ISSN 0007-0173

BRIO

JOURNAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MUSIC LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRES

Autumn / Winter 2016

Volume 53, No. 2

Brio: Journal of IAML(UK & Irl)

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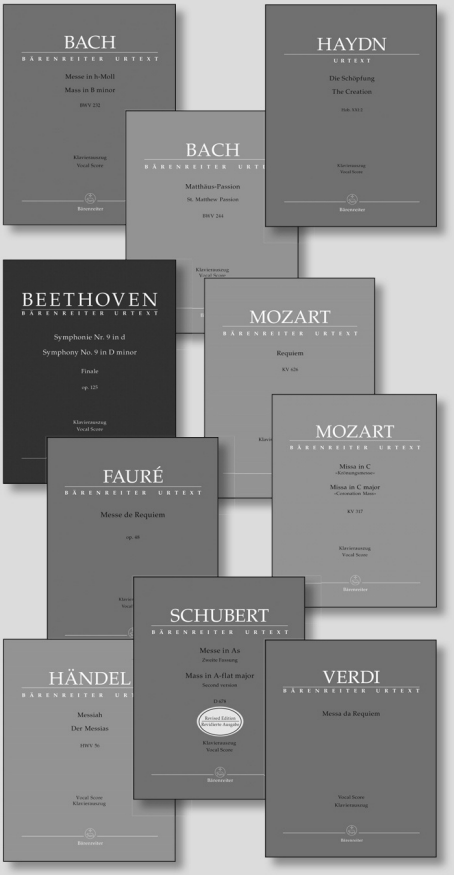

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EDITORIAL

Martin Holmes

I am writing this four months on from the historic vote by the British electorate to leave the European Union. IAML (UK & Irl) represents music libraries in two nations, one of which is committed to remaining within the EU while the other has decided, by a narrow margin, to abandon it. One immediate practical effect of this has been that, since we deal in both pounds and euros, the volatility of our two currencies has made setting the membership subscription for the coming year difficult. There are doubtless many other challenges ahead but, whatever path the British Government now takes, I am confident that the spirit of international friendliness and cooperation which underpins our organisation will remain. The statement made by our President, Anna Wright, at the international conference in Rome in July still holds:

> "We want to reassure our colleagues in Europe and further afield that, as a Branch of an international association and one that has a long history of involvement in the Association, we remain completely committed to working together . . . to promote the cause of music libraries, archives and documentation centres."

Despite all of this, I hope that *Brio* readers will find enough interesting material in this current issue to distract them from the general sense of gloom and uncertainty which surrounds us, momentarily at least. Firstly, Lewis Foreman uses the Novello archives to examine the dissemination of British music in the decades leading up to the First World War. Continuing the European theme, the archive provides ample evidence of the strong links between British music and Germany, in particular, the close relationship between Novello's and the music engraving and printing businesses of Leipzig. The small print-runs of orchestral full scores are contrasted with the large numbers of scores printed for choral favourites such as Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha*.

Eleanor Roberts describes the rich archives of the Hallé, one of our oldest professional orchestras, founded, of course, by a German. Staying in the nineteenth century, Richard Turbet has been busy researching the pioneering publishing venture of the Motett Society which, during the 1840s, under the

editorship of E.F. Rimbault, issued a large number of Renaissance motets by Continental composers, adapted to English words. Richard has succeeded in identifying the sources of practically all the music published in this series and provides a useful list and index.

Finally, I am pleased to include two articles based on the winning submissions for the E.T. Bryant Awards for 2014: Diana Caulfield examines the potential of user-generated content for providing added value to library catalogues and Julija Paskova surveys the implementation of the RDA cataloguing standard in UK music libraries.

Reviews include studies of two important figures in London concert life, Sir George Smart from the nineteenth century and Felix Aprahamian from the twentieth, the latter being particularly well-known for his strong links with French music and musicians, organists in particular. Two books on Handel are reviewed, along with David Greer's book on manuscript inscriptions in Early English printed music.

Altogether, a packed issue. I hope you enjoy it.

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MUSICAL HISTORY FROM NOVELLO'S WAREHOUSE LEDGERS: PRINTED FULL SCORES AND PRINT RUNS IN DOCUMENTING THE PROMOTION OF BRITISH COMPOSERS BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Lewis Foreman

Victoria Cooper-Deathridge highlighted the value of a great publisher's working archives when she published her study[1] of the Novello stockbook for 1858-1869. The Novello Business Archive in the British Library[2] is a wonderful and as yet not fully explored source. In this paper, studying the period from the 1880s to 1914, I have opted to compile figures for number of copies printed from the records of flat unbound sheets taken into the warehouse rather than royalty or sales figures.

Habitués of the antiquarian and second-hand book trade will know how comparatively rare it is to encounter British orchestral music of the late nineteenth century in printed full score in dealer's lists, though these days there is often the option of downloading digitised facsimiles of many of them from such sources as the ISMLP Petrucci Music Library, which garners scans from a range of outstanding American university music libraries, such as Boston Public Library, University of Michigan and the Sibley music Library Mirroring Project. We may once have supposed that this rarity of original printed copies reflects the rejection of this repertoire by a later generation, but from the evidence of the Novello Archive it is clear it is also due to the startling smallness of some of the original print runs.

Symphonies

In this article I would like to look at the publishing process and how it reflected the growing repertoire of new music by British composers in the later nineteenth century. The appearance of symphonies by British composers is a

[1] Victoria Cooper-Deathridge, 'The Novello Stockbook of 1858-1869: a chronicle of publishing activity', *Notes*, (December 1987) pp. 240-51; *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher 1829-1866*, PhD diss. U. Chicago, 1991

[2] For a full summary of the British Library holdings in Add. MSS 69516-69792 see Chris Banks, 'The Music Publisher as Research Source' in *Information Sources in Music*, edited by Lewis Foreman. München: K.G. Saur, 2003, pp. 302-324

case in point. Although many British composers, many now forgotten, composed symphonies at the mid-century, there was a very limited repertoire of published scores from the earlier part of the nineteenth century, possibly the earliest being Joseph Street's First Symphony published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1857. Street is now a completely forgotten name, unknown to reference books and performance, although a Second Symphony was published in 1865. The earliest orchestral full score of a British Symphony published in England would appear to be the Dutch-born Edouard Silas's *Première Symphonie*, op. 19, engraved and printed by C.G. Röder of Leipzig and published by Cramer, Beale & Wood of Regent Street in 1864.[3] Julius Benedict is another example of a long-resident immigrant composer, whose Symphony in G minor, op. 101 was published in 1874 by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co.

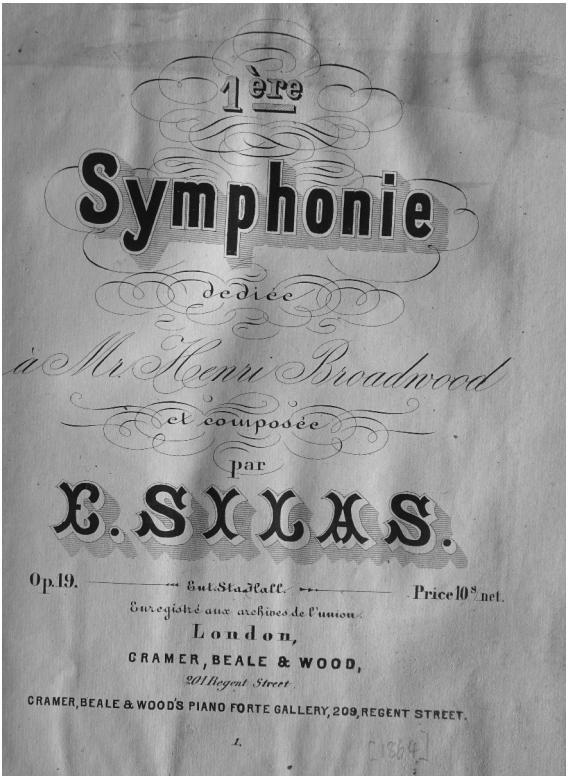

Fig. 1: Title page of Edouard Silas's Première Symphonie*, op. 19 (1864). From the author's collection.*

[3] At this date many immigrant composers and musicians which we customarily count as 'British' were active in London. Silas (1827-1909) was Dutch-born but resident in London for nearly 60 years from 1850. He was Professor of Harmony at the Guildhall School of Music

The case of Sterndale Bennett's G minor symphony, op. 43 is an interesting milepost. Largely written and first performed in June 1864, the *Minuetto and trio* arranged for piano solo was published by Lambourn Cock & Co. of New Bond Street in 1865, but the orchestral full score and orchestral parts, on which its success over the next forty years depended, did not appear until 1872.[4]

However the growth of printed full scores of works by British composers really starts in the 1880s, perhaps the first symphony then published in England being Oliver King's five movement *Night: Symphony in F*, whose full score was issued by Novello in 1882. King (1855-1923) is a particularly elusive example, appearing to have enjoyed few performances. This is possibly explained by the statement on the score that he was the pianist to her Royal Highness 'The Princess Louise Marchioness of Lorne' which would have meant that when the symphony appeared he would have been in Canada as part of the household of the Governor General. In the event the symphony was little heard and has been forgotten since. It needs to be heard again.

King had been trained at the Leipzig Conservatoire in the mid-1870s, and a concert overture by him, called *Among the Pines* won the prize offered by the Philharmonic Society for the best new overture in 1883, and was also published in full score by Novello in 1884. The only later performance of this music documented – in fact of the overture – is noted by Stephen Lloyd[5] as given by Dan Godfrey at Bournemouth in 1896.

A much better-known name was Frederic H. Cowen, whose Third Symphony, subtitled 'The Scandinavian', first performed at St James's Hall on 18 December 1880, was heard in Vienna and was published there[6] in full score and piano reduction, four hands, in 1882, and is reported as achieving a popular success.

The emergence of a significant publishing programme in London, including the publication of British music in full score, post-dates this, and only really established itself later in the 1880s, with Novello in particular clearly trying to develop a market as composers of talent emerged. Its intensive development took place between the turn of the century and the appearance of Elgar's First Symphony in 1908. Novello's archive brings us a surprising realization; that many of the apparently significant works of the renaissance of British music from the period 1880 to 1900 were not published in full score until well after the turn of the century. This was undoubtedly an expensive proposition, requiring a considerable investment. It must surely represent a conscious decision on the part of Novello & Co. to develop the market for

[4] For a full bibliographical history of Sterndale Bennett's G minor symphony see Rosemary Williamson, *William Sterndale Bennett: A Descriptive Thematic Catalogue*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, pp. 256-267.
[5] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey – champion of British composers*. Thames Publishing, 1995.
[6] By Albert J. Gutmann, engraved by Engelmann & Mühlberg of Leipzig.

these works. At that time Novello could have had no inkling of the tremendous changes that would follow the emergence of Elgar, the war and a whole new school of composers which would quickly render passé the works that they started to promote at this time.

Publishing process in the days of engraving

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the music publisher had only two production tools; he could have the music typeset or engraved or he could have it hand-copied. As far as shorter and popular works were concerned, including songs and piano music, this was a time when an enormous number of works were published as scores (often piano conductor) and parts because the purchase of score and parts brought with it continuing rights in performance. If a work was not printed, it was because the publisher was uncertain as to its reception, or it was so large the initial investment would be prohibitive.

We tend to forget how recently the widespread use of photocopiers has transformed the lives of all who are engaged in the performance of new music, indeed any music. Even in my lifetime I have seen phased out the lending of unique autograph manuscripts of celebrated composers' works as the hire library conductor's full score. Indeed, to give but one example, it was only in the mid-1970s that the manuscript orchestral full score of E.J. Moeran's *Nocturne*, for baritone chorus and orchestra was believed lost in the post after being hired for a performance, only to surface again some months later.

At a time when the majority of new music by serious British composers that came before the audience was choral, the only guaranteed immediate sale that the publisher could foresee would have been the vocal score, without which performance could not be considered. Many works where the unique full score and parts remained on hire only now survive in the form of the printed vocal score, because that is the only form of the work that had to be preserved under legal deposit. But in the case of a success, it was necessary for the publisher to move quickly to produce full score and orchestral parts if he scented demand which would require simultaneous dissemination of copies of the score and parts.

In the case of orchestral works, the publisher could also reach the wider public by issuing works as piano solos or duets, although print runs of many such works also turn out to be much smaller than one might have assumed. Once the score and parts were printed, the number of sets of parts available – frequently on sale – dictated the frequency and place of performance throughout the Empire and the wider world.

Popular music was set from movable type; for more elaborate scores it was engraved on pewter plates. It was reported that 'there was so much music printed from type in London during the latter half of the nineteenth century

that the compositors engaged exclusively in music typesetting were numerous enough to establish and maintain their own trade union.[7]

Printing might take place direct from type or plates, or lithographically from repros made from type or engraved plates. It was the refinement of the punches used on engraved plate that enabled the complex orchestral music of the post-Wagnerian period to be published so elegantly. Lithography was used for the printing of the more elaborate and decorated title pages, particularly produced by German houses. Most music discussed here was printed from plates, either direct or from litho repros. Covers and regular title pages were printed separately, presumably from letterpress. In fact we can see from Novello's stock records that these components were ordered and warehoused separately, and bound-up as needed.

When the present author was a student he participated in a formal visit to the Augener factory at Park Royal, possibly in January 1964. Unknown to all involved the factory would be closed within two or three years, Augener taken over and the use of engraved plates a thing of the past. Within a very short time the skills we celebrated then were totally lost.

Herbert Simon describes the process we witnessed at Augener's works in his history of the Curwen Press. When Spedding Curwen found himself in charge of printing in the mid-1870s he decided to follow German practice and adopt engraved music and lithography, and he visited Leipzig, then the world centre for the production of printed music. Simon wrote:

> 'The later Leipzig method for reproducing music which was at all complicated was to engrave it on pewter by tapping the relevant steel punches into a surface of the soft metal pewter plate with an area to accommodate a complete page were used. The plate, after it had been engraved, was inked, the surface wiped clean as in the normal practice of printing an etching, and then a print taken on transfer paper. The print, being based on an intaglio (below the surface) image was remarkably clear and distinct. The transfer paper was then laid on the surface of a stone or zinc plate and the image transferred. When all the pages were transferred in the correct order and position, printing was carried out on a lithographic press.'[8]

This is an enormously simplified description and it is worth another brief quotation to appreciate the complexity of the engraver's task. Christopher Smith, sometime Chairman of Halstan & Co., tells us:

[7] 'Printing and publishing of Music' *New Grove* (i.e. Grove 6) 15, p. 247

[8] Herbert Simon, *Song and Word – a History of the Curwen Press*. Allen & Unwin, 1973, pp. 88-9

> 'In all, an engraver may have over thirty boxes of tools of different style and sizes. The note stems, beams, slurs are all added by cutting against a ruler or freehand, using engraving tools. Excess metal from engraving or metal slightly displaced by the punching is removed using a traditional cut-throat razor.'[9]

Smith reminds us that engravers had to wear very strong glasses, citing the old saying that engraving was said to be a short cut to blindness.[10] The punches developed and used in Germany in the late nineteenth century and brought to London in the same period, finally established the typographical feel of the twentieth century musical score.

In December 1903, Novello published Granville Bantock's orchestral tone-poem *The Witch of Atlas* in full score and parts, though the music was actually engraved and printed by F.M. Geidel of Leipzig. We get a useful snapshot of the availability of such material from the back cover where there appeared an advertisement for orchestral works by British composers. Separate prices were given for string parts, for wind parts and for full scores. Making a quick tally, and excluding Elgar we get:

Composers represented:	25
Works/Sets of string parts:	123 (one work not printed, one [Sullivan's Irish Symphony] announced as in the press, but not actually issued until 1915)
Sets of wind parts:	75
Full scores:	57
Full scores at 10/- or more:	23
Full score at 30/- or more:	5

The five scores in the top price bracket were:

Frederick Cliffe: Symphony in C minor	42/-
George Henschel: Incidental Music to Shakespeare's Hamlet	30/-
Stanford: Irish Symphony	30/-
Stanford: Symphony No 4	30/-
Sullivan: The Tempest - incidental music	30/-

[9] Christopher Smith, 'The Art of Music Printing', *RSA Journal* (April 1989), pp. 279-91
[10] *Ibid* p. 283

To give us a bench-mark on prices, Herbert Simon reported that Spedding Curwen on his visit to Leipzig found that the printing plant employees were paid in the range 25/- to 30/- a week,[11] and although low by British standards, many of these are still scores that represent more than a week's pay to those who produced them.

Novello scores of the moment and print runs

Novello's initiative to promote the leading British composers from their existing catalogue, featured works that had not been published in full score. This developed in the earliest years of the twentieth century. Almost at the moment of the emergence of Elgar as a leading orchestral composer, they included a number of scores which had been well received in the 1890s but would not survive in the repertoire after the First World War. A notable example was Frederick Cliffe's First Symphony which had received a remarkable critical reception after its first performance at Crystal Palace on 20 April 1889, but after a number of performances failed to find a wider long-term audience before it was printed because performing materials were not available quickly enough. As an example we may note that it was twice heard at Bournemouth in 1902 and after the publication of the full score in 1904 it was played on six occasions.

The following is a selection of some of the works involved showing the dates of first performance and/or composition, date of publication and numbers of copies of sheets taken into the warehouse. (Undoubtedly the total number of bound copies issued and sold would have been less).

