case of de Monte's Book 3 a 4 of 1585, the seven pieces copied into 278 seem conclusive; and it is interesting that of those prints in Table 3 only the two Ferrabosco volumes were used for a number of Paston manuscripts other than 278 and 71. The appearance of Bellasio's 'Donna i begli occhi', for example, makes it clear that Moscaglia's *Madrigals* Book 2 a4 1585²⁹ was the exemplar used for 71, rather than the alternative, 1591¹⁰.

On the basis of the probable print exemplars used by the Paston scribes, Philip Brett was able to suggest manuscript dates for the partbooks.³⁹ The identification of many more anonymous pieces and likely exemplars in recent years means that it has now been possible to improve on

these dates. These datings are in one respect precise, but are difficult to interpret, as they provide only an *earliest* possible date of completion. For example, if the latest identified printed exemplar for a manuscript is 1604, then that manuscript cannot have been completed before that time (if the copy was made from that printed source). However, it may well have been completed well after that date if the sources were still circulating long after their initial publication: for example, 28-32 contains 18 pieces from the Phalèse anthology *Il Helicone* 1616¹⁰ and was therefore completed after that date (assuming no lost earlier impressions), but it also contains material from a 1575 madrigal anthology - and the other exemplars for this set are two Danish anthologies dating from 1605 and 1606.

The re-datings so far suggest that the Paston collection may be rather later in date than hitherto supposed; some manuscripts are 20 years later than Brett suggested, and only one (34050) may be earlier. With the exception of 354-8 (which appears to contain no music taken from printed sources) and 34049 (which is conceivably as early as 1575), all of the Paston manuscripts now appear to date from 1587-1617. That is to say, the earliest of them was completed after 1587, and the latest from 1617 or after. It is therefore possible, if improbable, that the entire original collection⁴⁰ of some 220 partbooks was copied by the four known scribes in the 17th century. However, it would be convenient, and probably more realistic, rather to assume that many of the manuscripts were completed fairly soon after the date of the latest exemplar used. This assumption, which is offered only as a tentative hypothesis, suggests a fair spread of copying activity across the period 1587-1617 by all four scribes, with apparent peaks of activity in about 1591, 1597, 1605 and 1611.

It is possible that all of Paston's music scribes were active together from the early 1590s to the mid-1610s; yet although they must surely have been working concurrently by the end of this period (the latest copying dates for hands A, B, C, and L are 1616, 1616, 1614 and 1617 respectively),⁴¹ it is not so likely that an Elizabethan country squire would have employed each of four highly skilled music copyists⁴² for three decades to produce manuscripts domestically. In the case of copyist C, who is the least active of the scribes (in the sense that there are only eight extant manuscripts in his - or her - hand), a productivity rate of one manuscript set every three or four years is implied. Perhaps a number of hand C manuscripts have been lost, or C may have been employed by Paston principally in another capacity. It is surprising to find that in 1617, the earliest date for the completion of 340, the intabulations are still invariably for six-course lute, although Dowland and others had by then been writing for an instrument with eight or more courses for some years; it may be that Paston had a favourite lute (or even Spanish vihuela), perhaps acquired on his travels, which he was reluctant to replace with a more modern instrument.⁴³

The notion of Paston as perhaps an uncritical collector⁴⁴ of all types of music is complicated by his apparently selective treatment of English printed sources; a great deal of Byrd's music is copied into a large number of Paston manuscripts, but little else by other English composers from after about 1585. Motets by Tallis from the 1575 *Cantiones Sacrae* do appear (as well as motets by the emigrant Peter Philips and the immigrant Alfonso Ferrabosco (i), from continental prints) but there are few English madrigals, and all of these appear in one rather atypical Paston manuscript, 18936-9. Of other English secular manuscripts, Kerman notes:

A striking fact is that [English] manuscripts contain many more Italian madrigals than English ones. It may be protested that this was due to the greater availability of English prints, but more madrigals were copied from *Musica Transalpina* than from most English sets, and that anthology was not necessarily any scarcer than East's other publications.⁴⁵

Although Paston had access to (and probably owned) a very large number of continental publications of sacred and secular music, as well as manuscripts of English Latin motets, he seems not to have used any of the 'Englished' madrigal anthologies except the 1588 *Musica Transalpina*, and his scribes used only one of the English madrigal publications (seven madrigals were copied into 18936-9 from Weelkes' *Ayres or phantasticke sprites* of 1608). This may imply a lack of interest in this genre; or that he owned the printed originals and did not feel the need to anthologize them. It should be noted that the repertorial duplication, particularly of Latin motets, found in the Paston manuscripts is not matched by the madrigals. Often, there exists only a single copy of each Italian madrigal, and this might confirm the notion that they were treated as instrumental music; assuming that the duplication of music was partly at least to allow a music collection in each of Paston's three known Norfolk homes, a chest of viols is hardly as portable as a lute or voice, and the instrumental music may have been collected together in one house. If Paston did own English madrigal publications, they were probably destroyed in the 1707 fire at Appleton, his principal home, which consumed the entire library.

The reason for the absence of English madrigals (and indeed, of texts for Italian madrigals) in Paston's manuscripts - assuming the manuscript survivals are representative - might be a reflection of Paston's attitude to the verse, rather than the music. William Byrd wrote madrigalian songs rather than madrigals proper, possibly regarding the genre as too frivolous, and Paston may have shared these views: the 28 Italian madrigals and French chansons which were supplied with new English words (probably by Paston himself) in 2009-11-12 and 2010 show a taste more inclined towards historical and moral subjects than the pastoral or amorous conceits of the original texts.⁴⁶ However, Paston is known to have translated part of Montemayor's *Diana* from the Spanish at some time before 1583, and 24 poems translated by Bartholomew Young from *Diana* were the largest single contribution to the classic collection of Elizabethan pastoral verse, *England's Helicon* of 1600; Paston was evidently not opposed to pastoral verse as such.

17 of the Paston manuscripts contain madrigals; their probable terminal dates, as discussed above, cover the same period as the collection as a whole (see Table 1). However, this does not necessarily imply that Paston was consistently collecting madrigals during this time, although he was having them copied as late as 1617. Whether the popularity of the English madrigal, particularly, was influenced by external factors may only be guessed at. The death of a major printer (Thomas East, 1609) or composer (Thomas Morley, 1602), or a change in the musical interests of a major composer (Weelkes' last madrigal publication pre-dates his death in 1623 by 15 years) may all have had an impact. By about 1620 there were some 900 English madrigals in print; market saturation may have occurred,⁴⁷ and it is notable that only five madrigalian publications were reprinted between 1588 and 1635, and only two of these after 1608.⁴⁸ (Morley's 1593 *Canzonets for 3 voices* were however reprinted as late as 1631).⁴⁹ Musical taste probably changed more slowly outside London, and among amateurs, and it is quite possible that a copyist in rural Norfolk would have been collecting madrigals well after they had ceased to be fashionable with London professionals. Musical cross-influences can sometimes occur in surprising ways, and Joan Wess⁵⁰ has demonstrated that the 'Englished' madrigals in *Musica Transalpina* in fact served as models for the next generation of consort music composers.

Since the majority of Paston's madrigal copies appear to have been taken from anthologies rather than single-composer publications (see Tables 2 and 3), it is frequently difficult to see a pattern of transmission from print to manuscript; this contrasts with the clearer evidence in Tregian's scorebooks. In Egerton 3665 for example, Tregian copied all of Marenzio's 1585 *First Book of Madrigals* for 4 voices, except the eleventh and last pieces; later in the manuscript he copied the first seven madrigals from Felice Anerio's 1586 *Canzonette* for 4 voices, then seemingly decided not to complete the task, taking only the twelfth and fourteenth pieces. Tregian's con-

tinuation volume, Drexel 4302, includes the complete Benedetto Pallavicino Book 1 for 6 voices of 1587, preceded by selections from his First and Second Books for 5 voices of 1581 and 1584; the copying method here seems to be the scoring of an entire publication, unless it subsequently proved either too long or - perhaps - uninteresting. In that case Tregian then selected pieces from the remainder of the print. (The scoring-up suggests study as much as performance.) No method like this can be found anywhere in the Paston collection; most of the manuscripts containing madrigals are derived from eight or more publications each, and only in one case (28-32) is the figure as low as four. Rarely are more than two or three pieces copied in the same order as in the print. In 28-32, for example, although the manuscript comprises groups copied from *Il Helicone* of 1616 (manuscript pieces 1-18), *Il quinto libro delle muse* of 1575 (pieces 19-26), and the two books of the rare Danish anthology *Giardino novo* (1605 and 1606, pieces 27-40), within these groups the order is not preserved. For example, the *Giardino novo* madrigals are redistributed in the manuscript as in Table 4.

Table 4 Paston manuscripts containing madrigals from *Giardino Novo*, 1605 and 1606

The left-hand column lists the number of the piece copied from the source, in order, with lower-case Roman numerals indicating the two volumes. On the right is the number of the piece in the Paston manuscript set 28-32.

<i>Giardino novo</i>	28-32
i/2	28
i/3	35
i/13	33
i/19	29
i/24	27
ii/1	37
ii/2	38
ii/9	34
ii/11	36
ii/15	40
ii/19	30
ii/20	31
ii/22	32
ii/23	39

Note that although pieces 27-40 of the manuscript are all taken from these prints, the two books of *Giardino novo* are thoroughly mixed in the manuscript copies. 28-32: 37-38 and 34, 36, 40 and 30-32, 39 follow the general order of the prints, and there are two exact transmission pairs (28-32: 30-31 and 37-38). This reordering might reflect a performer's view, as opposed to that of a copyist; the latter, when searching for pieces (if one can speak in these terms) for a manuscript is less likely to leaf through two separate volumes simultaneously, selecting one piece here and one piece there. A performer, however, might well play through the pieces randomly over a period, instructing the copyist to note the chosen works and copy them. These pieces might perhaps have been chosen because they were the best, the easiest, or those most suited to performance by a viol consort. Indeed, unless the entire Paston collection was assembled in a completely haphazard way, the element of personal taste must surely be significant. Paston and his circle had access to more than 5000 individual pieces of music during the time when he was collecting music,⁵¹ and there must be some reason why the 1350 surviving pieces eventually copied were chosen. The contemporary marginal annotations in 31992 ('excellente',

in Spanish) show that Paston had musical opinions about the music he had had copied, if these comments are indeed his. The best way an Elizabethan amateur might have had of judging musical worth was to play through a collection of pieces, and then select those preferred for copying. The immense labour of scoring and then intabulating over 600 compositions for lute and one or two soprano voices, possibly the work of the Lute Hand L, suggests a selection of music according to the personal taste of the player, Paston himself.

Paston's madrigal manuscripts are of interest primarily for their evidence that more continental madrigal publications were circulating in late 16th and early 17th century England than has previously been noted; many of his exemplars may have been otherwise unknown in England,⁵² and it is likely that certain of the manuscripts which contain a large proportion of anonymous Italian madrigals not known from any other manuscript or printed source, particularly 364-8, preserve the remnants of a lost anthology or single-composer publication. It is difficult to assign reasons for the selection of certain pieces for a manuscript rather than others, beyond pointing out facts such as the decision not to copy any of the seven Monteverdi madrigals from *Giardino novo* in any extant manuscript, but it seems true to say that, for whatever reason, Paston seems to have shared his English contemporaries' general avoidance of the more chromatic and emotionally extreme madrigals of Marenzio, Monteverdi and Gesualdo;⁵³ and that his taste in Italian madrigals seems to have been enthusiastic but conservative.

