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**The Performance Practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London
Medieval Music in the 1960s and 1970s**

Breen, Edward George

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**The Performance Practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort
of London: Medieval Music in the 1960s and 1970s**

Edward George Breen

PhD

King's College London

April 2014

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Acknowledgements

‘I have always depended upon the kindness of strangers’. Blanche Dubois may have been hysterical when she made that comment, but it endured for more than half a century and will, no doubt, resonate for many years to come. As I approach the end of this thesis I can reflect on times when I too depended on the kindness of strangers. Now, I’m glad to say, they are no longer strangers but friends and colleagues.

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
INDEX OF FIGURES	9
ABSTRACT	13
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>14</u>
STRUCTURE	16
<u>CHAPTER 1 - LITERATURE REVIEW: DAVID MUNROW</u>	<u>21</u>
REVIEW: REMEMBERING DAVID MUNROW	21
MUNROW'S PLACE IN EARLY MUSIC HISTORIES	31
JOURNALISM	42
DOCUMENTARY AND OBITUARY	46
WRITINGS BY DAVID MUNROW	50
BOOKS	50
ARTICLES	55
BROADCAST SCRIPTS	56
LINER NOTES	59
SUMMARY	63
<u>CHAPTER 2 - METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE</u>	<u>66</u>
TITLE	66
METHODOLOGY	67
METHOD	73
ARCHIVAL RESEARCH AND LITERATURE REVIEW	76
INTERVIEW AND ORAL HISTORY	79
THE ANALYSIS OF RECORDINGS	83

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	84
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	88
SUMMARY	89
 <u>CHAPTER 3 - DAVID MUNROW & THE FORMATION OF THE EARLY MUSIC</u>	
<u>CONSORT OF LONDON</u>	<u>90</u>
CHILDHOOD	90
SOUTH AMERICA	93
UNIVERSITY	97
A PROFESSIONAL MUSICIAN	103
THE EARLY MUSIC CONSORT (OF LONDON)	117
BROADCASTING WITH THE BBC	119
OTHER PERFORMING ENSEMBLES	125
SUMMARY	126
 <u>CHAPTER 4 - BETWEEN MORROW AND MODERNITY</u>	
INTRODUCTION: HUIZINGA’S HAUT AND BAS	129
A VOCAL ATTEMPT TO IMITATE HAUT AND BAS INSTRUMENTS	135
MICHAEL MORROW & MUSICA RESERVATA:	139
MUNROW’S PERFORMANCES	162
THE POINT OF DEPARTURE: LANDINI’S QUESTA FANCIULLA	171
WHERE IS ‘THE MUSIC’?	184
CONCLUSIONS	186
 <u>CHAPTER 5 - WHAT SHOULD IT ALL SOUND LIKE?</u>	
INTRODUCTION	188
DISCOGRAPHY 1: VOCAL VIBRATO	189
THE CATALYST FOR MUNROW’S ESSAY	189
MUNROW’S LITERATURE REVIEW	192

MUNROW’S VIEWS	197
METHOD	198
RESULTS	199
INTERPRETING THE RESULTS	222
A TOOLKIT FOR INTERPRETING VIBRATO	224
VIBRATO IN OTHER RECORDINGS BY DAVID MUNROW	226
SUMMARY OF DISCOGRAPHY 1: VOCAL VIBRATO	234
DISCOGRAPHY 2: WHAT SHOULD IT ALL SOUND LIKE?	235
CONCLUSIONS	246
<u>CHAPTER 6 - SHARED MUSIC-CULTURAL SPACE</u>	<u>249</u>
PART ONE: MEDIEVAL MONOPHONY AND ‘TURKISH NIGHTCLUB MUSIC’	249
LOCATING THE INFLUENCES BEHIND INSTAMPITA GHAETTA	251
THE RECORDING PROCESS	257
PRESENTING THE DANCES IN PERFORMANCE	259
ISTAMPITA TRE FONTANE	266
ISTAMPITA GHAETTA	273
SUMMARISING TRE FONTANE AND GHAETTA	277
<i>MACHAUT: DOUCE DAME JOLIE</i>	279
PART TWO: CASE STUDIES OF MEDIEVAL POLYPHONIC MUSIC	285
ANON: ON PAROLE DE BATRE	286
DUFAY: VERGINE BELLA	291
SUMMARY	297
<u>CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	<u>298</u>
DISCUSSION	298
REVIVALS	298
PIONEERS	304
PERSONALITIES	307

STYLES	309
CONCLUSIONS	311
POSTSCRIPT: INFLUENCES AND LEGACY	313
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	316
ARCHIVES	316
BESPOKE INTERVIEWS	316
BOOKS, BOOK SECTIONS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES	316
<u>SELECTED DISCOGRAPHY</u>	329
<u>APPENDIX - ARCHIVAL SOURCES</u>	332
ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC LIBRARY. MARYLEBONE, LONDON.	332
BBC INFORMATION & ARCHIVES SERVICE	335
BBC WRITTEN ARCHIVES. CAVERSHAM, BERKSHIRE (W.A.C.)	336
EMI ARCHIVES. HAYES, MIDDLESEX	338
BRITISH LIBRARY SOUND ARCHIVE, LONDON	343
THE OPEN UNIVERSITY, MILTON KEYNES	344
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS	344
RELATED COLLECTIONS	345

Index of Figures

Figure 1: David Munrow as a prefect in 1960 (front row, far right).....	92
Figure 2: David Munrow, John Turner (standing) and Christopher Hogwood giving a recital in Millers music shop, Cambridge c.1962	99
Figure 3: Bagpipe dancing to <i>gululka</i> (rebec) accompaniment in 1950s Bulgaria (photo by A.L. Lloyd).....	149
Figure 4: Photograph by A.L Lloyd used by Columbia Records.....	149
Figure 5 Musica Reservata: <i>Kalenda Maya</i> , introduction	158
Figure 6 Musica Reservata, <i>Kalenda Maya</i> : recorder trill	159
Figure 7 Musica Reservata, <i>Kalenda Maya</i> : Jantina Noorman's voice	159
Figure 8 Jaye Consort, <i>Kalenda Maya</i> : introduction and vocal entry.....	160
Figure 9 Jaye Consort, <i>Kalenda Maya</i> : Gerald English's voice	161
Figure 10 Waverly Consort/ de los Angeles, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : introduction.....	165
Figure 11 Waverly Consort/ de los Angeles, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : first vocal entry	166
Figure 12 Waverly Consort/ de los Angeles, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : last note (including voice)	166
Figure 13 Musica Reservata, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : first entry	167
Figure 14 Musica Reservata, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : Middle verse with two voices.....	167
Figure 15 Early Music Consort of London/Bowman, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : beginning.....	169
Figure 16 Early Music Consort of London/Bowman, <i>Pase el agoa</i> : last note	169
Figure 17 Musica Reservata: <i>Questa Fanciulla</i> - first entry.....	174
Figure 18: Early Music Consort – <i>Questa Fanciulla</i> , opening	177
Figure 19 Studio der frühen Musik: <i>Questa fanciulla</i> - opening	181
Figure 20 St George's Canzona: <i>Questa fanciulla</i> - verse 1.....	183
Figure 21: <i>Luci Serene</i> - final cadence.....	191
Figure 22 Jussi Björling's voice spectrogram.....	198

Figure 23 Results table.....	201
Figure 24 JP.....	201
Figure 25 PM.....	202
Figure 26 TYT.....	202
Figure 27 BW.....	203
Figure 28 JN.....	203
Figure 29 JB.....	204
Figure 30 LT.....	204
Figure 31 AD.....	205
Figure 32 CL.....	205
Figure 33 LC.....	206
Figure 34 CD.....	206
Figure 35 HY.....	207
Figure 36 BL.....	207
Figure 37 MK.....	208
Figure 38 HS.....	208
Figure 39 Results graph.....	214
Figure 40 Deller: developing vibrato.....	216
Figure 41 Laine: developing vibrato.....	216
Figure 42 LC: first entry (second note of the piece) pressure vibrato.....	217
Figure 43 CD: first entry.....	218
Figure 44 CD: changes of intensity during vibrato cycles.....	219
Figure 45 HY: first note.....	220
Figure 46 BL: developing vibrato on a long note.....	221
Figure 47 HS: characteristic portamento and developing vibrato shapes.....	222
Figure 48 <i>De home vray</i>	226

Figure 49 Martyn Hill and regal.....	227
Figure 50 Hill: vibrato on a long note.....	228
Figure 51 Nigel Rogers: <i>Questa fanciull'amor</i>	229
Figure 52 Christina Clarke: <i>Chanterai por mon corage</i>	230
Figure 53 <i>Inviolata, integra et casta es, Maria</i> : Sally Dunkley and Rosemary Hardy.....	232
Figure 54 Rosemary Hardy	233
Figure 55 Swingle Singers: opening notes.....	238
Figure 56 Swingle Singers: digital remaster	239
Figure 57 Swingle Singers: characteristic shape of vibrato at the end of a long note ..	240
Figure 58 Panpipe vibrato: <i>What should it all sound like?</i> (track 5)	242
Figure 59 Breathy flute playing: <i>What should it all sound like?</i> (track 6).....	243
Figure 60 Plucked Ud: <i>What should it all sound like?</i> (track 7).....	244
Figure 61 Opening cry 'Venezuela': <i>What should it all sound like?</i> (track 8)	245
Figure 62 Munrow indicates tempo with the recorder at his lips ready to start playing	260
Figure 63 The ensemble for <i>Tre Fontane</i>	261
Figure 64 Munrow: physical effort in <i>Tre Fontane</i>	261
Figure 65 Tyler: stamping to the beat in <i>Tre Fontane</i>	261
Figure 66 Tyler: chordal accompaniment	262
Figure 67 Corkhill: percussion.....	262
Figure 68 Munrow: final note	262
Figure 69 Munrow: releases final note.....	263
Figure 70 Munrow: introductory beats with Shawm at his lips	263
Figure 71 Ensemble for <i>Saltarello</i>	264
Figure 72 Munrow: physical effort in <i>Saltarello</i>	264
Figure 73 Munrow: long note at end of <i>Saltarello</i>	264

Figure 74 Munrow: releases final note.....	264
Figure 75: Ancestral Voices (BBC) <i>Estampie</i> : performers watch Munrow for his final note.....	265
Figure 76 Percussionists watch Munrow for his final note.....	266
Figure 77. <i>Tre Fontane</i> in Munrow's hand (used by kind permission of the Royal Academy of Music, London)	267
Figure 78 Blachly: analysis of Wolf's transcription.	270
Figure 79 Blachly: analysis of the Wolf's <i>Ghaetta</i> transcription.	276
Figure 80 New York Pro Musica: <i>Douce dame jolie</i> . Soprano solo.....	281
Figure 81 Early Music Consort of London: <i>Douce dame jolie</i> . Introduction.	282
Figure 82 Early Music Consort of London: <i>Douce dame jolie</i> . Martyn Hill solo.	284
Figure 83 Pro Musica Antiqua: <i>Vergine Bella</i> . Opening.	293
Figure 84 Pro Musica Antiqua: <i>Vergine Bella</i> . End of first phrase.	294
Figure 85 Early Music Consort of London: <i>Vergine Bella</i> . First entry.	295
Figure 86 Studio der frühen Musik: <i>Vergine Bella</i> . Opening.....	296

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the musical contribution of David Munrow and his Early Music Consort of London (EMC) to the so-called early music revival of the 1960s and 1970s. By exploring the notion of shared cultural space in performances of medieval music by leading ensembles of the time, this thesis seeks to isolate aspects of performance practice unique to the EMC.

An assessment of literary sources documenting the early music revival reveals clear nodes of discussion around Munrow's methods of presenting early music in concert performance which are frequently classified as 'showmanship' with a focus on more scholarly performance practice decisions only evident in the post-Munrow period. Close readings of these sources are undertaken which are, in turn, weighed against Munrow's early biography to map out the web of influences contributing to his musical life. Having established David Munrow's intentions in performance, this thesis uses techniques of performance analysis to question whether he and the EMC achieved such stated aims in performance, and identifies how different approaches are made manifest in recordings by other ensembles.

The findings, which seek to marry sonic analysis with reception history, are interpreted in the light of the New Cultural History of Music and reposition David Munrow, often seen as a showman who evangelized early music, as a musician who profoundly influenced the modern aesthetics and surface details of performance for subsequent generations of early musicians.

Introduction

David Munrow (1942–1976) was a popular and successful performer on the recorder, bassoon and early wind instruments. As director of The Early Music Consort of London (EMC) and as a regular broadcaster on British radio and television channels he created a strong public profile within the traditional classical music industry. A review of literature has made it apparent that existing discussion about the early music revival does not adequately explore the influence of Munrow *and* the EMC; no study of performance practice undertaken to date attempts to explain how they came to be such a large part of our arts culture, and so quickly. This thesis contextualizes the performances of David Munrow within his cultural environment; it explores the multiple crossovers within his performance practice between the English choral tradition and world musics and it examines his subsequent reception history and influence.

The decision to study David Munrow and his Early Music Consort of London can be summarized by several reasons. First, David Munrow is one of the most popularly remembered figures from the early music revival of the 1960s and 1970s and, as the first chapter will show, has been written about consistently over several decades. David Munrow and his Consort were also one of the first financially successful early music specialist ensembles in Britain and recorded and broadcast a substantial body of medieval music. Lastly, due to David Munrow's untimely death, the time span of his professional performances is just 8 years, which allows for a focused case study approach.