Frederick Cliffe: *Ballade*[12]	4/3/1901: 100 copies delivered (remaining balance 50 by 1/7/02)
Frederick Cliffe: Symphony in C min	19/1/1903: 75 copies; (balance 25 by 7/1903; remaining sheets destroyed April 1943)
Frederic H. Cowen: *Overture ' The Butterfly's Ball'*	(1901 100 copies; balance 25 by 7/02)
Frederic H. Cowen: Symphony in F [no. 5]	(17/10/06 50 copies)
Sir Hubert Parry: Symphony in F [no. 2]	(16/8/1905 50 copies - 5 (remaining stock destroyed 1943)

At this time it is unusual for a full (or any other) score to be lithographed as a facsimile of the composer's manuscript. For many printers, the specialised technology did not exist. An interesting case in point was the full score of

[11] *Ibid* p 89

[12] In fact the slow movement of the Symphony in C minor.

Charles Harford Lloyd's cantata *Hero & Leander*, published in 1884, which was lithographed as a facsimile by Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, for Novello who were the publishers.[13]

At the Novello Sale at Sotheby's on 15 May 1996 lot 70 comprised 31 cartons of file copies of books and music published by Novello. These were bought by the late John May, and the full scores, less a number sold before cataloguing, appeared in May & May's catalogue No. 232. Included were Parry's *Job*; Stanford's *The Revenge*; and Henschel's *Stabat Mater*.

The second symphony by a British composer to be engraved and published by Novello in the 1880s was Prout's No 3 in 1885. This was the year which also saw the first music by a woman composer to appear in full score when Mary Moody's *Concert Overture* was also issued by them.

It was 1887 before a substantial British orchestral work became anything like a best seller when Stanford's *Irish Symphony*, his third, was published in the same year as its first performance, a piano (four hands) version appearing the following year. Without the publication of the full score the music would not have achieved its reputation before the First World War as a modern classic, for the score would not otherwise have been available in Vienna and New York and it would not, for example, have been programmed by Mahler at Carnegie Hall in New York on 14 and 17 February 1911.[14] Thus when, following the success of his *Irish Symphony* in Germany, Stanford was commissioned to write his Fourth Symphony for Berlin, probably the most prestigious commission of its day, Novello must have thought they were onto a winner. It was not to be, but after the first performance on 14 January 1889, to promote it Novello issued the piano score in a four hands edition in 1890 and the full score the following year.

As we have seen in the case of Stanford, it is perhaps a little misleading to consider publication in full score as the only guide to contemporary success, when piano reductions often preceded the full score, often a surer indicator of potential popularity and certainly printed in larger quantities. However editions of such things were still very small when we think of the quantities sold of the vocal scores of the most successful choral works of the period. Here are a few extended orchestral works published by Novello in piano reductions, with their print quantities. Perhaps the most interesting is the piano solo version of Elgar's *Enigma Variations*, which was delivered to the warehouse on 27 April 1899, 3 months before the first orchestral performance.

[13] May & May Catalogue No 232: 'Full scores by British Composers', September 1996. The Lloyd had been first performed in September 1884

[14] Knud Martner, *Gustav Mahler Im Konzertsaal*. Kopenhagen, 1985, p. 151.

SOME PIANO REDUCTIONS OF ORCHESTRAL WORKS	
Edward German: Symphony No 2 in A minor (pf duet)	Feb 1899: 250 copies (1/7/04: 50 remain)
Edward German: Symphony No 1 in E minor (pf duet)	Apr 1907: 250 copies 01/07/1907: 100
Elgar: *Enigma Variations* (pf solo)	27 April 1899: 500 copies [before first perf.] 10/10/1901: 250 07/07/1904: 250 27/12/1906: 200 21/10/1908: 200
Elgar: *In the South* (pf solo):	Aug. 1904: 500 copies 1918: 50

Five hundred appears to have been the initial print order for the piano solo or duet versions of Elgar orchestral scores, *Froissart* appearing in 1904 in that quantity. We may compare with a younger composer, Gustav Holst, whose *Country Song* in 1907 appeared in a print of 250 copies with a further 100 in 1924.

So sales, even for a work that was in the news, such as the *Enigma Variations*, were comparatively small. In the case of the Edward German symphonies, the Second appeared a couple of years after its first performance, but when the First Symphony appeared in 1907 it was a work that had been first heard in 1890 and played little since, though when published it had been recently revived by Dan Godfrey at Bournemouth. Similarly Elgar's *Froissart*, first performed in 1890, for which string parts were engraved at the time, but it was not otherwise published until after the success of *Enigma*.

We should remember that many works for solo instrument and orchestra enjoyed a wide sale in arrangements for solo and piano, particularly for violin and piano, for which there was a large market. Of course, Elgar was caught by this when he sold outright *Salut d'Amour* for very little. Before then, for example, 5,250 copies of Mackenzie's *Benedictus* for violin & piano was printed in the year of its first performance, 1886. A reprint of 1,000 in 1894 heralded 1,000 every year up to 1901, and sales did not diminish until the 1930s.

From the composer's perspective publication of score and parts provided the only sure way for music to be widely disseminated before the days of radio and recording. The composer's point of view is well illustrated by Stanford's letter to the conductor Hans Richter:

> 'The 1st Irish Rhapsody for orchestra is finished & the premiere is to be at the Norwich Festival. I want to have it published in score and parts, otherwise it is as you know buried. There are no publishers in England for such music, and those that partially publish it do not make the works known abroad. Perhaps you would not mind writing to Schott about it? The work ought to be profitable & would also do as a piano piece if Busoni for example wd arrange it or some such person.'[15]

Even when there were very limited print runs, Novello seem to have been fairly punctilious in depositing printed music with the British Museum (British Library) including sets of printed orchestral parts. Novello's preoccupation with establishing copyright in the USA, at one stage having an imprint of 'London & New York' also means they are quite extensively preserved there, and Novello maintained ledgers recording details of the works deposited in Library of Congress. However, Novello material does not appear in the catalogue of the Fleisher Library[16] in Philadelphia to the same extent as do German imprints for similar material by central European composers. When the BBC music library was established in the late 1920s most of them would have still been available and they were bought fairly widely.[17] Copies of such scores would have been present in the libraries of the leading conductors of the day, notably Sir Henry Wood and Sir Adrian Boult, though the latter was destroyed by wartime bombing. Novello themselves destroyed significant stocks in 1943, and in 1964, on the move from Wardour Street, massive stocks were wasted.[18] Novello's holdings even of file copies were further run down and dispersed on moving the warehouse after the take-over by Music Sales in 1990.

Novello's advertising reminds us of the many formats in which a work would need to be printed to be fully exploited. For an orchestral work the first would very often be the strings, in that multiple copies would be required for any performance, and it might well have been easier to engrave and print them than to have multiple parts copied by hand, though of course many works were hand copied. In many cases only the strings were printed when the rest of the performing material remained in manuscript. Examples include

[15] Stanford to Richter, 26 March 1902. (Stanford wrote in German; this translation by Lionel Carley) *From Parry to Britten – British music in letters 1900-1945,* compiled and edited by Lewis Foreman, Batsford. 1987, pp. 11-12

[16] *The Edwin A. Fleisher collection of orchestral music in the Free Library of Philadelphia: a cumulative catalog, 1929-1977*. Boston: G K Hall, 1979

[17] Douglas Gibson, Managing Director of the publisher J.W. Chester, claimed to have played a significant role in the formation of the BBC Music Library; see Lewis Foreman, 'Music publishing in the first half of the twentieth century', *Brio*, vol. 49 no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2012), p. 46.

[18] See *Lost and Only Sometimes Found*, ed. Lewis Foreman. British Music Society, 1992.

many of Coleridge Taylor's smaller works such as the overture to *The Song of Hiawatha*, *Toussaint l'Ouverture*, or the *Romance in G* for violin and orchestra; Mackenzie's *Manfred* and *Ravenswood* music and William Shakespeare's [1849-1931] Dramatic Overture *Hamlet*. There are examples where the string parts are all that survives of a work.

So 'publication' of the full score and parts required printing, but printing does not necessarily always, constitute publication as we generally understand it; rather, being the circulation of a very limited quantity of printed scores. This underlines the value of the full score, which not only has the composer's imprimatur of his revised thoughts, but also provides the mechanism in many cases for the transmission of the music when the publisher has not maintained file copies, or the manuscript does not survive. To give an idea, here are the print runs of a few works taken almost at random. All my figures are for the delivery of flat sheets, which would have been bound up in much smaller quantities as required, and the balance of stock of quite a few were destroyed in April 1943 when Novello seem to have had a major clear out under wartime conditions.

I mentioned that a number of works from the eighties and nineties were not engraved and printed until well after 1900. This is a selection of British works published in full score which are almost completely forgotten today, but at one critical moment were assessed as worthy of major investment to promote them to a wide audience.

SOME WORKS PUBLISHED IN FULL SCORE AFTER 1900	
Frederick Cliffe: Symphony in C minor	19/1/1903, 75 copies printed (50 copies issued, balance of stock at 1/7/1904: 25)
Frederick H. Cowen: *Overture 'The Butterfly's Ball'*	15/8/1901, 100 copies printed (balance of stock 1/7/02: 25 copies)
Frederick H. Cowen: Symphony in F [No. 5]	17/10/1906, 50 copies printed
Arthur Hervey: *Youth*	25/4/1903, 102 copies printed (balance 1/7/1904: 27 copies)
Alexander C. Mackenzie: *Burns* [2nd Scottish Rhapsody]	1/7/1907, 25 copies printed
Percy Pitt: *Coronation March*	13/6/1902, 50 copies printed, of which 25 distributed immediately

Choral music

When we turn to choral music, the staple fare of concert life in late nineteenth century England, the choral festivals ensured a continual production of new works. Novello's first big successes with British choral works (Stainer's *Crucifixion* excepted and not discussed here) in the mid-1880s were probably Stanford's *The Revenge* and Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens*. Both appeared in full score, both engendered large print runs for the vocal score which continued over several decades, both had unsuccessful foreign language editions.

We need to remember that at this time there might be three different version of the vocal scores of potentially popular choral works: there would be the conventional vocal score; there would be choral parts (SATB) published separately and there would often be vocal score and/or choral parts in tonic sol-fa.

Parry was a case in point. *Blest Pair of Sirens* was a success from the start. The vocal score was published in 1887. Repeated reprints meant that 49,825 copies were in print by 1910, and between then and the outbreak of war in 1914 another 11,000 had been produced. During the war it remained a constant seller and between 1916 and 1921 another 12,000 copies were printed. This represents a total by 1921 of 72,825 copies. The full score appeared in 1892 and it too maintained a constant sale.

Having achieved such a success, and with choral festivals constantly offering him new commissions, Novello must have been keen to develop Parry as a festival composer (despite Parry's own reservations), and Parry's substantial works were all published by Novello. However, although they all appeared in vocal score, few did so in full score, and even string parts were only engraved for a very limited repertoire, signalling that Parry did not repeat his popular success.

Of these other scores, the hour-long 'short' oratorio *Job* was the most consistently successful, being published in both vocal score and full score. It is clear from the reprints in the first year that *Job* had an immediate and enthusiastic following, but the total numbers of copies sold were much smaller:

PARRY: *JOB* – PUBLISHING HISTORY			
Initial print order for vocal scores 3/8/1892 (pub. 22/8/1892)			1500 copies
Additional printings:			
7/11/1892	1,000	1/1896	1,000
28/2/1893	1,000	4/11/1896	2,000
1/9/1893	1,000		

The unsold balance at 2/7/1900 was 250 copies. At this date 7,250 copies had been issued. To this needs to be added the inevitable chorus parts, though few seem to have been sold, 250 of each voice being taken into stock on 22 March 1893, with a repeat order on 16 October 1894.

Later *Job* appeared in a revised edition, a thousand copies taken into the warehouse on 20/4/1906, with a second thousand on 10/6/1908 and another 500 on 12/12/1921. There were six more printings totalling 5,000 copies up to 1941 when it quickly faded from the repertoire. String parts were issued in 1893, presumably in the face of demand for further performances after the first on 8 September 1892, but the full score was not published until 30 October 1897. *Job* was thus a success, but a solid one rather than a spectacular one from a publisher's perspective.

In the face of what looked like a successful trend in the late 1880s, Novello must have reviewed their choral back catalogue to see which composers were still worth exploiting. They promoted John Francis Barnett's 1867 Birmingham Festival commission *The Ancient Mariner*, a cantata which had been performed consistently over twenty years and consequently sold steadily in vocal score. (The vocal parts were last reprinted in December 1905 (250 copies of SAB).) This is one of the works which Arnold Bax, in his autobiography, assessed as 'sheep in sheep's clothing',[19] but in fact a later generation may yet find its tuneful innocence worthwhile. The full score is usually dated to 1890, but as my copy bears an inscription dated 20 January 1890 it seems likely that it was printed in 1889. In fact this is an interesting case in point, for Novello had it engraved with words in English and German, and bought in the engraving and printing from Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, the music clearly being plate printed there. However, the front matter is on different paper and seems to have been printed from letterpress, presumably in the UK by Novello themselves. At 42/- it would have been thought a sumptuous and expensive score.

In the same year Novello also published a piano reduction of Barnett's orchestral tone picture *The Ebbing Tide*, op. 36, an early example of a British tone poem. Later, in 1913, they would issue the vocal score of his unsuccessful cantata *The Eve of St Agnes*, before the onset of the war swept away both J.F. Barnett as a composer and Novello's production practices so closely integrated with the German trade in Leipzig. During the war even Novello's German-born and trained craftsmen were repatriated, Parry noting in his diary for 20 May 1915: 'Novello's head engraver called to see me in great distress about being repatriated . . .'.[20]

[19] Arnold Bax, *Farewell, My Youth*. Longmans, Green and Co., 1943 p. 18

[20] 'Parry's Diary' in Foreman, Lewis, *From Parry to Britten – British Music in Letters*. Batsford, 1987 p. 73 (Original diary still at Shulbrede Priory, Lynchmere, Surrey.)

Success was by no means guaranteed after a Festival performance. In 1894 Novello published the principal commission for the Birmingham Triennial Festival, but only enjoyed a modest success. This was the *Stabat Mater* by George Henschel, issued in both vocal score and full score. It failed to establish itself and, in fact, the vocal score only sold a total of 3,100 copies:

HENSCHEL: *STABAT MATER* – PUBLISHING HISTORY	
20/4/1894	400
4/6/1894	1,000
14/3/1895	1,000
9/5/1906	1,000
balance 1/7/1908	300 (stock destroyed April 1943)

After the success of Stanford's *The Revenge*, like Parry, Stanford enjoyed a succession of choral commissions which reached a peak with his *Requiem* commissioned for the 1897 Birmingham Festival, that is, the Birmingham Festival preceding the first performance of *The Dream of Gerontius* in 1900. Stanford took his score to Boosey, who were clearly expecting a success for Stanford's ambitious conception, and it was also published not only in vocal score but also in complete parts and full score. In the event it did not achieve performance on the scale to justify so large an investment, and although more successful than the Henschel, this experience might well have coloured Boosey's competitor Novello's caution when it came to the commission for Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius* at the following Birmingham Festival in 1900.

Publishers' ideas tend to be distorted by great successes, and Novello had certainly enjoyed two undeniable successes with *Blest Pair of Sirens* and *The Revenge*. In 1898 they took on a 23-year-old black composer and found an unprecedented public response to Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, though one to which they quickly responded. Coleridge-Taylor died in 1912, and by 1913, 126,750 copies of the vocal score were in print, with an additional 17,000 copies of the tonic sol-fa edition. If we turn to the full score of *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, it started within a year of the first performance with 50 copies, with another 100 ordered from Germany within a year, and by July 1906 175 had been issued. The publication of all the performing materials thus allowed performance of this and other popular works not only in the dominions, particularly Australia, but also in the USA where there was a flourishing nineteenth-century choral tradition. This suggests that this success gave Novello an unrealistic bench-mark for their other publications.

The vocal score of *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast* had a first printing of 2,000 copies (17/8/1898), but such was the strength of public response they almost

immediately had to order another 2,000 (1/11/1898) and in 1899 had three printings, the quantities increasing each time:

16/01/1899	3,000
23/06/1899	5,000
26/10/1899	5,000

The customary print runs for the leading vocal scores, *Messiah* and *Elijah*, tended to be in blocks of 10,000 copies, a status *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast* achieved within 17 months of its first appearance, a popularity achieved by no other British music of its time. The figures make startling reading:

31/01/1900	10,000	22/12/1908	10,000
12/12/1900	10,000	10/03/1910	10,000
05/05/1902	10,000	10/11/1911	10,000
05/10/1903	9,750	05/12/1913	10,000
21/10/1904	10,000	14/10/1915	5,000
15/01/1906	10,000	27/06/1916	5,000
15/10/1907	10,000	19/11/1917	5,000

There was also the tonic sol-fa edition of 1,000 copies at November 1898, a total of 17,000 being produced up to 11 September 1913. The full score, in an initial printing of 50 copies, was received on 1 July 1899, with a further 100 bearing the rubric 'printed in Germany', on 29 August 1900, of which the remaining balance at stocktaking on July 1st 1901 was 25 copies. A further 100 copies was taken into the warehouse on 23 August 1905 of which a balance of 75 remained 2 July 1906, from which we deduce that 175 full scores had been issued at that date .