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Notes

1 A modern edition is available in Albert Chatterley (ed), *Thomas Watson: Italian Madrigals Englished*, Musica Britannica lxxiv (London, 1997).

2 A more detailed introduction to Paston and his collection, as well as further bibliographical citations, can be found in Francis Knights, 'The transmission of motet copies within the Paston manuscripts, c.1610', *Muzikologija* 27 (2019), pp.137-161, at 138-142. Edward Paston's biographical details were established by Philip Brett in 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his musical collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964), pp.51-69, reprinted in Philip Brett, *William Byrd and His Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, ed. Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney (Berkeley, 2006), pp.31-59.

3 See Helen Castor, *Blood and Roses: One family's struggle and triumph during the tumultuous Wars of the Roses* (London, 2006).

4 The terms 'Paston manuscripts' and 'Paston collection' are used here to refer to those manuscripts which can be linked on grounds of provenance, paleographic evidence and repertoire with those books definitely owned by Edward Paston himself.

5 Joseph Kerman estimates this to be one-third of all surviving contemporary English music manuscripts (*New Grove*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

6 Brett 1964, p.53.

7 Stewart McCoy, *Some Aspects of the Paston Lute Books*, dissertation, King's College, University of London (1985).

8 Iain Fenlon, *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700* (Cambridge, 1982). See Francis Knights, *The Music Manuscripts of Edward Paston*, dissertation, University of Oxford (1999), for a list of likely anthologies available to the Paston scribes. These include volumes published in Antwerp, Copenhagen, Ferrara, Florence, Leiden, Milan, Nuremberg and Venice, for which the first impressions date between 1551 and 1617.

9 See Lydia Hamessley, 'The Tenbury and Ellesmere Partbooks: New Findings on Manuscript Compilation and Exchange, and the Reception of the Italian Madrigal in Elizabethan England', *Music and Letters*, lxxxiii (1992), p.1771, for a discussion of the Italian madrigal in England. It is apparent that there are two genres which Paston seems to have had little interest in collecting, if the manuscript survivals are at all representative: keyboard music and the English madrigal - but a number of English madrigals were copied into the rather atypical Paston set 18936-9.

10 The most modern exemplar prints identified so far date from as late as 1617, by which time Paston was over 65.

11 For a detailed study of this, see Hector Sequera, *House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630)*, dissertation, University of Birmingham (2010) and 'Victoria in England through the Lute: Reception and Performance practice of Tomas Luis de Victoria's Music in the Context of the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630)', in David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor (eds), *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary* (Abingdon, 2012), pp.215-229.

12 See Table 1 for the library sigla.

13 See Philip Taylor, *Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs*, dissertation, Lancaster University (2007) and 'Memorializing Mary Tudor: William Byrd and Edward Paston's "Crowned with Flowers and Lilies"', *Music and Letters* xciii/2 (May 2012), pp.170-190.

14 Andrea Gabrieli's 'Deus, Deus meus' in 34001-2 is scored for 10 voices.

15 Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (New York, 1962). Subsequent authors include Jerome Roche, *The Madrigal* (Oxford, 2/1990), David Jacobson, 'Thomas Morley and the Italian Madrigal: a New Perspective', *Journal of Musicology*, xiv/1 (Winter 1996), p.80, Lionel Pike, *The Evolution of the English Ballet: Pills to Purge Melancholy* (Aldershot, 2004), and Iain Fenlon, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge, 2013). See also Susan Lewis Hammond, *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide* (London, 2011).

16 For a full catalogue, see Knights 1999.

17 This includes work-lists, but not incipits; Harry B. Lincoln, *The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertoire: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600* (New Haven, 1988) includes both, but is more limited in scope, as it covers only anthologies from the 16th century. Some idea of the difficulty of attributing the anonymous works can be gained from the fact that the 50,000-plus madrigals and motets catalogued in Lincoln 1988 and Harry B. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600* (Ottawa, 1993), provided in the end only a dozen or so new identifications of anonymous Paston pieces. The great number of surviving music publications from the 16th and early 17th centuries has often led to the quantity of lost music being underestimated (this is statistically illustrated in Iain Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London, 1995)); and it is likely that many pieces from the Paston manuscripts will remain unattributed for this reason.

18 This set includes two Spanish-texted madrigals by Pedro Rimonte.

19 *Musica Transalpina* I 1588²⁹, *The first set of Italian Madrigals Englished* 1590²⁹, *Musica Transalpina* II 1597²⁴, *Canzonets a4* 1597²³ and *Madrigals a5* 1598¹⁵. The *Musica Transalpina* volumes were compiled by Nicholas Yonge, and the final two by Thomas Morley. There was also an Englished collection of sacred music by Giovanni Croce, *Musica Sacra... newly Englished*, published in 1608. A large number of pieces from the first

three of these publications were copied by Thomas Hamond into Lcm 684, as well as nearly 90 Italian madrigals (Craig Monson, 'George Kirbye and the English Madrigal', *Music and Letters*, lix (1978), p.291).

20 Listed in Edmund Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers* (London, 2/1948), p.41. For a full list of English music publications 1563-1632, see David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (London, 1981), pp.209-13.

21 Kerman 1962, p.53ff.

22 Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London, 1985), p.48.

23 If Thomas Morley was the unnamed 'Norwch Organest' and virginals teacher known to Paston and mentioned by him in his 1587 letter to Roger Manners (Brett 1964, p.55n, Price 1981, p.97), then the relationship between Morley and Paston, and their shared interest in continental music, may be significant.

24 Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and easie introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597). The possibility that Morley was simply name-dropping should not be discounted; it would perhaps be remarkable if he really did have a detailed knowledge of the works of Ockeghem, Brumel and Obrecht, among others. See also Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley: Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge, 2014), and John Milsom and Jessie Ann Owens, *Reading Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction: Interpretation and Context* (London, 2017).

25 See Price 1981, ch.3 for a survey of music in provincial households.

26 Fellowes 1948, p.31.

27 Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and their Music* (Ann Arbor, 1982).

28 Yonge's 1588 *Musica Transalpina* preface specifically speaks of its publication fulfilling a public demand.

29 See Hamessley 1992 for a discussion of these partbooks.

30 With one partial exception, 18936-9.

31 Morley 1597, p.179.

32 Kerman 1962, p.51.

33 Price 1981, p.32.

34 See Knights 1999 for full details.

35 Note that 1590^{3a} in Table 2 refers to New Vogel 1590^{3a} and not the RISM anthology number.

36 Also attrib de Rore.

37 It is possible that Paston acquired these three volumes of *Gemma musicalis* (1588²¹, 1589⁸ and 1590²⁰) as a complete bound set.

38 The Paston scribes will have had access to several different copies of the most popular pieces, in different prints.

39 Brett 1964, pp.68-69. For a corrected and updated list, see Knights 1999.

40 Excepting Chelmsford 1 and 2, which must pre-date Sir John Petre's death in 1613; see Francis

Knights, 'Observations on two 16th century music manuscripts belonging to Sir John Petre', *The Consort* 75 (Summer 2019), pp.22-41. Like these two partbooks, 2036 (which bears the title 'Preciosas Margaritas', referring to Paston's second wife, Margaret Berney) may have been a gift.

41 This suggests that the Paston manuscripts might now be collectively regarded as as much Jacobean as Elizabethan.

42 Apart from the Lute Hand L, evidently Paston's private secretary, nothing is known about Paston's other copyists. It is possible that they were household musicians, servants, or members of his family. The notion that the Paston 'scriptorium' might have produced manuscripts in quantity for circulation (loan, sale or gift) among Paston's friends, fellow musicians or recusants, or colleagues, is a possibility.

43 Thomas Mace notes that certain lutes by celebrated makers like Laux Maler (d.1552) were highly prized, and 'an Old Lute is better than a New One' (Thomas Mace, *Musicks Monument* (London, 1676), p.48).

44 Joseph Kerman summarizes this as Paston 'had a mania for copying music' (*New Grove*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com), and Philip Brett comments 'One wonders whether Paston eventually became more concerned with the size of the collection than with the growth of the musical repertory it contained.' (Brett 1964, p.62).

45 Kerman 1962, p.45.

46 Identified by Jane A. Bernstein, *The Chanson in England 1530-1640: a study in sources and styles*, dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (1974).

47 English interest in the madrigal may also have waned as newer styles were imported from the continent, principally Italy. The 1632 *Madrigales and Ayres* by the probable Monteverdi pupil Walter Porter shows clear *seconda prattica* influences, and is - significantly - the last English madrigal publication.

48 Kerman 1962, p.264.

49 See Jacobson 1996 for a discussion of Thomas Morley and the madrigal.

50 Joan Wess, 'Musica Transalpina, Parody, and the emerging Jacobean Viol Fantasia', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, xv (1986), p.3.

51 This is, assuming 20-30 pieces for each of 200 or so probable exemplar prints.

52 Paston certainly had access to a number of continental sacred music publications which were not well known in England. The extent to which continental printed sources circulated outside a small circle of English professionals and collectors is uncertain, but the Nonsuch music library catalogue gives an idea of the printed material available to a wealthy and interested collector (John Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', in C. Banks, A. Searle and M. Turner (eds), *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library collections, presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th birthday*, (London 1993), p.146); Nonsuch contained, for example, a copy of the 1564 *Thesaurus Musicus* collection discussed in Knights 1999, Appendix 2 and Knights 2019.

53 Francis Tregian copied 21 madrigals from Gesualdo's first four books (1594-96) into Och 510-14. Whether general musical taste can be inferred from such copyists' work in this instance is open to debate, especially as the late Italian mannerist madrigal style was one aimed at the cognoscenti.

Composer anniversaries in 2020

John Collins

In 2020 there are several composers whose anniversaries can be commemorated, albeit some of the dates are not known for certain; some of the names listed below will need no introduction but there are also quite a few lesser-known names listed here whose compositions are well worth exploring. No claim is made for completion, and there is no guarantee that every edition mentioned is in print – there may well also be editions by other publishers. Publishers' websites have been given where known. Details of a small number of composers whose preserved output consists of only one or two keyboard pieces have been omitted.

An increasing number of pieces, ranging from complete original publications/MSS (which present the usual problems of multiple clefs as well as original printer's errors) to typeset versions of complete or individual works, are to be found on various free download sites, most noticeably IMSLP; however, the accuracy of some modern typesetting is questionable, and all should be treated with caution before use.

Fr Tomás de Santa María (c.1510-70) Spanish theorist and composer born in Madrid, he published the extremely important treatise *Arte de tañer Fantasia* in Valladolid in 1565, which he claimed was approved by António de Cabezón. Following on from the three treatises by Juan Bermudo 1549-55, it deals extensively with keyboard technique including fingering, ornamentation, touch, fingering, counterpoint and composition. A facsimile with introduction by Luis Antonio González Marín has been published by Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, with earlier facsimiles from Gregg and from Minkoff, and a translation, transcription and commentary into English by Almonte Howell and Warren Hultberg was published by Latin American literary review press. Twenty-five of the Fantasias contained throughout the book have been edited by Pierre Froidebise for Schola Cantorum (*Orgue et Liturgie* 49) and as *Veintecinco Fantasias* for Union Musical Española 20839. They are also edited by Antonio Baciero in volume VII of *Nueva Biblioteca Española de música de teclado* for Union Musical Española 22348 ; volumes one and five of this series contain a further ten and seven Fantasias.