Few ensembles prior to the formation of the Early Music Consort of London achieved an international reputation for their performances of medieval music and even fewer ensembles used styles of playing that were consciously removed from mainstream

chamber-music performance practice. In fact, performances of medieval music were frequently undertaken with noticeable bel-canto style vibrato from the singers and a nineteenth-century influence to dynamics and tempo from the instrumentalists. In gathering together an ensemble of specialists who both stood apart from traditional performance practice yet maintained the highest of performance standards, Munrow is frequently remembered as one of the pioneers of the early music movement. He was not, however, the first person to experiment with style, nor was he the first early music specialist to question the suitability of prevailing performance practice for early music during the 1960s and early 1970s.

The aim of this research therefore, is to identify the influences behind David Munrow's performances of medieval music and to open the question of how these influences were filtered and developed by Munrow. The central research questions of this thesis ask: is it possible to identify influences on the performance of medieval music by David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London? And also, is it possible to isolate particular performance practice traits that were unique to David Munrow and his Consort in medieval music?

This aim is realized in three main ways:

1. By collating and discussing sources of information concerning Munrow's musical career.
2. By exploring how performance practice can be quantified and described so that comparisons can be made between performances in a meaningful and revealing way.
3. By contextualizing Munrow's work within the early music revival, a period that, for this project, is defined as the second half of the twentieth century. This period is considered as shared cultural space.

My research brings together recordings, interviews and archival sources to assess the performance practice of David Munrow and the EMC during three broad phases of their output from 1967, when the consort was founded, until 1976 when Munrow died.

This study focuses on medieval music, and although reference is occasionally made to renaissance, baroque and later repertoire; they are not considered in detail within the scope of this investigation. The reasons for limiting the repertoire under consideration in this way are twofold: Munrow's recording career with the EMC launched with an album of Italian Trecento music which itself was an important commentary on ideas that Munrow encountered as a performer in another London-based Ensemble, Musica Reservata. This medieval repertoire, including the famous *Lo Ms* dances, remained in the EMC repertoire for the entire duration of the ensemble's existence and as such provides a solid body of work with which many meaningful comparisons can be drawn.¹ Munrow was also famous for his own multi-instrumental talents as a performer. That so many of these instruments were from the medieval and early-renaissance periods demonstrates a keen preoccupation with this historical time-span and its music. By focusing on a single period it is hoped that this study can come closer to understanding Munrow's musical thought processes.

Structure

The thesis falls into six chapters: the first chapter necessarily functions along the lines of a traditional literature review. The early music revival has been the subject of rigorous academic study since the late 1970s when specialist publications began to proliferate and this was to a large extent caused by the success of the 'authenticity movement' whose claims led to the successful marketing of many records and concerts

¹ *Lo* refers to London, British Library, Additional manuscript 29987.

despite the academic debate that raged alongside it. An example of this is described by Nicholas Kenyon: ‘Eventually we reached the absurd situation where the American company releasing the Academy of Ancient Music’s recording of the Pachelbel Canon affixed a sticker to the disc proclaiming: ‘Authentic Edition. The famous Kanon as Pachelbel heard it’.²

David Munrow was an artist who straddled the end of an older phase of the early music revival and only witnessed the beginnings of the audience appetite for authenticity that, at its apex, led to that ‘eventually’ moment described by Kenyon above. Despite pre-dating this part of the revival, Munrow experienced the seeds of such a musical sensibility, as he was increasingly criticized for his use of historically inappropriate instrumentation. Towards the end of his life Munrow began to remodel his consort with a view to performing renaissance sacred vocal music. One colleague tells me that Munrow was coming to realize that by performing so much instrumental music he had been concentrating simply on the periphery of the Renaissance and wanted to reform his consort to tackle the sacred corpus of music that he felt formed the musical backbone of that age.³ Indeed plans to reform his consort are also remembered in an interview with the tenor Martyn Hill.⁴ Sadly, Munrow took his own life in May 1976 before his new ideas could fully come to fruition, but the beginnings of his new approach can be heard on his albums *The Art of the Netherlanders*, and *Monteverdi’s Contemporaries*.⁵ The details of those plans have not previously been discussed at any length in print.

Nicholas Kenyon’s comments characterise the fervour that surrounded an age in which a specialist journal *Early Music* was founded to cater to the thirst for

² Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6.

³ This person did not wish to have their name printed: ex-BBC employee, letter to author, August, 5, 2009.

⁴ Martyn Hill, conversation with author, London, March 25, 2009.

⁵ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of the Netherlands*, EMI (His Master's Voice) SLS 5049, 1975, 3 LPs.

musicological and performance knowledge that both amateur and professional musicians felt when the idea of ‘authentic performance’ was rife. Munrow clearly acknowledged this trend when he divided his monumental survey *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* into two halves separating the instruments into their appropriate historical ages; an action which could be seen as an indication of his regret at certain ‘inauthentic’ performance decisions in the earlier part of his career.⁶ Furthermore, this intriguing shift to focus on Munrow’s use of medieval instruments rather than later models in medieval repertoire suggests that the medieval period itself was under particularly dynamic consideration during the 1970s as Munrow wrote his book.

Having established a roadmap of previous scholarship, the next chapter explains the influence on my work of standard methodologies; in particular a balancing of Empirical Musicology and New Cultural History. It also explores the implications of my research methods and the problematization of both the notion of ‘performance practice’ and the issues involved in writing biography and history.

Chapter 3 provides a new and more detailed biography of Munrow’s early life. It explores his formal musical education and the web of social and professional connections that developed prior to the founding of the EMC and during its early years until 1970. Since David Munrow is the central figure of this thesis it is important that there be a detailed biography of his life and work so that the various interviews and materials in subsequent studies can be orientated and justified within a time-line of his development as an artist.

Chapter 4 is entitled ‘Between Morrow and Modernity’. David Munrow and Michael Morrow dominated the performance of medieval music in England in the early 1970s and during the late sixties Munrow played in Morrow’s ensemble. By exploring

⁶ David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

folk music and the relationship of voices to groupings of loud and soft instruments, this chapter uncovers the philosophy behind Morrow's performance style and identifies the point of departure for the EMC and the reasons why Munrow ceased to perform with *Musica Reservata* after about 1970.

The fifth chapter, 'What Should It All Sound Like?', is a reconstruction: a spool of magnetic tape and an unpublished paper in Munrow's private archive shows an interest in world music and a preoccupation with vocal vibrato. This chapter reconstructs the arguments behind these two documents and analyses the audio examples that Munrow chose to illustrate his presentations. The chapter asks to what extent Munrow's aural observations agree with the recordings when observed through signal-processing software and suggests a line of reasoning which links the recorded examples in sequence.

Having built up a toolkit of analysis and influences in the previous three chapters, Chapter 6, 'Shared Cultural Space', is a set of case studies that implement this toolkit by considering a sense of shared cultural space in performances of medieval dances and motets across the major performing ensembles from the 1960s and 1970s.

David Munrow's interpretation of medieval dances was so central to his success in touring with the EMC that this chapter traces the development of his highly personalised style of playing such pieces, dubbed 'Turkish nightclub music' by James Bowman, which frequently provided crowd-rousing encores. This chapter opens questions about how these dances, alongside other medieval works containing singers, spawned a departure from the approach favoured by *Musica Reservata* and how the results of that departure are made manifest in EMC performances. It also questions how they contributed a lasting influence to medieval vocal performances until the end of the century.

In particular, Munrow's boxed set albums *Music of the Gothic Era* and *The Art of Courtly Love* were lavish presentations of medieval music of a sort hitherto unseen, yet the multicoloured instrumental participation in these performances was musicologically outdated within a decade. With this change in mind, the chapter also explores Munrow's approach to several pieces of medieval vocal music and compares them to performances both before and after his recordings with an emphasis on vocal styles rather than instrumental participation.

Finally, in chapter 7, 'Discussions and Conclusions', the main themes of the EMC's performance style are teased out of the narrative and a consideration is undertaken of how these themes interface with existing literature on the early music revival with particular emphasis on the latest studies (published in 2013) celebrating anniversaries of several post-Munrow performing ensembles founded in 1973.

Chapter 1 - Literature Review: David Munrow

This chapter examines existing literature on the early music revival and writings about David Munrow, and in doing so seeks to explore and summarize previous work in this topic area. However, it also exceeds the traditional boundaries of a literature review as it surveys evidence and sources for this thesis as a whole, including documentary and archival evidence. This latter function creates a coherent plan of sources used in this investigation and provides the reader with an overview of the available evidence. Further archival details are contained in the appendix.

Review: Remembering David Munrow

Following his suicide, aged 34, in 1976, the main body of writing about David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London has been obituary. Therefore, there is a paucity of work to date that reflects upon their musical impact outside of this memorial context, despite many leading artists claiming that EMC performances have been an important influence on the general direction of the early music revival. There has, however, been a persuasive background of criticisms leveled at Munrow for popularizing ideas developed by other artists and also a feeling that he ‘played to the gallery’ with his performances of dance music. Despite extensive literature on the early music revival and its reception history, it remains unclear which aspects of EMC performances are the product of original thought, and which, if any, simply rework ideas gleaned from other ensembles.

By 1977, a year after the death of David Munrow, a palpable change in the way that UK-based early musicians considered their relationship with the traditional classical music scene was making itself known. In the space of about a decade, they

were no longer a cottage industry pursuing an interest in old music; rather, they appear to have joined forces to consider themselves as a *movement*. This new sense of unification was exemplified in 1976 when John Cruft, the then Music Director of the Arts Council of Great Britain met with Anthony Rooley, Director of The Early Music Centre and The Consort of Musicke to propose the first early music conference. *The Future of Early Music in Britain* took place the following May at the Royal Festival Hall. Howard Mayer Brown chaired the conference and J.M. Thomson, founder and editor of *Early Music* magazine edited papers for publication.⁷ This conference was among the first organized meetings for the massed factions of early music research and performance, and the resulting message was an overriding call for the various camps to work together towards educating audiences.

Thomson, in his preface, summed up the general feeling by saying that ‘[u]ntil now, almost everything in early music had been achieved through dedication, good will and the ability to survive in a musical culture still largely dominated by the 19th century.’⁸ The final day of the conference saw the beginnings of a mechanism by which this new early music movement might go mainstream and compete with the music of the previous century; an invited audience heard short presentations appealing for grants, subsidies and other forms of help. Early music was going mainstream.

Looking back on that publication, nowhere was the rate of change more acute than in the field of medieval music. In his conference talk, David Fallows lamented the recent demise of ‘three of the world’s most influential performing groups for medieval

⁷ Anthony Rooley et al., *The Future of Early Music in Britain: Papers Delivered at the Conference Held in the Waterloo Room of the Royal Festival Hall, London, 14-16 May 1977: Chairman Howard Mayer Brown*, ed. J. M. Thomson (London: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁸ *Ibid.*, x.

music' and listed them as New York Pro Musica, the Early Music Consort of London and Studio der Frühen Musik.⁹ Only Musica Reservata remained active.

1977 happened also to be a Machaut celebration and the year in which the first York Early Music Festival had taken place (April 1977) at which Andrew Parrott, director of The Taverner Consort, organized a performance, *a cappella*, of Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame* in York Minster which sent ripples through the world of early music. He later described the whole festival as a 'heady event'.¹⁰ Christopher Page was in the audience and remembered that although it was not the first time an all-vocal performance of the mass had been presented this particular performance was unusually powerful because:

it was heard on this occasion by many of the country's professional musicians and scholars committed to medieval music and is unlikely to be forgotten by those who were present. The dignity of conception, and the complete absence of triviality, gimmickry and undue haste, left a profound impression. Many devotees of medieval music discovered voices on that day.¹¹

The [re-]discovery of medieval music as all vocal performance has already been explored in detail by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, but Page's memory of that concert also betrays some interesting opinions about the way medieval music was perceived pre-1977 that would, necessarily, allude to the performances of Munrow and those three other influential groups mentioned by Fallows.¹² Page's comment implies that the sort of Machaut mass that was heard previously would have contained triviality, gimmickry or undue haste; and possibly all three. It may not have even been dignified. This note of disdain is not unique to Page; Leech-Wilkinson himself, when reviewing Parrott's album

⁹ David Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music," in *The Future of Early Music in Britain*, ed. J.M. Thomson (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1.

¹⁰ Andrew Parrott interviewed by Daniel Leech Wilkinson, 19 June 2000, quoted in: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 107.

¹¹ Christopher Page, "The English *a cappella* Heresy," in *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton & David Fallows (California: University of California Press, 1992), 25. (California: University of California Press, 1992), 25.

¹² For the history of medieval music performance see: Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*.

of the Machaut mass (which was not recorded until 1984) thought that it was one of the rare times the music had not been mistreated:

There can be few medieval compositions that performers have treated so often and so badly as Machaut's Mass. Few of the string of recordings made since performing editions became widely available in the early 1950s have come anywhere near doing justice to Machaut's likely intentions, either historically or musically.¹³

This evangelistic air cannot be ignored: a possible reading could be that in 1977 Machaut was somehow perceived to have been rescued from nearly three decades of maltreatment and only in 1984 was an honorable performance recorded. The clue to understanding this change is in the phrase 'doing justice to Machaut's likely intentions...' that Leech-Wilkinson used. What had so inspired musicians active between about 1977 and 1984 was a feeling that they were getting closer and closer to an historically accurate performance. Indeed 'authentic' was the word used most frequently when describing the sort of performances that early music ensembles were then offering, but it was also a word David Munrow had used several times previously in the years prior to 1977, when it was a less loaded term and less linked to the 'likely intentions' of composers.