In addition to this we need to remember that the second and third parts of *Scenes from the Song of Hiawatha*, 'The Death of Minnehaha' and 'Hiawatha's Departure', first performed in October 1899 and March 1900 respectively, and a 'complete' edition of all three parts was soon produced. It would enjoy its hey-day between the wars when, at the Royal Albert Hall, enormous amateur forces in costume presented the complete work as a costume spectacle under the direction of Malcolm Sargent. The only part of the Hiawatha story that was unsuccessful was the German edition of the vocal score, *Hiawatha's Hochzeit* (Novello, 1902) of which 868 copies of a 1,000 print run were unsold and destroyed in April 1943.

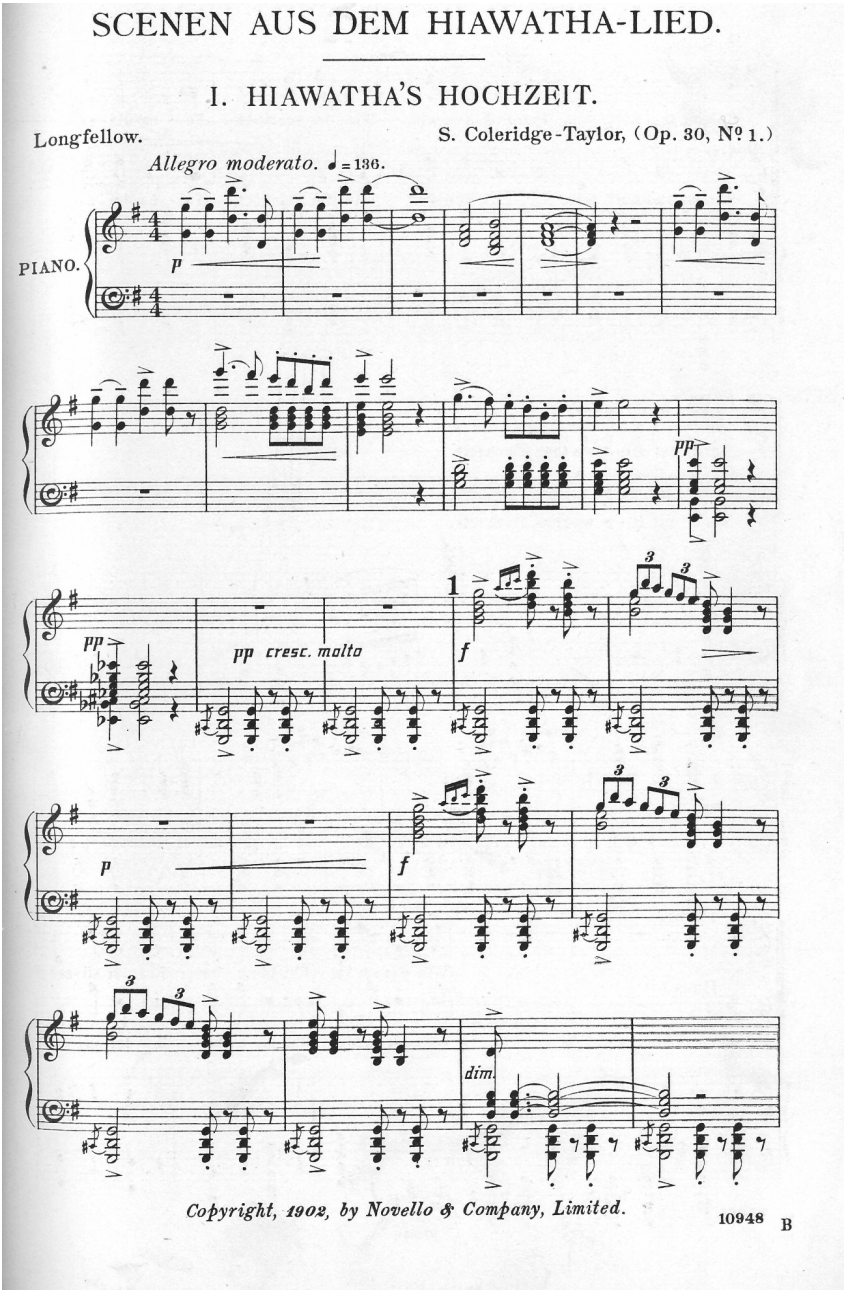

Fig. 2: The first page of the German vocal score of Hiawatha's Hochzeit. *©Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.*

Elgar

Elgar never achieved sales on this scale, but his first choral hit, *The Banner of St George*, provided a commercial success which must have influenced Novello's expectations from his later works. Deliveries of flat sheets to the warehouse surely reflect choral societies' response to the news from the Boer War:

ELGAR: *THE BANNER OF ST GEORGE* – PUBLISHING HISTORY			
12/03/1897	1,000	13/02/1901	2,000
09/02/1898	1,500	14/04/1902	2,000
01/04/1898	1,000	10/11/1902	3,000
10/02/1899	2,000	06/02/1903	5,000
28/02/1900	2,000		

The remaining balance at 1/7/1904 was only 250. It was thus established in the popular choral repertoire, and 5,000 copies were ordered annually from then until 1915 when the total that had been printed was 73,500.

Conclusion

From the 1880s to the outbreak of the First World War, British music publishers, working closely with engravers and printers in Germany over the speedy and reliable postal services of the day, developed remarkable catalogues of printed music. This capability enabled them to disseminate both an established and a new generation of composers on a vibrant and active musical scene. The availability of full orchestral scores, while not in substantial editions were enabled to be made available to leading performers in the UK, in Europe and around the world. That this strategy would not always be successful in the longer term could not have been predicted at the time, and the appearance of Elgar and his younger contemporaries and the changes resulting from the First World War made the output of leading late Victorian composers seem passé for many years. However, those printed editions have ensured the survival of many worthwhile works and provided us with the materials for re-evaluation, in performance, today.

Abstract

The very extensive publishing archives of Novello preserved in the British Library have been little researched, especially for the later nineteenth century and after. Because of Novello's championship of British composers the archive is of particular value in exploring the mechanisms then in place for printing and disseminating orchestral and choral music, and especially the

close relationship with German music engraving in Leipzig before the First World War. A surprisingly large repertoire of orchestral music was published, and this article reveals the remarkably small print runs of some of the orchestral full scores of this music and the enormous sales of one or two choral favourites, notably *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast* by Coleridge-Taylor.

Since taking early retirement as a librarian in 1997, Lewis Foreman has been a freelance writer, specialising in British music. More than two-dozen books include Bax: a composer and his times*, now in its third edition. With his wife, Susan, he wrote the widely-admired* London: a Musical Gazetteer *for Yale UP (2005). He advises various record companies on unrecorded repertoire, in recent years for Dutton Epoch, and his hundreds of CD booklet notes and session photographs are well-known. A study of British symphonies, commissioned by Boydell, is in progress.*

Brio Volume 53, Number 2. pp 21-30

KEEPING TIME: THE HALLÉ'S ARCHIVE

Eleanor Roberts

In 2002 I was lucky enough to be appointed as the Hallé's first professional archivist, thanks to a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. I was only dimly aware of the Orchestra's considerable history. I had (of course) heard of the Hallé: on moving to the North West a few years' previously I was firmly told that I 'should go to a concert', which I had duly done. I had also started taking my daughter, then aged 7, to the family concerts, but the modern surroundings of the Bridgewater Hall did not really convey the tremendous heritage behind the assembled players. For any archivist, the first days of exploring unopened boxes, manuscripts and volumes can lead to many finger-tingling moments, and it was not long before I realised what a hugely significant role the Orchestra and its conductors had played in the world of classical music for so many years. I had to shift some of my usual archival assumptions: for example, it is common practice for archivists to discard most printed material (or at least pass it on to their librarian colleagues). I quickly learned that the Hallé's programme collection, which is complete for the Manchester concerts from 1858, was very much the backbone of the archive. The programmes provide the history of what the Orchestra has played, a fairly fundamental part of our heritage, and for most of the Hallé's first 100 years, are essentially the personnel record as well.

The archive has much in common with business archives, rather more, perhaps, than the more traditional specialist collection. Ultimately, the majority of the records relate to the administration of an orchestra and the promotion of classical concerts. There is not an awful lot of material relating to the days when Sir Charles Hallé was personally in charge, when it was very much his own concern. The programmes, some accounts and a few letters and photographs are about all that we have. Nevertheless, Sir Charles casts a long shadow over the organisation. Our founder was German, arriving in England in 1848 with his wife and young family, following the 1848 revolution in Paris where they had been living. On reaching London, Hallé (he added the accent whilst in France to ensure the French pronounced his name more appropriately!) discovered that there were rather too many European musicians desirous of making a living. An invitation to Bath was briefly considered, but then a letter was received from compatriot Herman Leo, a cloth

merchant. He suggested that Manchester was 'ripe for taking in hand' by a man of Hallé's talents. Hallé indicated his willingness to come to Manchester, provided sufficient pupils could be found (he relied on teaching piano for his regular income). I have always imagined the German community rallying round at this point and ensuring any reluctant pianists in the family were signed up! Hallé was also offered the conductorship of the Gentleman's Concerts, a subscription series of chamber concerts. The orchestra left Hallé distinctly unimpressed, but he was given a free hand to bring it up to scratch, alongside performing his own recital concerts.

In 1857 Manchester hosted the Arts Treasures Exhibition which was a counterpart to the Great Exhibition of 1851. Hallé was granted the contract to provide the musical element and seized the opportunity to recruit a larger body of players so that full symphonic works could be included. His experience led him to decide to launch his own 'Grand Orchestral Concerts', best described in his own words:

> "When the exhibition closed its doors in October, 1857, the orchestra which I had taken so much trouble to form, and which had given such satisfaction, was on the point of being dispersed to the four points of the compass, never to be heard again in Manchester. This was excessively painful to me, and to prevent it I determined to give weekly concerts during the autumn and winter season at my own risk and peril, and to engage the whole band, trusting to the now awakened taste for music for success and perhaps remuneration. The necessary preparations retarded the execution of this project until January 30, 1858, when the first concert took place before a scanty audience. I was not disheartened, for I remembered how the Chamber Music Society had grown from small beginnings, and judged rightly that the crowds who had thronged the exhibition did not specially come for the music, and that concerts offering nothing but music, and at necessarily higher prices of admission, stood upon another footing. I felt that the whole musical education of the public had to be undertaken, and to the dismay of my friends I resolved to give thirty concerts, and either to win over a public or to fail ignominiously. The 'Gentlemen's Concerts' were an exclusive society; none but subscribers were admitted and no tickets sold. Before my advent they had never even published the programmes of their concerts, and the directors had only done so since 1850 at my earnest request, because I objected to conducting concerts of this clandestine sort. To the public at large symphonies and overtures were therefore terra incognita, and it was not to be expected that they would flock to them at once".

Fig. 1: The Hallé 'doodle' dates from 1857 – it is easy to visualise Hallé sitting there with his pencil, wondering if he could ever make his concerts venture a financial success! © Hallé Concerts Society

Sir Charles was ahead of his time in seeking to admit the public at large to his concerts: contemporary musical societies tended to be 'exclusive' as he remarked, often not even admitting those connected with trade, regardless of their wealth. Sir Charles' unreserved seats were available for a shilling – admittedly the very poorest (some employees earned only a shilling a week at the time) would still have found that exclusive but it was within the reach of many who would have been denied any similar opportunities before.

Amongst Sir Charles papers after he died was a letter enclosed with two yards of white flannel, sent from 'An Operative' to Hallé in 1873: "Having had the pleasure of attending your first concert this season, I beg to tender you my best wishes for your future success; and not having had the pleasure of hearing such a display of talent before, I felt most delighted, and beg you will accept the small token I forward you".

The pioneering nature of Sir Charles' work comes across very clearly in the description by his son at the close of his contribution to 'Life and letters':

> "Music . . . was to him something more than an art: it was a sacred mission. He believed that music . . . is a force for good, which cannot be gainsaid . . . that many a heart has been stirred to a sense of what is good and beautiful through music which otherwise might have gone through life unconscious that such things are. It was this faith . . . which made him choose as the field of his labour those busy manufacturing towns of the north of England, where men's lives are spent in work – too often mere monotonous drudgery, and amid surroundings of dirt and ugliness . . . To these grimy workers . . . whose ears were wearied by the ceaseless noise of machinery, he brought the strains of the most exquisite music ever heard by man, and made them forget, if but for a few minutes, the office and the workshop, and remember that existence has other things to offer."

It is this pioneer spirit, the firm belief that music had the power to lighten the darkest days and that the best music should be available to all, that remains at the heart of the Hallé's ongoing 'tradition' that still underpins so much of what we strive to do.

Sir Charles' death in 1895 was sudden (he died of a stroke) and all Manchester mourned. He had already planned the twenty concerts that made up the season and, indeed, had held his first rehearsals. During his later years he had given thought to his legacy and very much intended that the Orchestra continue. Three of his closest friends agreed to guarantee the 1895/96 season against loss; Sir Arthur Sullivan conducted the opening concert. By the end of the season a temporary successor was found in the form of Frederick Cowan but, behind the scenes, negotiations were going on with a colossus of

the conducting world, Dr Hans Richter. It says much for the reputation of the orchestra that Richter, who was then conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, came to Manchester and made his home here until he retired in 1911. He brought a rigorous approach to rehearsals and was responsible for cementing the relationship between the Hallé and Edward Elgar. The archive has his contracts (he negotiated a fairly substantial salary), several photographs that speak eloquently of his personality, and various letters. A few years' ago we were delighted when direct descendants (great grand-daughters) donated a substantial family archive to the Hallé. In addition to a treasure trove of programmes for Richter's many concerts, there is a series of letters from Richard Wagner, written as Richter was preparing for the first complete *Ring* cycle in Bayreuth. There is also a set of scores for the *Ring* operas, including one for *Die Walküre* with a personal dedication from Wagner (which appeared on the BBC's Antiques' Roadshow in 2011). Richter's friendship with Elgar, who referred to him as his musical godfather, is also well-documented in a correspondence that went on until Richter died. There are also scores for many of Elgar's works with signed dedications from the composer. Apart from the dedications the scores are pretty much unmarked; Richter was renowned for conducting everything from memory. However, whether the scores are marked or not, the fact remains that they have been in the hands of both conductor and composer and handling them today provides a tangible link to the Hallé's past which is still thrilling.

Richter stepped down in 1911, pleading ill-health, but in part he was driven out by adverse criticism of his programmes and in particular his aversion to newer music. There was a growing sense of antagonism towards foreign influence, and his decision to conduct at Covent Garden on 30th January 1908, rather than in Manchester at the Hallé's 50th Anniversary Concert was not popular. One of his lasting legacies, well documented in the archive, was the creation of the Hallé's Pension Fund. The establishment of a fund to support unwell or retired players and their families was a lynchpin of the Hallé Concerts Society Articles of Association in 1899. Arguably, it would have happened anyway but Richter lent his enthusiastic support and in 1903 launched the idea of an annual concert, where all the performers gave their services free, in aid of the fund. The Hallé's Pension Fund pre-dated the national scheme by several years. Players could join as soon as they were contracted into the Orchestra and could remain in the scheme after they left as long as they continued to make their payments. The ledgers provide us with precious additional details such as addresses and the dates of birth, retirement and, in some cases, death of some of our early players. Richter himself said it was one of the achievements of which he was proudest.

Fig 2: Hans Richter, Principal Conductor 1899-1911: loved and respected by his players, by all accounts, well-known for being able to play every instrument in the orchestra and conducting everything from memory. © Hallé Concerts Society

The 1911-12 season was handled by a range of guest conductors, towards the end, Michael Balling, a protégé of Richter's, had emerged as his successor. His short period of time as Principal Conductor has left little in the way of archival evidence but what there is offers tantalising glimpses of what might have been. Balling was a pioneer in the Charles Hallé mould. He believed that the finest music should be accessible to all, and argued (in a well-documented speech at Manchester's Town Hall) in favour of civic subsidy for the orchestra, not least so that the Hallé could provide free concerts to schoolchildren. He courted the press, inviting them to rehearsals and giving interviews in which he talked about his ideas and ambitions for the Orchestra. Balling's two seasons were notable for bringing at least some of the newer music that Richter was criticised for ignoring to Manchester, including Mahler, and for real critical success and acclaim. Unfortunately for all concerned, Balling was at his home in Germany in the summer of 1914 when war broke out. The Hallé committee was quick to meet and discuss the situation, writing to Balling at the end of August to release him from his contract. Elgar conducted the opening concert of the season but it was Sir Thomas Beecham who became the man of the hour. He offered to act as Musical Advisor, a position he held until the end of the war. He planned the content of the concerts, conducted many himself (for no fee) and arguably ensured the survival of the Orchestra. He (finally) brought Hallé audiences Debussy, Delius and Vaughan Williams, and his own brand of marketing (often littered with superlatives!). In later years Beecham's relations with the Hallé were less happy, but for this period we do owe him a debt of gratitude.

