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EDITORIAL

Katharine Hogg

It has been a busy year for IAML (UK & Irl) celebrating our Diamond Jubilee, culminating in a stimulating annual study weekend in Cambridge last month. The brochure labelled Cambridge as a city of 'tradition and innovation', which also neatly encapsulates the work of IAML (UK & Irl), and was reflected in the diverse subject matters of the presentations on offer. From learning about music hubs to enjoying a performance of treasures from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, from the perennial issues of copyright reform to the newer challenges of digital projects, there was much to learn and discuss, in an environment where there are music libraries aplenty. The Branch's blog and newsletter record a wide range of events which formed part of the week-end and the wider Jubilee celebrations, so do visit the website to keep up to date and perhaps take inspiration for your own libraries.

In this issue we learn about a collection of fanzines, a topic not covered previously in this journal. At the fringe of publication, the authors describe how zines document a contemporary music scene at 'grass roots', and hence their importance for study of popular music in particular. The ephemeral nature of the zine, both in its physical form and its fringe publication status, brings challenges in terms of archiving, promoting and preserving the material. This study of The Forgotten Zine Archive in Dublin describes a project to create and preserve the archive, and considers the political aspects of managing and digitising materials which are often created in a culture of deliberate disorganisation and rebellion. On more familiar ground to many readers, Catherine Small revisits the challenges of dating printed music, and offers a summary of points for consideration for those new to cataloguing and dating music materials, with useful lists of key dates for some music publishers.

Looking further back into musicological research, Amanda Babington gives an overview of Handel's little-known role as a tutor, and Richard Turbet reveals further new discoveries about the publications of music attributed to Byrd in the long eighteenth century. Both studies indicate that there is more research to be done and further discoveries to be made, doubtless much of it in music collections here in the UK and Ireland. As the librarian of a

collection where hitherto unknown Vivaldi sonatas were discovered only recently, I find it both reassuring and rewarding to find that there is so much still waiting to be unearthed. A useful collection of mini-sessions on 'good practice' at the recent annual study weekend began with 'Promoting your hidden collections', and continued with sessions on effective use of social media, developing an active friends' group, forging partnerships with music societies, and extending user engagement – to preface these activities I might add 'discover your hidden collections', and we might be surprised at what we find.

Three esteemed members of IAML (UK & Irl) add their memories to our 'reminiscences' for the Diamond Jubilee; Pam Thompson recalls how she started in the business of music libraries, Patrick Mills remembers highs and lows of international IAML conferences, and Roger Taylor recounts some exciting moments in Albania as the Branch's Outreach officer, surely not something he anticipated when he first took up the post of music librarian in Somerset! Roger's piece is published in memory of Katerina Gosh, a pioneering music librarian from Albania who visited the UK in 1995, and developed relations with our national branch. Her memorable description of Roger's visit to Albania as a 'vision from heaven' was one of the more hilarious moments of the annual study weekend that year. So be inspired by these stories, get involved in IAML (UK & Irl) and see the world!

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GOD SAVE THE ZINE: REMEMBERING THE FORGOTTEN ZINE ARCHIVE

Mick O'Dwyer, Joe Peakin, Leigh Ann Hamel, Tom Maher and Eric Cook

"The value of alternative publications lies surely in their providing interpretations of the world, which we might not otherwise see, and information about the world we simply might not find anywhere else".[1] This is especially true of zines, a form of alternative press whose popularity has waxed and waned since it emerged from the science fiction fan clubs of the 1930s. Duncombe[2] thinks of zines as "non-commercial, non-professional, small-circulation magazines which their creators produce, publish and distribute by themselves", a definition that adequately accounts for both the independent and unique nature of zines, and the cultural sphere that surrounds them. Zines are made in a variety of formats and sizes, but are generally small and consist of photocopied pages stapled together. They are based on a variety of topics and can generally be thought of as a medium for documenting contemporary popular cultures and ideas. While this has made them an important primary source material, historically zines have been overlooked from an information management standpoint. Bartel[3] argues that this relatively untapped resource serves to "add depth and scope to library collections, offering patrons a diversity of style, content, and subject matter unparalleled elsewhere". This article gives an overview of a project to help formalise and legitimise the importance of zines, as well as to provide practical examples for institutions, that can be referred to when incorporating zines into their collections, both physically and digitally.

Background

The Forgotten Zine Archive was originally established in 2004 by Irish zine author, Ciarán Walsh. The archive was then made up of around 1200 zines, donated by four separate collectors. There was a basic structure to the

[1] Atton, C., 'Beyond the Mainstream: Examining Alternative Sources For Stock Collection', *Library Review*, 43 (4), (1994), pp.57-64.

[2] Duncombe, S., *Notes from the underground: Zines and the politics of alternative culture*. New York: Verso, 1997, p.6.

[3] Bartel, J., *From A to Zine: Building a winning zine collection in your library.* Chicago: American Library Association, 2004, p.33.

collection at that time, but it had not been fully catalogued. It was stored in a commercial warehouse space in Dublin's North Strand that was being used semi-legally as a residential space by members of the Dublin punk, DIY, and independent scenes[4]. The archive was initially opened for a few hours every Sunday, but when the warehouse closed in 2005, the archive was forced to find a new location. Since then, Seomra Spraoi has housed the archive in its two consecutive locations across the city.

Seomra Spraoi is an autonomous social centre that has been in Dublin since 2004. It aims to create a non-hierarchical, anti-capitalist centre run on a not-for-profit, environmentally self-sustaining basis. Its focus on inclusion rather than exclusion appeals to zine authors and publishers ('zinesters') in part because of its opposition to censorship, perceived by zinesters to be inherent in formal information settings. This setting and its inhabitants called on the project to take an approach to collection-building that was quite different from that taught during our formal information studies training.

Literature Review

The history of zines as a medium of expression has produced a vast quantity of culturally significant material. The ephemeral and radical nature of many of these publications, however, raises questions of appropriateness for their inclusion in traditional settings. This benign neglect, compounded by their non-standard format and materials, often results in their being ignored in favour of more traditional items. As Marinko and Gerhard note, "Articles in library journals often address issues of censorship, [however, one aspect little discussed is] the actual place of the alternative press in library collections."[5] The dangers of such neglect are made clear by Wiegand, "any collection of information materials preserved through the generations will inevitably influence how we interpret the past. Conversely, the absence of information material silences historical voices, which are then lost to history".[6] Stoddart and Kiser go on to make an equally clear case for a renewal in their consideration by libraries, noting that, "Print zines are one of the most direct links to the viewpoints and artistic endeavors, and therefore the understandings, of individual members of a society. As such, zines are a potent cultural tool, and should be considered a worthy addition to libraries".[7]

This perceived neglect notwithstanding, many academic libraries have given a home to zines in the form of special collections, some notable examples being zine collections in libraries at Barnard College, Michigan State

[4] Dillon, E., *Forgotten Zine Archive,* ZineWiki, 2007. Retrieved August 1, 2013: http://zinewiki.com/Forgotten _Zine_Archive.

[5] Marinko, R. A., & Gerhard, K. H., 'Representations of the alternative press in academic library collections', *College and Research Libraries*, 59 (4), (1998), p. 363.

[6] Wiegand, W., 'Introduction: Alternative print culture', *Library Trends*, 56 (3), (2008), p.567.

[7] Stoddart, R. A. & Kiser, T., 'Zines and the Library', *Library Resources & Technical Services* 48 (3), (2004), pp. 191-198. Retrieved August 4, 2013: http://works.bepress.com/richard_stoddart/6

University, and the University of Iowa. Less formal, more do-it-yourself examples include the attempts of Lastufka and Sandler, who have created and continue to maintain a wiki devoted to the "history and culture of zines, independent media and small press."[8] Their work is framed by Gardner[9] as "a call for academic libraries to become more aware of the vast public interest in zines." Anderson punctuates this sentiment by warning, "Unless aggressively pursued, librarians would be fortunate to be aware of even 10 percent of the publishers publishing today. The other 90 percent remain obscure."[10] Issues preventing many from engaging with zines include those of access, preservation, and cataloguing.

The freedom from mainstream distribution and editorial constraints that characterises zines also raises problems when considering how best to make their material available. As Stoddart and Kiser write, "Regardless of how zines are cataloged in the collection, the main objective is to make them available to patrons".[11] Issues of access presented by zines are complicated by consideration of the individual author's wishes.[12] Many zinesters "have an unyielding sense of pride in their work, and decisions such as selling or even donating zines to libraries and archives can appear as serious compromises".[13] This wariness of institutionalising their material places a burden on information professionals to convince individual content creators of the worth of preserving their material in both formal and informal contexts, and is thought of as the primary challenge facing would-be collectors and cataloguers of zines.[14] These issues are further compounded when digitisation is involved.

While academic libraries and archives have begun to house zine and alternative media collections, there remains a gap in present knowledge regarding the collection management of such items. This raises the question of how to create and maintain a collection of alternative media ephemeral items, whilst remaining true to the ethos and motivations underlying their production. This is a sensitive issue, as many zine authors are fundamentally against organised collections, be they physical or digital. As Chepesiuk states in his work on library preservation of zines, "many zine publishers [. . .] do not want their zines preserved in a formal setting because they don't want to be institutionalized; in fact, they often resent the fact that these institutions have zine collections".[15] This does not mean that any attempt at a collection

[8] Lastufka, A., & Sandler, K., *ZineWiki: The history and culture of zines, independent media and the small press*. ZineWiki, 2008. Retrieved August 2, 2013: http://www.zinewiki.com

[9] Gardner, J., 'Zines in the academic library: a literature review', *Library Student Journal*, 2009. Retrieved August 2, 2013: http://www.librarystudentjournal.org/index.php/lsj/article/view/101/245

[10] Anderson, B., 'The Other 90 Percent: What Your MLS Didn't Teach You', *Counterpoise*, 3 (3/4) (1999).

[11] Stoddart and Kiser, op.cit., p.195.

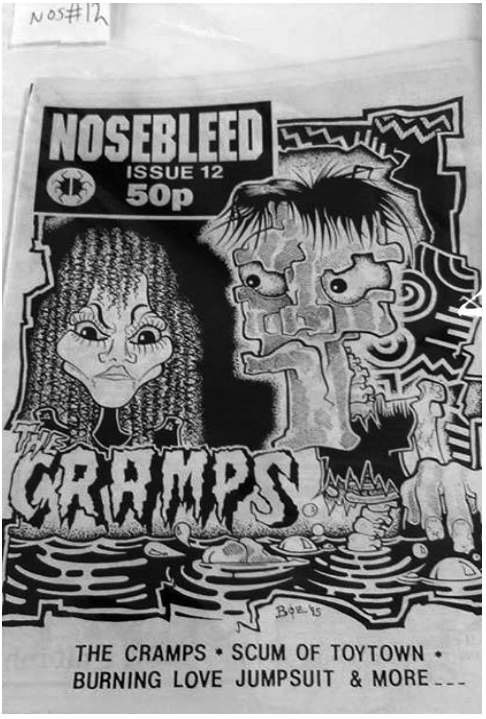
[12] Koh, R., 'Alternative literature in libraries: The unseen zine', *Collection Building*, 27 (2), (2008), pp.48-51.

[13] Herrada, J., & Aul, B., 'Zines in libraries: A culture preserved', *Serials Review*, 21 (2), (1995), p.81.

[14] Chepesiuk, R., 'The zines scene: Libraries preserve the latest trend in publishing', *American Libraries*, 28 (2), (1997), pp. 68-70.

[15] Ibid., p.70.

of this type is ill-conceived, however, as many zine publishers are quite happy to have their work preserved, but it does require greater consideration of the cultural and political aspects of zines and the individual wishes of certain authors.



Example of a zine from the Forgotten Zine Archive.

Koh states that because the creation, publication, and distribution of zines are non-traditional by nature, it is no surprise that relying on the conventional methods of collection management will not suffice when building a zine collection".[16] This is a succinct synopsis of the issues inherent in cataloguing zines — issues made all the more daunting by the library community's general lack of familiarity with the medium. Bartel elaborates on this, advising "zines [. . .] represent new territory for the majority of librarians, and even those familiar with zines and zine culture may find integrating them into the library a daunting task".[17] The systems explored and conclusions reached during our collection management project will provide a framework to help the founding, maintenance and development of future collections.

[16] Koh, op.cit,, p.59.
[17] Bartel, op.cit., p.33.

Cataloguing

Due to the unique nature of The Forgotten Zine Archive, and the resultant unique considerations required, non-standard cataloguing practices had to be employed. As is common in zine libraries, we created both a rudimentary call number system and broad cataloguing practices that best suited our specific needs. Our focus when creating both of these was user friendliness and transparency.

The classification system created has four main subject headings. They are:

- Artistic & Creative, all zines containing poetry, short stories, art, comics, photography, etc.
- Music, all zines discussing particular bands or music genres. This was given its own subject heading separate from Artistic & Creative due to the large volume of music-related zines.
- Political & Social, all zines with political themes, such as anarchism and communism, and social themes such as human rights and environmentalism.
- Resources, all instructional zines for topics such as bicycle repair, or travel guides.

In order to facilitate browsing, subheadings were nested under the main classification headings. Forty subheadings were used in total - for example, the "Music" subject heading has subheadings for Alternative, Electronic, Punk, etc. Additional lower-level headings were used to facilitate searching and browsing even further, which included the title and issue number (if applicable, though some zines had no title and so were given the heading "Untitled" at this level).

In response to comments made by patrons, however, the call number system we had previously been using to organise each item was scrapped on the front-end. Patrons were intimidated by the seemingly unnecessary abstraction of subject headings, such as 'Music' to 'M' and the resulting call number attached, e.g. a punk fanzine being M.PNK, and this was proving to be a barrier to entry when someone was not on hand to explain it to them. The decision to demystify the organisational structure by deferring to natural language labelling was a welcome one and we quickly began to see more interest in the contents of the archive as a result. This modest influx brought with it independent suggestions for how better to label or reorganise categories, and this seems to have ultimately led the collection towards a more politically sensitive and user-friendly system.

With regards to the actual cataloguing of these records, we used LibraryThing, chosen for both its intuitive interface and ease of use by non-

information professionals.[18] Zines were catalogued as monographs, due to the majority of the collection not being part of any serial publication. The few that are part of a serial publication often have few or no consecutive issues present in the archive. As mentioned in Stoddart and Kiser, zines' "often erratic publication patterns [. . .] make handling them as a traditional serial problematic".[19]

A metadata tagging system was also employed in LibraryThing for cross-referencing zines with the subsections under which a patron might alternatively search. For example, the zine "King of the Sad People" is catalogued under music. However, various issues also cover prose, sports (football/soccer), counterculture, and do-it-yourself. It is therefore labelled with the appropriate tags and can be successfully searched for with any of the tags employed. Music zines were also tagged with the type of music in the zine, such as "punk" in the case of "King of the Sad People".