Sperindio Bertoldo (c.1530-70) Organist in Venice, two books of pieces were published there in 1591, *Tocate Ricercari et Canzoni Francese* which includes two Toccatas (the first of the genre published in Italy), three Ricercars (two of which are reworkings of originals by Annibale Padovano) and a Canzon Francese, and *Canzoni Francese* which includes eight pieces of this genre. These have been edited by Klaus Speer and published as CEKM 34 by the American Institute of Musicology (this also includes the book of Toccatas and Ricercars published by Annibale Padovano), edited by Jolando Scarpa and published as EW940 (*Frutti Musicale XXIX*) by Edition Walhall, and edited by Luigi Collarile and published as TA16 by Il Levante; this edition has a facsimile of the original prints included.

Carolus Luyt(h)on (c.1557-1620) Born in Antwerp, Luython become court organist and composer to Emperor Rudolf II, first in Vienna, then in Prague where he died. Nine keyboard works have survived including three Fantasias (one also survived in open score and entitled Fuga), a Ricercar, three Canzonas and a Fuga Suavissima. Modern edition by Jos Watelet and Anny Piscaer was published in *Werken voor Orgel of voor spijlhuizen*: Charles Guillet, Giovanni de Maque and Charles Luyton as *Monumenta Musica Belgica IV* Swets & Zeitlinger NV.

Giovanni Paolo Cima (c.1570-1622) Organist in Milan, he published church and instrumental music, including *Partito de Ricercari & Canzoni alla Francese* for keyboard in 1606, which includes seven Ricercars, 2 Fantasias, 14 Canzonas (the last one being by his son Andrea) and a very interesting series of rules followed by two ricercars and their transpositions, a double canon and a Musical Enigma. A modern edition was edited by Clare Rayner and published as CEKM 20 by the American Institute of Musicology.

Nicholas Carleton (c.1570-1630) All that is known are his four compositions, all in MS Add.29996, which include two duets (A Prelude, and a Verse for two to play), a Verse of four parts and Upon the sharp; these have been all edited by Alan Brown for Stainer and Bell. They appear in *Musica Britannica* xcvi (which contains 77 pieces), which also includes his Fantasia a 4 reconstructed from a piece for viols, and also in Keyboard solos and duets by Carleton, Amner and John Tomkins, K48. One part from the Prelude, the Verse and Upon the Sharp were included in Schott's anthology of English Keyboard Music volume iv edited by Frank Dawes. This volume also contains pieces by Gibbons and Tomkins as well as the Ground by Arthur Phillips and variations on John come kiss me now by John Tomkins.

Pieter Cornet (c.1570-1633) Organist of Brussels, a small number of pieces have survived in manuscript sources, including six Fantasias, a Toccata, settings of the Salve Regina and Tantum Ergo and two Courantes. An edition by Willi Apel published as CEKM 26 by the American Institute of Musicology has been superseded by the edition by Pieter Dirksen and Jean Ferrard published as MMN17 by KVM, which includes two more Fantasias (one ascribed to John Bull in the source), settings of the Te Deum and Regina Caeli and the Aria de Granduca, the latter tentatively ascribed by the editors.

John Roberts (c.1610- c.1670) Virtually nothing is known with certainty about this composer, but 24 pieces, comprising nine Allemandes (of which two have a division), nine Courantes (of which five have a division or variation), an Air, a Prelude, three Sarabandes and a Gigue survive in manuscripts, and one Suite of five pieces was published by Matthew Locke in 1673 in *Melothesia*. A modern edition by Candace Bailey, *John Roberts: The collected works*, was published as 'The Art of the Keyboard 8' by The Broude Trust.

Fabrizio Fontana (c.1620-95) Born in Turin he became organist in Rome and published a book of 12 Ricercars in score in 1677; probably one of the last such publications for keyboard, they are written in an archaic style. A new edition was edited by Gerhard Doderer and published by Zerboni ESZ 00767200.

Johann Speth (1664-c.1720) Born in Speinshart, he spent most of his life in Augsburg. In 1693 he published *Ars Magna Consoni et Dissoni* which includes ten Toccatas subtitled 'Musicalische Blumen-Felder' (mostly short, in three sections of Toccata-Fugue-Toccata) with long held pedal parts, a set of Preludium (with pedals), five Verses and a Finale (also with pedals) on each of the eight Tones, which include pieces by Froberger, Poglietti and Ebner, and three Arias with variations, and three Arias with variations, one based on a theme by Pasquini and one with excerpts from Bernardo Storace's variations on Spagnoletta. Modern editions are by Traugott Fedke for Bärenreiter 5493 and by Ingemar Melchersson for Doblinger in two volumes DM1449 (the Toccatas) and 1450 (the Magnificats and variation sets).

Andrea Armsdorf (1670-99) Born in Mühlisdorff he became organist in Erfurt. 29 Chorale Preludes and one Fuga survive in various manuscripts, all of which have been edited by Klaus Beckmann, plus a further three chorale preludes which Beckmann has attributed to him, in Johann Friedrich Alberti/Andreas Armsdorf and published as volume 1 in the series *Mitteldutsche*

Orgelmeister ED9921 by Schott.

Anton Estendorffer (1670-1711) Organist at Stift Reichersberg, he left some 20 sets of variations in manuscript, including seven Arias, five Ciacconas, four Galliards (one subtitled 'Natalizantis'), and four Cappricios (sic). 19 have been edited by Konrad Ruhland and published in two volumes as Heft 34/35 in the series Musik aus Ostbayern by Musikverlag Alfred Copenrath, now available through Carus Verlag. A further set on 'Lasst uns das kündlein Weigen' is included in *Lasst uns das Kindelein Weigen - Autori Diversi*, edited by Jörg Jacobi for Edition Baroque eba4003.

Arnold Matthias Brunckhorst (c.1670-1725) Organist in Hildesheim, Celle and Hanover, only two Oratorios, a Praeludium in E minor for organ with pedal edited by Klaus Beckmann, and included in *Freie Orgelwerke des norddeutschen Barocks* published by Breitkopf & Härtel 8395, and a manualiter one movement Sonata in A edited by Laura Cerutti for Cornetto Verlag CP324 seem to have survived. A Preludium and Fuge in G minor for organ originally believed to be by Bruhns may be by Brunckhorst.

José de Torres y Martínez Bravo c.1670-1738 There has been disagreement amongst scholars whether the composer of the 10 keyboard works - five Partidos (one incomplete), a Batalla, a Fuga and three Obras - in a manuscript in Mexico cathedral archives is the above-named, who was Maestro of the Capilla Real in Madrid until the Bourbons arrived in 1702, and whose many vocal works enjoyed wide circulation in Central America and published *Reglas Generales de Acompañar órgano, clavicórdio o arpa*, the first treatise dealing thoroughly with continuo and figured bass in Spain, or by José de Torres y Vergara, a contemporary native Mexican composer. Gustavo Delgado Parra has edited these keyboard pieces together with a facsimile as *Obras para órgano* for Editorial Alpuerto S.A., Madrid.

Johann Casper Ferdinand Fischer (c.1670-1746) He became Kapellmeister to Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden and published sacred and orchestral music as well as four volumes of keyboard music. The *Pièces de Clavessin* (1696) was expanded as *Musicalisches Blumen Büschlein* in 1698, it contains eight suites of various dances, the fifth consisting of only a prelude and aria with eight variations and the final Suite contains just a Prelude and Chaconne. Modern edition by Laura Cerutti for Cornetto Verlag CP464 and Facsimile from Broude Bros Performers' Facsimiles PF196. The *Ariadne Musica* of 1702/15 contains 20 short Preludes and Fugues in different keys including one in the Phrygian Mode, with some pedal required, plus five Ricercars on seasonal hymns; modern edition by Ernst Kaller as Liber Organi VII for Schott 2267, and as a facsimile from Broude Bros Performers' Facsimiles PF197. A collection of an extended Praeludium with long held pedal notes, six Fugas and a short Finale on each of the eight tones was published as *Blumen-Strauss* (c.1732). Modern edition by Rudolf Walter for Musikverlag Alfred Copenrath, now available through Carus Verlag as *Süddeutsche Orgelmeister des Barock* vol. 1 and as a facsimile from Broude Bros Performers' Facsimiles PF199. The *Musicalischer Parnassus* of 1738 offers nine multi-movement Suites of dances, each dedicated to a different Muse. A modern edition by Hugo Ruf and Hans Bemann was published by Schott as 6254 and Facsimile from Broude Bros Performers' Facsimiles PF198. An edition including the four volumes of keyboard music was edited by Ernst von Werra for Breitkopf.

Giovanni Batista Bononcini (1670-1747) Born in Modena, he worked in Rome, Vienna, Berlin and London. He published several operas, serenatas, masses and much chamber music. A facsimile of his *Divertimenti da Camera traddotti per cembalo* of 1722, a set of eight sonatas originally for violin or flute, was published by Forni Editore.

Gottlieb Muffat (1690-1770) Son of Georg Muffat, he was organist in Vienna and left a large corpus of keyboard music. The *72 Versettl samt 12 Toccaten* (A Toccata and six versets on each of the 12 Tones) published in 1726 has been edited by Rudolf Walter for Butz Verlag 1796. He also edited Toccatinas, Preludes, Caprices for Doblinger DM1362 and Missa in F and C DM830. The *Componimenti Musicali* published in 1739, which contains six large-scale suites of dances and a Ciaccona in G with 38 variations, has been edited by Christopher Hogwood for Ut Orpheus ES64, for whom he also edited Muffat's MS copies of Handel's Six Fugues and Eight Suites, which contain Muffat's copiously added ornamentation, as ES48 and 46 respectively. The *32 Ricercars and 19 Canzonas* preserved in open score in MS have been edited by Erich Benedikt for Doblinger DM1336/1337/1377. He has also edited the *24 Toccatas and Capriccim* also preserved in MS, in two volumes as DM 1343/1344. Smaller scale pieces edited by him include Capriccios and Preludes (contains 12 Capriccios, six Caprices and seven Preludes) DM1417 and Pastorellas DM1438, which includes pieces from other publications as well as three previously unpublished Pastorellas. Six newly discovered Suites from a manuscript collection of 26 have been edited by Glen Wilson for Breitkopf & Härtel EB8904. Two Partitas have been edited by Raimund Schächer for Cornetto Verlag CP751. Three pieces – Ciaccona, Aria and Caprizio – have been edited by Laura Cerutti for Armelin CM010. Friedrich Riedel edited *Sechs Fugen* for Kistner & Siegel, Die Orgel Reihe 2 no. 17, and also *Zwölf kleine Präludien* as Reihe 2 no. 16.

Francisco Vilar (c.1700-70) Organist in Barcelona who left several sets of Versos and a few Sonatas. Six Pange Linguas and an *Entrada para Clarines* have been edited by Martin Voortman for Tritó in *Organistes de Barcelona del Segle XVIII*; it is quite probable that he was the 'Francisco Vila' whose two Falsas and six sets of Versos were included in *Colección de obras.... De organistas españoles del siglo XVII (Manuscrito encontrado en la Catedral de Astorga)*, edited by José Maria Alvarez for Union Musical Española.