By the end of the war Hamilton Harty had emerged as the man to take on the permanent conductorship (Beecham never accepted it). He remained at the helm until 1933. His tenure began with the controversial decision to dismiss the women players who had joined from 1916, but it was to become a golden era. He embraced the new technology of recordings, securing a deal with Columbia that allowed him to hold extra rehearsals. The Hallé Concerts Society itself became a more professional outfit, employing staff for the first time. Harty famously never signed a contract with the Hallé, preferring a gentleman's handshake, so that leaves a gap in the administrative record! From this time we have surviving handwritten minutes for the Executive Committee and some personal collections of press-cuttings, notable for the contributions to music criticism of Neville Cardus. There is evidence within the press coverage that the Hallé was regarded as the country's finest orchestra, winning critical acclaim for concerts in London as well as for the recordings. Harty also had ambitions to take the Orchestra on tour; discussions appear to have been held regarding Paris and Toronto but nothing was forthcoming, shortage of funds almost certainly being the reason. It was, of course, rather easier for Harty to go around the UK and overseas himself and his

ambitions in this direction eventually drew him into conflict with the Hallé committee. At this time there was an expectation that the Principal Conductor would conduct all twenty concerts in the Manchester season himself and Harty's absences were getting more common. Eventually in 1933 the committee had had enough and the gentleman's agreement came to an end.

The next 10 years were uncertain times. No permanent replacement for Harty was forthcoming, Thomas Beecham again stepped forward, but arguably less successfully this time. A succession of guest conductors (including a young John Barbirolli) appeared with varying degrees of acclaim from critics and audiences alike. The Hallé ended up in a contract with the BBC whereby they supplied players for the new BBC Northern Orchestra for broadcasts. (Interestingly, Harty had not been in favour of broadcasting concerts, despite his enthusiasm for recordings.) Towards the end of the 1930s, Malcolm Sargent was effectively Conductor-in-Chief though, like Beecham, he refused to take on the conductorship permanently because of his other commitments. He was quick to push for more concerts when war broke out, recognising the vital role they would play in boosting morale. The Hallé had no permanent home but found itself working harder than ever, as they criss-crossed the city playing in cinemas and theatres. However, the situation was not sustainable; the BBC contract was putting the Hallé under increasing pressure, on occasion leaving the orchestra short of players for its own engagements. Philip Godlee, the new Chairman in 1942, decided the time had come for bold action. He brought the BBC contract to an end, setting up new contracts for the players so that they became full-time and salaried throughout (rather than just for the season). He also offered the permanent conductorship to John Barbirolli, then in New York but desperate to come home.

In May 1943 Barbirolli returned to find the majority of the players had opted for the BBC contract and his first concert was some six weeks away. Barbirolli, or JB as he was known to all, set about recruiting new players and created a new Hallé, whose ranks were filled with women, and whose youngest player was sixteen. How he did this became the stuff of legend and, when that new Hallé made its first appearance, those present knew they were in the presence of greatness. As far as the archive is concerned JB is a goliath!

The organisation took another leap forward in terms of its professionalism, having a full-time, paid Concerts Manager as well as secretarial staff, and over the next twenty years the administration team would continue to grow as the organisation grew more complex. For the first time press-cuttings were gathered methodically (although the filing system at times is enough to whiten an archivist's hair); photographs were more systematically taken and used in publicity, and from 1945 the orchestral schedules survive. JB is another of those whose warmth of personality comes across from the paper trail he left behind – you feel that you know him, and his successes still inspire a sense of pride. An early find for me was a series of press-cuttings relating to the

Orchestra's first foreign tour which finally took place in 1944 when JB took the Hallé across the Channel to war-torn Belgium and Holland. The Hallé was the first orchestra to play on liberated soil, coming under fire and enduring conditions of considerable hardship as they performed sixteen concerts in as many days. I read the coverage with a sense of amazement, especially when I realised that few of my colleagues were aware of this period in our history.

The nature of the conductorship changed over JB's two decades; by the end it was no longer reasonable to expect a conductor of international stature to devote himself almost exclusively to the Hallé, however much Manchester audiences might like them to. Another major change was the introduction of schools' concerts, with thousands of children in Manchester and Sheffield attending concerts provided in conjunction with the local authority education departments, conducted either by Barbirolli himself, or Arthur Percival, and still fondly remembered by more than a few of our audience today.

It is also thanks to JB that we have some of the more unusual items in the archive: his recipe for zabaglione is at least on paper, but in 2008 we were presented with his camp bed, which he had given to the stage manager. It was the one he had for his National Service, so of some antiquity. He used to take it with him to out of town concerts and have a nap in between the afternoon rehearsal and the concert. We did not like to refuse to take it, but it does take up a whole shelf! During the busy Christmas period we often joke in the administration team about pressing it into use between the many Carol and Snowman concerts!

There is not space in one article to cover a full 150 plus years of orchestral history, so I will finish by mentioning some of the challenges that we face in trying to document the current era. Like everyone else, we are increasingly dependent on electronic and digital records. They do not in themselves solve the problems of records management and storage; if anything, they can make us lazy, as the pressures of a full filing cabinet tended to focus the minds of our predecessors. How many of us are guilty of having thousands of emails in our inboxes and folders of documents that we no longer need on our PCs? Sir Mark Elder tends to rely on telephone conversations and meetings to plan; he is not even a fan of email, never mind memos, so future historians may not have as much evidence of his interests and concerns as we do for previous conductors. We do still collect press-cuttings, programmes and other examples of print – but photographs are all now stored digitally. The longevity of digital media is still untested; we know that good quality paper, stored in optimum conditions, can last for hundreds of years – there are examples in libraries and archives across the world. On a more positive note, we will know what today's orchestra sounded like. We can only guess how Mr Hallé's Band sounded!

Abstract
A brief summary of the Hallé's illustrious past, drawn from its extensive archive collections, with some reflections on the challenges facing an orchestral archivist. Held at The Bridgewater Hall in Manchester, the Hallé's archive is accessible to researchers by appointment (due to space limitations). E-mail eleanor.roberts@halle.co.uk or call 0161 237 7000 for more details.

Eleanor Roberts read History at St Catharine's College, Cambridge and completed a Masters in Archives Administration at the University of Liverpool. After a period as Oxford City Archivist and a series of short-term posts, she was appointed in 2002 as the Hallé's first professional archivist and is also Deputy Director of Development for the Hallé Concerts Society.

Brio Volume 53, Number 2. pp 31-41

ANCIENT CHURCH MUSIC PUBLISHED BY THE MOTETT SOCIETY: A LIST WITH THE ORIGINAL SOURCES

Richard Turbet

In Britain the active revival of interest in early, or 'ancient', music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be dated quite specifically to 1840. An antiquarian interest in predominantly the vocal music of this period had endured throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and was reflected in the copying of this music in manuscripts for use in clubs such as the Academy of Ancient Music[1]. The Musical Antiquarian Society was founded in 1840 and immediately set about a programme of publications of English music from Byrd to Purcell[2]. The following year William Dyce founded the Motett Society[3] and between 1841 and 1842 it published 79 pieces of 'Ancient Church Music' which were reissued in 1847 as a single collection in three divisions[4]. Most of these pieces are contrafacta, being Latin motets from the Renaissance or early Baroque by Continental composers, fitted with English texts, virtually none of which are translations of the Latin originals. A few of the pieces are Anglican anthems, or canticles from Anglican Services, with texts already in English, and even one or two of the anthems have had their texts changed for other texts also in English. The editor of the music was the ubiquitous Edward Francis Rimbault (who signed the preface to the 1847 edition), and Dyce himself edited the texts[5]. No list of the original works was ever provided, or at least survives. The purpose of the present article is to provide such a list, followed by an index of composers. The originals of all 79 pieces have been identified, apart from two whose status is unverifiable. (In fact, 81 separate pieces needed to be identified, since the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis pairings attributed to Palestrina and Colonna as single items were actually taken from four different works, not just two.)

[1] Tim Egginton, *The advancement of music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014. (Music in Britain, 1600-2000.)
[2] Richard Turbet, 'The Musical Antiquarian Society, 1840-1848', *Brio* 29 (1992): 13-20.
[3] Richard Turbet, 'William Dyce and the Motett Society', Aberdeen University review 56 (1996): 442-46.
[4] *Collection of ancient church music printed by the Motett Society*, London: Novello, [1847].
[5] Turbet, 'Dyce'.

Some of the original works are by Victoria and Lassus, and these had already been identified.[6]

Layout

Items are numbered in the sequence in which they appeared as three divisions in 1847. After those in the first of the three divisions, which are numbered from 1.1 to 1.31, items are given two numbers: a continuation of the sequence reflecting the divisions – 2.1 to 2.7 and 3.1 to 3.41 – and in brackets a continuation of the numerical sequence - 2.1 (32) to 3.41 (79) – which reflects the numbering in contemporary advertisements.

The following information is presented:

(a) The name of the composer who genuinely wrote the piece in question.
(b) The name of a composer to whom the work in question is wrongly attributed, or the version of the real composer's name where it differs radically from the form in use conventionally today.
(c) The title in English as given by the Motett Society. If it is a contrafactum, the title is given in inverted commas. If it is the title of the original work, it is given in italics. See also (d) below. For the purposes of identification, the number of voices is given.
(d) The title of the original work, usually in Latin, but in a few cases original English texts were replaced by others also in English. Always given in italics unless the title is that of a movement within an Anglican Service, e.g. Te Deum or Magnificat. (A Magnificat set to the Latin text tended to be a free-standing work.) If the title has already been given in (c) it is not repeated here.
(e) The source of the original work. Usually this is an early printed edition (exceptionally a specific early manuscript) of which titles are given in abbreviated forms but with sufficient information for unambiguous identification. In a few cases which are Anglican anthems or Services and therefore in English, and where all the sources are manuscripts, the letter E indicates that these manuscript sources are listed in part II of *Sources of English church music 1549-1660* from the series Early English Church Music (supplementary volume 1), and can be found under the relevant composers and titles[7].
The manuscript sources for one such item can be found in *Grove*, and this is stated accordingly.
(f) Explanatory notes where appropriate.

[6] Eugene Cramer, *Tomas Luis de Victoria: a guide to research*, New York: Garland, 1998, p. 284 (Garland composer resource manuals, 43); Daniel Zager, ' "Venerable relics": sacred music of Orlando di Lasso in nineteenth-century England', in *Music, libraries, and the academy: essays in honor of Leonore Coral*, edited by James P. Cassaro, Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007, pp. 250-52.
[7] Compiled by Ralph T. Daniel and Peter le Huray, London: Stainer and Bell, 1972.

THE MOTETT SOCIETY'S COLLECTION OF ANCIENT CHURCH MUSIC

Division 1. Anthems for festivals

1.1
(a) Anonymous
(b) John Redford
(c) *Rejoice in the Lord*. 4v.
(e) Mulliner Book.
(f) Anonymous in ms source. First attributed to Redford by John Hawkins in *A general history of the science and practice of music*, London: Payne, 1776. No longer accepted.

1.2
(a) Lobo, Duarte
(b) Edwardi Lupi
(c) "Now it is high time". 6v.
(d) *Audivi vocem*
(e) *Liber missarum*. Antwerp, 1621.

1.3
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "Behold I bring you glad tidings". 5v.
(d) *Regina coeli*
(e) *Motecta*. Venice, 1572.

1.4
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "If thou wilt confess". 4v.
(d) *Doctor bonus*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1563.

1.5
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "Almighty and everliving God". 4v.
(d) *Congratulamini mihi*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1563.

1.6
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "O Jerusalem". 4v.
(d) *Lapidabant Stephanum*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1563.

1.7
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "These things have I written unto you". 4v.
(d) *Valde honorandus est*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1563.

1.8
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "These are they that follow the Lamb". 4v.
(d) *Tibi Christe, splendor Patris*
(e) *Hymni totius anni*. Rome, 1589.

1.9
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "This shall be the covenant". 5v.
(d) *Confirma hoc*
(e) *Offertoria*. Rome, 1593.

1.10
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "Break forth unto joy". 5v.
(d) *Ascendit Deus*
(e) *Offertoria*. Rome, 1593.

1.11
(a) Della Porta, Francesco
(c) "I have appeared unto thee". 4v.
(d) *Ego sum panis vivus*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1645.

1.12
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) "Behold I will send my messenger". 4v.
(d) Lectio quinta: *Homo natus de muliere*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.

1.13
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "Come unto me, all ye that labour". 4v.
(d) *O quam metuendus*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1585.

1.14
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) "And the angel came in unto her". 4v.
(d) Lectio tertia: *Manus tuae, Domine*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.

1.15
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “If ye keep my commandments.” 4v.
(d) Lectio sexta: *Quis mihi hoc tribuat*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

1.16
(a) Masera, Agostin
(c) “Blessed is the man”. 4v.
(d) *Valde honorandus est*
(e) Croce, Giovanni. *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

1.17
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “For he was a good man”. 4v.
(d) Lectio secunda: *Taedet animam meam*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

1.18
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “The voice of him that crieth”. 4v.
(d) Lectio secunda: *Taedet animam meam*
(e) *Scarae lectiones novem ex Prophetae Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Tertia pars.

1.19
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “He saith unto them”. 4v.
(d) Lectio octava: *Pelli meae, consumptis carnibus*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) See also 3.39 (77).

1.20
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “Are ye able to drink of the cup”. 4v.
(d) Lectio septima: *Spiritus meus attenuabitur*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

1.21
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “And they went forth”. 4v.
(d) *Exaudi Deus*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

1.22
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “Charge them that are rich”. 4v.
(d) *O gloriosa Domine*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

1.23
(a) Byrd, William
(c) “Bless the Lord ye his angels”. 5v.
(d) *Aspice Domine*
(e) *Cantiones sacrae*. London, 1589.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

1.24
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “But watch thou in all things”. 4v.
(d) Lectio quarta: *Responde mihi*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

1.25
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “Now unto him”. 4v.
(d) *Virtute magna*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.
(f) See also 3.38 (76).

1.26
(a) Nanino, Giovanni Maria or Giovanni Bernardino (?)
(b) G.M. Nanini
(c) “All thy works praise thee”. 5v.
(d) *Haec dies*
(e) Original work is probably an early nineteenth-century pastiche. See Appendix.

1.27
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “Have mercy upon me”. 5v.
(d) *Miserere mei Deus*
(e) *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales*. Munich, 1584.

1.28
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "Behold the Lamb of God". 5v.
(d) *Crucem sanctam subiit*
(e) *Liber primus motettorum*. Rome, 1569.

1.29
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "How beautiful upon the mountains". 4v.
(d) *Nos autem gloriari*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1563.

1.30
(a) Tallis, Thomas
(c) *If ye love me keep my commandments*. 4v.
(d) Day, John. *Certaine notes*. London, 1560.

1.31
(a) Palestrina, Giovanno Pierluigi da
(c) "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty". 5v.
(d) *O beata et gloriosa Trinitas*
(e) *Liber primus motettorum*. Rome, 1569.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

Division 2. Services

2.1 (32)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "The Communion Service". 4v.
(d) *Missa O quam gloriosum*
(e) *Missarum libri duo*. Rome, 1583.

2.2 (33)
(a) Colonna, Giovanni Paolo
(c) "Magnificat and Nunc dimittis". 8v.
(d) *Magnificat*
Nisi Dominus
(e) *Psalmi octo vocibus*. Op. 11. Bologna, 1694.

2.3 (34)
(a) Gabrieli, Giovanni
(c) *Magnificat*. 8v.
(e) *Sacrae symphoniae*. Venice, 1597.
(f) Double choir.

2.4 (35)
(a) Barcroft, George
(c) Te Deum and Benedictus. 4v.
(e) E

2.5 (36)
(a) Stonard, William
(c) Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. 5v.
(e) E

2.6 (37)
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "Magnificat and Nunc dimittis". 4v.
(d) Magnificat based on recurring theme in *Missa Aeterna Christi munera*, especially Creed at "Patrem omnipotentem". See Appendix. Nunc dimittis based on *Alma redemptoris*, 8v. but extensively a4.
(e) *Missarum liber quintus*. Rome, 1590. Capella Giulia mss.

2.7 (38)
(a) Blow, John
(c) Sanctus and Gloria in excelsis. 4v.
(e) Grove
(f) From Service in D.

Division 3. Miscellaneous anthems

3.1 (39)
(a) Barcroft, George
(c) *O almighty God*. 4v.
(e) E

3.2 (40)
(a) Loosemore, Henry
(b) Orlando Gibbons
(c) *Why art thou so heavy O my soul*. 4v.
(e) E

3.3 (41)
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) "O praise the Lord". 5v.
(d) *Quid gloriaris in militia*
(e) *Sacrae cantiones ... liber tertius*. Venice, 1566.

3.4 (42)
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) "Not unto us O Lord". 5v.
(d) *Quid gloriaris in militia*
(e) *Sacrae cantiones ... liber tertius*. Venice, 1566.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

3.5 (43)
(a) Certon, Pierre
(c) "I will always give thanks". 3v.
(d) *Sancta Maria*
(e) *Libro secondo de li motetti a tre voce*. Venice, 1549.

3.6 (44)
(a) Byrd, William
(c) *Prevent us O Lord*. 4v.
(e) E for mss. Also: Barnard, John. *The first book of selected church musick*. London, 1641.
(f) All original sources for 5v.

3.7 (45)
(a) Tallis, Thomas
(c) *Hear the voice and prayer*. 4v.
(e) Day, John. *Certaine notes*. London, 1560.

3.8 (46)
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "O God thou art my God". 4v.
(d) *Sicut cervus*
(e) *Motectorum liber secundus*. Venice, 1581.