The catalogue has a page listing every tag used, so patrons can also remotely browse by topic. These tags use a controlled vocabulary agreed upon by the group, e.g., using "comics" and "feminism" rather than "comic" or "feminist". A total of 324 tags were used, averaging 4 tags per record.

Preservation

"The idea of zine preservation [. . .] is more than a means of conserving memorabilia of an interesting period in the history of popular communication – it is a matter of protecting a cultural form whose very materiality is both its strength and its potential limitation."[20] Due to their ephemeral nature, poor storage, and prior neglect, many of the zines in The Forgotten Zine Archive had been damaged. Zines had been left out in the open, in box files, as a long-term storage solution before our work began. Some of the staples on the older zines were rusting, which was causing many of them to fall apart, while prior neglect had left the paper on other zines stained or covered in dust. As Seomra is a non-commercial space run on a not-for-profit basis, there were minimal funds allocated to preserving the zines, and as its constituent volunteers were so fluid, no one was willing to accept long-term responsibility for the items. The Forgotten Zine Archive needed to be preserved more carefully than it had been, but resources were scarce.

Deciding on a method of preserving each item was a challenging task. As a measure of protection, it was decided to cover each zine in an acid-free, polyester sleeve, suitable for long-term storage. A cardboard backing board was then placed inside each polyester sleeve, to add sturdiness and allow users

[18] http://www.librarything.com

[19] Stoddart and Kiser, op.cit., p. 194.

[20] Anna Leventhal, 'Imperfect Bound: Zines, Materiality, and the question of Preserving Ephemera', Canadian Association for the Study of Book Culture (conference paper). Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1997.

to flick through the collection more easily. The group decided to purchase acid-free, cardboard magazine files from IKEA. The files chosen were 90% recycled, in an effort to uphold the ethos of Seomra Spraoi.

As a temporary measure, each zine had a Post-it note placed on its cover, displaying both the section and subsection it belongs to. The four subject headings would be displayed as A, M, P, and R. These were followed by a full stop and an abbreviation of the zine's subsection (usually of three letters). For example, zines dealing with punk music were labelled "M.PNK", as they come under the subject heading "Music", and the subsection "Punk". To better facilitate the organising and alphabetising of zines within each subsection, zines were also labelled with the first three letters of the zine's title, followed by the zine's issue number or date, if applicable. Post-it notes were chosen because they are removable, low cost, and would not damage the front covers of the zines. Once the entire archive had been catalogued and shelved in order, the group replaced each of the post-it notes with permanent labels, displaying the zine's classification code. These were placed on the top left corner of the polyester covers, to aid quick browsing through the magazine files. As Wooten notes:

> ". . . zines are created by hand, crafted with paper, scissors, tape, glue, staples. They were meant to be handed from person to person, physically shared. The experience of handling zines in person . . . can't be duplicated on-line. You would get the content, but miss out on the physical experience."[21]

The topic of digitising zines is a highly contentious area. Digitisation provides increased access to collections for both academic and casual users. Digital archives can become invaluable repositories for information on specialised subjects, with each zine's potential reach significantly enhanced as a result of digitisation. However, there are ethical concerns which had to be examined before a decision could be made on whether or not to digitise a collection. Certainly the fact that The Forgotten Zine Archive is housed as part of an anarchist collective further complicates the issue, with the needs of the community juxtaposed with those of researchers and future users. Three major issues had to be considered before making a decision to digitise The Forgotten Zine Archive; those of permission, copyright and materiality.

Zines are highly personal items. They are delicately put together, and distributed in small runs. Many zinesters may be against digitisation, as their zines were originally created as items of ephemera, covering topics they would not be comfortable placing online for a worldwide audience.

[21] Wooten, K., *Why we're not digitizing zines*. Duke University Libraries: Digital Collections, 2009. Retrieved August 8th, 2013 from http://blogs.library.duke.edu/digital- collections/2009/09/21/why-were-not-digitizing-zines/

Contacting zinesters to obtain permission to digitise their work can be both a time-consuming and fruitless task. Zines often contain minimal information about their authors, thereby making it extremely difficult to obtain permission to digitise them. There are legal ramifications to digitising zine archives which also must be considered. As Lynm & Stevens note, "since zinesters often flout copyright in the production of their zines, freely copying images and words from published works without acknowledgement, an institution runs the risk of violating copyright."[22] Digitising an item containing material that was used without permission may have legal implications for both the zine archive, and individual zinesters.

Although there has been a drive in recent years towards creating online e-zines, it is apparent that within the zine community, the materiality of physical zines remains vitally important. As per Bartel, "I'll admit to the influence the web has had on zine culture; I'll even embrace it wholeheartedly for all it adds. But I will never accept the notion that electronic zines will replace their material counterparts".[23] The physical aspect of creating zines and sharing them with like-minded individuals helps forge relationships between people. The Forgotten Zine Archive was founded upon the notion of people sharing physical zines; a zine community developed around this idea. Piepmeier acknowledges this, stating "examining these zines, it has become clear to me that their materiality functions not simply as another component of their meaning but also as a means of linking creator and reader, creating a community".[24] Digitising The Forgotten Zine Archive would not reflect the intricate nature of how the zines were created, nor how they help serve the needs of community.

Following discussions with members of the Seomra zine collective, it was apparent that there was uncertainty over whether or not to digitise the collection. As Seomra is based on the principle of collective decision-making, a consensus would have to be reached amongst members before we could proceed with digitisation. Although the debate as to whether or not to digitise the archive has been initiated, collective consensus was not achieved during the limited time-period we had to catalogue the archive, and a compromise was reached in the meantime to scan and upload the covers of each zine to supplement the online catalogue. Facilities and human resources are both limiting factors, however, so work has not yet begun on this compromised solution.

[22] Lymn, J. and Stevens, J., *Zine Collections: an Australian perspective* [Powerpoint slides], 2009. Retrieved 08/08/2013 http://www.slideshare.net/jessielymn/zine-collections-an-australian-perspective

[23] Bartel, op.cit., p.118.

[24] Piepmeier, A., 'Why Zines Matter: Materiality and the Creation of Embodied Community', *American Periodicals: A journal of History, Criticism and Bibliography*, 18(2), (2008) p.229.

Access

For these sorts of niche archives and collections there are two main audience categories to consider: those using the collection for research and those using the collection for leisure (a crossover exists of those who find themselves doing research on something that they would otherwise pursue in their leisure time). A third group was found, consisting of incidental users who happen to find themselves in contact with the collection without prior planning, but given the location of the archive and the nature of many events taking place in Seomra, it is unlikely to see much of this incidental traffic.

Researchers tend to be the audience most catered for, as they are often willing to travel if a collection meets their needs. They are also most likely to find the collections, as many times they are housed in larger collections that a leisure user may not think to look in. For example, within the holdings of the Library at Michigan State University, the zines are housed in Special Collections, in the popular culture collection. Despite all collections being open to the public, it is rare to have a member of the general public take an interest.

The leisure users are not as well documented. The Forgotten Zine Archive is also in a unique situation, in that it is not located within a larger archive, or within a library or archival setting at all, it is located in a social centre. Leisure users may also be using the collection for research, but it is generally not as formal. In this case, the research may be more mining for ideas for what to use in their own zines.

In order to figure out what audience The Forgotten Zine Archive catered for, we conducted a series of community questionnaires, and distributed them (during the summer of 2013) at two key physical locations: the archive itself, and at "Independents Day", an annual event in Dublin showcasing the works of zine creators, independent artists, craftspeople and others engaged in the subculture of do-it-yourself production. We received 36 responses to the questionnaire (12 from Seomra, the remainder completed at Independents Day). The data gathered suggests that our audience is a mixture between the two groups. At least one person stated that they did use the archive specifically for research, but the leisure users appear to be the dominant group. This may also be in part due to the lack of awareness about the archive. Of the surveys distributed in Seomra, 37% of respondents did not know there was a zine archive on the premises, whilst only 50% of the participants from the wider zine community who completed the survey had heard of the archive.

There was initially some confusion within Seomra over where the best location was to house the zines. Complicating this issue further was the open access policy towards the materials. Seomra is a community space with various diverse groups using the centre, at any given time. The zine cabinet was not locked, there was no security in the building, and the zines had not been

catalogued. Items could have easily been taken from the archive without anyone being aware. Whilst Seomra's culture of openness has to be respected, many of the zines in the collection are delicate, and complete open access could negatively affect long term preservation. It was evident that greater protection of the materials would be beneficial to the archive. Following discussions with Seomra it was decided that the archive be moved out of the landing, into a more secluded location in Seomra's meeting room. This offered greater protection for the zines, and enabled the archive to expand and make use of the whole room.

The group's first task was to put the items in order according to our classification scheme. This became increasingly difficult with the varied assortment of boxes. For simplicity and ease of use, the four main sections were placed on the shelves in alphabetical order (Artistic & Creative first, then Music, etc.), and their subsections were also placed in alphabetical order within these. Zines within the appropriate subsection were then ordered alphabetically by the zine's title. The title was chosen over the more standard author's surname, because many zines were anonymous, or zine authors gave only a first name or initials, etc. The title of each zine was the more consistent element by which to order zines. To enable the searching process to be as 'user focused' as possible, each zine subject heading was given a designated colour, with the magazine file boxes then painted that colour to enhance quick searching. Plans are in place to further augment this by placing a similarly coloured sticker on the polyester sleeve of each zine. When the collection had been completely catalogued it was apparent that the shelving system was no longer sufficient should the archive need to expand, and pending donations from members of the public ensured that it would. There were too many zines to be housed in the existing cabinet and it was decided that a new set of shelves be constructed in the meeting room to allow the archive to expand organically A new shelving system was built from recycled materials and installed in Seomra's meeting room. It is much larger than the previous zine cabinet, and plans are already in place to further expand the available shelving for the archives.

Promotion

To promote the archive, a dedicated email address, Twitter account, blog, and Facebook page were created. The inherent user-driven suggestion systems employed by social media outlets meant that the Twitter and Facebook accounts quickly became the most vital of these online resources. The dedicated email account, used to handle direct communication, became unnecessary as interested parties preferred messaging the archive's Facebook page. Similarly, the online blog withered from lack of reader interest and eventual scepticism on our part that its usefulness merited a commitment to

maintaining it. Improving the archive's online visibility proved vital to increasing the number of people who visit the archive, particularly as members of the public were unlikely to discover it during visits to the space.

As our work on the archive developed, we designed, distributed and displayed flyers and posters at book fairs, cultural shows and other zine events. Almost immediately, the archive was contacted with offers to donate large quantities of zines, and requests for information on upcoming workshops and events. Promotion at these kinds of events brought the archive into the minds of potential patrons, and having the online infrastructure in place helps to convert this interest into visits and future growth through donation.

Conclusion

The aim of the project was to formalise and legitimise the importance of zines, and to provide practical examples for the housing of such items in information settings, academic or otherwise. During this process four key issues were identified, which are likely to form the most significant challenges faced by any library or archive attempting to showcase zines. The first is the issue of providing reasonable access in a non-secure, informal setting without running the risk of damage or theft to inherently fragile, rare items. While this issue may not be as apparent in an academic setting, for example, it remains an issue due to the inherently delicate nature of these items. This leads us to the second issue: that of preservation. Preservation of an item designed to be ephemeral is always going to be problematic. As already noted, these items were never intended to be showcased and preserved. To solve this we opted for the relatively inexpensive use of polyester sleeves, acid-free cardboard magazine boxes and backing boards—the same method employed in the storage of vintage comic books. Like comics, zines are not designed with longevity in mind; librarians, therefore, need to redouble their efforts at preservation.

The third issue was cataloguing the materials; in a search for an effective cataloguing method, we had to consider that our user community was different from a community of library patrons, and our catalogue therefore had to be complex enough to handle the array of subjects in our collection while also being "simple" enough for use by people not necessarily conversant with libraries.

Issues of access, cataloguing methods, preservation and target audiences are nothing new to information professionals. However, when dealing with alternative media, the issues take on new meaning especially when intertwined with challenges of non-standard formats and materials, debates over the role of digitisation and the need for culturally appropriate collection management. This leads to the fourth issue; reaching the target audience. The

collective ethos and nature of the zine community is almost one of wilful disorganisation and rebellion, so to try to create an organised collection of these items is challenging, to say the least. But it is vital for our cultural heritage that these challenges are met as we have only begun to understand and appreciate the importance that zines and other ephemeral collections can have. To quote Anderson, "Unless aggressively pursued, librarians would be fortunate to be aware of even 10 percent of the publishers publishing today. The other 90 percent remain obscure."[25] If we disregard zines and their importance simply because they are difficult to categorise and maintain, we risk consigning that "90 percent" to oblivion.

Further resources

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[25] Anderson, 1999.

Abstract
As independent, do-it-yourself (DIY) publications come into contact with more traditional information settings, the lack of a standard method for managing these difficult-to-classify items becomes increasingly evident. The creation of DIY archives and libraries for these undervalued materials, often without the help of a trained information professional, is becoming progressively more common as the loss of old materials is felt. Through the lens of The Forgotten Zine Archive in Seomra Spraoi, Dublin, Ireland, this article explores how DIY publications, such as zines, survive in both formal and informal (and both physical and digital) information settings, with a focus on the politics of digitisation in their DIY world. The project was undertaken by Tom Maher, Joe Peakin, Leigh Ann Hamel, Mick O'Dwyer, Raven Cooke, Laura Mahoney and Gina O'Brien, under the supervision of Eric Cook (University of Michigan) as part of a Masters in Library and Information Studies (MLIS) thesis at University College Dublin.

Brio Volume 51, Number 1. pp 16-22

HANDEL THE TUTOR

Amanda Babington

Early Teaching Career

Handel has not been preserved in the collective memory as having been a great teacher. Unlike many of his contemporaries, such as Pepusch and Geminiani, he did not publish any treatises on musical taste or composition. However, he did teach from as early as 1703, when he arrived – aged eighteen – in Hamburg to take up the post of back desk violin at the Hamburg opera. Here we know he taught Cyril Wich, the son of the British diplomatic representative John Wich.[1] And he could well have taught others, for both Mainwaring and Peter Coxe (both early biographers of Handel) state that Handel had enough 'scholars' to maintain himself without financial assistance from his mother.[2]

Transition to London

Handel was appointed *Kapellmeister* to the Elector of Hanover in June 1710 on the understanding that he was first allowed to fulfil a planned visit to the court of the Elector Palatine at Düsseldorf, and a trip to London where he had his sights set on the Italian opera company at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. His first London opera, *Rinaldo*, was premiered on 24 February 1711, but his music had already found favour not only with the public but also with Queen Anne. The Queen suffered from ill health and had not attended many public events since her husband died in 1708,[3] but in 1711 she did celebrate her birthday. Traditionally the Poet Laureate and the Master of the Queen's Musick would have written a court ode in celebration, but instead the Queen enjoyed a 'Dialogue in Italian . . . set to excellent Musick by the famous Mr. Hendel . . . and sung by the *Cavaliero Nicolini Grimaldi*, and the other Celebrated Voices of the Italian Opera'.[4]

[1] David Hunter, 'Handel's Students, two lovers and a shipwreck', *Early Music* 39/2 (2011), p. 157.
[2] Ibid. John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel*. London, 1760. Peter Coxe, *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith*. London, 1799.
[3] Donald Burrows, *Handel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p.66.
[4] Ibid., quoted in Abel Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, pp. ix, 315.