By 1984, such was the groundswell of feeling that *Early Music* magazine, now under the editorship of Nicholas Kenyon, produced an issue exploring this very notion of authenticity. In its pages Richard Taruskin chose to focus on the way the term 'Authenticity' was developing into a byword for textual adherence which was at odds with its old meaning of personal conviction. He felt that those who were dealing 'with 'authentic' interpretation of music approached musical performance with the attitudes of textual critics, and failed to make the fundamental distinction between music as

¹³ Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel, "Review: *Messe de Nostre Dame* by Guillaume de Machaut, Taverner Consort, Andrew Parrott, Taverner Choir; *The Mirror of Narcissus* by Guillaume de Machaut; Gothic Voices by Christopher Page " *Early Music* 12, no. 3 (1984): 411.

tones-in-motion and music as notes-on-page.’¹⁴ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson took a more positive approach explaining how he felt that more musicians were now ‘prepared to admit that most of what they do in constructing a performance style is—of necessity—of their own invention.’¹⁵ He referred to a paper published five years previously by Michael Morrow who makes the same point about his own performances.¹⁶

It would seem that much had changed in a short a space of time. Fortunately, in describing their new situation, the musicological community found themselves comparing it to their old situation; which for the purposes of this thesis might usefully be thought of as the pre-authenticity era, the era they had just left, and in medieval music in particular, this was an era dominated by David Munrow and his EMC.

If we can consider, for the moment, that due to his higher profile Munrow is a key example of part of this perceived pre-1977 generation, invoked by the above quotes, we could make an argument suggesting that performers post-1977 had begun to see his style of performances as trivial, gimmicky and unduly hasty. We might also infer from Taruskin that Munrow may well have been a tones-in-motion sort of performer and, according to Leech-Wilkinson, he probably would not have admitted readily to his own inventions.¹⁷ It should go without saying that such a line of logic is built on huge assumptions, since in the examples I have chosen so far no one is actually talking about Munrow directly. However, such abstract generalizations are one way in which we can get a feel for the way the next wave of early musicians viewed the pre-authenticity era of early music.

¹⁴ Richard Taruskin, "The Limits of Authenticity: A Contribution," *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (1984), 4.

¹⁵ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Limits of Authenticity: A Contribution," *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (1984), 13.

¹⁶ Michael Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978).

¹⁷ Leech-Wilkinson has since informed me that at the time of writing he mainly had in mind the Clemencic Consort as an example of those who would not have readily admitted to their own inventions. He did not think this of Munrow and the EMC. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, e-mail message to author, August 18, 2013.

Immediately after David Munrow died there were many obituaries written which contained kind sentiments and fond memories which acknowledged his celebrity status and sought to survey achievements. Frequently, writers felt that Munrow had been a catalyst for early music's transition to the mainstream. *The Times* thought that 'more than any other musician of the present generation, he had fostered interest, through precept and practice, in a period that was until a few years ago the province only of specialists.'¹⁸ Bernard Levin, writing in the same newspaper a day later thought that no one else in his lifetime had 'so enormously enriched (or, for that matter, enlivened) Britain's music-making and music-going.'¹⁹ This general feeling of innovation and change was invoked again when over the weekend that immediately followed his death, Christopher Hogwood and Arthur Johnson (BBC producer for Munrow's *Pied Piper* series) put together a tribute programme to replace the scheduled transmission. Their script began by saying:

It's very rare, I think, to be able to say that one person has been able, almost single-handed, to change the musical taste of an entire nation.²⁰

And if Hogwood thought that Munrow was influential in redefining the national musical taste, Howard Mayer Brown knew how Munrow went about it:

The special quality that set David Munrow apart, or so it seems to me, was a rare combination of abundant musical talent, the energy and skill to organize and lead other people, and an uncanny ability, given only to a few great teachers, to convince large numbers of people that what was important and attractive to him should also be attractive and important to them.²¹

This idea that Munrow educated his audiences was mooted several times in a special collection of *Tributes to David Munrow* in *Early Music*. Sir Anthony Lewis (Principal of the Royal Academy of Music) remembered that Munrow's 'insistence on the same (or higher) standards for the execution of medieval and renaissance music as

¹⁸ "Obituary: Mr David Munrow," *The Times* (London), May 17, 1976, 16.

¹⁹ Bernard Levin, "Farewell to a friendly Pied Piper," *The Times* (London), May 18, 1976, 14.

²⁰ "Christopher Hogwood Pays Tribute to the Life and Work of David Munrow," Christopher Hogwood, *Pied Piper*, aired May 17, 1976 on BBC radio.

²¹ Howard Mayer Brown, "Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: In Memoriam David Munrow," *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976), 288.

was expected in the repertoire of later periods' was what made him stand out and he concluded that Munrow had 'established a standard that can now never be ignored'.²² It would also appear that his flair for education was not limited to audiences; performers were also convinced of the importance of early music and in the case of James Bowman: 'He succeeded in convincing me that there would be a future in singing early music with his consort, and from then onwards I had complete faith in him, which was never shaken.'²³ James Tyler wrote that although early music 'hitherto had been the domain of amateurs' Munrow had infused it with 'a glittering professionalism'.²⁴ This was surely the same quality that Jasper Parrott remembered as 'unsurpassed professionalism' and which Andreas Holschneider described as knowing 'how to bring the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to life and make it convincing in our quite different world.'²⁵ Robert Donington felt that after David Munrow's memorable performances he did not believe that 'our notions of the earliest of available great music will ever be quite the same again', and Jeremy Noble remembered three key talents of Munrow as a combination of 'mastery' on a range of instruments, 'intellectually curiosity [...] and the performer's flair' with which he presented his findings to 'diverse audiences'.

So with Munrow's passing, we are told by his colleagues and peers, we lost a great communicator and first-rate performer, a musician who presented the unfamiliar to the unknowing and convinced them, through a combination of practical mastery and professionalism, that it was worthy of their attention and deserving of their enjoyment. He was, in their eyes at least, a pioneer, and perhaps the last pioneer that early music had on such a scale and the one who laid much of the groundwork for changes felt at the 1976 conference.

²² Anthony Lewis et al., "Tributes to David Munrow," *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976): 376.

²³ Ibid., 377.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 378.

Shortly after the obituaries, the post-Munrow early music movement became preoccupied with new theories of performance, particularly with medieval song, and the sort of instrument-laden, colourful performances that Munrow pioneered were no longer considered the closest to authentic. Looking back on Munrow's work a decade later, Philip Pickett felt that the world of medieval music had moved on significantly:

There has been a lot of information come to light since the seventies. For example we know now that instruments did not play a major role in the performance of Burgundian chanson, either they were sung or they were played and generally the instruments and the voices were not mixed. That's just one example. We [the New London Consort] tend to use women, David used James Bowman. We know very well that the countertenor had very little to do with secular performance in the middle ages but we do know now that women had rather a lot to do with the performance of secular music in the middle ages.²⁶

Here, Pickett was suggesting that new advances of musicology had, within the space of a decade, outmoded Munrow's performances. Fast forward another ten years and Pickett's views remained unmoved, and if anything were phrased even more strongly:

Many critics who write about today's performances of early music seem to have a very rosy picture of what early music was like when David was alive, and I really wish they would go back and listen to some of those recordings and compare them with what is being produced by a number of people now because there is a very great difference in standard, and in approach, and in knowledge and scholarship. However exciting and new and interesting the work was that was being done then it falls far short of what's being done now. So, rosy spectacles off!²⁷

The subtext to Pickett's complaint would appear to be that he felt compared to Munrow's audiences, fewer people were listening to what was being produced by his generation; and we can sense Pickett's frustration as he admitted that Munrow's concerts were exciting, new and interesting. Yet in the same programme that Pickett wanted listeners to remove their rosy spectacles, Christopher Page was keen to point out that Munrow and his Early Music Consort had not been deliberately misrepresenting medieval music but rather they 'were doing exactly what the textbooks at that time,

²⁶ "Knights, Fools and Clerics," Michael Oliver and Philip Pickett, *Music in Camera*, aired October 12, 1986, on BBC television.

²⁷ Philip Pickett interviewed on: "After Munrow," Anthony Burton, *Early Memories*, aired 1992, BBC Radio 3. British Library Sound Archive reference: H777/01.

such as they were, on performance told them to do' and that the concept of the Middle Ages as a time of colourful contrasts had been universally accepted right up until the end of the 1970s.²⁸

In both broadcasts, the change discussed in medieval performing practice was to do with the type of chanson that Pickett mentioned above. *A cappella* performance as theorized independently by Christopher Page and Craig Wright in 1977 changed the way medieval song was heard during the 1980s and performances of medieval song proliferated to a high standard relatively quickly in Britain due to the choral training provided by cathedral schools and Oxbridge colleges.²⁹ Much the same could be said about the Oxbridge influence on *a cappella* renaissance music. John Potter thinks that the quality of voices from the cathedral tradition also influenced the sound of early vocal performances:

There has been no revolution in singing to compare with that of instrumental playing. In England the very musical, Oxbridge-trained light voices adjusted to the new requirements [of the early music movement] with the minimum of change in their existing techniques [...].³⁰

Thus, it appears that *a cappella* performances post 1977 were enabled by a body of suitably skilled people in the right place at the right time. This quintessentially English sound was already familiar to audiences through the indigenous choral tradition and now more repertoire was [re]claimed through new theories in musicology.

Although no accusations of carelessness could be levelled at the old performances for their use of instruments in medieval songs (especially when they played untexted lines) the one criticism that could be, and often was applied was the use

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Craig Wright, "Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France during the 15th century: a Conspectus" (paper presented at the International Musicological Society: Twelfth Congress 1977, Berkeley, 1981). Christopher Page, "Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the Performance of Music: Voices or Instruments in the 14th-Century Chanson," *Early Music* 5, no. 4 (1977).

³⁰ John Potter, "Reconstructing Lost Voices," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (California: University of California Press, 1992), 311.

of anachronistic instrumentation, the ‘crumhorn-with-everything’ approach.³¹ Despite a few notable performances of *a cappella* medieval music, there was no movement to found an entire school of performance practice based on this setup, and the debate during Munrow’s lifetime was largely confined to choosing combinations of instruments in medieval music rather than whether or not to use instruments at all. This is exemplified in an article by Jeremy Montagu from 1975:

Players must realize that if they use cornets and sackbuts, crumhorns, rauschpfeife, gemshorns and viols, all of which date from the end of the 15th century at the earliest, and recorders, which are only a century at the most earlier, in 12th to 14th century music, they might just as well use oboes, clarinets and violins.³²

Munrow was not immune to the rising tide of this debate. He mentioned it himself in the introduction to his own book *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, the writing of which preoccupied him during most of 1974 and 1975.³³ Authenticity to Munrow, for the purposes of his book at least, was at this time largely concerned with instrumentation (and orchestration) and therefore only the tip of the iceberg that the early music movement was about to encounter.

David Fallows, however, offered an interesting slant to this debate when he commented that he felt compelled to:

flesh out a comment that I have found myself making more and more in relation to statements by younger writers, who seem to think that in those days of the revival the discussion was entirely of instruments and groupings, not of the music or the means of musical communication. They could not be more wrong.³⁴

³¹ This expression, ‘crumhorn with everything’ is drawn from a record review: ‘...but Mr Munrow is at least honest with his audience. He even explains his sparing use of the crumhorn as a substitute for the bladder-pipe and douçaine, which is refreshing after some of the crumhorn-with-everything performances one has heard.’ Richard Rastall, "Review: Music of The Crusades," *The Musical Times* 113, no. 1549 (1972). It makes reference to the blandness of London’s East End café culture parodied in a popular British play: Arnold Wesker, *Chips With Everything: A Play in Two Acts*, (London: J. Cape, 1962).

³² Jeremy Montagu, "Talking Points-1: The 'Authentic' Sound of Early Music," *Early Music* 3, no. 3 (1975): 243. Considering the frequent use of crumhorns in medieval music by Musica Reservata, this comment is not without irony.

³³ David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

³⁴ David Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s: Michael Morrow and Thomas Binkley," in *Essays in Honor of Laszlo Somfai on His 70th Birthday: Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music*, eds., Laszlo Vikarius and Vera Lampert (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 51.

And this is an important warning that despite the almost total acceptance of the theory of instrumental participation in medieval music, such concerns are not to be thought of as occluding musical communication in other ways such as phrasing, tuning and diction. The early music revival cannot be reduced to neatly compartmentalized arguments.