3.9 (47)
(a) Anonymous
(b) Thomas Tallis
(c) *All people that on earth do dwell*. 4v.
(e) Sternhold, Thomas *et al. Psalmes. Of Davide in Englishe metre . . . the note ioyned withal*. London, 1561.
(f) Earliest published appearance in England.

3.10 (48)
(a) Farrant, Richard
(c) "Unto thee O Lord". 4v.
(d) *Lord for thy tender mercy's sake*
(e) E under Hilton, John.
(f) See Appendix.

3.11 (49)
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(c) "I will magnify thee O God my king". 5v.
(d) *Exaltabo te*
(e) *Offertoria*. Rome, 1593.

3.12 (50)
(a) Della Porta, Francesco
(c) "Be merciful unto me, O God". 4v.
(d) *Amavit eum Dominus*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1645.

3.13 (51)
(a) Della Porta, Francesco
(c) "Righteous art thou, O Lord!" 4v.
(d) *Domine Iesu Christe*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1645.

3.14 (52)
(a) Ingegneri, Marc'Antonio
(b) Palestrina
(c) "O Lord my God". 4v.
(d) *O bone Iesu*
(e) *Responsoria*. Venice, 1588.

3.15 (53)
(a) Loosemore, Henry
(b) Orlando Gibbons
(c) *O Lord increase my faith*. 4v.
(e) E

3.16 (54)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "I will give thanks unto thee". 4v.
(d) *Ecce sacerdos magnus*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1585.

3.17 (55)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "It is a good thing to give thanks". 4v.
(d) *Gaudent in coelis*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1585.

3.18 (56)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "Teach me O Lord". 4v.
(d) *Doctor bonus*
(e) *Motecta*. Venice, 1572.

3.19 (57)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "How long wilt thou forget me". 4v.
(d) *Magi viderunt*
(e) *Motecta*. Venice, 1572.

3.20 (58)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "My God, my God look upon me". 4v.
(d) *Hic vir despiciens*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1585.

3.21 (59)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "Unto thee, O God". 4v.
(d) *Duo seraphim*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1583.

3.22 (60)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) "Behold now praise the Lord". 4v.
(d) *Veni sponsa Christi*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1585.

3.23 (61)
(a) Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da (?)
(b) "Adapted to English words by Dr Aldrich"
(c) *O Lord God of our salvation*. 5v.
(e) Christ Church Music Ms 1230 (early 18th century) pp. 91-92 no 45: Henry Aldrich, after an unidentified model attributed to "Pallastrini".
(f) Attributed to Palestrina in British Library Additional Ms 31399.
See also 3.30 (68).

3.24 (62)
(a) Tallis, Thomas
(c) "Great and marvellous are thy works". 5v.
(d) *Mihi autem nimis*
(e) Tallis, Thomas and Byrd, William. *Cantiones sacrae*. London, 1575.

3.25 (63)
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) "Hear my prayer O Lord". 4v.
(d) Lectio tertia: *Manus tuae, Domine*
(e) *Sacrae laectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Secunda pars.

3.26 (64)
(a) Byrd, William
(c) "Save me, O God". 4v.
(d) *Look down O Lord*
(e) Leighton, William. *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*. London, 1614.

3.27 (65)
(a) Tye, Christopher
(c) *From the depth I called on thee*. 4v.
(e) E

3.28 (66)
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) "I will love thee". 4v.
(d) Lectio quinta: *Homo natus de muliere*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) Sets Tertia pars.

3.29 (67)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) “Save me, O God”. 4v.
(d) *O quam gloriosum*
(e) *Motecta*. Rome, 1572.

3.30 (68)
(a) Mel, Rinaldo del (?)
(b) “Adapted from Ronaldo del Mel by Dr Aldrich”.
(c) *O praise the Lord*
(e) Identification uncertain. See Appendix.
(f) Text continues “and worship him, for he is mighty and strong.” See also 3.23 (61).

3.31 (69)
(a) Tallis, Thomas
(c) *Blessed are those*. 5v.
(e) E

3.32 (70)
(a) Sheppard, John
(c) *Haste thee O God*. 4v.
(e) E for mss. Also: Barnard, John. *The first book of selected church musick*. London, 1641.

3.33 (71)
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “Behold now praise the Lord”. 4v.
(d) *O sacrum convivium*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

3.34 (72)
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “O praise the Lord of Heaven”. 4v.
(d) *Congratulamini mihi*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

3.35 (73)
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “O give thanks unto the Lord”. 4v.
(d) *Cantate Domino*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

3.36 (74)
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “Teach me thy way O Lord”. 4v.
(d) *O vos omnes*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

3.37 (75)
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “Give ear, Lord, unto my prayer”. 4v.
(d) *Tristis est anima mea*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.

3.38 (76)
(a) Croce, Giovanni
(c) “Behold I bring you glad tidings”. 4v.
(d) *Virtute magna*
(e) *Motetti*. Venice, 1597.
(f) See also 1.25.

3.39 (77)
(a) Lassus, Orlande de
(c) “Save me O God”. 4v.
(d) Lectio octava: *Pelli meae, consumptis carnibus*
(e) *Sacrae lectiones novem ex Propheta Iob*. Venice, 1565.
(f) See also 1.19.

3.40 (78)
(a) Victoria, Tomas Luis de
(c) “O God wherefore art thou absent”. 4v.
(d) *Senex puerum portabat*
(e) *Motecta*. Venice, 1572.

3.41 (79)
(a) Hooper, Edmund
(c) *Teach me thy way O Lord*. 4v.
(e) E for mss. Also: Barnard, John. *The first book of selected church musick*. London, 1641.

Index of composers

Appendix

Item 1.26 in the publications of the Motett Society is 'All thy works praise thee', a contrafactum of a motet entitled *Haec dies* and attributed to "G.M. Nanini". No sources for this motet predate the nineteenth century, neither in RISM nor in the catalogue of works in the only monographic work about the putative composer, Richard Joseph Schurler's doctoral thesis 'The life and liturgical works of Giovanni Maria Nanino, 1545-1607', University of Minnesota, 1963 (vol. 1, p. 224). All sources bar one are manuscript. Five are listed by Schurler, eighteen are in RISM. Only two appear in both lists. The printed source (not listed by Schurler) is *Sammlung vorzuglicher Gesangstucke ... Erster Band*, edited by Friedrich Rochlitz (Mainz: Schott, preface dated 1835; date of publication given variously as 1835, 1837 and 1838), where the work is entitled *Weihnacts-Gesang/Chant de Noel* and appears on pages 15-17 of the separately paginated Zweite Periode (an aspect of the volume not made clear in RISM). Rochlitz's dates are 1769-1842. The copy of the volume listed in RISM was owned by Robert Lucas Pearsall (1795-1856). According to his entry in Grove he engaged with the Cecilian movement and composed Latin motets in the "pure" style. The motet in the *Sammlung* is attributed merely to Nanini [sic] but the introduction makes clear that this is Giovanni Maria Nanino. Given Pearsall's interest in Renaissance

Latin motets, his being English, and the same spelling of Nanino's surname in both the *Sammlung* and in the Motett Society's collection, it is at least a possibility that Pearsall was the provider of the work for inclusion and contrafaction in the latter. Surviving evidence points to the motet being another nineteenth-century pastiche in the company of the likes of *Christus factus est* attributed to Anerio, *Crux fidelis* attributed to John IV of Portugal, and the *Ave Maria* in four parts attributed to Victoria. Another motet attributed to G.M. Nanino, *Diffusa est gratia*, has come under scrutiny recently. *Haec dies* has also been attributed to his brother Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (ca 1560-1623) and has been published (Amsterdam: Annie Bank, 1950, edited by J.A. Bank) and recorded (Westminster Abbey Choir, Deutsche Grammophon Archiv E4155172, 1986, reissued Deutsche Grammophon 4795896, 2016 using this edition) under his name. The pastiche, if it be that, is "pure" enough to look and sound superficially plausible, though further attention raises questions, for instance at the repetition of the opening words from bars 13-15 in Rochlitz's edition with its plodding bass and unconvincing harmony.

In item 2.6 (37) E.F. Rimbault, the music editor of the Motett Society's publications, uses a phrase from a mass by Palestrina as the basis for an Anglican Magnificat, one of the canticles at Evensong. On a smaller scale, he used a phrase from the Credo of Byrd's Mass for Five Voices as the basis for an Anglican single chant, for use at Evensong or at Mattins.[8]

Item 3.10 (48) 'Unto us O Lord' is a contrafactum of *Lord for thy tender mercy's sake* and at one time the latter was thought to be the work of John Hilton, father or son. However, a prominent phrase is quoted by Byrd in *Laudate pueri*, published among his *Cantiones sacrae* jointly with Tallis in 1575, too early for the anthem to have been composed by either Hilton [9]. Probably Richard Farrant composed the anthem, as stated by the Motett Society, and the younger Hilton subsequently appended the elegant and disproportionately long Amen.[10]

Item 3.30 (68) is *O praise the Lord*, allegedly adapted from Rinaldo del Mel by Henry Aldrich. In an email to the author, 8 June 2015, Robert Shay, the editor of a volume which includes motet recompositions by Henry Aldrich,[11] stated that he could not recall Aldrich's name being connected with that of Mel "though I am aware of a few other instances of Aldrich being

[8] Richard Turbet, 'Three glimpses of Byrd's music during its nadir', *The consort* 65 (2009): 18-28.

[9] Richard Turbet, 'Notes of dule: Byrd and *Guichardo*', *The viol* 42 (2016): 14-19

[10] 'By whom? A favourite miniature re-examined', *Church Music Society report* 76 (1981-1982): 28-33. Anonymous but announces imminent publication of a revised edition of the anthem by Watkins Shaw (Croydon: Royal School of Church Music, 1983).

[11] Aldrich, Henry. *Selected anthems and motet recompositions*, edited by Robert Shay. (Recent researches in the music of the Baroque era, 85) Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1998. See also Shay, ' "Naturalizing" Palestrina and Carissimi in late seventeenth-century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his recompositions', *Music & letters* 77 (1996): 368-400. It is interesting that the originals of both adaptations in the Motett Society's collection that are credited to Aldrich, in different sources and in different centuries, have proved elusive.

connected to an adaptation of an Italian work that someone else probably executed." Dr Shay goes on to suggest that this practice is akin to someone intentionally misattributing a work by a lesser composer to a more famous one, and that in this instance Aldrich may have been the default adapter. The opening theme in this "adaptation" is close to one of the two opening themes of Mel's *Hodie Christus natus est* a6, most closely as it initially appears in the tenor part at bar 4 of the edition by Brian Clark (Arbroath: Prima la musica!, 2014); the piece was originally published in *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* compiled by Friedrich Lindner (Nuremberg, 1590). It is also similar to the opening theme of *Tribus miraculis* a5 from Mel's *Liber tertius . . . motectorum*, Venice, 1585. Given the activities of E.F. Rimbault mentioned under 2.6 (37), and the comments of Robert Shay above, the thought arises that something similar was afoot here, possibly.

Acknowledgments
I am most grateful to Georgia Gibson-Smith (Music Assistant, Westminster Abbey), Timothy Johnstone (Senior Library Adviser, Hallward Library, University of Nottingham), Louise Faustino (Senior Information Assistant, Sir Duncan Rice Library, University of Aberdeen), Dan Zager (Associate Dean and Head Librarian, Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, NY) and Robert Shay (Dean, College of Music, Professor of Music, University of Colorado, Boulder), who have recently provided invaluable assistance in checking or providing information. This project has been well over a decade intermittently in the making, and in its early stages it was given dynamic momentum, notably in respect of Palestrina, thanks to the committed participation of Katherine Masson (then a postgraduate student in the Department of Librarianship, Robert Gordon's University, on placement to Aberdeen University Library) and David Smith (now Professor of Music, University of Aberdeen).

Abstract
Founded in 1841, the Motett Society, under the editorship of E.F. Rimbault, set about publishing editions of 'Ancient Church Music', chiefly the music of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Continental composers, set to English words which were usually unrelated to the original texts. The sources were not made explicit and, in some cases, the attributions were incorrect. Richard Turbet has succeeded in identifying practically all the originals and provides a useful composer index to the collection.

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Brio Volume 53, Number 2. pp 42-49

CATALOGUING HAYDN'S BREASTPIN: MUSIC COLLECTIONS, USER-GENERATED CONTENT AND PERCEPTIONS OF VALUE

Diana Caulfield

Introduction

The original inspiration for this research was a talk in 2011 given to the Cambridge Library Group by Richard Andrewes, former Head of Music at the Cambridge University Library, on the musical collections of the University. The variety of collections, the diversity of the materials within, and the sheer enormity of what was scattered throughout the colleges and departments was astounding. Significant collections are held by what might be considered the 'usual suspects': Cambridge University Library holds numerous archives of conductors, performers, composers and critics, perhaps the most well-known being those of Arthur Bliss and William Alwyn; while the Pendlebury Library of the Faculty of Music and the University's Fitzwilliam Museum hold some noteworthy collections and items. Best known of the Fitzwilliam's is perhaps the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, a collection of early English keyboard music, but it also holds Handel early editions and manuscripts of 20th and 21st century composers such as Alexander Goehr.

However there are musical collections in some more unlikely places too, such as the Scott Polar Research Institute Library, which is dedicated to collecting anything related to polar exploration. Amongst the textbooks on glaciers or surviving in subzero temperatures, there are musical works such as Winfried Zillig's opera *Das Opfer* ('The Sacrifice') which tells the story of Scott's fateful expedition in 1912. In addition to this, many colleges have music societies and chapel choirs, whose collections may go back centuries, or contain unpublished works written for them by their members. Collections are not limited solely to musical material either – the archives frequently contain a diverse range of material, including diaries, letters, photographs and programmes, but also include more unusual miscellaneous items as Haydn's breastpin, paintings by musicians and a bookcase which is purported to have belonged to Handel.

Discovering these items can be fraught with difficulty even for the most information-literate. As an example, only just over a third of the music

collections at the University Library are on an online catalogue, while many items aren't on any publicly-accessible catalogue at all.[1] Collections are not necessarily suited to the medium of the traditional library catalogue, and may be listed on the University's catalogue of archives, Janus. However, this is not a comprehensive list. Archives can often be reduced to a single sentence on a library's website, with the handlist only in hard copy, or in the case of a college choir, may not be listed on any public database or website. Meanwhile, objects like the Handel bookcase are catalogued in another database system entirely. This led to the question: how does one find out about the existence of these collections and objects? Could an overarching system such as a wiki link it all together, and if content were to be created by users, not just librarians, is there a value in this?

This research used the collections as a springboard for an investigation into user-generated content, and its use within a special collections catalogue by interviewing various stakeholders – researchers, library workers and archivists, and donors of archives. It also looked at models in existence which explored alternative options to the traditional library catalogue in order to solve similar problems with unusual musical collections.

Background

The idea of users creating or adding content has been around for over a decade. Vander Wal first coined the term 'folksonomy'[2] to describe the process of tagging by users rather than experts to enable resource discovery, while similar concepts were described by terms like 'democratic indexing'[3], 'ethnoclassification'[4] or 'distributed classification'[5].

Early research in this area often focused on comparing folksonomies with more formal methods, or studying online communities and their motivations for tagging, but practical experiments with museum and library catalogues followed quickly, one early example being that of 'steve.museum', a project which aimed to improve public engagement with American museums by getting users to generate descriptions of the works of art contained therein.[6] A later effort by the Science Museum saw a wiki of 624 objects being created and promoted to encourage museum visitors to share their stories and queries

[1] Jones, M. & Woodhouse, S. (2014, January). Hidden Treasures. *Libraries@Cambridge Conference*. Held at the William Gates Building, Cambridge.

[2] Vander Wal, T. (2007). *Folksonomy*. Retrieved 18th August 2016, from http://vanderwal.net/folksonomy.html

[3] Rafferty, P. & Hidderley, R. (2007). Flickr and democratic indexing: dialogic approaches to indexing. *Aslib Proceedings, 59* (4/5), 397-410. doi:10.1108/00012530710817591

[4] Merholz, P. (2004, October 19). Metadata for the masses [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.adaptivepath.com/ideas/e000361/

[5] Mejias, U. (2006). Teaching social software with social software. *Innovate: Journal of Online Education*, *2*(5).

[6] Wyman, B., Chun, S., Cherry, R., Hiwiller, D., & Trant, J. (2006). Steve.museum: an ongoing experiment in social tagging, folksonomy, and museums. In J. Trant and D. Bearman (eds). *Museums and the Web 2006: Proceedings*, Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics.

about those objects.[7] While both of these projects have quietly ended, Dulwich OnView remains a thriving, vibrant online community dedicated to Dulwich Museum and activities in the surrounding area.[8]

Whether an online resource such as a wiki succeeds or fails can often be down to its Community of Practice.[9] Cases such as Dulwich owe a considerable part of their success to the central core of volunteers who create content; there is a critical mass of consistent volunteer input required to sustain the enterprise, and building a community where stakeholders and project organisers share similar motivations, and users are sufficiently incentivised to engage with the content, gives the best chance of success. As Gerolimos said in a recent review of the literature of user-generated content and tagging in libraries: "the key to making tags work for libraries is not participation . . . but user willingness, which translates to the will of the few to devote some of their time to the online activities that a library offers."[10]

One other concern that has been thrown up time and again is the question of authority in its various guises. Authority of the data, but also issues of ownership, trust and moderation have been investigated in a variety of situations. Liu and Bowen considered the Science Museum's slowness at putting right vandalism as one of the symptoms of its wiki's ultimate failure, and there are numerous examples of Wikipedia pages being vandalised, most notably those of political figures.[11] However, there are just as many examples of web-based communities – some entirely anonymous – where this hasn't presented a problem, and in some cases there are considerable advantages to devolving responsibility onto a variety of shoulders, such as increasing infrastructure stability and being able to harness a wider range of skills.[12]

The final practical concern is that of metadata; any system which attempts to provide comprehensive coverage of all items in all collections needs to cope with the wide variety of metadata. There is currently no single standard for archival metadata,[13] and this is compounded when dealing with repositories of music because the data is not all textual: photographs, music

[7] Liu, A. H. Y. & Bowen, J. P. (2011). Creating online collaborative environments for museums: a case study of a museum wiki. International Journal of Web Based Communities, 7(4), 407-428.