Michael Scheuenstuhl (1705-70) Born in Guttentstetten, he became organist in Wilhelmsdorf, moving to Hof in 1729. His published keyboard pieces include *Drei Concerti für Cembalo solo* and *Clavierübung* in 2 parts, of which the first part comprises six multimovement Partien and the second part three multimovement Partien, and a collection of three Suites entitled *Die beschäftigte Muse Clio*. The Concerti, the three Partien of the Clavierübung part II and the three Suites have been edited by Laura Cerutti (infortunately without a critical commentary or any source information) and published as *Opere per Organo e Clavicembalo* AMM 050-51-52 in one volume by Armelin. Raimund Schächer has edited the three Galenterie-Suiten as CP44 for Cornetto Verlag.

Charles Avison (1709-70) Organist in Newcastle, known for his concerti grossi and three sets of chamber sonatas as well as some keyboard concerti. The six concerti from the first set of his op.9 have been edited for keyboard solo by Eberhard Hofman in two volumes for Bärenreiter BA6535/6548. Three recently discovered Concertos for manuals only have been edited by Simon Fleming for Fitzjohn Music.

Bernard de Bury (1720-85) Born in Versailles, he studied with Colin de Blamont, to whom he dedicated his *Première livre de pièces de Clavecin* – his only book of pieces for the harpsichord. Published in 1736, it contains four Suites in A, C, G and E. He also composed several operas and stage works. A facsimile edition of the original print was published by Minkoff.

Francesc Mariner (1720-89) Organist of Barcelona Cathedral, his 11 *Tocatas* (some in binary, others in ternary form), two Sonatas, an Adagio, six Pastorellas and two *Jugetes* have been edited by Martin Voortman in *Obras per a Clave* for Tritó, TR0029.

Romano de Rossi (1720-94) Organist in Rome. His only known pieces are six binary form two-movement sonatas (Andante-Allegro), edited by Marco Ghirotti as *Sei sonate per Organo o Clavicembalo* for Armelin AMM199.

Maria Teresa Agnesi Pinottini (1720-95) Born in Milan, many of her compositions have been lost, but operas, vocal music and keyboard pieces have survived. Her concerto for solo organ or harpsichord has been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin AMM 272. The Sonata in G and the *Allegro ou Presto* have been edited by Barbara Harbach for Vivace Press as *Two pieces for solo piano or harpsichord* VIV1819.

Giovanni Francesco de Maja (1732-1770) Born in Naples where he became organist to the Royal Chapel, he travelled widely and left operas, chamber music and keyboard music. 11 two or three-movement sonatas have been edited by Paulo Dugoni as *Sonate per Organo o Cembalo* in two volumes for Armelin AMM 255/256.

Jean-François de Trazegnies (1744-1820) Organist in Antwerp, he left three sets of pieces for keyboard including *Sei Sonate per Clavicembalo*, each in two movements and *Sei Divertimenti per Clavicembalo*, each in three movements. These sets have been edited by Laura Cerutti for Armelin AMM104/105.

Paolo Altieri (1745-1820) His organ and harpsichord works have been edited by Alessandro Loreto and Gianpaolo Capuzzo for Armelin in four volumes, AMM260, 261, 263 and 264. Volume one contains two sets of Divertimenti and two Sonatas for harpsichord, volume two contains the Partimenti, volume three contains 31 Sonate Brevi for harpsichord or organ and volume four contains the *Savojardo* for harpsichord, three Sonatas, four Sonatinas, four Marce, a March, a *Zampogna* and three Pastorales all for the organ.

Theodor Grünberger (1756-1820) Organist in Augustinian monastery and later at the Electoral school, both in Munich, he composed keyboard and vocal music. His six organ masses have been edited by Klemens Schnorr for Doblinger in three volumes DM1275-77. The seven pieces of the *Neue Pastorale-Organstücke* have been edited by Raimund Schächer for Pro Organo 1047 and are also included, along with Organ Masses five and six, in the *Neue Organstücke* edited by Giuseppe Scarpat for Paideia Editrice as Biblioteca Classica 17.

Ferdinando Provesi (1770-1833) Born in Parma, he was organist in various towns, and was a teacher of Verdi. 11 pieces including two Sonatas, three Adagios, four Sinfonias a Soggetto and a Marcia have been edited by Rizzo Dino and published as *Sonate, Adagi e Sinfonie* in EC4588 by Edizioni Carrara.

Alessandro Grazioli (1770-1834) Organist in Venice, he left almost 60 Sonatas and Sinfonias, of which thirteen single-movement Sonatas have been edited by Alberto Guerzoni and published as AMM 099 by Armelin.

Josephine Auernhammer (1758-1820) Austrian pianist who studied with Mozart and Koze-luch. *VI Variazione per clavicembalo della opera Molinara* is included in a facsimile of Variations on opera themes with an introduction by Laura Alvini, and *VIII Variazioni sopra la contradanza del ballo intitolata La Figlia mal Custodita* is included in a facsimile of Variations on ballet themes with introduction by Laura Alvin. Six variations on 'Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja' have been edited by Eve R Meyer for Hildegard. *Sechs Variationen über ein ungarisches Thema* has been edited by Rosario Marciano for Furore Verlag, FUE1180.

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John Collins is organist of Christ Church, Worthing and specialises in the English, Iberian and Italian repertoires. He is a regular translator for Spanish and Portuguese universities, as well as English colleges and conservatoires, and also writes the notes on performance practice for David Patrick's editions of 18th century English organ voluntaries

Tudor polyphony and beyond

Anne Roberts

Anne Roberts has been running Renaissance Polyphony courses for 16 years with bass and consort coach Francis Steele.

Meeting Francis Steele

In 2001, as a new singer just beginning to flex my sight-reading muscles, I was persuaded by my friend Juliet Allan (then part of the management team for Peter Phillips and the Tallis Scholars) to apply for a place on the Tallis Scholars' Oakham Summer School. I had never sung Renaissance Polyphony before chorally, let alone one-to-a-part. Nineteen years on, a few vivid memories still remain from that soggy week in August. The joy of being transported by this extraordinary, varied and elusive music; throwing my score to the floor in a (consort) performance of Guerrero's 'Gabriel Archangelis'; the terrible food; tearing across the park in the rain to reach a 'come and sing' session in the chapel; being told to sing more like my (counter-tenor) neighbour; morning warmups – with a hangover – with Ghislaine Morgan; vowing – again - to sort out my sight-singing; hearing the 'crack' squad sing Esquivel's 'In Paradisum'. And also, by the end of the week, I had met my friend-for-life Francis Steele (affectionately known by all as Fran), then the bass sound for more than 1500 performances of the Tallis Scholars. Francis was running the small group work at the summer school, and we were all moved by his knowledge of the music, its settings and sources, the humility with which he shared his thoughts, the gentleness with which he treated expert and novice alike, and his utterly inclusive approach. Two things accrued from this extraordinary week; I was emboldened to start my own consort group back home in Cambridge under Fran's guidance, and I persuaded him to create a course himself...

The Renaissance consort workshops

The 'venue' bit was easy. Two years previously I volunteered as cook, gardener and cleaner for a friend's summer holiday business at La Maison Verte in Southern France – and had since felt that this 24 bedroom mansion with large studio (illus 1) was the perfect place for a singing course. Upon introducing the venue to Francis the following year, he agreed. The late-night debriefs on the Oakham Summer School led us to objectives for our own course. With a large group of singers it is natural for cliques and clusters to form based on age, talent, experience, good looks. It can be a great thing – most people find their level. But it can be a cattle market too. We wanted our courses to represent homogeneity of talent (ie, everyone about the same level of ability/experience), and small enough for no-one ever to be excluded except if they chose it. No lonely tenors, excluded altos, superstar sopranos, boycotted basses. We wanted there to be enough tutors to go round. We wanted Really Good Food – singers



Illus 1 Studio, La Maison Verte

march on their stomachs – and will march very fast indeed to get to an amazing meal which they feel they deserve. We wanted no-one to be confused over where they should be and when. And we wanted there to be no shortage of music and opportunities to sing. So the Renaissance Consort Workshops were carefully planned into existence.

Jeremy Summerly and Bertie Rice were our first co-tutors in 2004, and they brought a lot to the party. I personally have to thank Jeremy for making everyone ache with laughter every night and for humiliating me into getting my sight-singing skills, finally, sorted – I couldn't do it at the beginning of the week, but I sure could by the end. And Bertie's knowledge of how to sing, technically, has brought him to mind virtually every time I have sung since. Francis had been working hard on developing his library of music too – so out of hours singing from 'Fran's Boxes' became a firm feature of the courses: thousands of great pieces arranged by parts (you want SSSSTB? We have it). The tutor/student ratio of 1:6, together with the good food, free wine and accommodation meant that they weren't the cheapest options for courses, but I flatter myself they were the best.

As owners of La Maison Verte

In 2007 we bought La Maison Verte. Fran had virtually retired as a singer and wanted to do more coaching; my job as a management consultant and trainer for arts practitioners was becoming more difficult to sustain; and our two-year-old daughter was being brought up by au pairs. It seemed like a reasonable thing to do – sell up completely and move to France lock, stock and barrel.

I arrived on 28 February 2007 (speaking barely a word of French) with a three-year-old in tow, to find a vast, and virtually empty 16 bedroom house, four damp and decaying apartments (funny what furniture can hide), and our first visitors (a funeral party from Canada over to scatter their dear friend's ashes in our garden) due 21 days later. A twelve-year maelstrom began at that moment. We hosted courses from all over the world (groups who would book the venue, but not require us to input into the content of their courses). But we still found time for our own Renaissance Consort Workshops once and sometimes twice a year – I'm not sure how, but we did.

We attracted a gallery of talent. Our tutors over the 18 RCW courses included Robert Hollingworth, Paul Brough, Soma Szabo, Eric van Nevel, Jeremy Summerly (yes, we invited him back), Eamonn Dougan, Anthony Rooley, John Milsom, Bertie Rice, Andrew Carwood, Greg Skidmore, Philip Cave, Ashley Stafford, and many of our early participants have become professional singers themselves. We mixed it up a bit too. Sometimes we did RCWs for less experienced singers, and sometimes for very confident and able ones; one time we sang only from original scores (Dow Partbooks), and another time we included a viol consort to play alongside the singers, and lute-songs appeared in the programme too (thank you Tony Rooley). At the heart of every course was the desire to help people to understand, interpret, engage with and present Renaissance polyphony in consort form in performance.

Throughout our twelve years at La Maison Verte – the endless gardening, the huge (always huge) building projects and plumbing disasters, the months of being covered in plaster and paint, the summer Saturday onslaught of another group of 20 felt-makers, a choir from Finland, astrologists, cello players, painters, yoga fans, opera singers – we still had at the heart of everything this desire to serve the music of the Renaissance, to provide opportunities for people to do it for the first time, or to improve their skills.

Moving on: Tudor polyphony...

And now, nearly two years on from having sold La Maison Verte, we found ourselves talking about doing another course. The impetus originally came from RCW alumni who told us ‘we simply can’t find another course of the quality of the RCWs’, La Maison Verte’s new owners’ aim to host some music action, and Francis’ desire to explore in a more concentrated fashion the English music created under the Tudors. But Fran’s thinking, in particular, has moved on. Consort singing is fun, scary, challenging and often rewarding, but much of this repertoire, particularly from the first half of the era, was not conceived for one-to-a-part singing – it was written for large groups. We’d had a foretaste of this on one RCW when the whole group (around 20 people) sang the Gloria from Taverner’s ‘Mass O Michael’. It was thrilling; as Fran remembers: ‘two treble falcons weaving high above the bass falconer upon the plain, the music of crystalline fragility. Beneath the plain, the tectonic mass and solidity of the cathedral, the ponderous harmonic construction, embellished with weightless rhythmic and melodic tracery’.