Munrow's Place in Early Music Histories

In 1988, some twelve years after Munrow's book hit the shelves, Nicholas Kenyon discussed authenticity for the first time in a book-format. As editor of *Early Music* magazine he had already presided over a special issue devoted to this topic in February 1984 but he clearly felt that 'the search for original styles of performance' needed further explanation since it had already 'brought about a sea-change in our listening habits'.³⁵ That Munrow was the first performing artist to be discussed in detail in Kenyon's introduction to his Authenticity symposium testified to the importance that Kenyon attached to The Early Music Consort of London which he saw as having 'galvanized audiences' with its 'highly professionalized skills and invigorating performance style' and as having displayed a 'conviction and an enthusiasm that won people over [...]'³⁶

But what did Kenyon mean when he said 'it was not as purveyors of "authentic performance" [his quotes] that the consort won such a following among audiences'? Did he mean to imply that Munrow was therefore not interested in authenticity? Kenyon went on to explain that in this case 'scholarly certainty came second to the performer's instinct' and quotes Christopher Hogwood remembering 'There just wasn't enough evidence for all the things we were doing...It was just one invention on top of another all the time'. These comments paint a picture of Munrow as a highly instinctual

³⁵ Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

musician who was seeking inspiration in the textures of the music and liberally enhancing the advice given by musicology as it was practised at that time. Soon enough Howard Mayer Brown reintroduced Munrow's now familiar leitmotif—that of evangelism—when he described the foundation of the Early Music Consort of London as being 'the decisive event in the popularization of early music.'³⁷

1988 was also the year in which Harry Haskell, an American journalist and record critic, published the first attempt at an overview of the revival of interest in early music in the twentieth century. Haskell took a broad view of the movement starting in the nineteenth century with Mendelssohn's performance of the Bach St Matthew Passion in 1829 and ending with the Academy of Ancient Music's recording of Mozart Symphonies in the early 1980s. Despite such a sweeping time-span (in just 197 pages) Haskell devoted several paragraphs to Thurston Dart whom he considered to have 'galvanized Britain's early music community much as Noah Greenberg did on the other side of the Atlantic.'³⁸ He also observed that Dart was a 'maverick' who brought new standards of academic rigour to the performance of early music by combining the two disciplines in his own career. His role as a soloist with the Boyd Neel Orchestra and also with the Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields has a special mention.

Elsewhere Haskell drew a short comparison between Munrow and Gustav Leonhardt whom he described as 'disparate personalities' united in inspiring a younger generation of early musicians.³⁹ Again, Greenberg was invoked as a charismatic personality to whom Munrow may be likened but Haskell was at his most candid when he said of Munrow:

³⁷ Howard Mayer Brown, "Pedantry or Liberation?", in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 48.

³⁸ Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1996), 162.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 163.

Indeed, his penchant for showmanship—and the often controversial inventiveness he displayed in doctoring up old music—marked him out as the American's natural successor.⁴⁰

Haskell appears to have suggested that in this aspect of performance practice we see how Munrow picked up where Greenberg left off when he died in 1966.

Showmanship, as we shall see, is a watchword in discussions of Munrow. However, despite the pertinence of some of his remarks, there is still an argument to be made for reading this volume lightly simply because it is such a long-range overview. As Elizabeth Roche shrewdly put it:

Criticism, though, is not one of Haskell's primary concerns, and neither is detailed consideration of the precise repertoires cultivated by the many performers he mentions. This is particularly regrettable in [...] developments since the 1950s – we are left, for instance, with no clear idea of what music the Early Music Consort of London actually performed so brilliantly, nor of how their repertoire differed from that of the Consort of Musicke.⁴¹

One might therefore read Haskell more as a basic chronology of early music performance in the twentieth century, a roughly hewn path through the meshwork of the early music revival, rather than a critical overview. Repertoire, Roche suggests, will be key to understanding Munrow's work.

A few years later in 1992 an eclectic collection of essays entitled *Companion to Mediaeval and Renaissance Music* was published. Taking something of a maverick stance from the very outset, Fallows explained the editorial decision: 'the time was right for a much more informal approach, outlining some of the ideas that are alive at the moment', and this both identified and celebrated the air of candour that pervaded the text as a result of loosening academic frameworks. This is not to suggest that the collection did not uphold academic standards, but rather that it deliberately courted subjectivity. Indeed, what makes this collection so interesting today is that alongside researchers, musicologists and philosophers of music were contributions from a number

⁴⁰ Ibid., 164.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Roche, "Reviews of Books. Early Music: Its Revival and Interpretation," *Music & Letters* 70, no. 3 (1989): 383.

of performers who previously had less opportunity, or likely inclination, to voice ideas and opinions in print.⁴²

The first group of essays bears a title 'The music of the past and the modern ear' and it is in this group that Munrow is mentioned most frequently. Both Christopher Page and Tess Knighton group the same four ensembles together that David Fallows mentioned back in 1977. Page referred to the directors of these groups as 'miraculous individuals' because they did much to create faith in the orthodox view of medieval performance practice'.⁴³ That orthodox view, Page went on to explain, was the use of anachronistic instruments (those crumhorns again) in music by Machaut and Dufay for textless parts. He also suggested that the performances 'pursued a linear rather than a harmonic ideal.' The very point of assigning such individual sound-colours to each line was, in fact, primarily to aid the listener's linear experience of the performance. He further added that these ensembles generated such different performance styles that 'it is a heresy of a different sort to speak of [them] as if they shared some manifesto of style'.

Continuing further in this group of essays, Tess Knighton mused on the deeply inauthentic nature inherent in recorded sound when considering music which predated recording technology itself. Nevertheless, echoing similar comments made by Noah Greenberg in the 1960s, she acknowledged the huge importance of record companies in the financing and promotion of early music ensembles in the early days of the revival: the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁴ Knighton tied together key influences: the roots of the early music revival in the arts-and-crafts movement, the quest for novel sounds and the authenticity bestowed on the resulting performances back when they had been preserved on vinyl. These three reasons, she surmised, came together to present an enduring view

⁴² Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds., *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (California: University of California Press, 1992).

⁴³ Page, "The English *a cappella* Heresy," 23.

⁴⁴ Tess Knighton, "Going Down on Record," In *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton & David Fallows (California: University of California Press, 1992), 30. This mirrors comments in: Noah Greenberg, "Early Music Performance Today," in *Aspects of Medieval & Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 315.

of the Middle Ages which began to take on a life of its own. Of course, Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* had its place in this story too; and as we shall see later on in this thesis that particular popular history book did much to fuel an idea of the period as one of vibrant contrasts such as courtly love and plagues. 'Morrow and his colleagues were ever aware of the pitfalls of aiming at the true or authentic reproduction of the original sounds', Knighton tells us before explaining that they could never have predicted the power of the authenticity illusion to sell records towards the end of the 1970s.

Perhaps the most pertinent observation that Knighton offered was that a by-product of the relative permanence of a recorded performance was that it demanded a higher performance standard to ensure repeatable value for the listener. The imperfections of a live performance could not go unnoticed on multiple hearings so the four ensembles headed by Greenberg, Binkley, Morrow and Munrow were careful to minimize them. The generation after inherited these new standards and then began to specialize, or as Philip Pickett put it:

for more than a decade after Munrow's death, a number of small, low-profile ensembles (often devoting themselves to one short period in music history) vanished into their garrets to discover what the music itself was about rather than developing the personalities to project it.⁴⁵

Philip Pickett even suggested a line of succession within the four groups when he claimed that David Munrow was 'building on and refining the pioneering work of [...] New York Pro Musica, Studio der frühen Musik and Musica Reservata'.⁴⁶ He also pointed to other earlier groups as a catalyst for Munrow's successes. And, of course, he was in agreement with Haskell here in deducing that the early music movement had many antecedents, but Munrow's style had direct influences too; and it is these influences that are identified and explored in this thesis.

⁴⁵ Philip Pickett, "Hard-Sell, Scholarship and Silly Titles," In *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton & David Fallows (California: University of California Press, 1992), 48.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 49.

Whilst Pickett was a student at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London he also attended classes and lectures given by Munrow at the Royal Academy of Music and Gill Munrow also remembered Pickett coming to their house for private lessons. Such close contact lends weight to Pickett's understanding of Munrow's practice. In his own essay for this anthology he mentioned that in the post-Munrow era early music groups eventually rediscovered familiar works as a more commercially viable prospect than the archaeology of unknown works. According to Pickett, these 'academic debates and wrangles' had actually begun in the last period of Munrow's activities, but it was not until after his death that it was discovered 'scholarship and musical competence' were not enough to sustain public interest.⁴⁷ What had so interested the public about Munrow's approach then? Pickett implied it was Munrow's personality, which he used to project the works, operating in conjunction with the novelty of early music. Presumably Pickett felt that Munrow's personality (rather than his performances) was irreplaceable and that the novelty of early music and early instruments waned in the late 1970s so that a repeat of success on a Munrow scale was unlikely to be possible by the same approach. Pickett also tells us that Munrow was incredibly skilled at concert programming and this is a topic touched on many times in broadcast interviews with EMC performers although rarely reflected in print. Pickett explained how Munrow built 'cohesive' programmes from many short pieces and summed them up with a title 'which meant more to an audience than any number of erudite programme notes.'⁴⁸

Almost a decade after the publication of *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, right at the end of the twentieth century a book was written by Timothy Day

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

looking back over a century of recorded music.⁴⁹ The survey is valuable for both its musicological observation and its analysis of external influences such as financial factors, market trends and technological limitations. Yet, even in a book as broad as this, Munrow still occupied a notable position. Like many of the writings we have already encountered, Day attested that a large part of the acceptance won by early music was due to the fastidious preparation and exciting presentation of performances on LP by David Munrow. One strand of Day's argument explores how the larger record companies were reluctant to record unknown repertoire and wary of music pre-Bach, factors which only serve to make Munrow's contract with EMI all the more remarkable.

Later in his book, Day undertook a short survey of fourteenth-century chansons where we again encounter the work of Munrow as Day considers how a performance of Machaut was constructed. Quoting from liner-notes, Day noted that Munrow deliberately set out to draw attention to bold contrasts in the middle ages leading Day to point out that such an 'encapsulation of the age' is 'clearly derived from the picture powerfully represented in [...] *The Waning of the Middle Ages*'.⁵⁰ The chapter then went on to trace the work of Gustave Reese in the Machaut performances of Greenberg's New York Pro Musica and compare the resulting soundworld with Huizinga also.

A few of the works cited so far have a particular link: a head of steam surrounding the changing practice of performance in medieval song. The remarks in Christopher Page's essay on a *cappella* performance were touched on again by Timothy Day.⁵¹ Such a line of investigation repeatedly brings us back to Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* which collated and analysed the

⁴⁹ Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁵⁰ Ibid., 175.

⁵¹ Brown, "Pedantry or Liberation?." Also: Page, "The English *a cappella* Heresy." And: Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*.

scholarly discussion surrounding the performance of medieval music from the nineteenth century until the last decade of the twentieth.⁵² He showed that performers, on the whole, followed the advice of the academic community of their time and that, in turn, convincing performances inspired further academic research. Whereas medieval music was thought to be dominated by vocal performance in the nineteenth century, the research and the personalities of key musicologists exerted such substantial influence over the musical world that by the mid-twentieth century it was almost a unanimous conclusion that the music was largely instrumental, or as Christopher Page put it in 1977:

The modern performer of Machaut is encouraged to believe by almost all authorities that the untexted tenor and contratenor lines of the polyphonic chansons were rendered instrumentally. Recordings and concert performances show that this view commands complete acceptance.⁵³

Munrow's short career occupied the high point of that era of acceptance yet also ushered in the twilight.

In March 2005, whilst he was director of the BBC Proms, Nicholas Kenyon returned to the topic of Munrow in his Leverhulme Memorial Lecture for the University of Liverpool, the first of its kind entirely devoted to music. During that lecture, *Back to What Future?: Musical Tradition in an Age of Anxiety*, Kenyon encouraged his audience to appreciate opportunities that can blossom in a time of 'seismic changes' to classical music and he highlighted in particular the area of repertory, funding and the impact of cultural shifts on our understanding and enjoyment of music. 'For generations, we wrote the story of music as the history of compositions' he said, as he described the CHARM project (Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music) and concluded that '[T]he history of music's performance and reception is one that we

⁵² Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*.

⁵³ Page, "Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the Performance of Music: Voices or Instruments in the 14th-Century Chanson", 484.

should be aware of now.⁵⁴ His speech was the history of performance in microcosm. Kenyon sketched out the rise and fall of the canon and laid importance on radio as the chief factor in disseminating many different forms of music to a wide public: 'World music from five continents became as available as music from next door.'⁵⁵ The impact of radio and recording created an idea that music was 'a bran tub to be plundered at will,' and one of the consequences of all that musical choice was the revival of early music.⁵⁶ David Munrow, according to Kenyon, 'flashed across the musical scene with [...] brilliance', and Kenyon also drew a contrast between Munrow's interpretations of pieces we didn't previously know and those of Hogwood and Pinnock who interpreted pieces 'we thought we knew'. This comment is one which further exemplifies Munrow's posthumous reputation as a pioneer.

A more modern study of the broad trends in early music performance of the twentieth century by Vincenzo Borghetti looked at characteristics within each decade of the latter half of the century, using fashion as an analogy. His description 'Gli anni Cinquanta: il Medioevo in doppiopetto grigio' [The fifties: the Middle Ages in double-breasted gray] sought to cast the pre-Munrow era as akin to a sonic museum, preserving music in recorded sound with minimal performer intervention.⁵⁷ He argued that the Oxford University Press *History of Music in Sound* and the series published by Archiv Produktion were both authoritative and austere. Yet by the next decade medieval music was inextricably linked to the hippy-like presentation of Musica Reservata: 'Gli anni Sessanta: il Medioevo in sandali di Michael Morrow' [The Sixties: The Middle Ages in Sandals - Michael Morrow].⁵⁸ Borghetti focuses on the folk music links with the 1960s

⁵⁴ Nicholas Kenyon, "Back to What Future? Musical Tradition in an Age of Anxiety," (Leverhulme Memorial Lecture, University of Liverpool, March 15, 2005). Accessed July 8, 2008. <http://www.leverhulme.ac.uk/news/lecture>.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Vincenzo Borghetti, "Purezza e trasgressione: il suono del Medioevo dagli anni Cinquanta ad oggi", *Semicerchio* XLIV, no. 1 (2011): 38.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 42.

as an overriding feature of early music performance practice in that decade and although he doesn't mention Munrow in this part of his paper, his implication is clear: early music in the 1960s was linked to the folk movement. Furthermore, Borghetti draws parallels between the immediacy of folk singing and Roland Barthes' concept of 'grain' which he also invokes as he describes the performances of Musica Reservata under Michael Morrow.