[8] Beazley, I., Bowen, J. P., Liu, A. H. Y. & McDaid, S. (2010, July). Dulwich OnView: an art museum-based virtual community generated by the local community. In: Seal, A., Bowen, J. P. and Ng, K. (eds), *EVA London 2010 Conference Proceedings*, pp. 79-86. London: British Computer Society.

[9] Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). Situated learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[10] Gerolimos, M. (2013). Tagging for Libraries: A Review of the Effectiveness of Tagging Systems for Library Catalogs. *Journal of Library Metadata*, *13*(1), 36-58. doi:10.1080/19386389.2013.778730

[11] Yasseri T., Spoerri A., Graham M. and Kertész J. The most controversial topics in Wikipedia: A multilingual and geographical analysis. In: Fichman P., Hara N., editors, *Global Wikipedia: International and cross-cultural issues in online collaboration*. Scarecrow Press (2014).

[12] Jones, P. (2005). Strategies and technologies of sharing in contributor-run archives. *Library Trends, 53*(4), 651–662.

[13] Bunn, J. (2013). Developing descriptive standards: a renewed call to action. Archives and Records, 34(2), 235-247. doi:10.1080/23257962.2013.830066

manuscripts, sound recordings, paintings – all these complicate any attempt to formulate a standard metadata representation of items. And while there have been investigations into methods of music information retrieval, this is often after the establishment of the catalogue, and much less research has been undertaken at the point of developing a catalogue.

Methodology

For such an investigation, a large-scale survey would have been impossible in the time available, as it was focusing on such a specific area of interest. Instead, in-depth semi-structured interviews were chosen as they would yield a rich picture of the situation at hand. While it is important not to make any generalisations from such a small focus, some of the insights which would not have been visible through the use of a larger-scale method may still have wider implications for similar settings.

A variety of stakeholders were identified through purposive sampling using a snowballing technique. While this introduced a level of bias due to the interconnectedness of the participants, it was the most efficient method of accessing people who would meet the special requirement of having involvement with aspects of the music collections at the university. The interviewees were drawn from three groups: music library staff, musicologists and musicians, but an individual selected to represent one group could easily have represented another – very often during interview it transpired that a music library staff member was a musician, or a musicologist had tried their hand at cataloguing music for a library.

A thematic framework was developed in order to be able to extrapolate and analyse the data yielded through the interviews. Questions focused on one or more of four aspects: interaction with the catalogue; authority and the value of the amateur; community and sustainability; and moderation, control and ownership of content. Open-ended questions were used where possible to elicit the most detailed responses and to allow new issues and ideas to emerge, and while the questions were scripted, the structure was kept loose, switching questions around or rewording them if it made for a better flow of discussion.

In addition to the interviews with stakeholders, two special music collections were identified as having made use of less-traditional methods to make their materials more accessible. These were the Full English Archive of the English Folk Dance and Song Society[14], and the Jerwood Library of the Performing Arts at the Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music & Dance.[15]

[14] http://www.efdss.org/efdss-the-full-english

[15] http://www.trinitylaban.ac.uk/student-life/facilities/faculty-of-music/jerwood-library

Results and Discussion

The Full English Archive was launched by the English Folk Dance and Song Society in June 2013. This was a large-scale project in which over 50,000 items were conserved, catalogued, digitised and uploaded to a central database. The source material came from 12 different locations across the UK and involved 19 separate collections of material of various formats, including song texts, dance notation and transcriptions of tunes, with the aim of trying to encapsulate and contextualise the repertoire of folk songs that were collected all over England.[16]

While the initial work in creating the catalogue was done by professionals, certain elements of the catalogue were opened up to user-generated content; transcription of the handwritten texts could be done by registered volunteers, and plans are under way to allow transcription of the music also, which can then be formatted as a PDF of sheet music and as a MIDI sound file.

This model is relevant for several reasons. Like the university's music collections, this model has archives in several locations, in the custody of various groups and institutions. It has made use of a variety of Web 2.0 tools in mashups which can, for example, map the locations of both the archive where the manuscript is held and where the material was originally collected. Finally, it has encouraged interaction from users in both generating content for the material already there and in adding further material.

The success of this model can be pinned down to several factors. The first is that the motivation and remit for the catalogue was clearly defined, and the collections based in one broad genre, which meant there was a pre-existing – and very enthusiastic – Community of Practice from which volunteers could be drawn. Another significant factor is the consistency in uploaded data; a user toolkit created by the library staff meant that users were guided into creating data which would meet the standard of the catalogue.

The situation at the Jerwood Library is very different, but still has relevance. It is a much smaller institution, with limited resources, but holds a number of different special collections: the archives of Trinity College of Music, archives and music collections of alumni, manuscript collections and a historic library collection. Until recently collections were mostly uncatalogued or catalogued to a minimal standard, with handlists only in printed form and some collections not described anywhere at all. Now the library has made headway in surveying and preserving these collections, improving their description and access, and raising public awareness of the collections through a series of online exhibitions which are shared via social media, and the printed handlists have been uploaded so that a search on a commercial search engine will locate them[17].

[16] Taylor, M. (2014, March). The Full English Archive. *The Full English Archive Open Day, The English Folk Dance & Song Society.* Held at Clare College, Cambridge.

[17] Greenwood, E., (2013). Transforming hidden collections. *Rare Books Newsletter, 95,* 11-14.

One of the reasons the Jerwood Library was chosen for comparison was that the situation is not only typical of many libraries in Cambridge, but also many small libraries generally, which have some form of collection unique to their holdings and worthy of online promotion.[18] Often it is the case that these libraries have limited resources with which to undertake any improvements, and are reliant on volunteers and small-scale projects which may take a long time to complete. The Jerwood Library, not being able to make use of traditional methods of cataloguing to improve accessibility, instead has used more innovative methods, in some cases with great success; full text handlists indexed on commercial search engines are more visible than material which has been catalogued 'properly', and the increased use has raised the profile of the library within the institution, garnering more support from senior management and in turn increasing the amount the library is able to accomplish.

The interviews began with gauging interviewees' digital literacy and use of social media. This ranged fairly widely, for example the music libraries have a social media strategy and all staff are encouraged to get involved, while several other participants knew of social media, but never used it themselves. The next question raised the idea of an integrated catalogue; again, the range of answers ran the gamut from enthusiastic to more negative responses.

The interviews aimed to build up a picture of how each participant used the current catalogues and other information retrieval resources available, and where they felt these could be improved. Again answers varied widely, according to the different motivations behind the searches undertaken. Suggestions offered included a functionality that located all material relating to an individual, bibliographies for items, provenance information, and copyright information or other restrictions placed on items (e.g. if they were particularly fragile). Even knowing what manuscript paper was used can be important to a researcher.

In discussing user-generated content, the general consensus amongst participants was that there are two advantages; making use of more people will often speed up a process, and often the people who get involved do so because of an interest and good in-depth knowledge of a subject. However, one participant suggested lack of knowledge could be a good thing too:

> "Having someone . . . with a mission trying to push something, blissfully unaware of any potential obstacles, they arrive with a set of expectations and [make you think] yes, could we do something?" (Participant B)

[18] Huwe, T. (2009). Exploiting synergies: Among digital repositories, special collections, and online community. *Online, 33*(2), 14-19.

Disadvantages raised included problems with bias or subjectivity, or getting too attached to the material and reading rather than processing. Another was the issue of professional competition; a user discovering something new choosing to withhold details to prevent being beaten to publication, though this view was not standard, as others talked about having a 'moral obligation' to promote what they think of as a valuable archive. A final point of concern was that users' content might not be of satisfactory quality. Interestingly non-cataloguers tended to gloss over this issue, considering cataloguing as a reasonably simple task.

Discussion of uniform or preferred titles (a way of standardising entries such that all variants, e.g. *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *The Marriage of Figaro* can be found) threw up some interesting observations. Interviewees without library experience tended not to have come across the concept, despite making use of catalogues which have them. However, the concept was readily understood and participants were quick to supply examples of situations where they would have been useful; for example, one mentioned their choral conductor buying duplicate titles because their library listed the composer's German name rather than the English translation.

Moderation and ownership was an area where most shared similar opinions. All felt some form of moderation would be needed, whether it took the form of advance vetting of contributors or retroactive editing, but many agreed that moderation should not be the exclusive responsibility of librarians. A number of people considered that forums on certain musical figures or periods could become highly charged if the issues discussed are contentious:

> "Either you let everyone write whatever they like and in which case it can turn ugly, or you hold it up by moderating everything which slows it down tremendously and discourages people from getting involved . . . even moderating you will offend people by not posting their stuff, so there's no free ride in this at all." (Participant G)

Interestingly this was one aspect which disagrees with current research into issues of moderation, which suggest that smaller, close-knit communities will suffer less with this problem compared to a large and disparate community such as that of Wikipedia.

In discussion about issues of community-building and sustainability, the majority of interviewees felt it would be difficult to sustain an effort sufficiently for it to work. However, a number offered potential solutions to better engage users and keep them returning, such as making the software sufficiently simple to use, having a purpose beyond the catalogue, or offering extrinsic motivators such as social events for contributors.

Conclusion

The original intention was to explore whether an integrated catalogue with user-generated content was both desirable and possible. The evidence collected in the interviews showed that an integrated catalogue would be useful, and that user-generated content can have considerable value, despite the attendant issues that it brings, such as moderation and the need to build a Community of Practice. While technically such a thing could probably be created for the university's collections, in practical terms the amount of labour and other resources involved currently make it infeasible. However, rapid advancements in technology mean this is an area in a constant state of flux, and it is worth revisiting in the future. Meanwhile, libraries are coming up with imaginative alternatives to the traditional catalogue, and provide solutions which may not necessarily address every problem, but go a long way to improving the inter-connectedness of materials and their accessibility and visibility online, and may be adaptable for similar institutional collections.

Abstract

This article is a summary of the research undertaken for a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of an MSc Econ in Information and Library Studies at Aberystwyth University.[19] It investigates the perceptions of stakeholders of the value of user-generated content in a special collections catalogue and explores existing models which offer alternative solutions to the traditional OPAC.

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[19] Wood, D. (2014). The Music Collections of Cambridge University: An Investigation into Perceptions of the Value of User-Generated Content in a Special Collections Catalogue. MSc Econ. Aberystwyth University.

Brio Volume 53, Number 2. pp 50-55

RDA IMPLEMENTATION IN MUSIC LIBRARIES IN THE UK: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH PROJECT FINDINGS (2014)

Julija Paskova

The cataloguing standard *Resource Description and Access* (RDA) began its practical life within a number of libraries, mainly in English-speaking countries, in April 2013, and has caused the cataloguing world to undergo transition and transformation. Due to the innovative nature of RDA, which required significant changes in technical provision and support and in the way cataloguers think and apply instructions when describing resources, the pace of its adoption was not consistent across various libraries. This article is based on the results of an empirical study *RDA implementation in music libraries in the UK: reality or future* conducted in 2014 at the University College London MA course in Library and Information Studies and aimed to uncover the latest tendencies in music libraries in the United Kingdom regarding the implementation of RDA, which was completely new at the time and is still the case for many music libraries. This research was supported by an investigation into music librarians' personal standpoints towards the code and its associated aspects.

The findings of this empirical research project, where a survey was selected as a research strategy, realised through data collection techniques comprising an online questionnaire and a semi-structured interview, were considered representative across the music librarianship field. This was due to the relatively high number and diversity of the participants involved, who in most cases dealt with diverse collections of music materials reflecting the specific nature of their organisations and users. The institutional background of the total of 31 questionnaire respondents, ten of whom also participated in an interview, represented seven different library settings, including not only strictly music-specific environments such as a conservatoire or a privately managed performance set hire service, but also larger organisations, such as academic, public, national libraries, a research centre or a broadcast/specialist company, of which a music library is only a part.

Plans for RDA implementation and reasons behind them

According to the survey results, the situation regarding the adoption of RDA among music libraries as a main cataloguing code displayed the following trends. Although the major group of participants, mainly representing a

conservatoire setting, had not made their decision regarding RDA implementation (apart from one library which had rejected the idea), the question of implementing the new code for these libraries remained open. They were possibly waiting for suitable circumstances and enhanced motivation to join those music librarians from national and academic libraries whose organisations had already stepped on the path of implementing RDA. The main reasons for keeping a certain distance from RDA were the costs involved in the actual implementation, subscriptions to documentation, data retroconversion and training, as well as the constraints of the system in use. However, along with the concerns raised, the main driving forces towards RDA were expressed as being a need for the replacement of the standard used at that time, improved resource discovery, and data interoperability.

In terms of selecting RDA as the main or only cataloguing standard, certain doubts arose. This was due to the behaviour of libraries adopting RDA when choosing other international standards, along with the new code, that might have been related to the early adoption stage and the dominant status of legacy data. However, the possibility existed that RDA, judging by the frequency of amendments it had experienced from the early stages in order to improve it and adapt it to existing environments, would in future become a hybrid of various cataloguing standards and principles. At the same time, RDA became a reality for an overwhelming majority of music libraries that participated in record sharing and copy cataloguing due to the rapidly increasing availability of RDA records. The empirical data revealed that the libraries which had uncertain plans for RDA adoption had already scheduled or even implemented changes to their operating systems to receive and display RDA elements. Moreover, some of these libraries included the new standard in the list of the used descriptive cataloguing rules. They also acknowledged that knowing RDA and understanding its principles was vital for present and future record and catalogue quality and consistency, and therefore started to get involved in RDA training. The situation described showed that, independent of an organisation's formal decision on RDA implementation, music libraries became part of this process.

What do music librarians think about RDA and its implementation?

With regard to music librarians' attitudes towards RDA and its related processes, there was a spectrum of neutral, ignorant, ambivalent, positive, and negative opinions that came to light. This paralleled a library's official position on RDA implementation. These are the key observations is support to the statement above:

- A higher level of ignorance was observed in music libraries that had not made an official decision to follow the path of RDA adoption (mainly conservatoire libraries);

- Negative feelings within conservatoire and academic backgrounds had been generated through either a negative training experience, or librarians' general observations;
- A positive attitude was often detected in the cases of RDA implementation, which represented academic and national library environments;
- A neutral position, typical across the settings, was usually taken by participants either to express that more time was required to be able to form a personal statement about RDA, or that the decision on RDA implementation had not been their responsibility, therefore it was treated as a standard to adhere to.

Although the main group of the research participants had not yet implemented the new code, RDA did not generate the overall negativity and scepticism that might have been expected, but music librarians in their majority either adopted a 'convenient', 'wait and see' approach to allow more time for observation and evaluation, or postponed the moment of forced decision making by ignoring the on-going processes. Another comment was made regarding a negative position taken by a small proportion of the participants of this study, which indicated that extreme attitudes towards RDA initially expressed at the beginning of its development and implementation, especially from those denying the value of RDA, were not present to such an extent later. Further along the way, more solutions could have been found to adapt this cataloguing innovation to library environments.

In addition to the music librarians' attitude in relation to their institutions' RDA adoption status, a deeper context became available through investigating the factors that affected their individual opinions. These mainly focused on the essential elements of the RDA implementation process: technical provision and support, hybridity, and training.

With regard to the technical side of RDA adoption, there were three components which needed to be adjusted in order to maximise the potential of RDA: an integrated library system's database structure; this system's interface; and a metadata format.

In terms of the first component, which for the new code should ideally have been a relational database structure, most if not all cases identified through the questionnaire and interviews represented solutions with linked bibliographic and authority records that posed limitations for RDA and the underlying FRBR model. In addition to this, nearly all the respondents confirmed that they used MARC21 as the bibliographic data format, which was not flexible enough fully to accommodate the FRBR hierarchical and reciprocal relationships.

In these circumstances the need to support copy cataloguing activities, which included dealing with RDA records, forced music librarians to look

for a possible solution. All the interviewees stated that, although having had generally no plans to change their library system, they incorporated RDA fields into MARC. It also turned out to be a selling point for suppliers, who offered an upgraded, RDA-friendly version as a way to get involved with the new cataloguing standard. Lack of immediate support for their operating system, and thus less pressure to implement RDA, was also stated as one of the reasons why discussions about the new code had been frequently postponed and decisions not made.