Although it is possible to sing some of these works one to a part, Fran was uncomfortably aware that we were close to ignoring the composer’s directions by doing so, and the sonority required to provide the foundations for these great pieces is difficult to achieve with amateur solo voices. His role as director is simply to direct the singer’s attention to the composer’s intentions, implicit in the score. The Tudor world view was a closed, religious one; speculation and interpretation in the humanistic sense are inappropriate (and whatever your personal beliefs are, it is difficult and unrewarding to sing this music from an atheistic point of view). With it ‘you must move in measure, like a dance’.

So our aim with this course is to assemble singers of the highest calibre to explore Tudor music in this spirit. One piece high on Fran’s wish-list is Christopher Tye’s ‘Peccavimus cum patribus nostris’ (We have sinned with our fathers...). Here are Fran’s words again: ‘If you only know Tye as a miniaturist – those tiny polished gems, 31 of them, so well championed by Phantasm (Linn CKD571) – you’ll be amazed by Peccavimus. It’s a masterly 13-minute meditation upon the human condition and redemption in which the gloom is very gradually dispersed by intimations of divine love, homeopathic doses of hope so skilfully administered by Dr Tye that eventually listener and singer are rapt when the vocal line rises with the sinner’s eyes to catch a glimpse of the heavenly kingdom with is then ratified by Tye with an ecstatic Amen. There are two excellent recordings of this piece. One is sung chorally by the Clerkes of Oxenford (Proudsound CD126, 1989), the other by the solo voices of Gabriel Crouch’s Gallicantus (Signum SIGCD464, 2017) – so you can make your own decision about the relative merits of each method of performance’.

...and beyond...

Fran has reconstructed some incomplete pieces from the large repertoire (White, Taverner, Parsons etc) as well as some secular elegies by Ford and Cranford which inch into the Jacobean era and are definitely suitable consort pieces. So there is a little room for speculation and one-to-a-part singing! Finally, fast forward to the 20th century. Michael Tippett composed ‘Plebs Angelica’ at around the time he directed Tallis’s ‘Spem in Alium’ at Morley College in the 1940s). Fran’s opinion? ‘Tippett’s motet is a strange and beautiful late flowering of the Tudor rose, which leaves us at the very gates of paradise’.

So here we are, nearly 20 years after that life-changing Oakham week, still beating the drum, flying the flag and burning the flame for our forefathers from the Renaissance. Our course motto? NO PALAVER. We just want to recreate a glorious canvas of the music under the Tudor Mon-

archs - and eat good food while we're at it.

For information about courses at La Maison Verte in Roujan, Southern France, contact Anne at anneroberts23456@gmail.com.

Colchester Early Music

Lizzie Gutteridge

This is the story of an Early Music Festival that came about by accident, and it starts with a church. After nearly a decade living in the unremarkable Essex dormitory village of Marks Tey, it suddenly occurred to me that the parish church (illus 1) had a lot to recommend it as a concert venue. Those same transport links (a railway station on the mainline between London and Ipswich as well as the start of the Sudbury branch line, and the meeting of the A12 and A120) that take commuters to London and other parts of Essex and Suffolk would make it easy for audiences to get to us, and they wouldn't have to worry about town centre traffic and parking. Meanwhile the church itself has undergone serious renovations since the turn of the millennium, retaining its Medieval atmosphere and acoustic but benefiting from modern lighting, under-floor heating, moveable chairs, disabled access etc. Even the size is ideal (for soloists and small ensembles), with a big enough acoustic for a loud wind band but small enough for a solo string player and seating that narrows towards the front so that although it has room for an audience of 100+ that feels comfortably full with 30 (illus 2).



Illus 1 St Andrew's, Marks Tey, Essex



Illus 2 St Andrew's, interior

As a musician specialising in Medieval and Renaissance music, it all seemed too good an opportunity to miss, so I booked the church for three consecutive Sunday afternoons in November 2015 and played there with my London-based Medieval and Renaissance wind band Blondel (illus 3) on two of them. The middle concert was lute songs performed by my friend and colleague Deborah Catterall and lutenist Martin Eastwell, which gave a lovely contrast. I printed some fliers and spread them about the area and we had a turn out of about 20-30 people each time. So far so good – we weren't making a loss and as we had programmes to try out, this could work. What's more, if we could push that audience size up, we might actually earn a fee! So I booked the church for a few more dates the following November, put together a series of weekly concerts and 'Colchester Early Music' became an annual series.

I'm aware this is not how concert series and music festivals usually work. Now well into our fifth season we still have no committee, no Arts Funding application, no fixed fees for the performers, but also total freedom from the constraints that funding brings with it. For example we've never bothered with a theme. Performers perform whatever they have on the go at the time, and we don't



Illus 3 Blondel at the first Festival, in 2015 (photo: Jayne Thomas)

have to spend admin hours on justifying ourselves to funders that might be better spent making music. I'd very much like to add that I am very grateful to those people who do organise bigger, more traditional series and festivals and put so much time and effort into them. I just can't see myself ever being one of them. So I went about booking the next, and every season thereafter along the following lines:

Find musicians who have something they'd like to try out, maybe at the start of a tour for example. About 50% of our concerts include myself as a performer. The rest are usually (but not always) people I know and have played with before. They're willing to take a bit of a risk and also to do some self-publicity. Having said that the quality is high, it's just that these are professionals who are prepared to think outside the box. Sometimes they're the kind of people who organise music festivals in fact...

- Hire the church at an hourly rate, take that back out of the takings, along with some small change to cover printing the publicity, and give the rest straight to the performers. I'm very open about this system. Our regular audience know how we operate and can be very generous – turning down concessions and occasionally giving an extra £10 just because.
- I do the organising as a volunteer – producing fliers and posters and distributing them as well as I can, adding the concerts to local and national listings online and in print. I get my pay back when it becomes my turn to perform.
- Performers in the series have included various Waits bands, including The York Waits (illus 4) and The King's Lynn Waites (illus 5), as well as my local Colchester Waits, the country's only open-entry shawm band, numbering 16+ performers!. We've had visits from Medieval specialists Gaita, Leah Stuttard and Trouvere, The Telling with their story-

based approach, and Passamezzo with their colourful take on the 16th and 17th centuries. The only rule I have as to content is that the music should be from before 1700, which is a pretty broad range. When you have Trouvere playing 13th-century Spanish repertoire at one concert and Passamezzo doing 17th-century English at the next you certainly notice the contrast in styles!



Illus 4 King's Lynn Waites, in costume



Illus 5 York Waits

The church community have taken the series under their wing. Members of the congregation provide tea, coffee and biscuits, giving a wonderful chance for the audience to chat with performers and ask questions. They've also been helping to spread the word in the local community. I've got to know the vicar, and the churchwarden, who loves to explain the history of the village and of the church to interested audience members and tell them about the renovations, which he oversaw.

We're now approaching the end of our fifth season of concerts. We still hold our concerts on Sunday afternoons but these days they're monthly as opposed to weekly, and this along with some longer concerts, slightly higher ticket prices, online ticketing through eventbrite and growing awareness of the series has lead to audiences in the 50s and 60s. It's been an absolute pleasure to be able to send most of the performers away with a proper basic fee rather than just enough to cover travel.

Next season is already planned out with concerts on the first Sundays of each month from October 2020 to March 2021. There are some new names on the schedule already – Jeremy West and Stephanie Dyer on cornett and sackbut in October, Ian Pittaway on Medieval strings and vocals in March, as well as a Christmas concert from The York Waits and Blondel with some later repertoire than they've brought to the Festival in the past (it's going to be Blondel's year of the curtals). I've a few ideas up my sleeve to push audience sizes up towards the church's potential capacity of 100. Now that really would make my day!

If you'd like to know more about our forthcoming concerts please see our website www.colchesterearlymusic.org.uk. If you'd like to offer a concert programme (bearing in mind the above system of unfixed fees), email Lizzie at lizzie@elizabethgutteridge.co.uk

REPORTS

Bach Network 2019

Francis Knights and Pablo Padilla



Illus 1 Madingley Hall (photos: Alan Shepherd, by kind permission)

Last year's biennial Bach Network 'Dialogue meeting' (the organizers say it is not a 'conference', although it could hardly look more like one) took place on 8-13 July 2019 at Madingley Hall (illus 1), on the outskirts of Cambridge, and part of the University, and brought together Bach experts from all over the world. The main conference days were expanded by additional events for those who wished to arrive early or depart late, and by way of a prelude on the Monday evening there was a really unusual treat, with Joel Speerstra and Ulrika Davidsson playing 'The Art of Fugue' as a duet (illus 2) - on one harpsichord!

By taking one manual each, and with some careful manual choreography between them (especially in the mirror fugues), they delivered a very convincing reading on the Bruce Kennedy harpsichord kindly made available by Jesus College.

The Tuesday started with a tour of the house and garden, and in the afternoon the customary ad hoc Bach choral singing session, directed by Paul Spicer. The formal proceedings began in the afternoon, with a Round Table session on 'Bach and Materiality', led by Isabella van Elferen (on the history and theory of *Affekt*), Joel Speerstra (materiality in instruments) and Bettina Varwig (physiology, cognition and creativity in the early modern world). This was followed with an introduction to the 'Bach 333' recording project, by Nicholas Kenyon, Paul Moseley and Stephen Roe. This brought together carefully-selected recordings from 32 different labels, to present a comprehensive Bach recording collection. In the evening there was a



Illus 2 Ulrika Davidsson and Joel Speerstra



Illus 3 Christoph Wolff and Nicholas Kenyon

very special event, with Christoph Wolff in conversation with Nicholas Kenyon (illus 3), an illuminating discussion of Wolff's career and lifetime engagement with Bach and his music.

The Wednesday began with the first part of the Early Career Forum, where younger scholars including Mark Seow (on listening practices in Bach's cantatas), Margaret Urquhart (Bach's basses: 8' vs. 16'), Max Wong (Bach's unaccompanied violin works and transcription, illus 4), Sebestyén Nyíró (ornaments in Bach) and Paul Newton-Jackson (Early eighteenth-century mixed meter) briefly introduced their work. The pre-lunch session was dedicated to the 'Fuga à 3 Soggetti



Illus 4 Max Wong demonstrating the violin

from ‘The Art of Fugue’, with Kevin Korsyn, who presented research based on his forthcoming book, which also discusses the controversy as to whether Contrapunctus XIV should be a triple or quadruple fugue, and Ruth Tatlow, who talked about structure and symmetry as drivers of form in music, proposing that proportional relationships suggested there are 41 bars missing at the end of ‘The Art of Fugue’. The first afternoon session was the second part of the Early Career Forum, with Maria Borghesi (Bach reception in Italy 1950-2000), Tomasz Gorny (on the missing third part of Kuhnau’s *Neue Clavier Übung*) and Nathan Jones (Bach as Lutheran aesthetician).

The next two sessions covered ‘Telemann, Graupner, Fasch, and the Thomaskantorat’ (illus 5), starting with Steven Zohn, who focused on Telemann as Thomaskantor, and examined the Telemann-Pisendel correspondence, then Ursula Kramer’s study of the application for the Leipzig Thomaskantorat from Graupner and Fasch, and Barbara M. Reul, who considered Fasch’s expectations of the Thomaskantorat post. This was followed by a very varied and intense Flash Announcement session, where researchers were allowed just five minutes to introduce a topic they were working on, while the evening event was a lecture-recital by Mahan Esfahani (harpsichord), who talked about his ongoing Bach recital series and played numerous examples (illus 6).