Handel's ability to infiltrate the royal court was to stand him in good stead. However, in the meantime he had to fulfil his duties to the Elector of Hanover and he left England shortly after the premiere of *Rinaldo*. On his return to Hanover, he began to teach Petronilla Melusine and her sister Margarethe Gertrude, both illegitimate offspring of the Elector. Petronilla was eighteen when she began to receive instruction from Handel and so had probably already had music lessons from Jean-Baptiste Farinel, the *Konzertmeister* at the court of Hanover.[5]

Handel was back in London by October 1712, and must have made prior arrangements to this effect with the opera company, for his second Italian opera, *Il Pastor Fido*, was finished by 24 October and performed in November and December.[6] Further success with a pastiche, *Dorinda*, and another new opera, *Teseo*, established Handel as the chief composer for the opera company, and this may have influenced his decision to stay in London at the end of the opera season, rather than reporting for duties in Hanover as he should have done. However, other forces were also at play during this time. Queen Anne's health was deteriorating and the Elector of Hanover was next in line to the throne, as long as the Jacobites did not manage to alter the state of affairs as they stood. Handel was certainly not instructed to stay by the Elector, for letters from the Hanoverian court's diplomatic resident in London to the Elector show that the Elector was determined to dismiss Handel from his service. However, Handel happened to be friends with the Queen's physician, John Arbuthnot, and, as the diplomatic resident pointed out, he could be made use of in terms of passing information to Hanover regarding the Queen's health and also feeding information about Hanover to the Queen.[7] The house of Hanover was in need of some public relations work at this point, for they had disagreed with Britain's decision to withdraw British military forces from battle in the War of the Spanish Succession (without telling their Hanoverian allies), but they still needed to ensure that the Hanoverian succession to the British throne would take place.

So Handel found himself honourably discharged from the Elector's service and free to pursue his career in London. Ironically, this did not immediately continue to involve opera. But Handel needed to replace his income from Hanover and had already stated his intention to 'enter the Queen's service'.[8] This would take some skill, as foreigners were not allowed to enter into full court employment, and Handel still needed to negotiate a safe path between the two rulers' opposing political views. As usual, however, he was one step

[5] Hunter, 'Handel's Students', p. 157.
[6] Burrows, *Handel*, p. 70.
[7] Ibid., p. 73.
[8] Letter from Kreyenburg, the Hanoverian diplomatic resident in London, to the Elector, 5 June 1713. Burrows, *Handel*, p. 71.

ahead and had already publicly declared his support for the British desire for peace with France by composing an ode[9] to celebrate the Queen's role as peacemaker,[10] and a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*[11] designed to be ready for any thanksgiving service that might take place. His machinations succeeded and on 28 December 1713 Handel was granted a pension of £200 from the Queen.

Royal pupils and other students

Queen Anne died on 1 August 1714 and the new Royal family had all arrived in London by 13 October 1714, including the Prince of Wales's two older daughters, Anne and Amelia. His eldest son, Frederick, was left behind in Hanover to represent the family and his youngest daughter, Caroline, was considered too young to travel at that date.[12] Chapel Royal services attended by the family on the first Sundays after their arrival (the King and the Prince of Wales arrived first on 20 September) included a *Te Deum* by Handel,[13] so it seems that Handel had already found favour at the new court. However, Handel's attentions turned towards opera, and over the next few years the Jacobite cause occupied London's attention. In 1714 Princess Anne was only five years old, and her sister only three, so their musical education with Handel would not begin for some years.

In the meantime, Handel had other pupils. Mattheson claims that Handel taught William Babell (son of the oboist Charles Babell) in around 1712. He is also known to have taught John Christopher Smith Junior (the son of his own amanuensis), the Swedish composer Johan-Helmich Roman (sent to London by the sister of Charles VII of Sweden), and the organists John Camidge and Rowland Davies.[14] In each case, the student had either received or was concurrently receiving musical instruction from another master and this suggests that Handel probably only taught advanced students (with the exception, for obvious reasons, of the royal children). This may of course have had something to do with his temperament. Coxe states that Handel was generally unwilling to 'stoop to the drudgery of teaching composition'[15] (i.e. theory), and various stories exist of him losing his temper - predominantly at singers - the most famous being his threat to drop Cuzzoni out of a window for refusing to sing 'Falsa imagine' in *Ottone*.[16] In another anecdote, Mainwaring reports that when a tenor, Alexander Gordon, took a dislike to Handel's accompaniment of 'Fato tiranno' (*Flavio*) and threatened to jump

[9] *Eternal Source of Light Divine*, HWV 74.
[10] Burrows, *Handel*, p. 71.
[11] The 'Utrecht' *Te Deum* and *Jubilate,* HWV 278 and HWV 279.
[12] Burrows, *Handel*, p. 74.
[13] Probably the short 'Caroline' *Te Deum* in D, HWV 280. Burrows, *Handel*, p. 74.
[14] Hunter, 'Handel's Students', p. 159.
[15] Coxe, *Anecdotes*, p. 40. Hunter, 'Handel's Students', p. 160.
[16] Burrows, *Handel*, p. 115.

on the harpsichord in vengeance, Handel coolly replied 'Let me know when you will do that and I will advertise it: for I am sure more people will come to see you jump than to see you sing.'[17]

Not all of his encounters with singers were quite so problematic, however, and as they were for the most part soloists in his productions, their lessons probably consisted of vocal coaching rather than keyboard method or theory. Susanna Cibber, Cecilia Young (later Arne), Elizabeth Duparc (Francescina), Caterina Galli, Giulia Frasi and Cassandra Frederick are all believed to have studied to some degree with Handel, although Cecilia Young was advertised as a pupil of Geminiani in the *Daily Post* of 4 March, 1730. Finally, two other students who have been identified as pupils of Handel were Charlotte Rich – daughter of John Rich, proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre – and Anna Maria Huggins, whose father was known to Handel through the music club at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand.[18] It was common for young ladies of certain standing to have harpsichord lessons in order to fulfil their social entertaining duties but given Handel's apparent proclivities, it seems probable that the two ladies in question were – perhaps through their circumstances – more advanced than average, as it seems unlikely that even the composer's personal association with their fathers would have overcome his natural irascibility.

Opinion is divided as to whether Handel began teaching King George's granddaughters in 1720 or 1723, but given the frosty relations between the King and the Prince of Wales in the early 1720s the later date may be more likely. In 1719 Handel had been instrumental in setting up an opera company called the Royal Academy of Musick, and their first season took place at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, in 1720-21. The opera company's name was probably chosen to reflect Louis XIV's *Académie Royale de Musique*[19] and as the name suggests, the company saw Royal patronage as vital to their success, realising that the company could not survive on box office receipts alone. Royal approval came in the form of £1,000 for five years but there was still the knotty issue of the estrangement of the King and his son. Approval from one meant disapproval from the other but (luckily for Handel) political diplomacy enabled their reconciliation and both attended the opera on 27 April 1720.[20]

Handel was by this time therefore quite well integrated into the Royal establishment but opera was a dicey business financially, so any form of salary was much sought after. Handel already had his pension from Queen Anne but his role in providing music for the Chapel Royal had not yet been formalised.

[17] Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, footnote to p.110-11. Burrows, *Handel*, p. 115.
[18] Hunter, 'Handel's Students', p. 159.
[19] Burrows, *Handel*, p. 102.
[20] Ibid., p. 109.

True to form, however, it was only a matter of time and on 25 February 1723, Handel was admitted 'into the place and quality of Composer of Musick for his Majesty's Chappel Royal'.[21] The regular Chapel Royal establishment already included two composers, William Croft and John Weldon, and the Master of the King's Music was another, John Eccles. Handel was still not a British citizen and so was outside the regular Chapel Royal establishment and yet he commanded a higher salary, at £200 per annum, than Croft and Weldon, matching that of Eccles. Yet while his ability to ingratiate must be admired, he might have been helped further into favour by the discovery in 1722 of a Jacobite plot to assassinate several members of the Hanoverian family. This led not only to general sympathies towards the Hanoverians, but also a general avoidance of any gatherings that could be construed as papist, which worked against Handel's rival Bononcini.[22]

A document of 9 June 1723 confirms that Handel had definitely been appointed music master by this date. By 1723 the Princesses were under the tutelage of their governess Jane Martha Temple, Lady Portland, and amongst her papers is a list of Princess Anne's daily regimen:

> Order given at their house / Sunday evening 9 June 1723 / Rise at 7; pray till 8; dress and have breakfast; from 8 till 9 go for a walk; read from 9 till 10; from 10-11 read aloud with the *grienault* and discuss what she has read on her own; study from 11 till 12; at noon go to prayers till 1; between 1 and 2 lunch; from 2 till 3 play shuttlecock or walk and discuss rational matters; work from 3 to 4 while the *grienault* reads; from 4 to 5 either practice clavecin or read; after that play music with Handel; at 6.30 go for a walk when the weather is nice.[23]

Handel received a further £200 for teaching the princesses, thus bringing his income from the Royal household to a total of £600. However, it is clear from the support shown to Handel throughout their lives that the princesses liked and admired the composer, and he in turn is believed to have enjoyed teaching them, especially Anne, whom he referred to as the 'flower of all princesses'.[24]

As the eldest, Anne was the first of the princesses to receive instruction from Handel, but by 1727 he was teaching Anne and her sisters Caroline and Amelia.[25] Anne's lessons may have continued for more than ten years, until her marriage in 1734, and she appears to be have been highly proficient at the keyboard, with an account by Burney suggesting that her improvising

[21] Ibid., p. 116.
[22] Ibid., p. 117.
[23] British Library manuscript Egerton 1717, f. 78
[24] Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, *Inleidung tot de Muziekkunde*. Groningen, 1771, p. 172.
[25] Alfred Mann, ed., *Aufzeichnungen zur Kompositionslehre*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978, p. 19.

skills outshone Farinelli's sight-reading ability when she accompanied him in two arias by Handel.[26] After Anne's marriage, Handel continued to teach Caroline, Amelia and Louisa.

We know from accounts such as Burney's that the Princesses were instructed on the keyboard, but Princess Anne was also an accomplished singer and flautist.[27] However, Handel was no ordinary music master and the Princesses' lessons coincided with the publication and popularity of several treatises concerning the learning and understanding of music theory.[28] In fact, it is possible to trace to a large extent the content and scope of Handel's lessons for the Princesses, for there exists in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a collection of autograph manuscripts the didactic nature of whose contents were first identified in 1893 by A.H. Mann and J.A. Fuller-Maitland during their preparation of their *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*.[29] These manuscripts occur in a single volume, *Cfm 260*, and close inspection reveals that the manuscript as it is bound now can be divided into several fascicles according to the apparent purpose of the contents.

The second fascicle of the volume contains 24 studies of bass lines, five of which are unfigured, and these represent Handel's thoroughbass assignments for his students.[30] Over fifteen pages, Handel sets out a cycle of exercises covering all of the elements of bass realisation. The next fascicle is equally neat and contains more didactic compositions, this time fugal studies, on single folios. Spanning twelve pages, each exercise is set out to be completed in four parts and the cues are in German organ tablature, indicating that Handel must have conceived the exercise using the same methods as his teacher, Zachow.[31] A more substantial fugal sketchbook follows on pp. 55-68, but this time the purpose does not appear to have been didactic, for the studies are all four-part fugal expositions, in vocal clefs, and do not contain any of the cues of the earlier fugal exercises. This fascicle therefore appears to show Handel working on his fugal skills, but their methodical exploration of the development of contrapuntal writing suggests that they too were didactic in purpose, in much the same way as Bach's *Art of Fugue*.[32] This did

[26] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 1771. Mann, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 10.
[27] Mann, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 38.
[28] For example, Rameau's *Traité de l'Harmonie* (1722) and Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725). Mann, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 13.
[29] J.A. Fuller-Maitland and A.H. Mann, *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.* London: C.J. Clay, 1893.
[30] Mann, *Kompositionslehre*, p. 22.
[31] Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish, *A catalogue of Handel's musical autographs.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1994, p.12. Association of the fugal sketches with Princess Anne was first suggested by Mann and Fuller-Maitland, *Catalogue*, p. 196.
[32] Mann, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 53.

not however prevent Handel borrowing ideas from them for later works, the most famous being *Messiah*.[33] Finally, there are two surviving sacred arias, each with an identical opening theme, which served as introductions to the application of form and style (hitherto practised only with regard to bass lines) in melodic scenarios.[34]

Princess Anne continued to communicate with Handel even after she was married and it is possible – and rather pleasing to think – that they continued to explore the finer points of counterpoint. Certainly, the evidence from his time as her tutor would suggest that he had a softer side to his personality than sometimes comes across from other areas of his public life.

Abstract
Handel is known to have had pupils from the age of eighteen. Once in London he had to overcome his status as a foreigner and his offending of the future George I to become an establishment figure. His most famous student was Princess Anne and the didactic exercises now bound within manuscript Cfm 260 illustrate exactly how Handel structured the Princess's musical education.

Amanda Babington is a Handel scholar and has just published an article in the Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle ('Musical References in the Jennens-Holdsworth Correspondence (1729-46)'. Her edition of Handel's Dettingen Te Deum and Dettingen Anthem will be published later this year by the Hallische-Handel Ausgabe. She is also a baroque violinist and recorder player.

[33] Sketches on pp.56-8 were reworked for use in the Amen chorus.
[34] Mann, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 38.