Kailan Rubinoff, in one of the most recent papers to be published about the early music revival, also uses this fashion-hook for her paper: 'A Revolution in Sheep's Wool Stockings: Early Music and '1968'.'⁵⁹ Here Rubinoff focuses on the concept of a 'social movement' within early music as much as a musical school of thought. She too focuses on the cliché of Birkenstock sandals and brown rice images but observes that the 1960s social movement in early music predates the very hippy culture that we often associate it with. Her focus on the year 1968 with such landmarks as Harnoncourt's recording of the Bach B Minor Mass is also of great interest since this is the year that Munrow really began to work with his EMC on a regular basis. Rubinoff's twin consideration of Munrow and Harnoncourt is an observation that began with Haskell and one which (inadvertently and revealingly) downplays the influence of Musica Reservata.⁶⁰ That she fails to mention the work of Michael Morrow and Musica Reservata pits her paper against the work of Borghetti and further highlights the need for investigative work in this area.

Two new studies, inspired partly by the 40th anniversary celebrations of a number of key early music ensembles founded in 1973, were published in 2013. First, an essay by Elizabeth Upton which explored the contemporary nature of early music

⁵⁹ Kailan Rubinoff, "A Revolution in Sheep's Wool Stockings: Early Music and '1968' " in *Music and Protest in 1968*, ed. Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton, *Music Since 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁶⁰ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History*.

through the training of musicians and their links to the pop world of the 1960s.⁶¹ Here, Upton distinguished four phases of the early music revival: 'The postwar baroque revival', 'original-instruments', 'older, extinct instruments' and 'unaccompanied, one-on-a-part vocal music'.⁶² Upton also drew important parallels with the sounds of popular music and the sounds of early music finding that these two movements were united in moving away from operatic norms. Secondly, Nick Wilson's book-length survey of the early music movement was a conscious exploration of the 'class of '73' as he dubbed them; ensembles founded in the wake of David Munrow's success.⁶³ Wilson observed finer-grained divisions in the early music movement from 1960 onwards by plotting the formation dates of each ensemble onto a table used to identify clusters of activity.⁶⁴ Wilson's critical realist approach sought to answer the *why then* questions as much as the *what when* questions. He, necessarily, looked for practically adequate explanations for events whilst keeping the description as thick as possible within reason.

By focusing on just one 'phase' of the revival, and within that phase just Munrow and the EMC, I have an even narrower field than Wilson and other recent studies so that the aim here is for this thesis to provide a thicker description than we have had before, and one which is near-exhaustive of the sources that are currently available in the public domain.

So, as we see from this brief survey of the early music revival literature, observations from many sources can offer grist-to-the-mill as we build up a picture of David Munrow and his era since they show a consistent preoccupation with remembering David Munrow and a similar concern to immortalize his enthusiasm for

⁶¹ Elizabeth Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities," *Ethnomusicology Review* 17, (2012). Accessed October 10, 2013. <http://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/17/piece/591>.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶³ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁶⁴ Wilson actually uses Shakespeare's *Seven Ages of Man* from 'As You Like It' to describe the seven divisions he finds. *Ibid.*, 23.

medieval music, popularity and commercial success. They also highlight other musicians, suggesting that a web of influences lies behind the work of the EMC.

Journalism

Munrow and the EMC were the subject of many reviews for both their live and recorded performances. Many such reviews are incorporated into this thesis as part of the biography and case studies chapters. However, three articles from the British press, which can be considered as general opinion pieces, stand out for particular attention.

The first was an early biographical piece in *The Guardian* by Meirion Bowen entitled *It's a Sweet Rackett*.⁶⁵ Written shortly after Munrow had recorded *Two Renaissance Dance Bands*, it was used frequently for publicity purposes by the agents Harrison/Parrott Ltd and as such is found as a cutting in both the BBC and EMI archives. Bowen began his piece by recalling their first meeting when Munrow's cheeky sense of humour was on display as he giggled whilst playing his bassoon at a 1962 vicarage tea party. A little later in the article, Peru and Thurston Dart were listed as key influences as was the lecture recital series which Bowen mentioned as being released on an LP: *The Mediaeval Sound*.⁶⁶ He also talked about the larger canvas of Munrow's Renaissance Festival concerts and the constant rescoring of a suite of Susato dances which Munrow made famous. Yet Bowen was compelled to note the less glamorous side of scholarship as he details that Munrow supplemented his income by teaching at Leicester University because the research and preparation time for each concert was so huge that profits rarely outweighed investment. The article ended with an appreciation of the help that Gill Munrow provided.

⁶⁵ Meirion Bowen, "It's a Sweet Rackett," *Arts Guardian* (London), March 5, 1971.

⁶⁶ David Munrow, Gillian Reid, and Christopher Hogwood, *The Mediaeval Sound: David Munrow Introduces Early Woodwind Instruments*, Oryx / Peerless EXP46, 1970, LP.

It is an interesting and revealing piece for two reasons. Firstly as an early biography it lends emphasis to the influence and guidance of Thurston Dart and the success of the lecture recitals which are frequently overlooked in posthumous pieces, and secondly because we catch a sense of the little-known territory Munrow was exploring even in later repertoire such as renaissance dance bands. Bowen could not help but betray his amazement that renaissance music could be so robust and so loud, a factor that is hard to recapture today.

In May 1974 Alan Blyth interviewed Munrow for *Gramophone* and in just three years the whole atmosphere of the piece was entirely different. Munrow was in the process of releasing two albums as a soloist: *Munrow & Marriner* for EMI and *The Amorous Flute*. He said of the latter:

We set out on the rather difficult task of recording a programme of English music that was popular in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century, using instruments of almost exactly that time, which were by English makers with the exception of the theorbo, and trying to find out something more about the music by using these instruments. The disc includes another rarity – Handel's familiar F major recorder sonata but with original eighteenth-century ornamentation taken from a barrel-organ version. It's all very elaborate, and we may well be shot down for doing it.⁶⁷

The resulting record bore the legend 'using original instruments of the period' and clearly this was an important selling point for the music and the first such explicit mention on one of Munrow's records.⁶⁸ However, we should be wary of reading too much into the emphasis on original instruments in this interview, Munrow always promoted his current projects to maximize publicity as we see particularly in BBC radio interviews that now form part of the British Library Sound Archive collections. What is unusual about this interview, however, is the number of important topics that it touched on so briefly; it leaves the reader with a sense that Munrow was manically busy, especially when he commented that he collected about twenty or thirty folk records each

⁶⁷ Alan Blyth, "David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth," *Gramophone*, May 1974, 2009.

⁶⁸ David Munrow, *The Amorous Flute: David Munrow Plays Popular Music from Early Eighteenth Century London*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 746. 1974. LP.

time he undertook a foreign tour and he enjoyed using these rare records to build *Pied Piper* programmes. From the miscellaneous observations that are used to join the main interview topics we learn that Munrow enjoyed all aspects of records from the performances, presentation and notes and that he was involved in all of these stages himself when he made one of his own records, so much so in fact that he estimated the performance to take only about 10% of the total production effort. Again we hear of the influence of Thurston Dart who lent Munrow his first crumhorn and also of meeting James Bowman and being instantly drawn to his voice on first hearing. He also said that he admired the voices of Cleo Laine and Alfred Deller.

Most revealingly, though, Munrow mentioned that he felt academic textbooks on early music 'don't actually bring you near to the music' and he went on to say that as a result of this, performers invariably disagreed about performance practice although in his opinion they would all 'be much better off if there were fewer axes being ground.'⁶⁹ Munrow returned to this point at the end of the interview when he talked about music critics:

Sometimes I just feel the arrows being sharpened by the specialists, so that you get to the stage that you write programme notes almost to pluck out the barbs in advance. I prefer those who come to try and enjoy the *performances*, rather than indulging in one-upmanship.⁷⁰

Munrow's sensitivity to criticism was perhaps at its peak when he was most busy: this interview must have taken place during 1974 when Munrow was writing his book, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, which we know from correspondence in the EMI archive was a difficult process and one which was much delayed. In many respects it is apparent in this interview that Munrow was feeling pressure from the demands of his timetable and from his critics. What is surprising here is that Munrow

⁶⁹ Blyth, "David Munrow Talks to Alan Blyth," 2010.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

implied he did not see himself as a specialist, which is at odds with his public image; perhaps this was another device calculated to tame criticism?

The final example of journalism I wish to consider occurred also in May of 1974 in *The Times* newspaper. Bernard Levin wrote an opinion piece in which he suggested that even despite the ‘unmeasured riches [...] so lovingly exhumed, restored and played by Mr David Munrow and his Early Music Consort’ there was an ‘incredible failure of human achievement’ regarding musical composition before Monteverdi.⁷¹ In an unapologetically unsubstantiated argument Levin first claimed that there were no musicians of note from the ages of ‘Homer, Plato Aristotle, Phidias, Aeschylus, [...] Ovid, Petrarch, Dante, Boccacio, [...] Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Cellini, [...] Chaucer, [...] Botticelli, Dürer, Giorgione, Titian, Raphael, Veronese, Breughel, El Greco, Cervantes and Shakespeare.’ He claimed this phenomenon was ‘so amazing, so utterly beyond theoretical or plausible explanation’ yet did not consider that maybe simply not enough was known about the music to stand up to his accusation.

I include this example not just because it mentioned Munrow by name, but rather because it was an article written by a columnist who regularly covered Munrow’s concerts in the national press. A month later for instance, writing about the Aldeburgh Festival, Levin described the Early Music Consort as ‘an extraordinary group of young musicians, led by a cherubic infant named David Munrow’ and that their performance which was ‘of the very highest standard’ was played on what appeared ‘to include a draining-board, an umbrella-handle, a stuffed snake, a flagpole, a Christmas pudding and a wooden leg’.⁷² Perhaps this sort of willful ignorance was one of the things that Munrow felt so determined to battle against. Whereas Levin assumed an air of good humour in his article he could not help but betray the fact that he was reflecting popular opinion as he perceived it; and this was just the sort of opinion Munrow spent much of

⁷¹ Bernard Levin, "Whatever Happened to the Sound of Music?," *The Times* (London), May 28, 1974, 12.

⁷² Bernard Levin, "A Festival of Sweetness and Light," *The Times* (London), June 28, 1974, 18.

his creative life overturning. That Bernard Levin was to present a television tribute programme to David Munrow the following year only illustrates how successful both Munrow and his Early Music Consort of London were in their quest.

Documentary and Obituary

It was only a few months later in 1976, shortly after Munrow's death, that Bernard Levin presented his tribute on BBC television. Although he was not a musician himself, Levin seemed genuinely interested in early music and claimed to be grateful for the introduction to it that Munrow's concerts had provided. This programme had two main interview guests, James Bowman and Christopher Hogwood, and also contained filmed tributes from Sir Anthony Lewis, André Previn and Julian Bream. These interviews provided important biographical material drawn on in chapter 3.

Of the many radio broadcasts preserved by the BBC Information & Archives repository, a special tribute programme made by Christopher Hogwood just a few days after Munrow died is of particular interest.⁷³ Being a replacement for the usual *Pied Piper* broadcast that evening, the tribute was only 19 minutes long and contained several substantial musical excerpts. In his presentation script, Hogwood remembered meeting Munrow at university and the foundation of the Early Music Consort of London. The BBC also made an hour-long programme presented by Michael Oliver on the first anniversary of Munrow's death in 1977.⁷⁴ This programme was a more in-depth biographical study of Munrow's life and traced previously unheard details about his schooldays and his gap year in South America. Interviewees included Bill Oddie (comedian, a schoolmate of Munrow), his headmaster in Birmingham and the Headmaster at Markham College, Peru where Munrow was general factotum during his

⁷³ Hogwood, "Christopher Hogwood Pays Tribute to the Life and Work of David Munrow. (A replacement programme for *Pied Piper*)."

⁷⁴ "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

gap year; also Guy Woolfenden (Royal Shakespeare Wind Band) and John Willan (EMI Producer).