Illus 5 Thomaskantorat session



Illus 6 Mahan Esfahani, Bach lecture-recital

The Thursday began with a session on Musical Authorship, with Anna Linton, Michael Marissen and Stephen Rose, followed by the third session and fourth sessions of the Early Career Forum, again chaired by Stephen Rose. After lunch, this was followed by ‘New Research Questions and Approaches for Bach studies’, with speakers Christine Blanken, Christiane Hausmann and Benedikt Schubert. After that there was the second Flash Announcement session, the Bach Network Trustees discussion, and Fred Fehleisen on ‘New Presentation Methods’.

Friday morning comprised a choice of less formal breakout sessions, including discussion, with Szymon Paczkowski on ‘New Sources on the Musical Patronage of the Dresden Aristocracy, 1700–20’, Yo Tomita on ‘The Latest on Well-Tempered Clavier II’, Alan Shepherd on ‘A Computer Program for exploring Proportional Parallelism’ and a demonstration by Zoltán Szabó of his Interactive Cello Suites Edition. These presentations brought this busy, well-attended and stimulating event to a close with warm applause (illus 7).



Illus 7 Bach Network attendees

The current state of performance practice studies

Francis Knights

The logistics of arranging a full weekend NEMA conference in the Autumn of 2019, to follow on from our very successful ‘Vocal Sound and Style’ event in Brighton in 2018, proved too difficult, and the decision was made to hold instead a day-long Workshop-Conference on Performance Practice in Cambridge on 19 October. Space and cost precluded an open public invitation, so the event became an opportunity for a small number of NEMA scholars, performers and guests to gather in the Regency house called The Grove (illus 1) at Fitzwilliam College, and exchange research and views. As well as the more formal papers listed below, there were also some very useful panel discussions, looking for example at the experience of performing from facsimiles.



Illus 1 The Grove, Fitzwilliam College

After a welcome from the NEMA chair, Christopher Page introduced ‘The Voices and Instruments debate in medieval music, forty years on’. This both laid out the history of the debate (such as issues around the recreation of medieval instruments in the 1960s and 70s, ‘Orientalism’ as a performing style, and the role of the university Collegium Musicum) and explored what has happened since many instrumentalists ‘retired’ from the genre. Page reminded us that performance traditions over the past

forty years have changed remarkably little in terms of the fundamentals, that we have almost no sources for the performance practice of the 12th and 13th centuries, that the boundaries for the use of most medieval instruments (eg the psaltery) are unknown, that there are almost no bass instruments in the period - and that *a cappella* performance is very hard to do well. Without sufficient evidence, modern medieval musicians are often ‘composing’ as much as arranging, almost to a pop or world music paradigm. The comments that followed examined the idea of text primacy and narrative, the concept of a Angelic ‘medieval orchestra’, and listeners’ lack of patience with monophony.

This was followed by Andrew Woolley's 'Evocations of Performance: 17th-Century Portuguese Keyboard Music in Contrapuntal Genres', which looked at the intabulation tradition and its relationship with vihuela music, and the use of formulaic models, including possible adaptation from memorized sources. This was followed after lunch by Richard Bethell, on 'Classical Vocal Sound: Traditions compared', which followed on from his newly-published book, looking at descriptive terminology for the voice ('sweet', 'pure'), the origins of the falsetto voice, and the introduction of continuous vibrato in the 1820s and 30s. Differences in natural voice types, ornamentation and volume were also considerable between countries and across centuries.

Next was Peter Holman's 'The Harpsichord in Nineteenth-century England' (which has now been published as an article in *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxiv/2 (Spring 2020), pp.4-14), looking at the inaccurate belief that the harpsichord essentially died out after 1800. In fact, it was used in London opera until early 1810s, and at the Three Choirs Festival; individual devotees (like George III) carried on playing favourite instruments, and it was also used for organ practice, even with a pedalboard. Revival concerts of 'ancient instruments' began quite early in the 19th century, and in 1837 Moscheles played Scarlatti on the harpsichord in London. Other key musicians were Pauer, Salaman and Hipkins, eventually leading to Dolmetsch (who didn't actually use the harpsichord until 1890) and thence to revival-type rather than historic keyboard instruments. Newspapers, programme booklets, theatre records, memoirs and many other sources paint a detailed picture of the many different activities happening, such as an 1870 performance of the 'Goldberg Variations' in London on a 1788 harpsichord.

In the final paper, Alberto Sanna presented the work of his charity Early Music as Education www.emae.co.uk in 'Bach in Birkenhead: challenging socio-cultural barriers through early music', which started in Liverpool, offering a free cultural experience of early music repertoire via selected schools, using small groups with specialist tutors. Beginning with just strings in Birkenhead, the programme has now expanded, and includes work on technique, repertoire and even performance practice. He concluded by showing a short film that had been made to showcase the project.

Blending past and present: collections and collectors

Anne Beetem Acker



Illus 1 Westfield panel members

The Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies' Conference and 40th Anniversary celebration took place on 23-26 October 2019 at Oberlin Conservatory of Music in Ohio. Over the years I have been greatly impressed with the diversity and depth, breadth plus focus and the high calibre of Westfield Center events, presenters and performances. October's meeting at Oberlin was no exception, bringing together scholars, performers, collectors, curators, instrument makers and restorers (illus 1) from around the world for paper sessions, panel discussions, many wonderful concerts, plus master classes, all

around the theme of 'Blending Past and Present: Collections and Collectors'. As the members celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Westfield Center, they also examined where this world of historical keyboard instruments and studies has come from, where it is now, where it will or

should go, and what we need to do to preserve and maintain interest and energy into future decades and generations. Westfield's Executive Director Kathryn Stuart masterfully organized the event and kept everything running smoothly.

The Westfield Center was founded initially as an association for organ performers and scholars in 1979 by organists Lynn Edwards and Edward Pepe. The official lengthily stated mission is to promote the performance, study, and research of early keyboard music, to promote public education about and public understanding and appreciation of early keyboard music; and 'in pursuit of these aims to conduct educational performances; to prepare, present and sponsor performances, exhibitions, publications and recordings; to establish a library of pertinent materials and a collection of instruments suitable for the performance and teaching of early keyboard music; and to do any and all other appropriate and convenient acts'. That definitely opens up considerable possibilities. While the early focus was on Renaissance and Baroque music and organs, over the last 40 years their programming and membership has grown to embrace the harpsichord, clavichord and piano through all periods of music history to the present day. This has led to many remarkable events, including organ study tours in Mexico, Germany, Holland, England and Spain, workshops on continuo playing, polyphonic- and Mozart-style improvisation, multi-day sessions on Scriabin, Debussy, Chopin, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Messiaen, the remarkable conference 'Forte / Piano' in 2015 which hosted an historic assemblage of fortepianists, instruments, makers and restorers from around the world, and many more. Notably, there are always concerts open to the general public.

This year's gathering was hosted at the excellent facilities of the Oberlin Conservatory, a fine place to be in late autumn with colourful leaves swaying in the cooling breezes. This attendee was grateful for the variety and balance each day. The excellent concert and lecture venues were well selected to suit the panoply of instruments and presentations. Oberlin is home to a long list of clavichords, fortepianos and harpsichords of virtually all types including a Malcolm Rose English claviorganum, as well as a host of organs. In the interest of space, this report will only discuss those used for conference performances and lecture recitals.

Collections

In keeping with the conference's theme, attendees had the opportunity to visit various important collections in the area. The Riemenschneider Bach Institute at nearby Baldwin Wallace University Conservatory of Music held an open house for Westfield conference attendees, featuring some of their rare holdings, including Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Mozart and Schumann editions, along with historic keyboard instrument instructional writings and more. The Frederick R. Selch Collection of American Music History housed at the Oberlin Conservatory also held an open house, showing off selected items from their vast collection. Additionally, Westfield members were invited to visit the new Paul Fritts Opus 42 organ at First Lutheran Church in nearby Lorain, Ohio. Oberlin College is also the home of the Memorial Art Museum, an Italian renaissance-style building designed by the famous American architect Cass Gilbert (1859-1934), which has impressive holdings and was, shall we say, artfully employed as part of the conference. Attendees also spent quality time with the Caldwell Collection of Viols at the home of Oberlin Conservatory associate professor Catharina Meints. Collected by James Caldwell and Catharina, this remarkable selection of mostly 17th and 18th century rare viols includes such makers as Joachim Tielke and Barak Norman.

Those who ventured to the basement to the conservatory's Keyboard Technology shop, directed by John Cavanaugh, were treated to the sight of the conservatory's c.1803 Broadwood 5½-octave grand undergoing restoration, along with other keyboard instruments in various

stages of care. While the technology shop mostly works with modern instruments, technician Robert Murphy has been an important caretaker for the historic and replica instruments in Oberlin's stable of instruments.

Masterclasses

The meeting included masterclasses by renowned performer/scholars Christa Rakich (organ), David Breitman (fortepiano) and Eduardo Bellotti (harpsichord). Such classes are well known to be a challenge for both student and instructor. The students were, as expected, very talented, and showed impressive adaptability in trying and implementing suggestions. Best of all, I found, was hearing the scholarship backing up the suggestions so clearly stated by each of the professors. In one of the many notable examples, Bellotti made a convincing case for carefully considering how much to over-dot even in a French overture style movement, keeping in mind the desired affect.

Keynote addresses

The opening and closing keynote addresses were brilliantly conceived and delivered, educational and entertaining. Annette Richards (Cornell University), Executive Director of the Westfield Center from 2007-2017, delivered the opening address using projected imagery while she examined the history, nature and psychology of collecting and collectors, moving from the collecting manias of the 18th century to introducing the new instrument collection being assembled at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, in collaboration with Westfield. This address was highly informed by her research for her new book *C. P. E. Bach's Gallery of Musical Faces: Portraiture, Collecting and Music in the late 18th Century*. Thomas Forrest Kelly, founder of the Historical Performance Program at Oberlin as well as the Five Colleges Early Music program in Massachusetts, delivered a fantastically engaging and thought-provoking closing keynote, moving from a quote by St Augustine, to recognizing that Monteverdi's *Orfeo* was an attempt to recreate the idealized Greek past, to images from Arnold Dolmetsch's efforts, to Landowska's harpsichord, to a 1980s pop music interpretation of Handel's *Messiah*. His overarching message, restating St Augustine, was that we must remember that every performance happens in and is a product of its present even when it is remembering the past.

Paper sessions

The papers were neatly framed in afternoon sessions. Restorers/conservators Fanny Magaña and Jimena Palacios Uribe traveled from Mexico to introduce us to Antonio Haghenbeck (1902-91), a wealthy collector who settled in Mexico, filling his houses with diverse objects that appealed to him. Among his few keyboard instruments is an anonymous antique Italian style harpsichord they have been studying and documenting. Elly Langford from the University of Melbourne gave a talk on various kinds of combination keyboards and their relationship to technological innovation in Europe. Combination keyboards have been neglected by the research community as experimental oddities, but Langford convincingly proposed that they had significant social and tonal purposes. Kenneth Slowik entertained the audience with a history of the keyboard collection at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, capped with a look at the future, including digitization of print material. Slowik also brought a film from the Smithsonian, 'Remembering Bill Dowd', shown after the Thursday evening concert, that was full of interviews with makers and players who personally knew this important pioneering harpsichord builder and restorer.