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NOT UNTO BYRD: FURTHER EDITIONS OF NON NOBIS DOMINE AND OTHER WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO BYRD PUBLISHED DURING HIS NADIR, 1695-1840; WITH TWO BYRD MISCELLANEA

Richard Turbet

The greatest irony in Byrd reception, since the composer's death in 1623, has been that the work which, above all others, kept his name alive by a thread throughout his nadir was not even composed by him. Although a very few of his pieces survived in the country's cathedral repertory throughout this period,[1] the spurious canon *Non nobis Domine* was copied, published and performed under Byrd's name sufficiently to keep his name before an influential section of the musical public, albeit as little other than a brand representing early or "ancient" music. It was only as recently as 2003 that outstanding musical detective work by David Humphreys confirmed that *Non nobis Domine* had been extracted by a person or persons unknown from *Aspice Domine*, a motet in five parts by Byrd's older contemporary Philip van Wilder.[2]

In my article 'Early printed editions of Byrd: an addendum and a checklist of articles', in the *Annual Byrd newsletter*[3], I provided a list of those articles which describe the few printed editions which kept Byrd's name alive during the period under consideration; the majority of those editions were of *Non nobis Domine*: some separately, others as part of more substantial publications. The present article focuses on publications of *Non nobis Domine* attributed to Byrd during his nadir. First, a recent trawl through catalogues of British and European libraries has revealed a significant cache of no fewer than ten further such publications of *Non nobis Domine*, which I had not noted before. These are listed below. Such relatively rich pickings can be explained by the fact that the most substantial paper listed in the article mentioned above

[1] Richard Turbet, 'Byrd throughout all generations', *Cathedral music* 35 (1992), p.19-24

[2] David Humphreys, 'Wilder's hand?' *Musical Times* 144 (Summer 2003), p. 4. Ibid., 'Subverting the canon', *Musical Times* 146 (Summer 2005), p. 3-4. Ibid., 'Wilder and Byrd: Wilder's *Aspice Domine* a6', *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004), p. 26-28.

[3] *Annual Byrd newsletter,* 10 (2004), p. 16

[4] Richard Turbet, 'The fall and rise of William Byrd, 1623-1901', in *Sundry sorts of music books: essays on the British Library collections, presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th birthday*. London: British Library, 1993, pp. 119-124.

focused only on material in the British Library.[4] I have only included those editions which give Byrd's name as composer or as part of the title; anonymous editions of *Non nobis Domine* or those attributed to composers other than Byrd are irrelevant, though the latter would be interesting in a different context. Secondly, the earliest author decisively to reject the attribution of this piece to Byrd was Philip Brett, in his article "Did Byrd write 'Non nobis, Domine'?';[5] in the present article I provide material supplementary to what Brett wrote over forty years ago. In conclusion I discuss briefly why *Non nobis Domine* almost alone enabled Byrd's music to survive during this period when, although there were patches of knowledge and appreciation among some professional and amateur musicians, by and large it seems to have been met with indifference, incomprehension and indeed ignorance.

Before proceeding to focus on *Non nobis Domine* it is appropriate to note the only other compositions attributed to Byrd which came to light during the trawl mentioned above and emerged as having been published during the period in question, though not as separate items. First, another spurious canon that clung to Byrd like a limpet during this time was *Hey ho! to the greenwood now*, and this was issued simply as *Canon* with a glee by Samuel Webbe *Thy voice O Harmony* (London: S. Chappell, ca. 1832) derived from Webbe's *Convito armonico*,[6] later editions of which were published by Samuel Chappell. More intriguingly a setting of *Arise O Lord why sleepest thou* attributed to Byrd was anthologised in *The cathedral magazine or Divine harmony. being [sic] a collection of the most valuable & useful anthems in score, several of which are selected, from the works of the most eminent authors, both antient and modern. The whole selected, and carefully revised, by able masters.* 3v. (London: French: [1775-78]), on pages 109-16 of volume 1. Entitled "Full anthem for three voices composed by William Bird", it is a contrafactum in four parts of Byrd's motet *Exsurge Domine* a5 from his second *Cantiones sacrae* of 1591. The medius part is omitted, and the able master uses the same text as Byrd's anthem *Arise O Lord* with much repetition as far as "misery and trouble"; after that it repeats "Arise O Lord". In the copy held by the British Library at E.400, the word "three" in the title is struck through and altered to "4" in manuscript.

Since beginning to compile this article, two of the people who have kindly given me assistance with it have also provided a couple of brief but unrelated pieces of information about Byrd which do not fit into the narrative of this particular article, but which should usefully be in the public domain. I have therefore included them as short addenda to the main text.

[5] *Musical Times* 113 (1972): p. 855-57.
[6] Turbet, 'Fall', p. 122.

Further publications of *Non nobis Domine* attributed to Byrd between 1695 and 1840

Observations on composition, with plain, easy, and familiar rules to learn that art by numbers; to which is added the manner of composing the celebrated canon of Non nobis Domine . . . by Mr William Bird . . . Westminster: Mr Oates, [1770?]
Note: Possibly by 'Mr Oates', named as publisher.

A select collection of songs from the works of Handel, to which are added, the favourite glee, Wind, gentle evergreen, and Bird's canon, Non nobis Domine. The whole adapted for two violoncellos. London: Printed and Sold by J. Fentum, [between ca. 1770 and 1781]
Note: Adapted by James Blundell.

Billington, Thomas. *The Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat & Nunc dimittis set to music for three voices, with instructions to the performers opera XI*. London: Printed for the Author, [1784]
Note: Includes *Non nobis Domine,* Latin version "By Bird" on page 18; English version, unattributed, on page 19, facing. Although this article focuses on *Non nobis Domine* attributed to Byrd as separate published editions, some licence has been taken in listing the present item, regarding its inclusion of *Non nobis Domine* attributed to Byrd as an aspect of the 'instructions to the performers' mentioned on the title-page.

The celebrated canon Non nobis Domine. Adapted as a fugue with the preceding introduction. For two violins, tenor, and a bass. Calculated for a large band, or may be played as a quartetto. Composed by Joseph Diettenhofer. London: Sold by T. Skillern . . . at W. Forster's . . . and all the Music Shops, [between 1786 and 1802]
Note: 4 parts: primo violino, second violino, alto viola and basso. The words "canon a 3 voci diverse in Hypodiatessaron and Hypodiapason by Mr William Bird" (wording from Mattheson: see below) appear on page 3 of the second violino , alto viola and basso parts, and on page 4 of the primo violino part.

Non nobis Domine: a canon by Byrd. London: Cahusac & Sons, [between ca. 1794 and 1798]

The celebrated canon Non nobis Domine, adapted as a fugue for four voices, as treble, counter tenor, tenor, & bass with two violins, a tenor and a bass for the accompaniments & an introduction. Composed & calculated for a grand orchestra by Joseph Diettenhofer, in the year 1795. The original canon is in

three parts in the fourth & the octave below. By Mr. William Bird. London: Printed for the Author, [1795?]

The celebrated canon Non nobis Domine, adapted as a fugue for the organ, with alterations, additions, corrections, & an introduction, being the third impression. London: Printed for the Author & Sold by Preston & Son . . . & T. Skillern, [not before ca. 1803]
Note: Adapted by Joseph Diettenhofer. 'Third impression' might imply a third different adaptation by Diettenhofer of the 'canon': no earlier impressions of the adaptation for organ seem to survive, but two previous adaptations for "grand orchestra" (1795?) and for "large band, or … a quartetto" (between 1786 and 1802) are listed above. On the tenth and final page of the third impression, the canon is printed in full with the heading "Canon in the 4th. and 8th. below, by Wm. Byrd, Composer and music Master to Henry the eighth King of Great Britain. the [sic] excellence of its melody and harmony has ever been, and always will be admired."

Canon W. Bird . . . London: I. Page, 1804.

Non nobis Domine: a canon by Byrd. London: Cobb & Watlen, [ca. 1805]

Non nobis, Domine composed by W. Bird, 1590. Liverpool: Hime & Son, [ca. 1810?]

Material supplementary to Brett's article of 1972
Philip Brett's seminal article, cited above in the second paragraph, on *Non nobis Domine* was published over four decades ago. On page 857 he notes that the piece seems first to appear in a manuscript source "copied . . . sometime around 1620", then in various sources, always anonymously, until it appears with an ascription to Morley in a manuscript source dated 1715. Brett goes on, 'the ascription to Byrd first occurs in Pepusch's *Treatise on harmony* (1730, p.83). It is repeated in the enlarged edition (1731, p.86) . . . Pepusch's view eventually prevailed, and the canon began to circulate with Byrd's name attached not only at home, but also abroad owing to its inclusion in Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739, p.409).' Brett notes where the first ascription appeared, but is not specific about the first appearance of the piece itself with an ascription to Byrd. In fact the musical text of the canon was not included in the first edition of Pepusch's *Treatise*.[7] In the enlarged edition the ascription to Byrd is now on page 86,

[7] John Christopher Pepusch, *A short treatise on harmony. Containing the chief rules for composing in two, three, and four parts*. London: Watts, 1730. The second edition, alter'd, enlarg'd, and illustrated by examples in notes. London: Pearson, 1731.Note: said to have been written by James Hamilton, 7th earl of Abercorn, based on the teaching of Pepusch.

and the music is provided on page 215 as example 172 "Composed by Mr. William Bird." This is the first appearance in print of the canon itself with the ascription to Byrd.[8] Mattheson's ascription to Byrd of *Non nobis Domine* is, as Brett implies, the first such ascription overseas. Mattheson also reproduces the canon.[9] The initial ascription appears on page 409 in paragraph 36, and the canon itself headed "Canon a 3 Voci diverse, in Hypodiatessaron & Hypodiapason" appears in paragraph 37.

Why *Non nobis Domine*?

This list of publications confirms further that, alongside the few items mentioned above and in the article cited in footnote 1, it was *Non nobis Domine* that was the life support machine allowing Byrd's name to show at least some flickers of life while nearly his entire substantial oeuvre was being ignored during the long eighteenth century, defined here as 1695-1840. Contemporaries could be exonerated for not realising that it was spurious. For reasons still unknown, a reputable musician of the time and, better still from a British point of view, a German one, Pepusch, had attributed it to Byrd, and this attribution generally stuck. So why this piece? There are political reasons why this text would have been popular during this period, and in another fine piece of research following on from his letter, both cited in footnote 2, David Humphreys traces how a psalm which was once the preserve of recusant Roman Catholics during the sixteenth century in England seems to have been adopted by Protestants of the Established Church during the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, in order to show the sort of staying power exhibited by *Non nobis Domine* the music itself must have possessed some magnetic quality. A particularly eloquent expression of the contemporary esteem in which *Non nobis Domine* was held appears in the seventh of the 'Further publications' listed above. The text accompanying the printing of the canon on the final page of the publication, reproduced in the relevant "Note", contains the prophetic observation that "the excellence of its melody and harmony has ever been, and always will be admired." Even today, anyone who has ever sung the piece will have relished doing so. It combines a diatonic opening

[8] The first edition has no appendix of music examples, just four pages of plates following the last page of the text (page 84). Plate 1 consists of a table of cadences in various keys, with the correct part-writing indicated by 2 or 3 rows of note names:
D
CCBC etc.
GC
Plate 2 is a table of triads on the (ascending) 8 degrees of the scale and in the 7 "natural" keys.
Plate 3 is effectively plate 2 in reverse (i.e. descending).
Plate 4 is intended to illustrate and aid the process of transposition and is described in chapter 9.

[9] Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister, das ist grundliche Anzeige aller derjenigen Sachen, die einer wissen, konnen und wollkommen inne haben muss, der eine Capelle mit Ehren und Nutzen vorstehen will: sum Versuch entvorffen von Mattheson*. Hamburg: Herold, 1739.

with wider ranging subsequent melody. As I have said elsewhere, it is my opinion that at this time Byrd's name was merely a brand for ancient music: if musicians of the time wished to dignify an anonymous piece with the name of a specific composer to designate it as early or old or ancient, their composer of choice was Byrd. His name became attached to other pieces, often ludicrously so in hindsight, such as *I have loved the jolly tankard*. Byrd meant ancient. *Non nobis Domine* was frequently sung as a grace, and it would add gravitas to such a moment to be singing ancient music by an ancient, if now largely overlooked, composer. It sounds convincingly Renaissance; indeed, there is an exquisite dissonance at the very point where the leading voice begins to repeat the canon, on the word 'Non', which exudes Renaissanceness. So these, in a nutshell, are what I suggest are the reasons for *Non nobis Domine* becoming the main single work to have kept Byrd's name alive during his nadir: the political circumstances outlined by David Humphreys; Byrd's name as a brand indicating "ancient"; the innate attractiveness of the canon itself, hailed during Byrd's nadir; and its sounding ancient and "Renaissance" in a way to dignify moments such as the singing of grace. These two latter qualities have also no doubt been the cause of its incorporation, not always under Byrd's name, into compositions by the likes of Mudge, Kempson, Oswald and Wassenaer.[10] It remains to observe that even when the piece is scheduled for performance today it is still in the majority of cases labelled as a work by Byrd.

Addendum I: Byrd and S.S. Wesley

Peter Horton, the authority on the life and work of Samuel Sebastian Wesley,[11] has provided considerable assistance with the compilation of this article. He has informed me that so far his researches have revealed that while Wesley was the organist and master of the choristers at Exeter Cathedral (1835-42) the contrafacta *O Lord turn thy wrath away* and *Bow down thine ear* (the two sections of Byrd's motet *Ne irascaris / Civitas sancti tui* from his first book of *Cantiones sacrae* 1589) plus the morning and evening canticles of his *Short Service* were performed.[12] While Wesley was in the same post at Leeds Parish Church (1842-49) *Bow down thine ear* was sung. No pieces of vocal music

[10] The canon is not attributed to Byrd in the compositions by Mudge and Wassenaer, the two best known works, but in those by Oswald and Kempson the canon is attributed respectively to Byrd and to W. Bird, and both pieces are reproduced in Richard Turbet, 'Two early printed attributions to Byrd in the Wighton Collection, Dundee', *Annual Byrd newsletter* 8 (2002), p. 10-13; it should be stressed that the piece by Kempson is an addendum and is not from the Wighton Collection, being from James Kempson's *Eight anthems in score for three and four voices*, Birmingham: Engraved and printed for the Author, [ca. 1780], and published separately in a modern edition as *Anthem from Psalm CXV*, Wyton: King's Music, 2002.

[11] Peter Horton, *Samuel Sebastian Wesley: a life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

[12] Both anthems plus the morning and evening canticles (only the Te Deum and the Benedictus in the case of the former) from Byrd's *Short Service* are in William Boyce's anthology *Cathedral music, being a collection in score of the most valuable and useful compositions for that service by the several English masters of the last two hundred years*, London: Boyce, 1760-73, 3v. These volumes provided much of the Anglican choral repertory during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

by Byrd have so far been brought to light as having been performed during Wesley's tenures as organist elsewhere. Peter Horton has already noted in print that as part of the "Syllabus and music illustrations for Wesley's lectures on church music at the Liverpool Collegiate Institution, 12 March-12 April 1844," Lecture 4 was 'Reign of Mary – Byrd – Palestrina - Re-establishment of Protestantism - The injunctions of Queen Elizabeth - Metrical Psalmody - Gibbons' and included as an illustration Byrd's *Laetentur caeli* also from the first *Cantiones*.[13] The association of S.S. Wesley with the music of Byrd is significant because his father Samuel was actively trying to publish parts of the *Gradualia* within the period that is the focus of this article, but sufficient finance was not forthcoming.[14]

With regards to another of Byrd's *Cantiones* from the first book, it is interesting in the history of Byrd reception that a volume (albeit published just outside the period under scrutiny in this article) entitled *Anthems and Services*, *for three, four, and five voices, with an accompaniment for the organ or pianoforte, selected chiefly from the works of standard composers. 1st series*, London: Cocks, [between 1845 and 1898] contains a pair of pieces by the composer listed as "I beheld and lo" and "Blessing and glory and wisdom", which turn out to be the two sections of *O quam gloriosum* which, like *Laetentur caeli* mentioned above, is not revived in any form before the twentieth century, apart from the instances noted here.