RDA aims to improve the user experience of bibliographic data by supporting interoperability of metadata in a wider information environment, therefore increasing the level of discoverability. Although a next-generation catalogue could have provided significant help, it did not seem to be a strong argument for music librarians. Due to the nature of music libraries, especially in a conservatoire, where user needs are mostly performance-oriented and the searching elements are pre-determined, an OPAC was preferred and recommended by music librarians for a quicker search and more precise results. As an additional indicator of the early stages of RDA development in music libraries, from the technical point of view, the questionnaire statistics regarding FRBRisation can be used. It showed that the majority of respondents had not scheduled activities in this regard, with only a few (mainly academic) libraries having planned to FRBRise the user interface, or FRBRise data retrospectively, which for many libraries was not financially feasible.

Another factor that influenced music librarians' views on RDA implementation was the ever growing hybridity which, to various extents, was already present in any library catalogue. The practice showed that a majority of libraries used various combinations of different descriptive cataloguing codes, such as AACR2, RDA, ISBD, DCRM, ISAD(G), EAD, MAD, as well as in-house rules, in order to accommodate the challenges posed by diverse collections and formats music libraries held. This did not necessarily mean that these standards were mixed within one record; however, it might have occurred that one cataloguer dealing with various codes might have unconsciously or deliberately (if it is a local practice) included elements of different codes, thus having stimulated a growth of hybridity within that catalogue.

Apart from the local practices which contributed to record and catalogue hybridity, metadata exchange was another element in the hybridisation process. As reported by most libraries, copy cataloguing formed an important part of their cataloguing activities, meaning that it became nearly impossible to avoid RDA data elements because of the growing quantity of RDA records in bibliographic databases. The only scenario that provided a certain level of control over the process of RDA data import into the local database was when only original cataloguing was performed.

The final essential element of RDA implementation was training. Its significant role was acknowledged by a majority of interviewees, whose organisations had no certain plans for RDA. Their awareness of a need to get involved in RDA training at an early stage was explained not only as a vital step towards understanding and seeing the future of RDA and FRBR, but also as a way of getting more exposure to the new code to stimulate further decision making.

The librarians' lack of or minimal knowledge about the new standard raised a concern about the quality of present and future catalogues, because not being able to assess RDA records while using and sharing them might produce a large number of unacceptable records. The reason for such behaviour was not only in professional ignorance and a lack of time needed for additional educational activities, but also in an organisation's financial constraints that did not allow access to instructions, in this case the RDA Toolkit. However, despite these limitations, there were possibilities for staying informed and up-to-date with RDA. As with the topical training methods, which were and are predominantly Web-based, interviewees' choice of blogs and online discussions followed this tendency, as being more accessible in their approach.

On the other hand those music librarians whose libraries had switched to RDA reported that the official training had either been conducted for senior cataloguers only, or that it had not been a positive experience due to ineffective training content design and delivery. In addition to this, a full music-specific training had not yet been produced which linked to the concern that the music cataloguing community was not adequately represented and did not have a significant influence on the development of RDA locally and internationally.

The situation regarding the implementation of RDA in music libraries in the UK, as outlined above, could form a basis for further research due to a high level of uncertainty in decision making found in the early stages of this process. This could explore trends and changes occurring in RDA adoption in the segmented music library environment over a period of time, uncovering distinctions and similarities between different types of music libraries in their approach to the code.

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Abstract
This article is based on the results of an empirical study, which aimed to uncover the latest tendencies in music libraries in the United Kingdom regarding the implementation of RDA, which was completely new at the time. This research was supported by an investigation into music librarians' personal standpoints towards the code and its associated aspects. Analysis of the collected data showed that the major group of participants, mainly representing a conservatoire setting, had not made their decision regarding RDA implementation, apart for one library which had rejected the idea. However, the question of RDA implementation for these libraries remained open, with staff possibly awaiting suitable circumstances and enhanced motivation to join those music librarians from national and academic libraries whose organisations had already stepped on the path of implementing RDA. Nevertheless, independent of a formal decision of an organisation on adopting RDA, the standard became a reality for an overwhelming majority of music libraries that participate in record sharing and copy cataloguing, due to the rapidly increasing availability of RDA records. This situation generated a spectrum of music librarians' attitudes - neutral, ignorant, ambivalent, positive, or negative - which paralleled a library's official position on RDA implementation. Although the main group of the research participants had not yet implemented the new code, RDA did not generate the overall negativity and scepticism, but music librarians in their majority either adopted a 'convenient' 'wait and see' approach to allow more time for observations and evaluation, or postponed the moment of forced decision-making by ignoring the on-going processes.

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Brio Volume 53, Number 2. pp 56-69

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Loukia Drosopoulou

John Carnelley, *George Smart and nineteenth-century London concert life*. Series: *Music in Britain 1600-2000*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015. 343 pp. ISBN: 9781783270644. Hardback. £60.00.

British music of the early-nineteenth century remains a comparatively under-represented field of musical scholarship, a situation that is currently being addressed by the Boydell Press series *Music in Britain: 1600-2000*. The founding editors of the series are Peter Holman (University of Leeds) and Rachel Cowgill (University of Huddersfield); eminent names familiar to all those with an interest in British music. Furthermore, it will be no surprise to learn that the volume under discussion here – which is part of this series – is the direct result of research undertaken at Goldsmiths University of London, where for three decades the indefatigable Simon McVeigh has been creating a network of scholars who are focused on the study of British musical life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Carnelley was a student of McVeigh and awarded a PhD for his work, and this book is drawn from his doctoral thesis.

Sir George Thomas Smart (1776-1867), the son of a music publisher, had what might be considered a charmed beginning to his musical career having been educated as a chorister of the Chapel Royal, eventually to become a leading light in the world of late-Georgian and early-Victorian British music, assisted in no small part by his royal connections. The broad outline of Smart's life and achievements are already established and neatly digested in articles in the *Grove Dictionary of Music* (William H. Husk, rev. Nicholas Temperley, 2001) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (R. H. Legge, rev. John Warrack, 2004), which even in their revised state remain largely informed by the somewhat hagiographic work of the original nineteenth-century authors. Carnelley's work does not seek to challenge the overall drift of these biographical sketches but rather sets out to complement them with what is in effect the definitive George Smart source-book. Carnelley presents Smart's life and work in encyclopaedic detail in broadly chronological order, with his principal source being Smart's own personal papers in the British Library. A wide range of scholarship about the period in which Smart

was living informs Carnelley's exposition of Smart's papers, and here the pioneering musicological works of Cyril Ehrlich, Leanne Langley, Simon McVeigh, and William Webber are all very much to the fore.

George Smart seems never to have let an opportunity for professional improvement pass him by and on leaving the Chapel Royal in 1793 – then in his mid-teens – he threw himself wholeheartedly into developing a career in music, acquiring a miscellaneous portfolio of London posts: as a parish organist and occasional deputy with the Chapel Royal, a violinist, a conductor, a theatre harpsichordist, and a bass singer at London's Italian Opera House. In 1811, while conducting a series of concerts in Dublin he was knighted by the Duke of Richmond, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The reason for this honour has never been satisfactorily explained, but thereafter Smart's route to a position of leadership in British musical life was set.

At about the time of his knighthood Smart also acquired the patronage of Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex and the younger brother of King William IV. Perhaps Smart and the Duke had known each other from Smart's days as a chorister and student organist with the Chapel Royal, but in adult life the association between the two men was cemented by them both being freemasons. It was the Duke's wish that in 1818 Smart was made Grand Organist of the United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE) in succession to Samuel Wesley; it is plausible that the Duke was responsible for Smart's Irish knighthood. In 1822 Smart was made organist of the Chapel Royal, probably with the Duke's assistance, since one critic of the appointment referred to Smart as 'a toady' of the Duke. And yet, despite the Duke's apparent significance in Smart's life, he remains rather a marginal figure in Carnelley's account and I would have liked to know more about the Duke and his circle of influence in the context of Smart's life.

The masonic part of Smart's story also serves to illustrate a slight worry I have with Carnelley's work, which is that while he does an admirable job of bringing together all the available scholarship to highlight the landmarks he encounters in Smart's own papers there is minimal use made of additional primary sources, and nothing is discovered that might have shed new light on Smart's story. For example, in referring to Smart's masonic career it is to be regretted that Carnelley did not access the UGLE records, which have been open to scholars for many years. It would have been useful to have authoritative data about his various masonic affiliations, Grand Organist appointment and some explanation for his attendance at various masonic dinners and masonic meetings.

This leads me to another quibble. In discussing Smart there is perhaps a weakness in the chronological approach adopted by Carnelley. Across his long career Smart continued many of his roles and responsibilities and sustained his ties with friends and colleagues. Thus quite a number of names and

places, and roles and responsibilities inevitably recur. For example, the interesting facts of Smart's relationship with Beethoven and Smart's promotion of Beethoven's work to English audiences could perhaps have been better conveyed to the reader in a section of its own rather than in piecemeal fashion whenever Beethoven featured in Smart's chronology. The same might be said for Smart's relationships with other leading figures in European music such as Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn, Spohr and Weber. Likewise Smart's involvement with organizations such as the fledgling Royal Academy of Music and the training of professional musicians, and of his development of the role of the conductor. As they are presented, all of these and other undeniably significant landmarks in Smart's career appear scattered throughout the text and the facts appear rather disjointedly. Perhaps the presentation of these significant landmarks as a series of free-standing cross-referenced essays might have better served the reader in gaining a coherent view of them.

However, despite these slight reservations we must recognize that Carnelley has done sterling work in crafting the first full-length biographical study of this influential musical figure. This book comprehensively and convincingly succeeds in its aim to present George Smart as one of the great figures of British musical life, not least in steering the transition of British musical life from the late-Georgian period to the high-Victorian. (I very much appreciated the detailed appendices that Carnelley has provided to summarize Smart's performances and their programmes.) More generally Carnelley's work can readily be recommended as an excellent entry point for any scholarly reader seeking to know better this period of British musical life. This book certainly deserves a place on the shelves of every respectable music library.

Andrew Pink

Lewis and Susan Foreman (eds.), *Felix Aprahamian: Diaries and Selected Writings on Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015. 422 p. ISBN: 9781783270132. Hardback. £45.00.

Felix Aprahamian (1914-2005) was one of the most remarkable figures in the musical life of London through most of the twentieth century. To 'pigeon hole' him is impossible for he worked (with prodigious energy in all cases) as promoter and music publisher, organist, writer and critic, impresario, broadcaster, mentor, and as concert director of the London Philharmonic Orchestra, with these roles constantly overlapping and merging, one into the other. Remembered particularly as a specialist in French music, in reality there was hardly a composer, a school, a trend that Aprahamian did not

somehow embrace with enthusiasm. In the present book Lewis and Susan Foreman provide a valuable overview of Aprahamian's life and work, and successfully bring order to the multifarious sources that he left behind. Lewis sets the scene with a valuable 'Life in Music and Criticism' introduction extending to 44 pages. Aprahamian's personal 'musical diaries' (transcribed verbatim by Susan) provide a detailed ring-side account of London concert life between 1933 and 1935, and a generous selection from his music criticism and writing follows. This book, say the editors, presents "our tribute to Felix largely in his own, very eloquent words". That this tribute actually becomes a hugely important documentary study becomes clear as it unfolds.

Following the biographical introduction, Part I ('The Musical Diaries') forms the heart of the book. Felix was clear on the purpose of his diary from the outset (18 January 1933): "For some time past I have been tinkering with the idea of keeping a musical diary. This idea has been encouraged by the thought that it is in a way my duty to record in as much detail as possible the glimpses it has been my good fortune to be allowed of lives of many people high up in the musical world today." The core text runs from that entry until 17 June 1935, and there are some isolated entries from 1937 and 1944 ("No further fragments of diaries have been found"). The book presents all the extant diary material, and it is not known why Aprahamian ceased writing. The timeframe is thus brief, but the vision intense, the detail formidable, Aprahamian drawing a vivid picture of London's musical life in the mid-1930s, evoking a now-lost world of legendary performers and (in many cases) vanished concert venues.

Aprahamian's almost daily attendance at one or more concerts or recitals underlines the importance to him of live performance. Rarely does he mention purchasing or listening to recordings, and only when "too hard up" does he listen on "auntie's wireless". He was an avid purchaser of printed music and almost every week saw him in Foyles in Charing Cross Road, delighting in the acquisition of a rarity, a bargain, or both. On 15 August 1934 he buys a vocal score of Delius's *Mass of Life*[1] (10*s*. 6*d.*) and a score of Bantock's *Omar Khayyam* (2*s*. 0*d*.), but spends the remainder of the day "burning" to buy the vocal scores of "'Pelléas' and 'Martyr'"; a few weeks later he "obtained Jaeger's analysis of the Dream, Kingdom & Apostles for 2*d.* each!". Aprahamian is a man in a hurry: he is "up betimes", he "dashes off to Foyles again this lunch time", he "tears" to concerts. And, almost incidentally, he conjures a wistful picture, sepia-toned it seems, of London's fogs, wet streets, its café life, and rich variety of music venues and concert organizations — a window on a world doomed to change utterly in but five or six years, but through which we are privileged to gaze.

1 In his Introduction Lewis Foreman records that a recording of the final chorus of this work was heard to great effect at Aprahamian's funeral on 15 January 2005.

The diaries contain many detailed and extensive 'set pieces', alive with a journalistic immediacy, each a unique account. The description, for example, of a visit to Delius on 8 August 1933 builds the tension beautifully by describing the journey to his home: "A profusion of wild flowers. Butterflies innumerable … The sound of grasshoppers all along the road. At last we espied what must be Grez. The old grey church — the little white houses . . . When next I take up my pen we shall have seen Frederick Delius!". The first performance of Vaughan Williams's fourth symphony on 10 April 1935 is described in detail, again the tension mounting as Aprahamian records in the present tense Schnabel, earlier in the concert, "now on the first movement of Mozart's A major Concerto". The Queen's Hall is "chock a bloc full of musical celebrities . . . Herbert Howells, Willie Walton, Frank Bridge, Cyril Scott, Patrick Hadley, Albert Coates, Hamilton Harty, Arthur Bliss, Lionel Tertis, Ernest Ansermet. . .". But in the end Aprahamian found the new Vaughan Williams symphony "a rotten work on the whole".

These panoramic accounts are balanced by shorter, pithier records of Aprahamian's daily concert-going, socializing, and hobnobbing. Dame Ethel Smyth made "rather a weird speech in the interval" of a Sibelius concert given by women on 25 March 1933; on 6 July that year Aprahamian was in the music library of the publisher J. & W. Chester and encountered a "fattish young man . . . [who] looked more like an empty-headed Paris cockerel than a musician" (it was Francis Poulenc); and we learn that at the Prom on 30 September following, the "Orchestral Suite 'Façade' was conducted by the long and lanky composer [Walton] in his usual slick and square manner". Vaughan Williams, on 22 May 1935 (*'Tallis' Fantasia*), "after colossal applause lumbered on to the platform in tweeds. He was a funny spectacle beside the slight and dapper Koussevistsky". The diaries positively glitter with such detail.

Part II, 'Articles and Reminiscences about Friends and Contemporaries', is a selection (alphabetically by subject) of Aprahamian's writings on composers, conductors, and executants: lecture and radio scripts, articles, reviews, previously unpublished typescripts (purpose unknown), and 'sleeve notes' (extending at the end of Aprahamian's life to 'CD notes'). This is the 'professional record', complementing the private and informal views of many of the same characters as seen in Aprahamian's diaries (although the editors point out that the writings were often drawn from diary material, and this leads to some degree of duplication within the book).

For the dramatis personae the Foremans have cast a wide net: forty separate subjects, with more than one article for many. 'Claude Debussy' (only a contemporary for four years and never a friend in the personal sense!), for example, notches up a record sleeve note for *Pelléas et Mélisande* (never used), an overview of recordings of that opera (*Opera*, December 1969), and

a review of Charles Munch's recording of *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* (*Gramophone*, November 1968) (we suddenly remember those vocal scores he "covetously" desired from Foyles back in 1934!). The single piece on 'Olivier Messiaen' (truly a friend and contemporary) is a conflation of four separate articles (one from 1950, three from 1998). While the diaries are presented complete, Aprahamian was a hugely prolific professional writer, and the editors admit to necessary selectivity in this section of the book: "While Felix was well known for his *Sunday Times* column — every week for forty-one years — we have not anthologized his reviews in that newspaper, which could well be the subject for another project." As it is, the selection is wide-ranging, and balanced enough to give a flavour not only of Aprahamian's intimate musical circle, but also to leave adequate record of his erudition, his crisp writing style, and his musical tastes. 'Frederick Delius' (radio talk, drawing heavily on the diaries) and 'Eric Fenby' (posthumously published article), 'Wanda Landowska' (radio talk) and 'Sir William Walton' (article) rub shoulders with 'Ernest Ansermet' (lecture, and a fascinating letter in which the conductor, in 1953, explains to Aprahamian "precisely what stereophonic recording is, or at least what it aims at"), 'Sir Thomas Armstrong', 'Sir Thomas Beecham', 'John Ireland', 'Francis Poulenc', and 'Gérard Souzay'. Aprahamian, it is clear, moved not merely in the lexicon of twentieth-century music, but in its pantheon too.