Friday's papers began with harpsichordist and musicologist John McKean of the Longy School

discussing the *Augsburg Wegweiser*, an influential yet anonymous short treatise on playing the organ from the Riemenschneider Institute's special collections. Though it remained in print for over 60 years, through at least a dozen printings, it remains mysterious. Next came organist and scholar Jacob Fuhrman discussing the curatorial role of publishers of different books of keyboard accompaniments for the Genevan Psalter, based on his extensive doctoral research. Organist and scholar Anne Laver gave an enlightening talk on the considerable efforts by the famous Parisian organist Alexandre Guilmant (1837-1911) and his American protégé William Carl (1865-1936) to unearth, programme and publish forgotten 17th, 18th and early 19th century compositions. While the publications have not held up well given current historical performance practice knowledge, their pioneering efforts can be considered the start of the early music revival in the United States.

Lecture-recitals

Diverse lecture-recitals were artfully interspersed, and of course made use of some of the wonderful instruments available. First up were Christina Fuhrmann and Dylan Sanzenbacher utilizing both harpsichord and piano in the bright yet intimate Stull Hall to demonstrate various versions of J. S. Bach's C major prelude from the Well-Tempered Clavier Book I found in the Riemenschneider Bach Institute's collection, which has been called 'the finest collection of editions of The Well-Tempered Clavier in the world'. They pointed out how heavily edited versions reveal performance practices of the time and how a collection such as found at the Riemenschneider Institute's can help us explore how works are 'preserved, altered, and reinterpreted'.

Next we were off downstairs to the 148-seat Kulas Hall, a more typical windowless but acoustically pleasing conservatory recital space, to hear a fascinating lecture-recital by the amazing keyboard artist Matthew Bengtson, professor at the University of Michigan, who gave a fascinating lecture-recital demonstrating how certain repertoire is best appreciated with the appropriate instrument. He used a beautiful 2016 chromatic Italian virginal by Owen Daly to demonstrate how the chromatic keyboard was essential for making sense of the modulations and startling dissonances (*stravaganze*), in the works of 16th century Italian composers such as Ascanio Mayone and Giovanni Maria Trabaci. Bengtson then moved over to Oberlin's 7-octave c.1865 Broadwood parlour grand, to brilliantly demonstrate several compositions of the mostly neglected composer Charles-Valentin Alkan. Alkan's works are likely neglected in part because of their difficulty and in part due to how they sound on modern instruments. On the light-actioned Broadwood under the hands of Bengtson, these works leap beautifully and tell their stories with a profound yet transparent lower bass with bell-like timbres shimmering in the high register. Bengtson's facility with such works as Alkan's is simply breathtaking, even to the talented group of keyboard artists present in the audience.

Later in the afternoon, we were back in Kulas Hall to hear a lecture-recital with Susan Youens discussing the Betty Oser collection of first and early editions of Robert Schumann songs acquired by the University of Notre Dame in 2017. Oser was a piano student of Clara Schumann's who became friends with Brahms and the Schumanns and their circle. Youens gave us fascinating background surrounding Betty and her close family relationship with the noted Wittgenstein family. With this human backdrop set, the presentation was capped off with a glorious performance of *Dichterliebe* by baritone Thomas Meglitoranza with David Breitman on the marvelous 1829 Zierer Viennese grand (illus 2), a beautiful, perfectly matched combination of instrument and voice. They performed the selections near continuously, which added greatly to the impact of both the individual songs and the overall cycle.

The last lecture recital was held Friday morning at the home of Catharina Meints, utilizing the



Illus 2 David Breitman and Thomas Meglioranza

a delight to the ears, demonstrating many of the fine instruments in the collection with English, German and French music for viols. Cat Slowik, Zoe Weiss, Loren Ludwig, Catharina Meints and Ruby Brallier each played viola da gamba, with Kenneth Slowik and John McKean on organ and harpsichord (illus 3).

Concerts

The fine playing at the lecture-recitals whetted our appetites for the unfailingly excellent concerts. The first concert featured Erica Johnson (illus 4) brilliantly showing off the versatility of the Mary McIntosh Bridge Memorial Organ in Fairchild Chapel made by John Brombaugh (Op. 25, 1981). Her program, titled, ‘Habits of Teachers, Students, and Collectors of 17th century Keyboard Music’, offered works by Martin and Andreas Düben, Sweelinck, Roberday, Pachelbel, Bach and Buxtehude. A student of



Illus 4 Erica Johnson (organ)

Caldwell Collection of Viols, her chamber organ and harpsichord. Catherine Slowik spoke about 17th century collectors of ‘chests’ of viols and how, even then, collectors and performers preferred old instruments, believing them better than ‘modern’ ones. Zoe Weiss discussed the diversity of meanings and processes of collection, in particular collections within collections, using the example of In Nomine arrangements found in music miscellanies. Loren Ludwig enlightened us about the use of organs for music making in fine English home. Wooden pipes were believed to blend best with the viols, and were often played by a household servant in contrast to the genteel lot playing the viols. The recital portion was



Illus 3 Viol consort with Kenneth Slowik

of Sweelinck, Düben preserved many of Sweelinck’s manuscripts, either originals or by copying them, while his son imported thousands of manuscripts to the royal court of Stockholm. These manuscripts and copies eventually become the Uppsala-based Düben Collection, which also includes works of Buxtehude and others. The Paris-based organist Roberday and the peripatetic Froberger ‘collected’, i.e. used, thematic and stylistic material from each other, while the members of the Bach family also collected and studied works by other composers, including Buxtehude, Pachelbel and Böhm. While not technically a lecture-recital, this concert, by virtue of the fine programme notes, certainly served as one.

After a dinner break to various local establishments, our virtual dessert was a concert with varied players, instruments and even venues. The concert began in the 496-seat Warner Concert Hall where Oberlin faculty member Jonathan Moyer gave an excellent performance on the Van Cleff Family organ by Flentrop, an 18th century European style 44-stop, 3-manual, 72-rank instrument with 3,501 pipes, tuned after Werckmeister (1691). Moyer played chorales by Scheide-
mann and anonymous authors from the mid-17th century *Lüneburger Orgeltabulator*. We then moved back to Kulas Recital Hall, giving our ears a chance to reset for Christa Rakich's master-
ful performance of *Lambert's Clavichord*, a set of miniatures by Herbert Howells (1892-1983) played on Oberlin's Dolmetsch Chickering clavichord (1908, illus 5). Howells' compositional approach to the clavichord combined a flavor of early English virginal music with an early 20th-century compositional toolkit. Next Mark Edwards art-
fully played d'Anglebert's Suite in D from the *Pièces de Clavecin* of 1689 on the single manual French harpsichord after Dufour made in 1992 by Malcolm Rose. I find the direct sound of an early French style harpsichord suits this music admirably. Finally, David Breitman and the 1829 Anton Zierer Viennese piano created a memorable and convincing interpretation of Schubert's F minor Im-
promptu, No.1, from which he improvised a transition directly into the B flat major Impromptu, No.3. In my opinion (and clearly David Breitman's), the light action, balanced registers and tonal characteristics of a Viennese piano illuminate Schubert's compositions as a modern piano's sonic characteristics and action simply cannot.



Illus 5 Christa Rakich (clavichord)

An exciting and memorable type of concert was held in the Sculpture Court of the Allen Memorial Art Museum on Thursday early afternoon, where Edoardo Bellotti (illus 6) had selected nine different pairings of paintings (in adjacent rooms) with compositions; selected examples are listed here. Bellotti switched effortlessly between the 1991 Robert Byrd continuo organ, a 1982 Dupree Italian single manual harpsichord and the 1994 Karin Richter unfretted clavichord. A c.1500 Italian work, 'Adoration of the Child with Portrait of Donor' was viewed while Bellotti played a Pasquini Pastorale on the organ. 'Landscape with Classical Ruins and Figures', 1698 by Pierre-Antoine Patel (1648-1708) was enhanced by François Couperin's Passacaille in b minor from the *Pièces de Clavecin* (1717) played on the harpsichord. A 16th century Italian work 'The Agony in the Garden' was emphasized by a Toccata in G by Alessandro Scarlatti played on the organ. For the final pairing, Bellotti effortlessly demonstrated his improvisation skills, using the Partite sopra Folia for the structure and theme while we gazed upon 'Landscape with Washer-women', c.1720 by Alessandro Magnasco (1667-1749).

Thursday evening's concert took us back to the large Warner Concert Hall to hear Robert Bates play works by Francisco Correa de Arauxo (1584-1654) from the *Facultad orgánica* (1626) on the Fenner Douglass Memorial Organ by Greg Harrold, 1989, Opus 11, a Spanish Baroque-style single manual organ with 17 stops, 36 ranks and 1,257 pipes. Bates played nine different *Tientos* and a *Glosa* wonderfully, a programme for an audience that appreciates the subtle differences between the works.

The Friday night concert featured Andrew Willis on his own 2005 David Sutherland Florentine-style fortepiano (illus 7). Willis and the piano danced through works by Alberti, Marcello, Platti, Martini and Scarlatti, works agreed by most to well suit this type of piano. Less expected was



Illus 6 Edoardo Bellotti (chamber organ), Memorial Art Museum

how the J. S. Bach Partita in E minor BWV830 was also extremely effective on this clear sounding, light and fast action instrument with tiny hammers. Indeed, the piano lent itself to unusually dazzling speed while Willis maintained absolute clarity of voices and lines. Willis firmly believes that this type of piano has yet to gain the respect it deserves, that it was not just a short-lived experiment. This concert was a fine demonstration that his feelings may be justified.



Illus 7 Andrew Willis (fortepiano)

Saturday morning immediately took us across the grassy plaza to Fairchild Chapel to hear the extraordinary recorder player and faculty member Kathryn Montoya, along with internationally known keyboard artist Matthew Dirst. The 120-seat medieval inspired sandstone chapel within Oberlin's Bosworth Hall, another Cass Gilbert-designed building, is the perfect space for the two Brombaugh & Associates organs, the two manual Mary McIntosh Bridge Memorial Organ Opus 25, 1981 tuned in quarter-comma meantone and the single manual David S. Boe Opus 23b of 1977, tuned in Neidhardt (1732). Dirst moved easily between the organs and the 1982 Dupree single manual Italian harpsichord as he and Montoya performed 'A

Dutch Musical "Cabinet" (illus 8). The word 'cabinet' is used in the original sense of not only a place to put things, but also the collection of items within it. As such, a cabinet can be a volume of music, or in this case, a concert programme. Appropriately, several pieces are from two 1640s collections, Schop's *t'Uitnemen Cabinet* (1646) and Jacob van Eyck's *Der Fluten Lust-Hof* (1642). The effortless collaboration of the two artists added to the joy of listening to their dynamic and moving interpretations. The concert was filled out with Sweelinck's challenging 'Fantasia chromatica' and the 'Pavana Lachrimae' based on the famous Dowland song. Montoya's expressive

and technical skills on various types of recorders are glorious.

Panel discussions

Panels may not be as rapturous as music making, but the full seats and engaged audiences in Stull Hall demonstrated the importance the audience gave to these discussions about issues affecting the present and future state of our world of historic keyboard instruments and their music. I was pleased to be asked to chair a round-table between builder/restorer/technicians and performers, and was fortunate to gather together a stellar panel, with harpsichord builders and restorers John Phillips and Allan Winkler, harpsichord and piano technician and restorer Robert Murphy of Oberlin, Stephen Birkett, historic wire maker, instrument maker, scientist and player, and performer and scholar David Breitman. It became clear that each of the panel members had become initially inspired by exposure to early keyboard instruments and encouraging individuals. We looked at the problems of complacency with the status quo, running a small business as a builder, how to train future generations of technicians and builders and more. Allan Winkler has begun a programme for piano technicians at the North Bennett Street School, but we also agreed we need to reach out and run workshops where the technicians are.