Addendum II: The Byrd and Dow families: a possible connection

In footnote 7 on page 82 of his book *The world of William Byrd*[15] John Harley wrote that Mary, the daughter of Byrd's brother Symond, married a man named Farrant.[16] A Mary Byrd married John Farrant of the Close, Salisbury, on 8 April 1589.[17] Subsequent research has led to Mr Harley finding that in 1607 a musical instructor named John Farrant was appointed at Christ's Hospital.[18] Part of his salary was paid by Robert Dow. That must have been the elder Robert Dow, who lived until 1612; his son who compiled the music

[13] Horton, op. cit., p. 329.

[14] Philip Olleson, "'William Byrde's excellent antiphone[s]': Samuel Wesley's projected edition of selections from *Gradualia*', *Annual Byrd newsletter* 9 (2003), p.7-9.

[15] John Harley, *The world of William Byrd: musicians, merchants and magnates*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

[16] See 'The will of John Byrd, the composer's brother', in John Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*. Aldershot: Scolar, 1997 (rev. reprinted 1999), pp. 386-89, especially p.387.

[17] Watkins Shaw, *The succession of organists, of the Chapel Royal and the cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538, also of the organists of the collegiate churches of Westminster and Windsor, certain academic choral foundations, and the cathedrals of Armagh and Dublin*. Oxford studies in British church music. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991, p. 260.

[18] Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan music and musical criticism*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974, p.15.

book died in 1588.[19] Christ's Hospital school was founded in 1561 by members of the Merchant Taylors' Company, to which the elder Dow belonged; he was also a member of the Spanish Company, together with John Byrd and Philip Smyth, William Byrd's brother-in-law.[20] Nevertheless John Harley notes that the identification as one person of Symond Byrd's son-in-law and the John Farrant of Salisbury and Christ's Hospital "is not secure".

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I am profoundly grateful to Peter Horton (Deputy Librarian, Royal College of Music) for so much help with this article that he might even recognise some phrases of his own in the course of the narrative. Not for the first time I have benefited from the scrupulous assistance of Sandra Tuppen (British Library). It is a pleasure also to thank Helen Fisher (Archivist, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham) for a timeous and precise response. Thanks are due also to Margaret Jones and Anna Pensaert (respectively Senior Assistant Librarian and Head of Music Collections, Cambridge University Library). And finally I thank my friend John Harley, Byrd scholar and author, for permission and indeed encouragement to bring his findings about a possible link between the Byrd and Dow families into the public domain, besides his help in identifying an elusive and well-disguised piece by Byrd.

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[19] David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music Mss 984-8: an index and commentary', *Royal Musical Association research chronicle* 20 (1986-7), p.1-18; *The Dow partbooks: Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 984-988*. Oxford: DIAMM Facsimiles, 2010.
[20] Harley, *World*, p.99.

Brio Volume 51, Number 1. pp 31-47

A BEGINNER'S GUIDE TO DATING PRINTED MUSIC

Catherine Small

Dating printed music is considered a central problem of bibliographical research in music librarianship concerning the music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This article is based on a case study that aimed to provide supportive information to guide librarians in their search for a publishing date, to help to create more accurate catalogue records. Characteristics within the music scores were looked at to see if they could help to date these editions.

Importance of Dating Music

Dating printed music is important as it helps to establish the composer's original text, which may be sought by editors for the purpose of republication, by performers who are committed to following the composer's original intentions, and by musicologists for stylistic analysis. If dates are established then the different versions can be arranged chronologically to ascertain the importance of the various editions, and studied in relation to the output of a particular printer or publisher.[1] Catalogue dates are useful for scholars in the future who are studying particular scores, or if the shelfmarks use dates as part of the call number. Lenneberg also argues that the point of trying to date these editions is to enable librarians to purchase first editions of engraved music, assuring their authenticity.[2]

Copyright dates are now commonplace in music scores and this provides protection in law, but actual dates of publication are rare in printed music. The Copyright Act was established in Britain in 1911 and before this year it was very unusual for printed music to carry a date. However, copyright dates can sometimes be misleading, as they can be from an earlier issue and the edition in hand may be of a later date.

Materials which exist to aid librarians include Krummel's *Guide for dating early published music: a manual of bibliographical practices*[3] and Deutsch's *Music publishers' numbers*;[4] however, these are now out of print and may be

[1] R.P. Smiraglia, *Music Cataloguing: The Bibliographic Control of Printed and Recorded Music in Libraries*. Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1989.

[2] H. Lenneberg, 'Dating Engraved Music: the present state of the art', *The Library Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 2, (April 1971), p.128-140.

[3] D.W. Krummel, *Guide for Dating Early Published Music: a manual of bibliographical practices*. International Association of Music Libraries, Commission for Bibliographic Research. London: Barenreiter, 1974.

[4] O.E. Deutsch, *Music Publishers' Numbers: a selection of 40 dated lists 1710-1900*. London: Aslib, 1946.

difficult for cataloguers to access. There is no single publication that librarians can go to in order to search for a date of an edition, which means they have to search through a number of publications to gather evidence. Many library cataloguers do not have the available time to search for the tools needed and then investigate thoroughly to find a date for each undated score.

Most resources available that do discuss how to date music cover the period up to 1800, but as Ledsham states there has been very little attention given to nineteenth-century output, leaving a gap in the research on dating music scores.[5] Many of these materials do not necessarily explain how to solve the problems, and most point the reader to other sources. The information in some core texts, such as *Music publishing in the British Isles,*[6] has now been superseded by more recent research, and the published lists of plate numbers are not complete.

The British Library Catalogue of Printed Music has a title description and, in many cases, a year of publication. Since the British Library is a deposit library, even undated publications have a stamp of the date of deposit; this date should provide the terminus ante quem for publication. However, not every publisher deposited their music in the library, and some publishers deposited in bulk by sending a huge amount at once, so some editions cannot be dated accurately from their date of deposit.[7] The British Library catalogue entries do not provide enough information in the description to clarify if the copy in hand is the same edition or issue as their copy.

Criteria used for dating music scores

Ledsham noted that when searching for a date on the physical music scores there are several places to check.[8] Not only the title page and title page verso, but also the foot of the first page of music and the back cover, which may carry a printing date. A date on the back cover will often only be in the form of month/year, or occasionally it will appear as the last two digits of the year. However the printing date might not be the same as the publishing date. Publishers also sometimes 'blind-stamped' their copies; the stamp may be dated and would usually be located in the corner of the front cover or title page, and this can indicate a latest date of publication. Cazeaux notes that rare books and music need the inclusion of every element of the title page to help differentiate between different editions, and this could also help to

[5] Ian Ledsham, 'Dating Nineteenth-century music: a working guide for librarians', *Brio*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1994), p. 17-39.

[6] Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the beginning until the middle of the nineteenth century: a dictionary of engravers, printers, publishers and music sellers, with a historical introduction*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.

[7] O.W. Neighbour and Alan Tyson, *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers in the first half of the nineteenth century*. London: Faber and Faber, 1965.

[8] Ledsham, op. cit.

ascribe a date to the publication.[9] Apparently identical editions might also be distinguished from each other by measuring the cover, and the dimensions of the printed area of the music, as there can be a variance in the dimensions.[10]

Krummel described further methods that can be used, including looking at plate numbers, advertisements and the composer's date of composition. The stamp of a dealer that can be dated will indicate the latest possible date of the edition; other indicators may be a printed price (and any changes in it), the style of the music, and dates from other library catalogues, provided that it can be established that it is the same item.[11]

Advertisements and Announcements

Meyer points out that publisher's advertisements within the music scores can be important when trying to date editions, as an advertised score with a known publication date will indicate a possible date, especially if the advertisement states 'just published' or similar wording.[12] Some publishers announced their new editions in contemporary journals or musical periodicals, which should give an accurate date. The most useful resource for publications from German-speaking countries is Hofmeister's *Monatsberichte,* which includes over 330,000 records from the period 1829 to 1900.[13] However, in advertisements on music publications themselves, new titles were often listed as a group, and the editions that were announced were sometimes delayed at the printing stage. The announcements in journals tended to be repeated a few times and sometimes years later, so for the purpose of dating an edition the earliest advertisement has to be found.

Occasionally another publication or different works by the same composer appear on the title-page of an edition, or a supplementary catalogue may be included. This can be useful for dating the editions cited and the music in hand, when one or the other is identified. Sometimes the supplementary catalogues may vary between different printings of the same edition.

Publisher Addresses and Names

Kidson notes that in order to try to establish a date of a piece of music the history of the publishing businesses must be researched, as well as any partnerships or change of address and when these took place. If a publisher worked with agents to sell and distribute their music, their addresses at the

[9] I. Cazeaux, '*Classification and Cataloging'* in: Bradley, C. J. (ed.) *Manual of Music Librarianship*. New York: Music Library Association, 1966, p.30-57.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Krummel, op.cit. Many scores are now digitised as part of the International Music Score Library Project (http://imslp.org/wiki/Main_Page) and this database sometimes includes date information.

[12] K. Meyer, 'Early Breitkopf & Härtel Thematic Catalogues of Manuscript Music', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1944), p. 163-173.

[13] http://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/about/project.html

time of collaboration might also indicate the date of publication of a particular score. If there is no publisher's name present then the quality of the paper or engraving, and any dated signature of a previous owner could help in the search.[14]

Title-pages

Ledsham states that title-pages from the earlier period of the nineteenth century usually have a simpler layout, less variety of type-faces and few decorative elements.[15] In the middle of the nineteenth century there is a greater variety of different type-faces used on title-pages and there is an appearance of decorative borders that are mainly simple with a floral or leafy design. Novelty type-faces appear in the 1850s and 1860s and after this period there is a decrease in the number of type-faces used, the size and letters of complexity increase and borders become increasingly ornate. Ledsham also suggested that pictorial covers, not those with borders, appear to be more common between 1820 and 1870.

Krummel notes that the title statement can also provide significant evidence, such as how much importance is given to the name of the composer, and the specific titles and adjectives used to refer to them, such as 'celebrated', 'late', or 'Master of Music to'. Around 1800, Italian forms of name tended to be used on title-pages in Germany, until the recurrence of German forms around 1815. Krummel also points out that the design and calligraphy used on title-pages has not been studied extensively and comments that through the years caption titles have become more detailed.[16]

Composition details

Arrangements of works belonging to major composers can be given an earliest date based upon the known date of composition or publication, many of which can be found in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*. The date of the work's first performance is often close to the date of the first publication of a piece, and if the particular edition is related to a certain performance, especially in the case of opera, then performers are often named, which can help to date the music. The dedication of a work can help with dating as facts about the recipient such as their career, form of name, exact title and their relationship with the composer can all be useful.

[14] F. Kidson, *British music publishers, printers and engravers: London, Provincial, Scottish and Irish: from Queen Elizabeth's reign to George the Fourth's: with select bibliographical lists of musical works printed and published within that period*. London: W. E. Hill, 1900.

[15] Ledsham, op. cit.

[16] Krummel, op. cit.

Other identification tools

Copyright dates tend to be the date of first publication but sometimes this is not the case, and the work was published after the copyright date. Postal districts were introduced during the nineteenth century and this may be a useful tool for any London publishing companies when dating music scores. Royal or official privileges usually cover works of a certain kind, and generally the declaration gives some kind of date. Stamps of dealers can also give an idea of when the music was published, as well as paste-over stamps used by publishers who succeeded the publisher named on the original imprint. Prices and currency can aid in identification of a date; for example, German music before 1837/38 was priced in Groschen and after this period it was priced in Neugroschen.[17] Changes in price could occur due to rising costs, inflation, greater or lesser demand for an edition, or with new issues of the same edition.[18]

Printing Methods

Poole noted that there is very little in terms of reliable documentary and iconographical sources within the area of the history of printing, and they are especially elusive where music is concerned. Examples of areas that are particularly problematic are typography, engraved music and the process of lithography.[19]

There are four main printing processes that have been used for music; moveable type and printing from wood or metal blocks, engraving and lithography. With moveable type and woodblock printing, the image that will be printed is raised above the surface; with engraving the image is impressed into the surface of the paper, and with lithography the image is drawn onto the surface and is therefore on the same plane as the non-image areas.[20]

Wood or metal block printing produced staves that were quite uneven and disjointed, and was mainly for short musical examples in instruction or theory books. It was not a common method used for music printing after about 1600. The process of engraving was not used for music until late in the sixteenth century, but it remained the predominant method for music printing until the late nineteenth century. It was originally referred to as 'pure' engraving as a graver was used to cut straight onto the metal. Around 1,730 punches were invented for stamping note heads, clefs and accidentals directly onto the plate

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] H. E. Poole, 'A Day at a Music Publishers: A Description of the Establishment of D'Almaine & Co.' Reprinted with an introduction, notes and commentary, from the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, no. 14, 1979/80.

[20] Full descriptions of the music engraving processes can be found in Ted Ross, *The Art of Music Engraving and Processing: a complete manual, reference and text book on preparing music for reproduction and print*. London: Hansen Books, 1970.

which quickened the process and therefore made it a cheaper method to use.[21] Originally copper was used but this was replaced by pewter as it is a softer material and therefore easier to work with.[22] These plates were sometimes re-used by another publisher, so that what appears to be a new publication may be a reprint of an older edition. The only difference that might appear on an engraved plate is a publisher's address or a change of the company name which could give a clue to when that particular edition was published.[23] If the publisher used engraved plates, an impression of the edges of the plate would usually be left on the paper forming a border around the music, which would normally indicate a publication date before 1850.

Sometimes there is evidence that a plate has been well-used, such as blurring or stave lines being broken in certain places, and by comparing editions similarities become apparent. Krummel and Sadie however point out that faults may not always suggest worn plates; they could also point to human error, existing cracks in the blank plate, or problems at any point of the printing run.[24]

Lithography was invented in 1796 by Alois Senefelder, but the engraving method of printing was still predominantly used, as although lithography was a simple method it did not produce the best results. When lithography was later combined with other chemical and photochemical processes it became a more popular method and led to larger editions being printed than before.[25] It was a cheaper method of printing, as the daily output of sheets was higher than that of engraving, the printed sheets dried more quickly, and less ink was needed. However publishers regarded engraved plates as an investment which could be stored and reused for subsequent editions, whereas the lithography stones needed preparation for printing and reprinting, and were more difficult to store due to their size and weight.[26] In the early 1800s the publishers Schott and Breitkopf & Härtel started to use lithography as part of their production, and in 1808 Ricordi followed suit.[27]

Lithography was well suited to music printing as it enabled words to be combined with music in different ways, as it allowed them to be handwritten onto the stone which sped up the process. By the late nineteenth century lithographic stone was replaced with zinc and aluminium plates that could be used in conjunction with the rotary power press and this increased the speed of

[21] Ross, op. cit., p.13

[22] R. Hill, *Music Printing and Publishing: the translation from movable type to copper- and pewter-plate engraving*. Thesis for the degree of M. Litt in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1978.