"Aprahamian was also a mover and shaker in the world of pipe organs", the Preface tells us, and so it is wholly appropriate that Part III is a full transcript of a commercially issued cassette recording on this aspect of his work: the tape ("now difficult to come by") was issued in 1988 under the title of *Felix Aprahamian Remembers the Great Organists*. In print this becomes ten essays, the last of which is about an instrument, rather than an organist. In this piece, Aprahamian traces the decidedly mixed fortunes of the great 1875 Henry Willis Alexandra Palace concert organ (the finest in the world, he tells us). For Felix, its survival through bombings, fire, and neglect, and its various restorations unfolded as a personal and lifelong crusade (he was showing the organ, derelict, to visitors in 1929 and there watching new pipes being installed in 1988); the organ talks cassette was itself issued to raise funds for restoration. The other essays encompass memoirs of some of the twentieth century's finest players, each known personally to Aprahamian: André Marchal ("I greeted him at Victoria Station"), Charles Tournemire ("He lived in his own dream world of plainsong and *L'Orgue mystique* and the Sainte-Clotilde organ loft"), Marcel Dupré (a fantastic tale of an improvisation on a tricky theme provided by none other than Benjamin Britten), Nadia Boulanger ("a madly disciplined person"), and more. Again, Aprahamian's list is a roll call of the great.

As with the pieces collected in the book, the concluding bibliography of

Felix's writings is selective, restricted to "book-length accounts written and edited by the man himself", but also including listing of his commercially recorded talks. There are 44 photographs, and 29 in-text figures. Pleasing to me is the photograph of Felix in the 1960s on the steps of 1 Montague Street, London WC1, then the offices of United Music Publishers, to which firm Aprahamian was an adviser. I worked personally alongside Felix in those very offices in the early 1980s for, although he had by then 'retired', he still called in regularly to voice opinion, sift through papers and scores, and dispense advice, the retirement somehow conveniently forgotten. In many ways the book's illustrative material is as valuable as the textual. In what other place, we wonder, is it possible to find both a fine photograph of Delius's house at Grez (taken by Aprahamian himself in August 1933, immediately following that memorable visit: the church clock stands at five past five and a solitary automobile hides in the shade of the quiet street) and one of Felix with Olivier Messiaen in October 1986, in his beloved Japanese garden at his house in Methuen Park, London? Such was the sweep of Felix Aprahamian's life. This book admits him to the pantheon in his own right.

Simon Wright

The majority of Aprahamian's collection of printed organ music was given to the library of the Royal College of Organists towards the end of his life. The remainder of his papers, writings, and his estate was left to and is now administered by The Arabesque Trust. The collections are not generally available to the public on open access but specific enquiries by researchers and scholars should be directed to the Trust's chairman, Oscar Rook, at oscar.rook@gmail.com .

David Hunter, *The lives of George Frideric Handel*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015. xvii, 515 p. ISBN: 9781783270613. Hardback. £30.00.

Handelian scholarship has been treated to several significant books on the composer's life in recent years – the *Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, Ellen Harris's *Handel: a life with friends* and the first volumes of the *Handel Documents* project. With Hogwood's classic biography as the 'go to' volume for Handel's life, I was intrigued to see what this new volume would offer. The title of David Hunter's book gives a clue to its structure, as does its Warholesque dust-jacket with a collection of Handel images; Hunter examines Handel's life from various aspects – his health, his audiences, his patrons, etc. offering different 'windows' into the composer's lifetime. One of the

most useful aspects of this approach is that the author, whose citation of sources is exemplary, brings together and quotes at length from the contemporary sources on a particular subject. Thus we can find the opinions and observations of Hawkins, Burney, Mainwaring and others on a specific subject all grouped together, compared and analysed, unlike in the more conventional chronological biographies. The thematic approach notes the varying statements by previous authors from the eighteenth-century to the most recent publications, for example on Handel's health or sexuality, audience profile or performance reception of a work, comparing the accounts and opinions, and analysing the context of the biographers and their perceptions and agendas.

Several chapters explore aspects of eighteenth-century musical life in London more widely; for example, Hunter's study of subscription lists and publishing, manuscript collectors and performers. The author reviews extant literature and examines the evidence to support various commonly-held perceptions. While some of the material has been published before, in print or in conference presentations, it is particularly useful to have it collected together in this volume.

Hunter meticulously records and comments on earlier studies, offering his opinions on their merits and conclusions. He notes the dogmatic statements of earlier Handel scholars, from Charles Burney to Winton Dean, and on occasion provides evidence to support different views; there is a tendency however for Hunter to make equally dogmatic assertions on what can, as he himself states, only be an opinion without further knowledge. There are some minor errors of fact – the Foundling Hospital was not for 'orphan children' but rather for those whose mothers could not care for them (p.322), and Hunter plays down the extent of Handel's charitable generosity – yes, he was one of the wealthiest commoners in London, but also one of the most charitable in his regular benefit performances, and his bequest to the Royal Society of Musicians was not matched in size for over a century. I could find no mention of Handel's personal servant, Peter Le Blond, in the section on 'Self and friends', although Le Blond is the first legatee mentioned in Handel's will; even the act of placing the servant at the head of the list of legatees is remarkable, and must indicate something of Handel's attitude to his staff.

Hunter's stated aim is to revise the narrative of Handel's life, debunk myths, verify facts, and distinguish between the subject and the biographer's perception of them. This is achieved to some extent, although one can clearly see the author's own perceptions and opinions at times. It brings together a corpus of material and adds new sources discovered in the author's extensive research in county archives and local record offices. This in itself reminds us how much undiscovered material must remain in these repositories for future researchers, and shows the importance of these sources so often regarded as

tangential to musical research. While not the 'key' biography for the general music library, the publication of the book has been handsomely subsidised by Hunter's university, and its accessible price (£25 e-book, £30 hardback) make it an attractive acquisition for research collections and Handel scholars.

Katharine Hogg

Jonathan Bardon, *Hallelujah: the story of a musical genius and the city that brought his masterpiece to life.* Dublin: Gill Books, 2015. 256 p. ISBN: 9780717163540. Hardback. €24.99.

Handel's *Messiah* is arguably the most successful English oratorio. In his *Hallelujah*, Jonathan Bardon cites a survey from 2014 which nominated this oratorio as the most popular piece of classical music in the world. *Messiah* has been the subject of numerous monographs in the past. Studies of the circumstances surrounding the first performance, the sources and theological aspects of the work have been undertaken by many including Jens Peter Larsen, Harold Watkins Shaw, Donald Burrows, Richard Luckett, Tassilo Erhardt and Michael Marissen. Is there a need for or even space for another book on *Messiah*?

Bardon's approach is quite unlike that of earlier writers. He is primarily a historian so *Hallelujah* takes a rather different angle of investigation from more purely musicological studies. Bardon outlines his first experience of hearing *Messiah* via gramophone recordings in the 1950s. In the acknowledgments (there is no introduction or preface in this book), he states that he is not a trained musician so this fresh approach to the study of *Messiah* is from the perspective of a historian who contextualises the premiere of *Messiah* in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland. It is not a book which provides any in depth musical analysis or an examination of the musical sources for the score (although he gives a good overview of the biblical texts chosen by the librettist Charles Jennens). There are many pages which make no reference to either Handel or *Messiah*. Indeed it is not until chapter seven that he concentrates more closely on the oratorio and its composer. He provides a detailed introduction to the activities of music societies and musicians in Dublin in the two decades before the premiere of *Messiah*. He cautions the account of an invitation to Handel to come to Dublin from the Duke of Devonshire (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) while admitting it is possible that the invitation did issue.

The Irish famine of the 1840s is well known to those who have even a mild interest in Irish history, but what is much less well known is famine in

Ireland in the 1740s. Barton outlines how a violent storm on 29/30 December 1739 was followed by the 'Great Frost' which lasted into February. This frost affected many parts of Europe. As Barden points out, Dublin was the ninth largest city in Europe at this time (bigger than Madrid or Berlin) but being on the periphery of the continent, was effectively cut off from both fuel and food during this famine period. Close to 20% of the Irish population died in 1741 as a result of the weather and bad harvests. He describes the many acts of relief introduced to meet this calamity including fund raising by the Charitable Musical Society. He also portrays a very colourful picture of the activities of commerce in the establishments close to Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin and the construction of Neal's Music Hall adjacent to the cathedral which was to be the venue for the premiere of *Messiah*. Handel's career in London was somewhat floundering in the early 1740s with a reduced popularity of Italian opera and therefore he elected to spend a season in Ireland (indeed he had plans to come to Ireland for the 1742/43 season also but for reasons that are not quite clear this did not happen).

The oratorios Handel penned before *Messiah* were based on Old Testament themes and were works depicting some of the most dramatic parts of the Old Testament. *Messiah* was a significant departure from the earlier oratorios. It is the first oratorio that Handel wrote which consists entirely of text from the bible and it was the first time he addressed a New Testament topic and indeed the central figure of the New Testament. However, unlike his Old Testament based oratorios this is not a biographical or narrative work. There are no named characters in *Messiah*. Jennens selected scripture that was mainly from the Old Testament to create a sort of ghost narrative by allusion and prophesy. The closest we get to an actual narrative is the birth of Christ where Jennens chooses part of the second chapter of Luke's gospel but rather than choosing the birth narrative itself (Luke 2: 1–7) he chose the announcement of Christ's birth to the shepherds by the angels (Luke 2: 8–12) so even this part of the story is given at arm's length.

Jennens was displeased that Handel decided to have the premiere of *Messiah* in Dublin rather than in London. Bardon reproduces primary source material surrounding this matter. However, *Messiah* was better received in Dublin than in London and Bardon makes the argument that this premiere in Dublin ensured its long term popularity. It quickly became a staple part of the musical diet of the second city of the British Isles. *Hallelujah* explores the half way house as to whether oratorio should be considered sacred or secular and the subtle differences on how this was perceived in London and Dublin where audiences had not been exposed to Italian Opera in the way that had happened in the larger capital city.

Messiah received its premiere on 13 April 1742 in Neal's Music Hall in Fishamble Street. This was the first time that Handel was dependent on forces

which were rather unknown to him. He brought some soloists from England but for the most part he was dependent on singers from the Dublin cathedrals and local instrumental players. However he knew Matthew Dubourg (who led the orchestra at the premiere) from his London activities and he was also familiar with one of the cathedral singers, James Baileys, who had been in London in 1737 to sing at the funeral of Queen Caroline.

In addition to Handel and his *Messiah*, *Hallelujah* provides a fascinating social history in the age of Jonathan Swift and George Berkeley. This is amplified by the information in the appendixes. There are a few small factual errors but these are of little significance. For instance, page 169 cites a letter from Jennens to Handel dated 1791 several decades after both men had died. This is obviously a simple typographical error.

Some parts of the book are a little repetitive which is good for those dipping in and out without being any significant impediment to those who are reading the entire volume. Barton's *Hallelujah* is brimming with primary source material. It will be very useful for those who have little prior knowledge of Handel, his *Messiah* or Dublin. However the contextual approach makes it of great interest to musicologists and historians as well as general readers. Despite its modest price, it is handsomely produced and contains excellent colour plates.

Kerry Houston

David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2015 (now Routledge). xx, 206 p. ISBN: 9781472445872. Hardback. £60.00.

It is sometimes possible to glean tantalising details of the 'afterlife' of a book in the years following its publication from marks that its owners have left in it. Until relatively recently, most library catalogues did not include information about ownership marks and other annotations in books, focusing on the publications themselves and their intellectual content, rather than on ephemeral markings in individual copies. Over the past couple of decades, however, this has begun to change: there is growing interest among scholars in the material legacy of early modern texts, and librarians and bibliographers have been making greater efforts to document and study the marks of ownership and other traces left in early modern books.

In music bibliography, there is a need for a comprehensive investigation of copies of printed music containing marks of ownership, marginalia, manuscript corrections and other additions. RISM, probably the best-known

international music bibliographic project, has never tackled this, and compiling this information for all periods and countries of publication would be an enormous task. David Greer, Emeritus Professor of Music at Durham University, has made a useful start with his book *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music*, in which he focuses on music printed in England before 1640. Greer's title does not really do his book justice, as it covers not just inscriptions but also bookplates, ownership marks on bindings and musical works added in manuscript to printed editions.

Greer has been collecting information on manuscript inscriptions and other marks in early printed music books for most of his career. As he explains in his preface, what began as a habit - of simply making a note of annotations whenever they appeared in a printed edition he was consulting - eventually developed into a long-running project. This book contains the fruits of his research. It is divided into two parts: Part I, described as an introductory survey, is broadly an introduction to the topic and a summary of Greer's main findings, while Part II is a catalogue of printed music published in England before 1640 containing manuscript inscriptions and other marks, arranged by library.

Part I begins with an explanation of the scope of the project (liturgical books for the Sarum rite and editions of English composers published abroad are excluded, while editions of foreign composers printed in England are included) and the methodology. It is here that one limitation of the book becomes clear. In deciding which copies of surviving editions to examine, Greer has used Pollard and Redgrave's *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91). Greer has examined all the copies of relevant music publications listed in that catalogue, but admits that, in order to keep the survey to a manageable size, he was not systematic in his examination of copies absent from Pollard and Redgrave but listed in RISM, the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC) and other reference sources. It therefore cannot be assumed that the catalogue in Part II includes details of all extant copies of pre-1640 English music editions containing manuscript inscriptions. To be fair to Greer, he acknowledges in his preface that in a work such as this, done over many years, there may be errors of commission and omission and inconsistencies of coverage, and he expresses the hope that it will provide a useful starting point for future scholars. This it certainly will. However, because Greer does not list all of the copies he has consulted, only those in which marks were found, future scholars will not know which copies listed in bibliographies other than Pollard and Redgrave still remain to be consulted.

Greer's introductory section includes a list of the editions included in Part

II, of which there are 190, dating from ca. 1520 to 1639. However, they are described only by means of a composer name, short title and date, plus the Pollard and Redgrave STC number. In a work of music bibliography of this nature, a fuller bibliographic description, including the imprint, would have been useful, especially where several different editions of a publication are featured, as is the case with William Byrd. It will often be necessary to consult Pollard and Redgrave to be sure which edition is being discussed. Most music reference works refer to early printed editions by their RISM number, so STC number alone is not especially useful.

The remainder of Part I contains chapters on the following topics: owners' names and other indications of ownership; manuscript amendments to music and words and extra works added in manuscript; pagination and prices; and other types of manuscript additions, including drawings. In his chapter on names and other ownership marks, Greer concentrates primarily on the earliest owners of the books, drawing attention to important early collectors such as Conyers D'arcy of Hornby Castle, Yorkshire. As is the case with all the chapters in Part I, numerous illustrations are included. Here they provide useful examples of early signatures and monograms inscribed on the publications. Some of these have not yet been identified, but Greer includes them in the hope that others will recognise them. He also highlights the large number of books on which a Greek sigma, σ , has been written on the title page, and suggests that this is the mark of an as-yet-unidentified former owner. I do wonder whether it was actually a bookseller's mark, as the sign is sometimes used to mean 'sold'.

There is a substantial chapter on musical and textual manuscript insertions. As Greer explains, these take the form of handwritten amendments and additions to the printed musical and literary text, as well as complete additional pieces on the blank staves at the foot of pages and on flyleaves. Greer notes that most of the additional pieces are known from other sources, but provides a useful summary of the works for which these books form the sole known source.

In the chapter on pagination, Greer demonstrates that a close examination of the pagination added by hand to music books can facilitate the identification of publications which, although now dispersed across several libraries, were once bound together into large volumes. This chapter provides valuable new information on four such collections, and demonstrates the usefulness of such a study. We learn, for example, that eighteen sets of partbooks now scattered across libraries in the USA and France were once owned by the same early owner, who bound all the canto parts together and numbered the pages consecutively, and did the same with the other vocal parts. In the final chapter of Part I, Greer describes other kinds of markings found in early printed music, including pedagogical information and drawings. He uses

the latter to provide a further example of books once owned by the same individual.

Part II, which takes up more than half of the book, is a library-by-library survey of the pre-1640 English music editions that Greer has identified as containing manuscript additions, bookplates or other marks of ownership. It covers libraries in Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Ireland, Japan, The Netherlands and the USA. Within the section for each library, publications are listed alphabetically by composer, with tract volumes containing more than one publication treated separately. The listings include shelfmark, details of surviving part-books, and then a brief description of the manuscript additions or ownership marks. Owners' names and other inscriptions are transcribed exactly. Most of the inscriptions are undated in the sources, and Greer has not attempted to date the handwriting. An indication of which are contemporary inscriptions and which are much later additions would have been helpful. Owners' life-dates are given where Greer has been able to identify them, but only on the first occurrence of the name in the catalogue. As the catalogue is unlikely to be read in a linear fashion, it would have been useful to repeat these dates in each entry. None of the inscriptions is illustrated, but where there is a reference to the name or an illustration in Part I of the book, the page number is given. What is very useful is the inclusion of music incipits for additional pieces added in manuscript.

Readers might, depending on their interest, want to use a variety of routes into the text. Names of composers and former owners appear in a single index. It would perhaps have been useful to have a separate index of former owners, so that those interested in provenance can quickly identify names of collectors and owners. An index of publications would have enabled users to find particular editions more easily. All in all, though, this will be a useful reference book for those studying early English music and for anyone interested in material culture and book history.

Sandra Tuppen

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Typeset and produced by The E-TYPE Press
Lakeview Court, Wardington Manor, Wardington, Near Banbury, Oxfordshire OX17 1SW
Telephone: (01295) 758889 www.e-typepress.co.uk