In 1992, during what would have been Munrow's fiftieth birthday year, Anthony Burton presented a similar tribute programme which focused more closely on the musical contribution that David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London made and less on the biographical details.⁷⁵ Guests were James Bowman, Christopher Hogwood, David Fallows, Christopher Page and Philip Pickett. Roy Goodman was also interviewed and several other BBC programmes were used in excerpt including an interview on *Woman's Hour* with Munrow himself and a private recording of the EMC's first Wigmore Hall concert.⁷⁶ The focus of the conversation was initially on the instruments used by Munrow and the extent to which the anachronistic use of renaissance and baroque instruments in medieval music detracted from the value of the performances. Christopher Page argued that by using instruments for untexted lines of medieval songs Munrow was simply following the advice of his time, but James Bowman remembered how Munrow would 'spice up' instrumentation to serve showmanship:

He did a little bit extra because he was a showman. [...] He wanted to put this stuff across to an unsuspecting public and that was the way to do it in his opinion and I think he jolly well succeeded.⁷⁷

That the public was 'unsuspecting' drove a discussion of how the programming for the ensemble was wide and varied. Christopher Page summed up the way in which new advances in musicology and performance had outdated Munrow's style of programmes:

I think we have genuinely advanced in our understanding of how to perform this kind of music such that if you do combine, let's say [...] early 14th century pieces with early 15th century ones, you begin to realize that you just can't make both kinds of music work in one programme; they require to be phrased

⁷⁵ Burton, *After Munrow*.

⁷⁶ "David Munrow," Sue MacGregor, *Woman's Hour*, aired September 3, 1975, on BBC Radio.

⁷⁷ James Bowman speaking on: Burton, *After Munrow*.

differently, to be tuned differently, the whole approach is different. So I think as we learn more and more about the music, it becomes increasingly important to narrow, as it were, the band unless you've got extremely versatile musicians who can traverse different styles, different methods of intonation and so on, in one concert.⁷⁸

Pickett was highlighting his adherence to the authenticity concept; for him, once he is aware of a musicological development it *must* be incorporated into his performance to make the resulting event viable, whereas he suggested that Munrow was not aware of such fine details. Elsewhere, Page invoked the 'rumbustuous' image of the Middle Ages that was once common and found echoes of that 'medieval-banquet, rosy-cheeked-wench, sucking-pig view of the medieval past' in some of Munrow's performances, especially in those by Machaut. This latter stance taken by Page is discussed in more detail in his book: *Discarding Images*.⁷⁹

In 2006 it was the thirtieth anniversary of Munrow's death and Jeremy Summerly made a programme for the BBC which was recorded in the Royal Academy of Music.⁸⁰ His guests were David Fallows, James Bowman and Jasper Parrot. The programme took the form of a fond reminiscence with Summerly explaining what an important influence Munrow had had on his own career. Jasper Parrot spoke about the importance of Peru on Munrow's musical development and how it kick-started his curiosity for folk instruments and instrumental techniques. James Bowman agreed and remembered a photograph of *The Early Music Consort of London* in 'Egypt all dressed up in costume parading around the pyramids on camels and [Munrow is] playing a shawm; with all those bemused gentlemen who try and sell you things around the pyramids.'⁸¹

⁷⁸ Christopher Page speaking on: Burton, *After Munrow*.

⁷⁹ Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁸⁰ "Mr Munrow, His Study," Jeremy Summerly, *The Archive Hour*, aired January 7, 2006, on BBC Radio.

⁸¹ James Bowman speaking on: *ibid*.

Although the musical treatment is lighter in this programme than in Burton's 1992 broadcast, Summerly did draw attention to the enormous impact of *The Art of the Netherlands* on later generations of early musicians.⁸² Sally Dunkley was interviewed and recalled being asked to take part in the recording sessions:

I was just setting out on trying to make a career as a professional singer and I was absolutely amazed to pick up the phone one day and find David Munrow on the other end of it and even more amazed then to find myself being invited to do a recording session with the Early Music Consort. It was in the EMI Studio One and it was for a couple of tracks on *The Art of the Netherlands* recording and I was overawed actually to find myself standing alongside an extremely distinguished company of consort singers.⁸³

Dunkley conveyed something of the celebrity that surrounded that consort of singers in the early music community by 1975. Her observations were a springboard for a more biographical discussion of Munrow's life and work including important interviews with Shirley Collins and Ken Russell who both collaborated on projects with Munrow.

These interviews indicate that Munrow's influence on his own generation, and indeed those of the next generation, was palpable. The tone of the radio documentary by Jeremy Summerly in particular also suggests that his influence has waned since the mid 1990s as fewer young musicians remember Munrow or his records. Also, we see that Munrow literature, and to a certain extent the literature of the early music revival as well, continues to be written by a generation of musicians and musicologists either contemporaneous with Munrow or who grew up listening to Munrow and the EMC. Therefore, reflection has tended to draw on personal experience rather than specific aspects of performance practice.

⁸² David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of the Netherlands*, EMI (His Master's Voice) SLS 5049, 1975. 3 LPs.

⁸³ Sally Dunkley interviewed on: Summerly, "Mr Munrow, His Study."

Writings by David Munrow

Books

As a performer David Munrow was a woodwind specialist who had a particular talent for playing older instruments. His student, and later colleague, Philip Pickett once referred to him as the 'little man with the red face who epitomized early music...'⁸⁴ Christopher Hogwood, too, remembered that he was '[v]ery often rather red in the face [from ...] of course, blowing wind instruments.' But added 'I don't think it was ever quite as dangerous as it looked.'⁸⁵ Yet despite his specialization with wind instruments Munrow was interested in the history of all types of instruments and through his many lecture-recitals and broadcasts began to become a public voice in the field of organology. When David Munrow began his joint project with OUP and EMI to produce a book and recordings to guide listeners through the work of old instruments he could have had no idea that it would take more than two years to come to fruition. His original pitch to EMI said:

this project aims to satisfy the ever-growing curiosity about the sounds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It will be the first comprehensive collection of its kind, enabling listeners to hear and compare the extraordinary richness and variety of early instruments, some of them recorded here for the first time.⁸⁶

The book was much delayed due to the deaths of first Munrow's father-in-law and then his father between Christmas 1974 and the beginning of 1975. The deadline for the completion of the manuscript was finally extended to the end of May 1975, and the book published by Oxford University Press in 1976. It was available either separately or in a boxed set with two LPs that contained related material. Due to a

⁸⁴ Pickett, "Hard-Sell, Scholarship and Silly Titles," 48.

⁸⁵ Christopher Hogwood interviewed by Bernard Levin: Bernard Levin, "David Munrow," produced by Walter Todds, aired June 27, 1976, on BBC Television.

⁸⁶ David Munrow to Christopher Bishop, May 1, 1973, David Munrow Artist File, EMI Archives, Middlesex.

printing error, some of the books had black-and-white covers whilst others were available in colour but whether or not one chose to buy the book alone or as part of the set, it was LP-sized so it could fit in the box; another illustration of Munrow's educational zeal. Most revealing was the decision that Munrow made when authoring his book to divide it into two sections: The Middle Ages, and The Renaissance. This was in stark contrast to some of his earlier performing practices where he had, for instance, used crumhorns in medieval pieces.⁸⁷ Indeed, Munrow explicitly acknowledged this in his preface when he wrote:

The division of the book into two parts (before and after *c.* 1400) is intended to show which instruments properly belong to the Middle Ages and which to the Renaissance, a fundamental point that, through the enthusiasm of early music performers (including myself), has sometimes been overlooked.⁸⁸

This introduction suggests, from the outset, something of a manifesto for the book and, as readers, such candour encourages us to understand Munrow's comments as both a summation of an earlier philosophy and a portent for a future direction. By acknowledging and chastising his past anachronisms he promised a more authentic future. Christopher Hogwood described it as 'a popular and well-illustrated book that incorporated and assessed current thinking on organology, combining musicological tenacity with player's insight.'⁸⁹ Well-illustrated the finished publication certainly was, and in the RAM archive the many files relating to this publication attest to the lengths to which Munrow went to source the best pictures. So obsessed was he with the level of detail that an editor for Oxford University Press wrote '[David Munrow's] introduction

⁸⁷ An example of this is Munrow's scoring of an Italian 14th-century Saltarello for soprano crumhorn and tambourine. S1, B8: Munrow, Reid, and Hogwood, *The Mediaeval Sound: David Munrow Introduces Early Woodwind Instruments*.

⁸⁸ Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 4.

⁸⁹ Christopher Hogwood, "Munrow, David John (1942–1976)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Accessed October 10, 2012. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk:80/view/article/31482>.

is twice as long as agreed. Every page is full-to-bursting so important bibliographical details are now having to be incorporated into the text.’⁹⁰

Munrow’s approach to this book was as an amalgamator of existing scholarship, mixed with his own knowledge of folk instruments and experience as a performer. The research in his pages did not claim to offer anything new as such, but rather Munrow attempted to tread a path through the available information. What is interesting to modern-day readers is Munrow’s own introduction where he acknowledged the main sources for his research. He divided this introduction into eight sections. In ‘Original Instruments’ he drew attention to Frederick Crane’s survey *Extant Medieval Instruments* and Anthony Baines’ *European and American Musical Instruments*.⁹¹ In the introductory paragraph to ‘Folk Instruments’ there were no references since much of this knowledge came from the author’s own collection (as is evidenced by the photograph captions throughout the book). On the subject of iconographical evidence, Munrow mentioned a point of great interest to this study; he said of the 14th- and 15th-century paintings of angel consorts that they ‘bear little relation to contemporary church-music practice, where the emphasis was on a cappella singing.’⁹² By 1975, Munrow had become convinced that a cappella singing had been overlooked in his own work and wished to reform the Consort to explore it more fully. The results of this can be heard on his album *The Art of the Netherlands*.⁹³ Munrow also used Emanuel Winternitz’s study into the symbolism of musical instruments throughout his book.⁹⁴

Munrow used several sources for performance practice, but in particular the research by Werner Bachmann in *The Origins of Bowing*, from which he quoted

⁹⁰ K. Aerts to David Munrow, Miscellaneous Letters Received, November 13, 1975, Papers of David Munrow: DM1/1/5, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

⁹¹ Frederick Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972) and Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London: Batsford, 1966).

⁹² David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 1976, EMI SLS 988. 2 LPs.

⁹³ Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of the Netherlands*.

⁹⁴ Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London: Faber, 1967).

liberally in many of the following chapters.⁹⁵ And to underpin this study, three eye-witness writers proved useful, namely, Michael Praetorius, Sebastian Virdung and Marin Mersenne. Praetorius' *De Organographia* is the second volume of his famous treatise *Syntagma Musicum* and details the instruments themselves whilst performance practice is covered in the third volume.⁹⁶ Whilst Sebastian Virdung's instrumental tutor *Musica getutscht* is the oldest known such study Munrow also uses Martin Agricola's re-working of Virdung's text in *Musica instrumentalis Deudtsch*. Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* accounts for 24 separate footnotes by Munrow, testifying to the usefulness of its detailed descriptions.⁹⁷

One of the first major reviews of this book was by Howard Mayer Brown in *Early Music*. Brown was in the awkward position of needing to combine his review with an obituary. He handled this task by devoting three substantial paragraphs to a remembrance of Munrow the artist before beginning his review proper. Whilst the review was largely positive, Brown found himself troubled by the thorny question of the divide between folk-instruments and art-instruments alone. Munrow's main approach was to look to folk (often 19th-century counterparts) to provide clues for the ways in which early (and particularly medieval) instruments were played. In several places, Munrow took a short step from observing these playing techniques to drawing broad conclusions about medieval musical practice and it was just this sort of reasoning that made Brown uneasy. He agreed with Munrow that we cannot look back through an unbroken tradition of instrumental playing, but finds that in the absence of this:

we must look to other cultures to tell us what sorts of things musicians have devised to play on double pipes, and then make a leap of faith in supposing

⁹⁵ Werner Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing and the Development of Bowed Instruments up to the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford University Press: London, 1969).

⁹⁶ Michael Praetorius, *The Syntagma Musicum of Michael Praetorius. Volume II: De Organographia, First and Second Parts*, trans. Harold Blumenfeld (New York: Bärenreiter, 1949).

⁹⁷ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle: The Books on Instruments*, trans. Roger E. Chapman. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957).

(guessing really) that medieval musicians would have hit upon the same techniques given similar instruments.⁹⁸

What Brown advocated here was a more open acknowledgement of guesswork; something which he implies was often occluded by Munrow's enthusiasm.

What also struck Brown was that Munrow did not 'differentiate significantly between 'folk' and 'art' instruments of the Middle Ages.'⁹⁹ He wondered about the wisdom of playing 13th-century courtly music on a cowhorn or interchanging so freely between the more simple forms of reed-pipe and the more sophisticated shawm. Although Brown concluded that Munrow's book threw down a gauntlet for future researchers to prove him otherwise, he retained an uneasiness with the balance between the fluidity of Munrow's music making and his influence as an educator when facts such as these were likely never provable.

Jeremy Montagu, whose own book came out at a similar time to Munrow's (albeit through a delay in the publisher's scheduling rather than by intention) still holds a more critical opinion of Munrow's book 'because he kept on using modern ethnic instruments to represent medieval instruments rather than reconstructions from manuscripts [...]'¹⁰⁰ However, it is possible to read Montagu enthusing about just such opportunities presented by modern folk craftsmanship elsewhere when he reviewed a book on Turkish instrument making:

we acquired many of our instruments from the same areas as the Turks did or from Turkey itself, and many survive in Turkey today in almost their original forms, so that constructional and other technical details are of considerable use and interest to us.

And at the end of that book review he concluded:

you will know vastly more about musical instruments of all sorts, and not just about Turkish folk musical instruments, when you have read it.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Howard Mayer Brown, "Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: In Memoriam David Munrow," *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976): 291.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹⁰⁰ Jeremy Montagu, interview by author, Oxford, December 6, 2009.

¹⁰¹ "Review: [untitled]," *Early Music* 3, no. 4 (1975), 83.