[23] Lenneberg, op. cit.

[24] D.W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Handbooks In Music: Music Printing and Publishing*. London: Macmillan, 1990.

[25] Meyer, op. cit.

[26] Michael Twyman, *Early Lithographed Music: a study based on the H. Baron Collection*. London: Farrand Press, 1996.

[27] A. Hyatt King, *Four Hundred Years of Music Printing*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1968.

production. The first British music publishing company to use this process in a large way was Augener and Co in 1853, when the firm was established.[28] Evidence from D'Almaine's publisher's plate numbers suggest that the firm were printing using lithography in the 1830s, but this was mostly used for the covers, usually printed in black.[29]

Each of these printing methods has enjoyed a period of prominence, but over long periods they were used side by side, each excelling at different elements. An example of this is the German firm Breitkopf & Härtel, who used three methods simultaneously during the nineteenth century. Only in about 1960 were these original methods replaced by "computerized production of visual text from which photographic plates are prepared".[30]

Paper and Watermarks

Watermarks were used to identify the maker of the paper, for security if needed and as an opportunity for companies to display their name or trade mark.[31] Watermarks vary from time to time which can assist in determining a broad date for the paper that the music is printed on.[32] However, most machine-made paper is not watermarked, and is incredibly difficult to date without laboratory facilities that would damage the item, and be impracticable in everyday music librarianship.[33] Watermarks are not always particularly helpful when dating printed music, as they give the date of the paper's manufacture, not the date of the publication, and sometimes paper was used for publications years apart.[34] However, they can provide a terminus post quem date for the object in hand.

Plate and Publisher Numbers

Publisher numbers are not used in printed books, but are unique to music, and according to Otto Erich Deutsch they are sometimes the only means by which to date it. However, only a few music publishers included these numbers in their catalogues during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Twyman notes the distinction between plate numbers and publishers' numbers; plate numbers were used by the publishers to identify the series of engraved plates of a publication, and were normally situated at the foot of each page. Publishers' numbers were used to identify a whole work in a specific form and edition and usually appeared on its title-page. [35] Plate numbers are a very important tool to help date music as they are a common feature of

[28] Humphries and Smith, op. cit.
[29] Poole, op. cit.
[30] Krummel and Sadie, op. cit., p.3
[31] C. Cohen, *Watermarks: a brief history and survey of the techniques*. South Croydon: William Sommerville & Son, 1973.
[32] R.L. Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488-1988: A Short History*. London: Athlone Press, 1988.
[33] Twyman, op. cit.
[34] Neighbour and Tyson, op. cit.
[35] Twyman, op.cit.

editions. As these numbers were usually used sequentially, and some dates are known for certain editions, it has been possible for Neighbour and Tyson to develop a rough chronological order for the plate numbers of individual publishers.[36] In Europe plate numbers had been adopted as general practice around 1790, but it was not until 1820 that they became generally used in England, and even then some firms such as Boosey did not adopt them until after 1850. For some publishing firms plate numbers have failed to be useful in dating music, such as with the firm Longman & Broderip.

A possible problem with using plate numbers to establish a date is that they were allocated at an early stage of the process, as a device for publishers to keep their stock in order, and sometimes production of a work could be affected which could cause a delay in publication. This could mean that the date may not follow the actual output of a publisher. Other publishers sometimes set aside a batch of numbers for a particular composer and therefore the numbers could be separated by a few years; this was the practice at Wessel & Co. If there is no impression of the plate on the paper, the copy may not have been printed directly from the plates themselves, and is therefore unlikely to have been printed before the late 1840s.

Another difficulty with plate numbers is that they did not need to be unique, as long as they were unique to the particular publisher, and works bearing a single plate number may vary in date by several decades. Krummel points out that it is not uncommon for the same plate number to appear on two completely different editions from the same publisher; he suggests this may be due to the number being used as a location device within the publisher's store, and was therefore the same as an older set of plates kept in the same area.[37] He also makes it clear that the reliability of a plate number for dating purposes depends on the number of adjacent numbers that have been dated. The reliability of a plate number also depends on which publisher is being studied, as German numbers, except in Schott's case, are deemed very useful whereas French ones are less so. Lenneberg argues that plate numbers should be available on library catalogues as it helps to date and codify the edition.[38]

The British Library hold the print stock records for Novello dating from 1858 and they show that this publisher did not use their plate numbers in strict sequential order, suggesting that the records log when the items were ready to be published. They used one plate number for the same piece issued in different formats; an example is A. C. Mackenzie's *Six pieces for violin* which first appeared in 1888 with the plate number 7604, then again in 1889 as an arrangement of the fourth movement for pianoforte, and in the same year as an arrangement for violoncello. It appeared again in 1896, the fifth movement

[36] Neighbour and Tyson, op. cit.
[37] Krummel, op. cit.
[38] Lenneberg, op. cit.

again separately in 1912 and the sixth movement separately in 1915, all with the same plate number. Some plate numbers appeared to be used for a specific composer, and others used for a series, such as Novello two part songs/duets (5398) which appeared in 1876, 1891, 1900, 1902 and 1913. Overall Novello's plate numbers cannot be relied upon to give an accurate date; to ensure that the plate numbers are correct, the stock books would need to be transcribed and made available to enable librarians to check for multiple entries of the same number.

Methodology

For the case study undertaken a template was created to record the different elements that could help to determine a date. The template was tested by applying it to a small sample of scores to ensure that the key elements were covered. The collection process was conducted over three days at Newcastle City Library and Newcastle University Library. The sample, which consisted of 42 printed music items, concentrated on vocal scores, as this represented the main bulk of the undated music collection of the two libraries. Some full scores and piano scores were included where possible. The publishers included were Novello, Boosey & Co., Breitkopf & Härtel, Chappell, Durand, Peters and Ricordi.

Findings

The most important element that helped with dating was found to be the publishers' histories. It was also established that no single element could be used to ascertain a date, and therefore other evidence must be sought to support the findings. Results were dependent on the publisher in question, as some elements were more useful in some cases than others, and music from some firms were difficult to date due to a lack of elements, such as company addresses and plate numbers, and gaps within the history of the firm.

Approximate dates were established for most of Breitkopf & Härtel's scores, from information collected about their publishing and history of the firm, as well as donation notices and some use of plate numbers. With Boosey & Co it proved difficult to accurately date the music, as none of the pieces had any plate numbers, no information could be found on the printer that the publisher used, or material regarding The Royal Editions. Chappell publications are difficult to date, due to their principal address staying the same from 1856, and no change in their trading name except for the addition of 'Ltd' in 1896.[39] Plate numbers were not helpful for the scores in the sample as they suggested an earlier date than was possible for the editions surveyed. Both the copies by the publisher Durand were given approximate dates from information regarding the history of the firm.

[39] J.J. Fuld, *The Book of World-Famous Music: Classical, Popular and Folk*. Fifth edition revised and enlarged. New York: Dover, 2000.

COMPOSER:	LIBRARY/SHELFMARK:	FORMAT:

FULL TITLE (transcribed from title-page):

PUBLISHER:	PUBLISHER ADDRESS:	PRINTING FIRM NAME/ADDRESS (if different to publisher):

EDITION/EDITION NUMBER:	PRICE:	SIZE OF COVER:

PUBLISHER NUMBER (title-page):	PLATE NUMBER:	NUMBER OF PAGES:

COMPOSER WORK NUMBER (e.g. Kochel for Mozart, opus numbers):	COPYRIGHT OR PRINTING DATE:	PRINTING METHOD (engraved/lithographed) AND CLUES TO POINT TO THIS (e.g. indentation of the page):

SIZE OF THE MUSIC STAVES:	NUMBER OF BARS ON FIRST PAGE OF MUSIC:	INTERVALS BETWEEN STAVE SYSTEMS:	WHERE STAFF LINES END:	HEIGHT OF THE PRINTED MUSIC ON FIRST FULL PAGE (from the top line of the first staff to the bottom line of the last):

Figure 1 Template used to extract data for dating purposes.

The most important element for dating Novello scores was the company name, as it changed three times over the period of the 1800s and early 1900s; their catalogue of 1890 also provided information on the price of scores, some plate numbers, and the operation of other publishing companies that were mentioned along with Novello on the title pages, such as Simpkin, Marshall and Co.. Peters publications within the sample could mostly be dated, with half being given approximate dates; plate numbers, the publisher's history, their partnership with C.G. Röder, and the art work on the title page helped

PUBLISHER CATALOGUES PRESENT:	ADVERTISEMENTS/ANNOUNCEMENTS/ DEDICATIONS/SUBSCRIBERS:	LIBRARY NOTICES/DONATION NOTES:

EDITOR CLUES (e.g. the presence of ornamentations, directions, organ directions, way in which a bar of repeated notes are represented):	PRESENECE OF INSTRUMENTS LISTED TO PLAY THE ACCOMPANYING PART IN VOCAL SCORES (including markings in the score):

ANY NAMES/DATES IN THE WRITTEN INTRODUCTION:	PRIVILEGES (e.g. printers to the Queen):	STAMPS (dealers, paste over labels):

NOTES:

DATE ARRIVED AT (include any sources used):	

Figure 1 Template used to extract data for dating purposes.

to identify dates. In the case of Ricordi, plate numbers gave evidence of dates of when the score had been published, but the company name contradicted this in three of the samples, indicating that they must have been re-issues. The plate number of *Aida,* for example, has the date of 1876, but the branch of S. Paulo, which appears under the company name, was not opened until 1927. The company history and a stamp that appeared to show a month and year on the title-page in three of the samples proved the most useful tools.

Research Results

From this case study guidelines for dating music during the period of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were attempted, as well as creating publisher corporate family trees in relation to information that could help for dating purposes. Although it is not always possible to ascertain a definite date these guidelines may narrow down the time period in which the piece was published and therefore at least an estimate is likely to be achievable.

The publisher histories detail information that could help to establish a date such as addresses and name changes. Information was gathered from reference material, the Novello business records at the British Library, the Boosey and Hawkes production diaries at the Royal College of Music, and Glasgow University Archive.

Large gaps in the knowledge of the history of music publishing firms left certain elements unclear. This makes it difficult to fully establish the facts that would be beneficial to the librarian seeking evidence of when an item of printed music had been published. Research is still needed in this area, but it has been established that different publishing houses will require different criteria for dating their publications.

Check list

- Check when the company was established, name changes, branch openings
- Check when the piece(s) were composed, first performance, what affiliation the composer had with the publishing company
- Any mention of names of people or organisations, and specific titles given with names (can establish dates for the people or organisations)
- Any dates in the preface or dedication, performance dates,
- Check for any provenance notes, ownership stamps

Acknowledgements

This article is based on a dissertation submitted at the University of Strathclyde. I would like to thank staff at Newcastle City Library for allowing access to their stack of printed music scores, my supervisor Professor Forbes Gibb and Dr. Karen McAulay at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. I would also like to thank the Music Libraries Trust for research funding, and the British Library and the Royal College of Music for their assistance.

Abstract
This article introduces the various tools which can be used to help to date a music publication, including evidence gleaned from the items itself, and resources which may assist in researching the date of a piece of published music.

Catherine Small is assistant music librarian at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland.

Appendix: Publisher Histories

G. Ricordi & Co.

1808: Established in Milan at 4068 Contrada di Pescaria Vecchia
1815-16: Moved to Contrada di S Margherita
1824: Changed name to Ricordi Grua & Co.
1827: Changed name to Ricordi Pozzi & Co.
1828: Name changed to G. Ricordi & Co.; printing works moved to 1635 Via Ciovasso
1860: Ceased printing the publishing addresses on publications; new branch opened in Naples
1871: New branch opened in Rome
1875: Branch opened in London
1880: Branches opened in Palermo and Paris
1901: Branch opened in Leipzig
1911: Branch opened in New York
1927: Branch opened in Sao Paulo
1949: Branch opened in Lorrach (a suburb of Basel)
1953: Branch opened in Genoa
1954: Branch opened in Toronto
1956: Branch opened in Sydney
1958: Branch opened in Mexico City

Boosey & Co.

1792: Lending library opened by John Boosey in Old Bond Street
1816: Thomas Boosey founded his own company
1850: Thomas Boosey started to produce cheap editions of classics
1859: Boosey bought British copyrights from the firm Berhard
1874: Boosey moved to 295 Regent Street
1881: Dealings with Bernhard, Bote & Bock and Egrot
1883: Dealings with Oliver Ditson and Choudens Pere & Fils
1890: Dealings with Hopwood & Crew
1891: Dealings with Robert Cocks & Co.
1892: Branch opened in New York
1893: Dealings with Joseph Causton and J Schuberth & Co.
1894: Dealings with Cranmer & Co. and with Bernhard
1912: Dealings with the firm Gray (Manchester)
1926: Agreement with publishing firm Robert Forberg for sole rights in England and the colonies for some of their works
1930: The two firms of Boosey and of Hawkes merged to create Boosey & Hawkes

Breitkopf & Härtel

1719: Publishing firm established in Leipzig by Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf
1745: Control of firm moved to Breitkopf's son Johann
1796: Gottfried Christoph Härtel bought the business - name changed to Breitkopf & Härtel
1806: Process of lithography introduced
1883: Brussels branch opened
1890: London branch opened
1891: New York branch opened
1893: First appearance of their trademark on their scores
1943: Publishing works destroyed in bombing raid
1945: Reconstruction work begins - firm divided into two, in Leipzig and in Wiesbaden

Chappell

1810: Establishment of Chappell & Co. at 124, New Bond Street
1822: Named music seller to their Majesties King William IV and Queen Adelaide
1826: Chappell & Co. moved from 50 to 135 New Bond Street
1829: The firm moved back to 50 New Bond Street
1897: Chappell changed their name to Chappell & Co. Ltd.
1904: Branch opened in Melbourne, Australia
1906: Branch opened in New York (Chappell)
1920: Branch opened in Sydney
1969: The firm took over English music publishers Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew
1987: Takeover by Warner Communications, now named Warner Chappell

Durand

1869: Firm founded as Durand-Schoenewerk & Cie at 4 place de la Madeleine, Paris
1891: Renamed as A. Durand & Fils
1909: Firm renamed Durand & Cie
1914: Firm began the series known as *Edition classique Durand & Fils*
1947: Company became a Societe a responsabilite limitee
1980: Company moved premises to 21, rue Vernet
1987: Firm moved to 215, rue du Faubourg St-Honore