Illus 9 Kathryn Montoya and Matthew Dirst

A second panel discussion on collectors and collections was chaired by Kenneth Slowik and was peopled by collector and performer Karen Flint, performer, technician and scholar Tilman Skowronek and conservator, builder, restorer and curator John Watson. Karen Flint presented her important collection, including restoration and conservation efforts with illustrative before and after slides. Handily, their restorer John Phillips was in the audience to answer some detailed questions. Tilman spoke about the sound of old harpsichords and how a focus on sound shaped the early music revival and harpsichord building of the mid 20th century. John Watson talked about preservative conservation methods that protect and save the hidden stories of the maker's tools and marks and the life the instrument has lived.

The conference closed with a panel discussion further expanding on the closing keynote address by Thomas Forrest Kelly on 'Historical Performance Now and Then'. Chaired by Matthew Dirst, the panel consisted of David Breitman, organist Samuel Kuffuor-Afriyie, Catharina Meints and award-winning keyboard artist, improvisation expert and educator Pamela Ruiter-Feenstra. As well as blending past and present, how do we ensure the future of historical music performance? Breitman pointed out that the early music movement of the mid 20th century was quite counter-cultural. Kuffuor-Afriyie discussed his work with bringing early music to his home country of Ghana and adapting Ghanaian music for the organ. Meints looked at the all-important question of how will musicians make earn a living in the future, and suggested new types of venues and performance modes. Ruiter-Feenstra's points about the need for diversity resonated with many audience members, and ideas and projects began flowing from all sides of the room.

Among the various wonderful historical keyboard associations extant today, the Westfield Center maintains a distinct character, thanks in part to its broad statement of purpose and no doubt thanks to the energy and vision of the executive director, board and members. The October conference well demonstrated that energy and ideas from both presenters and attendees. Surely this enthusiasm will carry Westfield and this world of historical keyboard instruments and performance onward.

Music in eighteenth-century Britain

Mark Windisch

The thirty-fifth annual conference took place at the Foundling Museum in London on Friday 29 November 2019. There were nine papers, and the sessions were chaired by Helen Coffey and Simon McVeigh.

The opening talk was given by Thomas McGeary (Champaign, IL, USA). His subject was ‘A new scenario for opera in London in its critical decade: opera in the English manner? Opera in the Italian manner’. Dr McGeary wished to put the record straight for those who had based their perception on an anonymous tract ‘A Critical Discourse Upon Opera’s in England’ (1709). English operas of the time (*Arsinoe*, *Temple of Love*, *British Enchanters*, *Rosamond*) were commissioned by John Vanbrugh from 1703-1704 in order to have suitable material for his new Haymarket theatre, which was designed for ‘plays and operas’. These works have been unfairly judged by the anachronistic criteria applicable to Neapolitan Opera. Thomas Clayton’s intentions were to provide musical-dramatic entertainments for the English stage following the multi-sectional theatre ayre as developed by Henry Purcell and John Eccles. They should therefore not be judged against the completely different art form of Neapolitan opera.

This was followed by a double paper presented by Jeanice Brooks and Wiebke Thormählen, ‘Making opera one’s business: giving “voice” to female aristocratic patronage’. The presenters had accessed the extensive material in the Buccleuch archives to uncover the role of female amateur music lovers in the business of opera in the 1800s. The example chosen was of Elizabeth Montagu, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensbury (1743-1827). Besides their patronage of professional opera performances, they also took an active role in amateur performances. There is evidence that Elizabeth and her daughters had performed operas in aristocratic residences, doubling as imagined ‘opera houses’ and using famous singing teachers to guide them in performance. Amongst their teachers were opera singers Domenico Corri and Angelina Catalani.

Matthew Spring took as his subject William Herschel, who arrived in Bath just over 350 years ago to take up the post of organist in the newly opened Octagon Chapel. During the 15 years that Herschel made his home in Bath he took a very active role in the musical life of the city. He became the director of music at The New Assembly Room after the departure of Thomas Linley. A major activity was the development of Spring Gardens as a venue for summer concerts. In the 1960s Herschel’s music was sold off but some of it was acquired by Cambridge University Library. Dr Spring had researched this collection, which enabled him to detail the performances that took place in Spring gardens during this period. Included was the famous ‘Echo Catch’ for four voices and full band. The genesis and ultimate closure of Spring Gardens was illustrated by reference to contemporary maps.

Roz Southey had researched a sideline of Thomas Bewick, the well-known engraver and book illustrator. He became a supplier of tickets for local events in the North East. Examining his accounts give interesting insights into the organisations he supplied and the numbers in his print run which give an indication of audience sizes and geographical spread. An interesting spin-off was the difficulty he had betimes to get concert promoters to pay for the tickets they had ordered. Ann van Allen-Russell presented a paper on 'Cultural economics and the music business: The Bach-Abel subscription concerts (1773-1775)'. This is an assessment of music performances as a business, particularly with subscription concerts. Dr van Allen-Russell examined account books held at the Royal Bank of Scotland archives in relation to a subscription series set up by J. C. Bach and C. F. Abel. A new methodology will be explored on the buying power of money amongst the wealthier members of society. Dominic Bridge examined the rapid growth of publishing in both literary and musical formats. Although literary formats have been examined closely, the same does not apply to musical formats and Dr Bridge consulted a database of music publishers, printers and engravers to uncover the categories of class, gender, politics and place in publishing of music in all its forms.

Sandra Tuppen is undertaking examination of lists of those purchasing word books for The Concerts of Antient Music in the late 18th century. Although the Directors were all men, a substantial number of subscribers were women. An interesting and unexpected outcome was the emergence of family connections amongst the subscribers. Sandra Tuppen will examine the background some individuals who subscribed for many years and will also investigate those who had made their fortunes through the slave trade or colonial exploitation. She will also be researching contemporary newspaper reports where audience reaction to performances are reported.

Terry Jenkins, a retired opera singer and author of the biography of John Rich, became interested in the etiquette which seemed from some illustrations to require gentlemen to wear hats during theatrical performances. The evidence is not clear. A print from 1763 of a performance of *Artaxerxes* shows hats being universally worn but another print, Hogarth's 'Laughing Audience' shows the opposite. An interesting side issue was the practice of servants who were keeping seats for their masters and mistresses in boxes wore hats while doing so, much to the clear annoyance of other audience members. No clear conclusion was reached.

Finally, Catherine Crisp spoke about 'Clarinet performances 1760-1810: audience attendance and reception'. This instrument had only recently reached the concert stage and newspaper advertisements showed how much of a feature was made of this novelty. Venues which featured works for clarinet were reported, and contemporary reviews of popularity and perception of these events in the context of 18th century London concert life.

NEWS

The 2020 Royal College of Organists Medal has been awarded to performers **Davitt Moroney** and **Daniel Roth**.

The 2020 Early Music America Annual Awards have been made to **Kenneth Kreitner**, **Mark Kroll** and the **Oberlin Baroque Performance Institute**.

Peter Wollny has been awarded an honorary doctorate by Uppsala University.

Jeremy Cole has been appointed Director of Music at Wells Cathedral.

Aliye Cornish is the new CEO of the Irish Baroque Orchestra.

Music publisher **Schott** celebrates its 250th Anniversary in 2020.

The Hanover Band celebrates its 40th Anniversary in 2020.

Bach digital www.bach-digital.de is celebrating ten years online.

The Orpheus Instituut in Ghent, Belgium, has acquired **Ton Koopman**'s library.

Temperament data for numerous keyboard tunings are now available at <http://www.instrument-tuner.com/TemperamentTables.html>.

The **Historical Keyboard Society of North America** <https://www.hksna.org/> has announced the 10th Aliénor Competition for harpsichord.

The **Great Organ**, non-profit digital organ software, is now available at <https://digitalvpo.com>.

The **Handel Harpsichord Room** website https://www.saladelcembalo.org/hpd/a1.php?p=a2020_02 now contains nearly 400 hours of harpsichord recordings, as well as articles, interviews and reviews.

Vox Humana <https://www.voxhumanajournal.com/research.html> contains international resources for the organ.

The **Gustav Leonhardt Pedagogy Archive** <https://leonhardt-archive.com> now includes contributions from Leonhardt pupils Thérèse de Goede, Gisela Gumz, Charlotte Mattax Moersch, Domenico Morgante, Skip Sempé, Paul Simmonds and others.

OBITUARIES

Pianist **Paul Badura-Skoda** (6 October 1927-18 September 2019) has died at the age of 91.

Record producer **Wolf Erichson** (25 August 1928-22 October 2019) has died at the age of 91.

Conductor and organist Sir **Stephen Cleobury** (31 December 1948-22 November 2019) has died at the age of 70.

Conductor **Colin Mawby** (9 May 1936-24 November 2019) has died at the age of 83.

Musicologist **Daniel Heartz** (5 October 1928-24 November 2019) has died at the age of 91.

Tenor and conductor **Peter Schreier** (29 July 1935-25 December 2019) has died at the age of 89.

Harpsichordist and organist **Robert Kohnen** (2 June 1932-26 December 2019) has died at the age of 87.

Harpsichord maker **Mark Ransom** (1934-30 December 2019) has died at the age of 85.

Musicologist **Albert Cohen** (16 November 1929-31 December 2019) has died at the age of 90.

Violinist **Jaap Schröder** (31 December 1925-1 January 2020) has died at the age of 94.

Harpsichordist and organist **Alfonso Fedi** (21 November 1958-10 January 2020) has died at the age of 61.

Pianist **Peter Serkin** (24 July 1947-1 February 2020) has died at the age of 72.

Baroque trumpet player and musicologist **Edward H. Tarr** (15 June 1936-24 March 2020) has died at the age of 83.

EARLY MUSIC FORA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MUSICAL SOCIETIES & ORGANIZATIONS

Bach Network, <https://www.bachnetwork.org>

Benslow Trust, <http://www.benslowmusic.org>

British Harpsichord Society, <http://www.harpsichord.org.uk>

British Institute of Organ Studies, <http://www.bios.org.uk>

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

Cobbe Collection, <http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk/events>

Dolmetsch Foundation, <https://www.dolmetsch.com/dolmetschfoundation.htm>

East Anglian Academy of Organ and Early Keyboard Music,
<http://www.eastanglianacademy.org.uk>

The Friends of Square Pianos, <http://www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk>

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

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

The Lute Society, <http://www.lutesociety.org>

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

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

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

Scottish Lute and Early Guitar Society,
<https://scottishluteandearlyguitarsociety.wordpress.com>

Society of Recorder Players, <http://www.srp.org.uk>

Viola da Gamba Society, <http://www.vdgs.org.uk>

Musical Instrument Auctions

Brompton's, <https://www.bromptons.co>

Christie's, <https://www.christies.com/departments/Musical-Instruments>

Gardiner Houlgate, <https://www.gardinerhoulgate.co.uk>

Gorrings, <https://www.gorrings.co.uk>

Ingles Hayday, <https://ingleshayday.com>

Peter Wilson, <https://www.peterwilson.co.uk>

Piano Auctions, <http://www.pianoauctions.co.uk>