So Montagu, at least, appeared not to object to the process of looking at older traditions and folk instruments for craft and technical expertise but just to Munrow's tendency to use modern folk equivalents over iconographical evidence for performance suggestions.

Brown too, was more forthcoming in his review of Montagu's own book on early instruments, which he undertook as a comparison exercise with Munrow's text. Indeed, he found that Munrow, whilst giving more detailed information about each instrumental family, was often less precise about dates. Yet he left readers in no doubt that whilst they are both impressive surveys, neither Munrow nor Montagu has the final word on the matter:

In short, give your students Montagu to read first, then Munrow, and finally set them loose on more specialized studies.¹⁰²

Articles

David Munrow's article '*The Art of Courtly Love*' appeared in the fourth ever issue of *Early Music*.¹⁰³ Characteristically, he used this article as an opportunity to introduce his forthcoming EMI album. This was made explicit in the editorial, which says:

This month, EMI issue an important new recording of French secular music from Machaut to Dufay, called '*The Art of Courtly Love*'. David Munrow outlines the background to this period of music and discusses some of the performance problems involved.¹⁰⁴

The text was identical to the introductory essay that was contained in the liner notes. Yet, the fact that it was included in *Early Music* in this form is illustrative of how this boxed-set was understood to be a big development for the early music revival since it boasted hitherto unseen lavish presentation by a major record label. This implied that

¹⁰² Howard Mayer Brown, "Review: The World of Medieval & Renaissance Musical Instruments by Jeremy Montagu," *Early Music* 6, no. 1 (1978), 109.

¹⁰³ David Munrow, "The Art of Courtly Love," *Early Music* 1, no. 4 (1973).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

the music of Machaut or Dufay could sit with equal importance in record shops alongside mainstream operatic repertoire, the 19th century being the usual recipient of such extravagance and luxury.

Munrow's article gives a clear example of the educational mechanism that Brown highlighted in his *Early Music* obituary-cum-book review when he reflected upon his concert presentation of Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay Pale* by contextualizing it using music of the same time to show how important Dufay's achievement was.¹⁰⁵ Brown commented on the popularity of *The Art of Courtly Love* by saying 'not the least surprising thing about those recordings is that so many people have found them worth listening to.'¹⁰⁶

Munrow prepared each recording with a meticulous attention to detail and this article can be seen as part of that process by introducing his audience to the social history of music so that they might listen to the albums with an understanding of the ages they represent rather than simply as old music. After introducing the concept of 'courtly love' and reminding his readers that the roots of these songs are 'in the passions of real people' he moves on to the problems of performing such medieval chansons.¹⁰⁷ It is of particular interest that even as early as 1974 Munrow felt he must protect his work from critics by saying 'only the foolish will claim to be totally *authentic* about performing mediaeval music.'¹⁰⁸

Broadcast scripts

The earliest broadcast script preserved by David Munrow was written not for himself but for a BBC announcer at a live recital of the Early Music Consort of London

¹⁰⁵ Howard Mayer Brown, "Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: In Memoriam David Munrow," *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976): 289.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ David Munrow, "The Art of Courtly Love," *Early Music* 1, no. 4 (1973): 195.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 196.

in 1967.¹⁰⁹ The script introduces ‘a programme of popular music of the renaissance and middle ages’ encompassing a huge variety of works and organized in reverse chronological order so that it opens with a group of sixteenth century pieces from Germany, France and England and ends with three thirteenth century *Laudi Spirituali*.

Like in many of the early announcers scripts, Munrow was careful to describe the instrumentation of each piece and pointed out that the composer himself often did not indicate it:

David Munrow and Robert Spencer play The Jews Dance by Robert Nicholson. The problem of instrumentation for once is solved by the composer himself, who specifies recorder and lute. He does not indicate which size of recorder is to be employed however. The Jews Dance will now be played twice, using first tenor and then descant recorder, giving an opportunity to audience and listeners to make up their own minds in the matter.¹¹⁰

In instances such as these, we detect an eagerness to be as thorough and scholarly as possible. That this eagerness was evident as early as 1967, the first year of the EMC’s formation, is itself worthy of note.

The scripts also show a focus on folk music such as the programme ‘Instrumental Music from Scotland and Ireland’ which includes a fiddle-player from the Shetlands and a recording of a tin-whistle and spoons made on the streets of London, all drawn from BBC Sound Archive recordings. Munrow commented:

for me, and I suspect many other people, the lure of the past is stronger than that of the future. Collecting antique furniture, historical novels and films, the revival of interest in early music, these are symptomatic of a growing antiquarian interest on many levels. Unlike previous ages, we just do not seem to be content with what is contemporary: in many cases we reject the latest developments in art, music or literature, preferring the solid worth and proven attractions of the past.¹¹¹

Munrow was himself a collector of first editions of H. G. Wells and also spoke of his enjoyment in collecting records: this lends an air of autobiography to his

¹⁰⁹ David Munrow, Notes for BBC Monday Concert, October 30 1967, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library Special Collections, London.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ David Munrow: Instrumental Music from Scotland and Ireland, c1970, DM/7/6, Papers of David Munrow, The Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

observation.¹¹² If this is the case, Munrow may have been suggesting that he was not content with the contemporary, or at least that he had sympathy with radio audiences who took that point of view. Yet we know from other radio scripts that Munrow himself enjoyed many forms of contemporary music and in particular jazz and world music as well as the modern pieces that were written for him. Maybe by playing these folk performances he was suggesting a sense of dissatisfaction with the prevailing contemporary performing styles and suggesting folk recordings showed us something of 'the solid worth and proven attractions of the past'. In particular, this might be read as an attack on the mid-century use of vibrato which Munrow believed was not part of the distant past, as he stated in his comment about fiddle players of the Shetlands:

I think it tells us a lot about past styles of string playing. It goes back to the days when vibrato was used with discretion if at all, unlike the indiscriminate wobble which classically trained violinists are taught today. And the folk players treat rhythm with a delicacy which would be difficult to notate.¹¹³

This comment is dealt with in detail in chapter five when Munrow's thoughts about Vibrato are explored.

Elsewhere, radio scripts show many of the records that Munrow was listening to and illuminate his extensive knowledge of folk music and world music. In another programme from 1970, Munrow touches on the subject of loud and soft music in the Middle Ages and states that he feels the distinction would have applied to voices as well as instruments.¹¹⁴ This topic is explored in greater detail in chapter four. Radio scripts also give us an insight into Munrow's overview of an age such as 'Medieval Florence' in which he compiles a programme of Italian Trecento music using EMC performances and others which show he was listening to The Jaye Consort, Musica Reservata, Judy

¹¹² H. G. Wells is mentioned in: J. M. Thomson, "[Editorial]: David Munrow [Obituary]," *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976), 253-254. And he talks about record collecting in: Blyth, "David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth."

¹¹³ David Munrow, Instrumental Music from Scotland and Ireland [Radio Script], c1970, DM/7/6, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

¹¹⁴ Early Ensembles [Radio Script], c1970, DM/7/7, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

Collins & The Waverley Consort, Studio der frühen Musik and New York Pro Musica as early as 1970.¹¹⁵ It is in the unguarded and informal tone of these radio scripts that many of Munrow's musical opinions are voiced and as such I turn to them frequently throughout this thesis.

Liner notes

The liner notes, which accompany records directed by David Munrow, are not always authored entirely by him: on most occasions academics and specialists contribute various sections.

The notes for the EMC's first record, *Ecco La Primavera*, drew heavily on an article in *The New Oxford History of Music*.¹¹⁶ The enthusiastic but careful tone of the writing was a hallmark of Munrow's formal style. After painting a picture of the larger artistic scene in and around Florence he focused on the structural forms of the music, the *caccia*, *madrigal*, *balata* and *istampita*. He summed up:

The music of the *trecento* is adventurous, exciting and secular like the society for which it was written. No page in the history of medieval music is more striking and colourful; no other group of composers produced music so directly emotional in appeal. After six centuries it has lost none of its freshness and charm.¹¹⁷

Munrow's enthusiasm again owed something to Huizinga in its focus on the contrasts of colour and sound in medieval society. In a note for *The Mediaeval Sound*, Munrow's lecture recital LP recorded the same year, he delved into Huizinga-territory more specifically:

The people of the Middle Ages and Renaissance liked gorgeous colours in their clothes, sharp contrasts in their paintings, highly flavoured dishes at their table. In music they liked sounds which were bright and uncompromising. All their

¹¹⁵ Medieval Florence [Radio Script], October 29, 1970, DM/7/12, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

¹¹⁶ Gilbert Reaney, *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*, ed. Don Anselm Hughes, New Oxford History of Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).

¹¹⁷ David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 642, 1969. LP.

families of instruments possessed remarkably individual timbres which vanished as the modern orchestra developed.¹¹⁸

This line of reasoning is further pursued in chapter 4. However, it is useful to reiterate that this was not an unusual or maverick stance for a musician to take since it was derived from the advice of the textbooks of the time.¹¹⁹

On several occasions, liner notes also show cases of duplication. A statement such as:

All the percussion parts on this record have been added, using the basic rhythm of the dance prescribed by many writers, such as Thoinot Arbeau in his *Orchésographie*, 1589. It seems unlikely that renaissance percussionists would have been content to play basic rhythms all their lives, and in [two of the dances] the rhythms have been liberally embellished.¹²⁰

occurs on *Two Renaissance Dance Bands* as well as *Dances from Terpsichore*.¹²¹ It is an example of how Munrow recycled his material to get maximum value from it. Liner notes, broadcast scripts and lecture recitals all drew on the same pool of knowledge and although they tended to be rewritten for each occasion they often contained reused material.

The next major recording of medieval music that Munrow made was *Music of the Crusades* and liner notes took unknowable parameters as a starting point for the discussion 'A note on the performance.'¹²² Munrow explained how, working in conjunction with Ian Bent, he applied the system of modal rhythm to the monophonic songs and was keen to quote the relevant passage from Gustave Reese's textbook.¹²³ On matters of instrumentation he explained that the crumhorn was used as a replacement

¹¹⁸ Munrow, Reid, and Hogwood, *The Mediaeval Sound: David Munrow Introduces Early Woodwind Instruments*.

¹¹⁹ Again, for a full discussion of this see: Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*.

¹²⁰ David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *Two Renaissance Dance Bands*, EMI HQS 1249, 1971. LP.

¹²¹ David Munrow, The Early Music Consort of London, and Boys of the Cathedral and Abbey Church of St Alban, Michael Praetorius: *Dances from Terpsichore, Motets from Musae Sioniae*, EMI CSD 3761, 1974. LP.

¹²² Liner notes: 'A note on the performance' in: David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Crusades*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 673, 1971. LP.

¹²³ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages: With an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (New York: Norton, 1940), 208.

for bladderpipes and the douçaine, since both were wind-cap instruments. Finally, for performance decisions he turned to the East and traditions in Turkey and Arabia as inspiration for the drones and improvised instrumental parts. Munrow explained that his decision to shorten the monophonic songs was simply based on a desire to include as many songs as possible.

A different approach in liner notes is seen in the two boxed sets of medieval music, *The Art of Courtly Love* (1973) and *Music of the Gothic Era* (1976). For both of these projects Munrow worked with Michael Freeman who provided scholarly essays from a historical perspective as well as advising on pronunciation. *The Art of Courtly Love* was intended for both average listeners and serious students. The insert began with a spread of photos of the Early Music Consort in recording sessions at Abbey Road studios and then essays by Munrow and Freeman followed, adorned by medieval depictions of courtly life. Munrow began his introduction by explaining the scope of the time period covered in the recordings and the reasons for ‘the sudden flowering of the French mediaeval chanson’ as inspired by ‘chivalric ideals’ expressed in the works of troubadours and trouvères.¹²⁴ Munrow’s detailed account consigned an explanation of *formes fixes* to a footnote in order to spend more time on the notational advances of Philippe de Vitry and the harmonic experiments of Machaut. The style of his text was readable yet authoritative, especially when discussing the Papal Schism of 1378-1417; musical analysis closely tied to historical events is a device common to Munrow’s broadcast writing. In discussing the sacred origins of the motet Munrow commented that ‘it was still based on a repeated instrumental tenor but the texts sung by the upper two voices were generally amorous’. Here he is simply using an accepted musicological theory that tenors were instrumental which leads him to discuss the choice of instrumentation in some detail. This was borne out but the bibliography at the end of the

¹²⁴ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*, EMI SLS 863, 1973. 3 LPs.

booklet which included Sir John Stainer's classic text on Dufay, the collected works of Dufay by Guillaume de Van and Heinrich Besseler and Leo Schrade's *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, all of which advocated instrumental tenors.¹²⁵

In *Music of the Gothic Era*, the last recording that Munrow undertook, the approach was noticeably more formal. The booklet, in three languages, had many photographs of EMC members demonstrating their instruments as well as stills of the recording sessions. In this booklet Michael Freeman's essay 'The Gothic Era: Political, social and literary background' preceded Munrow's own writing on the music and the performances. Munrow drew on the editions of Frank L Harrison and Leo Schrade and he divided his notes into three sections, each aligning with one of the three LPs:

1. The Notre Dame Period (Léonin's Organa, Pérotin's Quadrupla, The Performance of Notre Dame Organa)
2. Ars Antiqua (thirteenth-century motets in the Montpellier and Bamberg Codices, Adam de la Halle and Petrus de Cruce) and Ars Nova (The Roman de Fauvel, Philippe de Vitry)
3. The motet of the 14th century: intellectual and musical expression (The Ivrea codex, Guillaume de Machaut, The Chantilly Codex, The interpretation of the motets)

Historically, this gave Munrow an opportunity to focus on the development of the motet and to point to the *Historical Anthology of Music* for further examples.¹²⁶ The sections of interest to this thesis, however, are the two that concern performance practice, chiefly 'The performance of Notre Dame Organa' and 'The interpretation of the motets'. In the former he explained his rationale for limiting the instrumentation to organ and bells with the organ chiefly doubling the long notes of the tenor part and the bells doubling the plainchant. However, Munrow went on to offer short explanations for

¹²⁵ Leo Schrade, ed., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956); J. F. R. Stainer et al., *Early Bodleian Music: Dufay and his Contemporaries: Fifty Compositions Ranging from about A.D. 1400 to 1440* (London: Novello, 1898); Guillaume Dufay, *Guillaume Dufay: Opera omnia, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1*, ed. Heinrich Besseler and Guillaume de Van (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951).