C. F. Peters

1800: Founded as Bureau de Musique in Leipzig
1806: Renamed Neuer Verlag des Bureau de Musique von A Kuhnel in Leipzig
1814: Business sold to book dealer Carl Friedrich Peters and renamed C F Peters, Leipzig, Bureau de Musique
1863: Shown on title-page as Leipzig and Berlin under the company name
1867: Edition Peters founded (new editions of classics)
1870s: Publications had green covers (no copyright) or pink covers (C F Peters copyright)
1873: Augener Ltd became Peters agents in London (until 1937)
1874: C F Peters Leipzig moved to 29a Talstrasse
1876: Bought music publishing firm Gustav Heine (included Whistling Publishing Company and works from the Bernhard Friedel Publishing Company)
1878: From this year the title-page illustration includes the child within the frame
1880: Began relationship with C. G. Röder. Max Abraham became sole owner of C F Peters, Leipzig, Bureau de Musique
1886: Bought firm G. W. Korner of Erfurt
1904: C. G. Röder changed name to C. G. Röder GmbH, Leipzig
1905: New warehouse at 22 Lindenstrasse, attached to the main building 10 Talstrasse
1915: Name officially became C F Peters, Leipzig
1917: Bought J Rieter-Biedermann music publishing company
1918: Title-page: until this date the engraved frame design was printed in red with the title in black; after World War One the whole title-page was printed in black.
1920s: Engraved frame abandoned in favour of a simpler design
1924: Opened hire department
1937: Max Hinrichsen founded separate company Hinrichsen Edition Ltd London
1938: Novello represents C F Peters and Rieter-Biedermann in the British Empire
1940: Purchased the music publishing firm Henry Litolff Verlag of Brunswick
1948: C F Peters Corporation in New York City founded

Novello

1811: Firm founded by Vincent Novello
1829: J. Alfred Novello set up the business as a music seller at 67 Frith Street, Soho
1834: Firm moved to 69 Dean Street
1844: Octavo editions established
1845: Additional premises opened at 'The Golden Crotchet', 24 Poultry until 1856
1851: Around 5,000 plates of sacred works purchased at sale of stock-in-trade of Charles Coventry & Hollier
1852: Branch opened in New York 389 Broadway
1853: New type adopted for the Novello octavo editions
1856: Additional premises at 35 Poultry until 1861
1858: Octavo editions started to be published separately from *Musical Times*
1862: Firm became Novello & Co
1867: Firm moved to 1 Berners Street; acquired the firm of J. J. Ewer & Co., and became Novello, Ewer & Co.
1870: *Musical Times* announces new series entitled 'Novello Octavo Anthems'
1877: Novello, Ewer & Co.'s Music Primers series began to appear
1878: Book binding branch was opened at 111 and 113 Southwark Street
1884: Established a branch in New York under the firm's own direction at 129, Fifth Avenue
1898: Firm became Novello & Co. Ltd; the printing office in Dean Street and book binding business in Southwark Street were brought together in Hollen Street
1906: Moved to 160 Wardour Street; American business transferred to H. W. Gray
1935: A subsidiary company was formed under the name of the Hollen Street Press Ltd
1936: Novello & Co. Ltd sole agency for G. Alsbach & Co. for the British Empire. Novello stamped copies with 'Novello and Co Ltd Foreign Music Department'
1938: Novello represents C F Peters and Rieter-Biedermann in the British Empire
1954: Novello agreed to buy copies of musical works from Hofmeister Orchestral Studies
1970: Novello becomes part of the Granada group of companies
1988: Taken over by Filmtrax
1993: Taken over by Music Sales

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REMINISCENCES OF IAML (UK) - SIXTY YEARS ON
RECOLLECTIONS OF IAML

Pam Thompson

By 1981 I had been Librarian at the Royal College of Music for three years, despite having no qualifications in either music or librarianship. I had a modicum of experience, if you misguidedly count a year in the West Riding County Library in the 1960s, Grade 6 violin and full marks in Grade 5 theory, and seven years in Blackwell's Music Shop, then one of the best in the world. You simply saw the world's music and many of the world's leading musicians. My appointment at the RCM was not universally popular, especially with some hopeful and better qualified. So, when Alan Pope approached me in 1981, inviting me to become Treasurer of IAML (UK), it seemed a perfect opportunity to redeem myself, even though my experience in finance was even more marginal than my paltry knowledge of librarianship and music. Had anyone thought an interview necessary, my life might well not have changed so immeasurably. With shame, I confess that before joining the Executive Committee I was not even a member of IAML. But I had at least heard of IAML, even though I wasn't too sure what it did.

Being a Treasurer (and Membership Secretary) in the days before computers was long-winded and manually exhausting – all that adding up of columns (here an advert for the Casio JL-120 calcuIator still in fine fettle after 33 years), typing invoices and hand-writing envelopes. Preparation of the annual accounts could last some weeks, including weekends searching for just one missing penny and failing to take account of un-presented cheques.

Trepidation remained the keyword for some years to come. I had never spoken in public, so the ordeal of presenting the accounts to the Annual General Meeting reduced me to quivering jelly, hardly able to hold, never mind operate, the pocket calculator needed to make swift responses to the inevitable questions from IAML's best committee-minded bureaucrats (not least the aforesaid Mr Pope). President of IAML(UK) was at that time John May, a fine bookseller and even better man, whose background as a dealer ensured that I was never denigrated for my own commercial background and whose reforming and modernising aspirations for the branch changed it radically for the better.

I was Treasurer for six years, then stepped in again when someone resigned, then became Treasurer for the 1989 IAML international conference in Oxford. As that ended, the UK branch study weekend began and the Presidency somehow fell upon me. I recall collapsing into a bus in Oxford High Street and waking up at Victoria Coach Station, utterly exhausted and bemused. By 1992, I was international Treasurer and a whole new story began.

I only went to Blackwell's because they needed a cataloguer with languages. I only dared apply to the RCM Library because I needed a job in London. I only joined IAML to redeem a raft of omissions. Is there a moral to this tale? Maybe: if you're not sure you're qualified, accept the challenge and see. Always say Yes!

Pam Thompson

BIZARRE IN THE BAZAAR?

Roger Taylor

Tuvans can sing two tones simultaneously. Tibetans produce bowls that sing. For IAML, I developed the ability to chair Executive Committee meetings while apparently asleep. I *will* confess to frequent times when the mind wandered back to my beloved Balkans.

Many testify to the myriad pleasures derived from IAML involvement. Where else would someone with two left feet find himself at an international conference performing the Gay Gordons whilst sporting a tartan wig? Where else would an esteemed President confess to being an alien, banished from the distant galaxy of Gargantua for being too puny? Where else would an innocent Outreach Officer succumb to a potentially lethal second helping of delicious "oriental soup" at an Albanian lakeside restaurant?

Outreach visits sometimes produced unexpected results. Pogradec is on the Albanian side of Lake Ohrid where the twinkling lights of the one-time Yugoslav city of Ohrid can still be seen across calm lake waters. In Communist times, Albanians could swim from Pogradec beach, but straying beyond 20 metres from shore would result in being shot by border guards. At night, those twinkling lights must have seemed like a mirage of mystical lands, tempting but unattainable. In 1996, after visiting *two* music libraries unaccompanied in this small city of just 50,000, I settled down for an evening meal before a 4-hour bus journey back to Tirana the next morning. Would that I had not succumbed to that second helping of "oriental soup". Overnight at my lakeside hotel, I must have come close to overdosing on Imodium. After a return journey-from-hell, I reported back to my interpreter and friend

Bernard Zeneli. Seeing that I betrayed symptoms of being "a tad poorly", and declaring that I wasn't safe to be let out alone, Bernard made an emergency call to his father who confirmed the seriousness of food poisoning and wrote a prescription. For that I shall be eternally grateful because whatever he prescribed worked. Dr. Zeneli was Albanian's senior-most criminal pathologist. Afterwards he said I was his most unusual client since, when he was summoned, I was still alive.

Bernard, Katerina Gosh and others became lifelong friends. It was through Katerina that I met Dhora Leka. Composer of many wartime partisan songs, she studied in Moscow and in 1953 became Secretary of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania. When Khrushchev succeeded Stalin at the Kremlin, policy thaws appeared throughout Eastern Europe - but not in Albania. The dictator Enver Hoxha cracked down hard on any vestige of liberalism and a major purge resulted in many executions. Dhora was arrested in 1956, sentenced to death, but commuted to 25 years in prison. Released by amnesty in 1963, she suffered remote internal exile for the next 28 years, returning to Tirana only in 1991. She was one of those special people who illuminate a room the moment they enter. Back in Somerset, I was delighted to facilitate an invitation to attend the Chard Festival of Women in Music where she became the star attraction. When I next visited Albania, Dhora hosted a meal where I was introduced to officers of the Dhora Leka Foundation. With Bernard as ever interpreting, I detected a certain 'frisson'. Afterwards, Bernard explained that around the table had been some of Albania's 'business elite', whom even the Government took care not to offend.

Tirana was then the prelude to an autumn journey across the Balkans, through FYROM (which I still think of as Macedonia) to Bulgaria. During my previous visit, I discovered a coach service from Tirana, via Pogradec, around the coast of the lake to Ohrid and on to Skopje. Avoiding the risk of 'oriental soup', I stayed on the coach for its entire 12-hour journey. After crossing the border, I remember vividly the technicolour image of huge bright red peppers hung from passing windows to dry. From Ohrid the route went north via Tetovo where, even from within a coach, tensions were palpable. We were only 26km south of the border with Serbia, this was barely a year before the war in Kosovo, and there had already been ethnic riots in the primarily Albanian city of Tetovo. It was with some relief therefore that we reached Skopje and I checked in at a city-centre hotel.

I had just a couple of days in Skopje with visits arranged to the National and Conservatoire libraries. As I unpacked, there was just time to venture out for a meal in the nearby 'Stara Čaršija' or 'Old Bazaar' - largest in the Balkans outside Istanbul. No-one knew where I was staying, so it was a surprise when there was a knock at the door. In the corridor stood two young men, somewhat taller than me, muscular, well-dressed. Addressing me by name ("Mr. Roger"),

in perfect English they said that they had been "asked to check that I had arrived and was OK." They were pleasant but insistent. Being surprised, and somewhat tired, I found myself being escorted out into the narrow streets of the bazaar, being sat down for a meal, and being aware that restaurant service was strangely prompt and attentive. I was then walked back to the hotel where they bid me farewell. I never saw them again.

Who were they, and how on earth did they know about my arrival in Skopje? A typically Balkan conundrum. Then I remembered the meal in Tirana with Dhora Leka where I had talked about my imminent travel plans to Skopje and Sofia. Some weeks later, back at home, Bernard told me that Dhora had been very concerned about my unaccompanied wanderings, and that it was likely that one of the Foundation "gentlemen" had been asked to ensure my safety. My days in Skopje went well, as did the following week in Sofia and Plovdiv. Thinking back, could it be that I spent my first night in Skopje in the company of the Albanian mafia?

Thank you IAML!

Roger Taylor

In memoriam Katerina Gosh, who died on 25 April 2014.

IAML INTERNATIONAL

Patrick Mills has attended almost all the IAML international conferences and recalls some memorable moments . . .

At the Lisbon conference in 1978 almost everyone except Patrick got food poisoning in exceptional hot weather; he lists Lisbon, Ottawa (1994) and Vienna (2013) as the three hottest locations for IAML conferences. The worst experience of a farewell dinner was at Oxford (1989), where the dinner was held in a marquee, there were long queues for each course, and the lights failed during the evening.

One of the fascinating aspects of IAML conferences is that what appears sometimes to be quite a forbidding programme often turns out to be interesting and on occasions very lively. In a conference possibly in Washington, Patrick recalled a session on 'Minimum standards for cataloguing gramophone records' where passions ran so high that the session developed into a near riot, as enraged speakers almost threw things at each other.

Recalling the niceties of language differences, Patrick remembers getting into trouble when he was asked to demonstrate the British Library's new

MERLIN catalogue system in the 1970s; a Dutch delegation had been told by the library that MERLIN would be 'running by next week', and Patrick had to explain, to their disappointment, that this was (perhaps unsurprisingly for any new system installation) 'in principle' rather than 'in practice'.

The IAML conference in Jerusalem in 1974 was particularly memorable. There were far more 'closed' sessions than is the case now, and wider use of all three official languages – Patrick recalls Dr Dortmuller commenting that 'English gives me a headache'. A highlight was a performance of Schoenberg's *Moses and Aaron* in the amphitheatre at Caesarea; there was some discussion over whether there should be any applause, as this was a religious work, but eventually the performance was applauded. The incident which has now passed into IAML legend occurred at the airport; Israel was at that time 'practically a war zone' and security was tight. Eric Cooper from IAML (UK) spoke to the security guards and pointed out Patrick, suggesting that he was highly suspicious and should be interviewed at once and have his bags searched. The security staff reacted accordingly, and found papers relating to the IAML constitution. Asking what it was, Patrick replied 'a constitution', and explained it was for IAML – 'that's what you say' responded the security staff. Patrick was then asked if he had bought anything in Jerusalem, and mentioned an electric razor. He was asked whether he had bought if from an Arab or Israeli, and responded blithely that he didn't know – 'they all look the same'. He was then ordered to use it and had to shave there and then, in public; meanwhile Eric Cooper was enjoying a good laugh in the background.

Patrick Mills, as recounted to the Editor

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Loukia Drosopoulou

Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, edited by Ellen Rosand. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013. xxviii, 412 p. ISBN 978-1-4094-1218-2. Hardback. £75.00.

The present collection of essays offers a new approach in the field of seventeenth-century Venetian opera by providing a level of in-depth interdisciplinary analysis that has never been possible before. The contents of the book stem from a Francesco Cavalli conference organised by Ellen Rosand at Yale University in 2009. The conference itself was centred around the new Cavalli complete edition by Bärenreiter, with most of the contributors being members of the music and text editorial team of the edition.

The volume brings together eighteen contributions by a host of performers, musicologists, linguists, theatre and literature historians: Jane Glover, Álvaro Torrente, Dinko Fabris, Jennifer Williams Brown, Christine Jeanneret, Hendrik Schulze, Beth L. Glixon, Jonathan Glixon, Wendy Heller, Lawrence Manley, Fausta Antonucci and Lorenzo Bianconi, Anna Tedesco, Nicola Badolato, Thomas Lin and Joseph Salem, Nicola Michelassi, Davide Daolmi, Michael Klaper, and Barbara Nestola. Thematically, the essays are arranged in five sections dealing with issues of performance and editing, the manuscripts and their genesis, the librettos and their genesis, Cavalli's most famous opera, *Giasone*, and finally a coda on the reception of his works outside Venice.

There is a cornucopia of interdisciplinarity here, combining music with linguistics, theatre, and English and Spanish literature, with the collection presenting both the fruit of long-term thinking by established Cavalli scholars but also interesting new approaches that expand the existing discourses. There is both theoretical pondering and practical suggestions, and together the essays provide a holistic approach.

Some of the most interesting ideas are of course from the ever-green field of editing and its philosophy. Faced with the monumental task of a complete edition involving no less than thirty opera scores, the various editors engage with a host of pressing editorial issues; for example, whether to prioritise premiere scores over those of revivals, and trying to amalgamate them into a

single version. We now realise that such hierarchies are not as orthodox as previously assumed, while at the same time commercial reasons prevent us from having multiple critical editions. Cavalli's impressive surviving corpus of multiple versions provides excellent ground for this type of investigation and thinking.

A related angle developed here is that of Cavalli's scribal *bottega* (workshop) and the crucial role played by Maria Sosomeno, his wife. Sosomeno's figure is slowly emerging as an important factor in her husband's professional life, being responsible not only for copying manuscripts but also for training new scribes and managing the whole *bottega.* All this research on scribal practices is opening up new insights into the compilation of the manuscripts, which is very important, as the better we understand these documents, the more reliable will be the histories we write based upon them.

Another area we are forced to reconsider is that of the miraculous scene-changing and stage effects as practised by theatre engineers of the time. All theatres were equipped with advanced underfloor and air-borne mechanisms that set into motion effects as prescribed by the librettists. We are gradually realising that these effects were no less a part of the main fabric of opera than the words and music themselves, and they should be respected as such.

The existing research into the influence of Spanish theatre, and particularly of Lope de Vega, on Venetian librettists such as Giacinto Andrea Cicognini and Giovanni Faustini is carried further here, with contributions by Spanish specialists and more in-depth exploration of the plot elements that transferred well from Spanish theatre to the Venetian stage. Finally, the travelling fortunes of Cavalli's operas are examined beyond the well-researched case of *Giasone* to include new works such as *Orione.*

The field of seventeenth-century Venetian opera more or less owes its existence to Cavalli, as he was the first composer to draw scholars' attention because of the magnitude of his career and the large quantity of surviving scores. The rapid proliferation of Cavalli studies has been a mixed blessing, as on one hand it has helped developed the field, but on the other it has obfuscated our view of the other composers and styles in the second half of the seventeenth century. The current study enhances our knowledge but at the same time widens this gap between Cavalli and the rest of his colleagues. For example, ruminating on whether the composer's wife intervened at stage A or B of copying a manuscript is just not possible with other composers, and this one-sided development of the field also makes it difficult to place Cavalli correctly in a historical context. Nevertheless, despite these inevitable historiographical pitfalls, the level of detailed interdisciplinarity afforded here is a welcome addition to our discipline.

Vassilis Vavoulis

In memory of Athanasios Drosopoulos

Gerald Leach, *British Composer Profiles: a biographical dictionary of past British composers 1800-2010*. 3rd edition. Revised and edited by Ian Graham-Jones. Upminster: British Music Society, 2012. viii, 249 p. ISBN: 9781870536998. Paperback. £12.50.

With our 2013 celebrations of musical centenaries and bicentenaries becoming a fond memory, we should perhaps reflect on some of the composers who have been passed over and who were of considerable importance in their time and had, as teachers, an influence on later generations of British composers. So, who were these marginalised or forgotten British composers born in the same year as Verdi and Wagner, their continental contemporaries? With the help of this new edition (in appendix A, 'Chronology of composers listed in the profiles') we can select the big names of 1813 – Edward J. Loder, George Macfarren, Henry Smart – all of whom exerted considerable influence in the world of British composition in the middle years of the nineteenth century; Loder as an operatic composer, Macfarren as a prolific writer in all musical forms, and Smart, another operatic composer as well as a hymn writer and an early editor of Handel.

In its original 1980 edition, with typescript pages, spine staples and yellow paper covers, Gerald Leach's *British Composer Profiles* ploughed a new furrow by providing the first ever single-volume information source for British composers, many absent from the major music reference sources – 'Grove' included. As such, this humble looking volume rubbed shoulders with 'Grove' on my quick enquiry shelf in the music library, ready and waiting to fill in the information gaps! We must be extremely grateful to Gerald Leach and the British Music Society for creating this dictionary in the first place all those years ago, and for this new and very much expanded edition by Ian Graham-Jones. The main thrust is of course the A – Z dictionary encompassing an amazing number and range of composers (around 900 entries). Here are to be discovered the obvious luminaries of British musical culture – Arnold, Britten, Holst, Elgar, Tippett – and of course many more, covered more exhaustively in other sources.

The worth of this volume really emerges when researching some of the lesser but important figures whose works may perhaps occasionally feature in programmes and may not have been subjected to critical evaluation – the likes of Ronald Binge, Michael Hurd, Eric Thiman and Percy Whitlock. The entries for such composers are likely to be the sum total of what is available in print, unless stemming from articles in British Music Society Journals or Newsletters. This leaves us with the remaining mass of entries. There are those composers who were by their nature lesser figures, or known only in their town or region as perhaps organists, teachers or musical directors, and contributed to our musical culture with an influence on their local

communities. Such a figure was William John Jackson (Jackson of Marsham). He composed two oratorios – *Israel from Babylon* (1845) and *Isaiah* (1847) – cantatas, anthems and services. Then again there are the composers who specialised in writing for a particular instrument and are well known only to a fairly select circle of instrumentalists or listeners; John William Duarte (1919-2004) fits this picture, dedicating his compositional life to the classical guitar and becoming perhaps the best-known contemporary British writer of guitar music.

One of the most interesting and rewarding aspects of this volume comes from being able to harvest information, albeit brief, on some of those names listed on the back covers of old and dusty vocal scores: Joseph Barnby (1838-1896), Charles Swinnerton Heap (1847-1900) and Charlotte Sainton-Dolby (1821-1885) being just three of these fascinating examples. Others listed in this main section are known only, if at all, as song-writers: Desmond Cox (1903-1966), best known for *Horsey, Horsey;* Elizabeth (Liza) Lehmann (1862-1918) of *In a Persian Garden* fame; and Paul Alfred Rubens (1876-1917), a major composer of songs as well as operetta in his day, whose fame now rests in a heritage of disintegrating vocal scores and the back covers of works by more famous contemporaries.

Then there are the composers who are far better known in other musical roles, be it as singers, conductors, musicologists, instrumentalists or academics: Sir John Barbirolli (1899-1970) is listed, and although primarily a conductor he is also known as an arranger rather than a composer. Albert Chevalier (1862-1923) is best remembered as a music hall star but also penned such numbers as *My old Dutch.* Charlie Chaplin (1889-1977) is of course best known as a film legend but also composed the soundtracks to his own films. The Rev. Edmund H. Fellowes (1870-1951) was a pioneer editor of early music. Apparently he composed 'competent but hardly inspired church music and organ works'. John Anthony Burgess Wilson (1917-1993), better known as the novelist Anthony Burgess, was the composer of three symphonies, concertante works and sonatas, and perhaps would have preferred to have been remembered as a composer rather than a writer.

The contribution of foreign-born composers to British musical life has always been of significance, and perhaps the most consistent thread running through the period covered in this volume has been in the number of German or German/Jewish musicians who have, for various reasons, made Britain their home. From the nineteenth century, Julius Benedict, born in Stuttgart in 1804, became a major force in British musical life until his death in the mid 1880s, and latterly Britain became home to many escapees from the Third Reich, including Berthold Goldschmidt (1903-1996), Franz Reizenstein (1911-1968) and Egon Wellesz (1885-1974). It seems rather odd that Nikolay Medtner, the important Russian pianist and composer (1880-1951) who lived

in London from 1936, is missing from the list. Again, there have been a considerable number of British composers who settled in other countries, usually as the result of academic appointments, including notable figures such as Edgar Bainton (1880-1956) who settled in Australia, Peter Racine Fricker (1920-1990) who became a Professor of Music at the University of California, and Balham-born Healey Willan (1880-1968), who spent his last fifty-five years in Canada. The editors of course apologise for omissions and as well as Medtner above, I was surprised not to find other such important figures as Daniel Jones (1912-1993) and Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) who as well as being noteworthy for his later folksong collecting and arranging activities, was a composer of light opera while resident in Australia in his earlier years.

The entries, with a few portrait illustrations, are fairly informal but informative and each page offers yet further voyages of discovery throughout this endlessly fascinating volume. Already mentioned is the value of the 'Chronology', and to add to this are the listings of 'British Societies and some London Venues' (including such institutions as *Three Choirs Festival* 1719, *Royal Albert Hall* 1871 & *International Society for Contemporary Music* 1922) and 'British and Foreign Conservatories,' which also lists founders and first principals. The appendices cover 'Some Foreign Teachers' mentioned in the entries, 'Some British Universities and their Degrees' and 'Significant Articles in British Music Society Publications'. This volume is obviously essential for any music collection as well as for the serious student of British music and its history.

Graham Muncy

David Josephson, *Torn Between Cultures: A Life of Kathi Meyer-Baer*, Lives in Music Series, 9. Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2012. xiv, 323 pp. ISBN 978 1 57647 199 9.

The name of Kathi Meyer-Baer may be little remembered today, but her contribution to music librarianship is considerable. As the librarian of Paul Hirsch's music library in Frankfurt in the 1920s, she was responsible with him for compiling the four-volume catalogue of the Hirsch Library. This remains a standard work of reference for many cataloguers and music dealers, as remarkable for the comprehensiveness of its coverage of many areas of music printing as for the accuracy of the information it contains. Although the history of the Hirsch Library has attracted some attention in scholarly literature, Paul Hirsch himself has not been treated to any substantial biographical treatment, despite the survival of a considerable archive of his correspondence, kept together with his complete library at the British Library.

Instead, his assistant has pipped him to the post, with this biographical account by David Josephson.

Kathi Meyer was born in Berlin in 1892, and studied under Hermann Kretzschmar and Johannes Wolf at Berlin University. Despite Kretzschmar's encouragement at an early stage, in 1915 he refused to accept her dissertation on women's song in Venetian convents, apparently on the grounds that it was inappropriate to give a female student an advantage over her male counterparts in wartime. Here we see the first in a litany of downfalls affecting Meyer's career, each of them attributed in this book either to her being a woman or being a Jew. In fact this first stumbling-block was quickly removed by Johannes Wolf arranging for the thesis to be submitted at Leipzig University under the auspices of his friend Hugo Riemann, and it was published in 1917 by Breitkopf & Härtel. In 1921 she moved with her sister's family to Frankfurt, and was soon offered employment by Paul Hirsch as his librarian, which she continued for the next fourteen years. During this time she made various attempts to further her academic career, publishing several articles and two books, as well as working as a music critic and staging several exhibitions. In 1930 she met a businessman, Kurt Baer, whom she would eventually marry in 1934.

David Josephson has pieced together the story of Kathi Meyer-Baer's life very meticulously, using a wide range of archival sources from Germany, Britain and America. The story of her escape from Nazi Germany is another remarkable tale forming a useful contribution to that collective memory, and Josephson provides a good deal of historical and social background to situate the account of his subject. All of this is a useful addition to the burgeoning field of 'Exile studies' (a genre for which Josephson provides a helpful critique in an 'Interlude' chapter). But ultimately the tale is one of frustrated ambition, of a scholar who had higher opinions of her own work than any of her contemporaries managed to do. At several points we see a rather cantankerous personality emerging, an unwillingness to listen to valid criticism and a refusal to see the other side of the argument. Such characteristics are not incompatible with a great mind, but neither do they implicitly demonstrate greatness.

Josephson provides a summary of each of Meyer-Baer's major publications, but is generally reluctant to offer much criticism of them. The effect of this is that he often appears to take his subject's side in the various disputes that arose. An example is the catalogue of Liturgical Music Incunabula which was eventually published by the Bibliographical Society in 1962 after delays of well over a decade. It is clear that a large part of the delay was accountable to Sir Frank Francis, Director of the British Museum and editor of the Bibliographical Society's monographs, but the typescript submitted by Meyer-Baer required extensive revision to both the English and the Latin text,

and we should not underestimate the time and effort which Oxford University Press expended in casting a special font of 200 musical symbols for use in the printing of the catalogue. These put Meyer-Baer's visceral threats to Francis into some context. When the book was eventually published, it received a particularly harsh review in the *Times Literary Supplement*, which Josephson mentions was published anonymously: the TLS Online Archive reveals that this was the work of the noted incunabulist George Painter, whose heavily annotated copy of the catalogue, preserved in the British Library, demonstrates that in fact he chose to mention only a small selection of the major errors and misunderstandings that permeate the catalogue.

Josephson takes a similar attitude to Meyer-Baer's final book, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death*, which took an ambitious overview of musical iconography with problematic results. A tenor of his biography is that had Meyer-Baer not been a woman, and not Jewish, her contribution to musicology would have been much more widely recognised, and her career path much easier. Yet despite the constant thwarting of aspirations for her career, she succeeded in making an important and wide-ranging contribution to musical research. This account of her life presents her as a pioneer among female musicologists, an assertion which would have more force if her career had indeed flourished as she hoped and intended, and which takes insufficient account of other female pioneers in musical research such as Emily Anderson and Rosa Newmarch, not to mention the musical editions of Lady Mary Trefusis or Sylvia Townsend Warner.

Nicolas Bell

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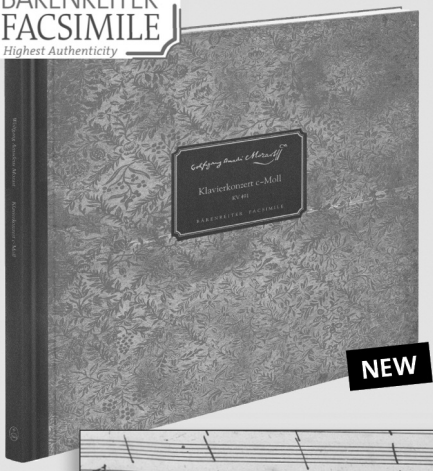

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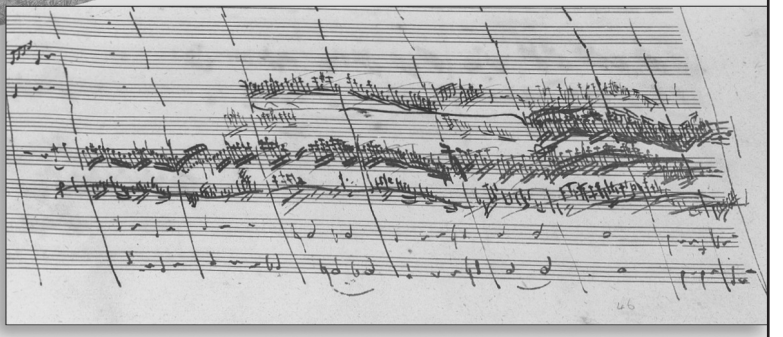

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