¹²⁶ Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, ed., *Historical Anthology of Music*, Rev. ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949).

his interpretation of ligatures, plica, tremolando, florata, insertion of rests and tenor parts. The plica was performed by following the advice of pseudo-Aristotle in ‘a partial closing of the epiglottis combined with a subtle repercussion of the throat’ which was what John Potter remembered Munrow calling a ‘lift-bang’ in rehearsal:

If I remember correctly it was David’s solution to the ‘plica problem’ which none of us [singers] understood (or cared much about). It was a practical solution, a creative use of the holes in our knowledge (something that early music enables all the time). For a while, the ‘lift-bang’ became what you did when you got to one of those funny squiggles.¹²⁷

The amusing nick-name ‘lift-bang’ made light of the thought that went into Munrow’s rehearsal preparation, and it was this warm, approachable style that his performers so often remembered.

In ‘The interpretation of the motets’, Munrow explained that his performances aimed to reflect the ‘prevailing mood or situation presented by the text,’ and that the instrumentation used was also intended to complement the text. Possibly the most fascinating point he made was to suggest vocalization of untexted musical lines as a perfectly viable option: unwittingly, he preempted the next major era of medieval music performance.

Summary

The picture that emerges from this literature is one of a popular musician with an instinct for erudite concert programmes. Large and colourful performances are considered to have been influenced by the mid 20th century picture of the Middle Ages (from Huizinga and others) and also fuelled by several key recordings, chiefly those of the New York Pro Musica. After Munrow’s death, scholarship shifted its centre of gravity away from instrumentally based performances leaving Munrow’s legacy

¹²⁷ John Potter, "Past Perfect & Future Fictions," in *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis XXVI* (Amadeus, 2002), 11.

prematurely dated, yet fondly remembered. There is also a slightly opposing view which comes to the fore, and which we saw exemplified in the obituary by Sir Anthony Lewis, suggesting that the sound-world created by Munrow for early music set new standards of performance which could no longer be ignored. If certain details of Munrow's instrumentation of early music were to become obsolete, his obsession with accuracy in performance was not to suffer the same fate.

The material reviewed in this chapter has all been directly related to David Munrow; it is either about him or by him. There is, however, a whole other body of literature that must be taken into account; chiefly that which Munrow himself read and which influenced the performance practice of both him and the Early Music Consort of London. Such literature is explored in a contextual basis in the case studies that follow on from the biographical part of this thesis. When surveying broad literature about the early music revival, we can see broad trends emerge. The first is that Munrow is situated in the middle section of a threefold sequence of events that took place after World War II. That first was, initially, what can be seen as a dry, academic revival in which the Archiv record series and Safford Cape's Pro Musica Antiqua were greatly influential as were the writings of Gustave Reese and Gilbert Reaney. This initial phase built on the body of German academic research that preceded the war. Bridging the middle period were the pioneering performances of Noah Greenberg and The New York Pro Musica who did much to convince the public that early music was a communicative repertoire with verve and personality to rival other eras. The EMC joins this middle period along with Musica Reservata and Studio der Frühen Musik creating a shared cultural space where a great variety of vocal techniques, accompaniments and colours of instrumentation are showcased in performances of medieval (and to a certain extent renaissance) music. This period is greatly influenced by the personalities of the musical directors in question. Finally, the third period from about 1977 until the end of the

century is characterized by a move to all vocal performances of many medieval songs, and an increased interest in later repertoire such as renaissance choral music, baroque music and beyond. This is the period that prides itself on *authenticity* and that later, via a process which Peter Kivy calls a ‘bait and switch’ situation, became known as *historically informed performance*.¹²⁸

What this thesis will now do, therefore, is to find out more about how this ‘middle period’ of the post-war revival operated, and attempt to quantify the aspects of Munrow’s performance practice that can be identified as unique. In order to do this it is necessary first to trace the influences that Munrow absorbed during his formative years and then to take these, with the academic texts of the time and other performances that were available, to discern which influences can be detected in the performance practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London and which factors, if any, are entirely new. Once more is known about the performance practice, the ‘how’, it should be possible to find out more about the ‘why’, that is, why the EMC were so successful and why Munrow continues to be remembered so vividly.

¹²⁸ Peter Kivy, "On the Historically Informed Performance," in *Music, Language, and Cognition: and Other Essays on the Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11.

Chapter 2 - Methodology and structure

Title

The title of this thesis invokes the phrase ‘Performance Practice’ which has been described by Alejandro Planchart as an ‘unhappy translation’ of the nineteenth century German *Aufführungspraxis* used to describe the mechanics of a performance, lending particular emphasis to un-notated elements of music-making and performer defined characteristics such as dynamics, pitch, tuning, sonority and tempo.¹²⁹ How this term came to be drawn from German scholarship has been explored in the work of Daniel Leech-Wilkinson who also argued that the early music revival was built on a bedrock of mainly German scholarship from the early twentieth century.¹³⁰ Archival research proves that this older ‘continental’ research was known to Munrow as it can be seen referenced in his book collection, lecture notes and writings. Yet, like those musicians whose recordings he collected (such as Safford Cape and Noah Greenberg) Munrow would still have been faced with the need to make imaginative leaps in order to realize the notation in sound, leaps which scholarship did not, and in some cases still cannot, offer concrete advice on how to negotiate. How then to determine which elements of a performance are drawn from musicology and which are creative or practical solutions to performance practice issues?

By tracing Munrow’s library, broadcast scripts, lectures, and other papers, variously dispersed, it is possible to recover some of his thinking and activity as a researcher, broadcaster, teacher and performer. Through such research, it is possible to reveal the way Munrow’s work redeemed lost musical repertoires and contributed to a

¹²⁹ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "The Performance of Early Music in America," *The Journal of Musicology* 1, no. 1 (1982): 19.

¹³⁰ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

public re-evaluation of modernism by providing such solutions in order to facilitate performances of early music. More than others, his programming, especially of music at the court of King Henry VIII, captured public attention and established Britain in the forefront of the early music revival that came to be seen by many as a preferable alternative to the avant garde.¹³¹ This thesis explores his contribution to this paradigm shift and illuminates Munrow's trajectory as a popular pioneer who lead public taste through education.

Methodology

The methodology inherent in this thesis is closely aligned with the New Cultural History of Music, described by Jane Fulcher as ‘a bracing new synthesis of theoretical perspectives and methodologies drawn from the “new cultural history” and the “new musicology” of the 1980s.’¹³² Fulcher has recently identified a crisis in musicology, in part ‘provoked by charges of “perspectivism” and the focus on discursive constructions of the social world independent of “objective” or social verification’ which she then used to situate the New Cultural History of Music in a more balanced dialogue with empiricist, literal and positivist sensitivities.¹³³ And it is this sense of balance which influences the thrust of my thesis as it attempts to explore a reception history in the sense of The New Musicology whilst acknowledging and utilizing analysis drawn from the field of Empirical Musicology. The twinning of such seemingly incongruous methodologies is to offer a reflective stance on the reasons for seeking to make empirical observations.

¹³¹ This point is supported chiefly by the writings of John Potter who sang for David Munrow: “It is not until David Munrow formed his Early Music Consort of London in 1967 that early music singing was perceived by the public as attractive to listen to.” John Potter, *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 115.

¹³² Jane F. Fulcher, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

¹³³ Ibid.

Having just stated that this thesis offers a reflection on performance practice it is important to also describe other outcomes that this current research offers besides: i.e. what concrete advances in knowledge does a reflective stance enable this thesis to achieve? Influences on the interpretation of early music performances are revealed and contextualized, however this list may not be exhaustive since this thesis can only examine the evidence that is either in the public domain or which has been made available through private agreement. There are, doubtless, more sources remaining to be discovered. With this situation in mind, this current investigation can be seen as a first stage—a lining up of ducks, if you will—offering a broad survey of the influences on early music performance available to David Munrow and opening the discussion as to how Munrow and his colleagues appear to have reacted to such influences. I am grateful to Jeremy Llewellyn for his discussion of dialectics at the Med-Ren conference 2013, which suggested exciting possibilities for future research as to the changing relationship between the performers and their influences over time.¹³⁴ However, this thesis is not the place to explore such dialectical relationships, as its function is necessarily limited to the identification of influences and the justification for their identification. The way in which those influences may be changed through post-colonial attitudes and perceptions of ‘other’ in medieval music (to take one example) is beyond the scope of what can be achieved here. Having said that, the author acknowledges this path of investigation as a future avenue for research.

Of the biographical works consulted in the course of this study, several have provided strong models for my own writing. Their approaches are reflected in this thesis in several key ways: the use of childhood biographical material, use of direct quotations in narrative, reuse of interview material from the writing of others and the combination

¹³⁴ Jeremy Llewellyn's questions and comments followed the presentation: Edward Breen, "Keeping Landini Off the Streets," (paper presented at the *Medieval and Renaissance International Music Conference*, Certaldo, Italy 2013).

of many sources to create reception histories. Here, I describe those models case-by-case.

An example of an authorized biography of an early musician is offered in James Gollin's study of Noah Greenberg: *Pied Piper*, written after Greenberg's death.¹³⁵ This study offers a richly researched account of Greenberg's life covering musical and non-musical activities alike through many interviews and archival materials. Gollin covers much biographical detail concerning family history, and in doing so makes a compelling case for the use of childhood biography to illuminate formative musical development. He shows how Greenberg first came to admire and perform early music and, importantly, how and when he met the very musicologists and performers who were to play key roles in his ensemble over the following decades. However, his focus is biographical so discussions of performance practice are woven into chronological narrative rather than discussed as a case study. Gollin's work is a model for my third chapter, 'David Munrow and the formation of the Early Music Consort of London', which seeks also to provide a roadmap of Munrow's developing interest in early music and how, eventually, the various musicians of his ensemble came to meet.

A second influence on my own approach has been Bernard Sherman's collection of interviews with early musicians: *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*.¹³⁶ However, the influence here has not been the interview structure itself, largely because Sherman is using interview to reveal a larger narrative than I, but the sheer length of the quoted text that he has presented in his book. By minimizing his own questions and transcribing large tracts of his interviewees' speech, Sherman offers the reader some context to each of his speakers' comments. To be sure this approach is not unique to Sherman, but rather reflects the larger practice of oral history. Sherman's

¹³⁵ James Gollin, *Pied Piper: The Many Lives of Noah Greenberg*, Lives in Music Series (New York: Pendragon Press, 2001).

¹³⁶ Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

blend of interview and oral history techniques results in a semi-structured interview leaving space to include contextual information. Such use of long quotations is also a feature of Tom Perchard's biography of the Jazz trumpeter Lee Morgan, a work which also makes a compelling case for the detailed use of early years biography when looking at the life of a performing musician. This latter point is made explicit in the title: *Lee Morgan: His Life, Music and Culture*.¹³⁷ Perchard's study of Morgan also takes a similar stance to Gollin's study of Greenberg in that both writers are careful to explain socio-cultural settings for the lives of their subjects

Considering the influential nature of the books by Sherman and Perchard, the use of long quotations enhances the usefulness of bespoke interviews for future researchers who may wish to access the transcribed text for different purposes. Limiting quotation from bespoke interviews to short and targeted references is something that I have, therefore, avoided where possible. My preference has been to allow for full paragraph quotations which can be discussed in my analysis, rather than using small illustrative selections during the course of an analysis. This is, hopefully, particularly notable in chapter 3 where I have attempted to allow for the thrust of Munrow's biography to be told via the words of those who witnessed it first-hand often from bespoke sources, or old BBC interviews which may not be readily available to the general public.

To this end, the influence of William Owen's work with Sir David Willcocks must also be acknowledged.¹³⁸ I have adopted Owen's unfolding chronological style of questions in interviews, yet my work differs in a key way: I am unable to provide audio samples from all of the interviews I conducted as some of the interviewees did not give permission for the audio recording to be made public. Also, copyrighted interviews

¹³⁷ Tom Perchard, *Lee Morgan: His Life, Music and Culture*, Popular Music History (London: Equinox, 2006).

¹³⁸ William Owen, *A Life in Music: Conversations with Sir David Willcocks and Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

that I reference, drawn from BBC broadcasts not held by the British Library Sound Archive, are not available for copyright reasons either. So I have not taken Owen's route of providing a companion audio recording. However, I hope that my references will allow future researchers to retrace my steps through all archival material with ease.

Many studies take an overview approach which does not sensibly allow for a long quotation approach. One example of this is Nick Wilson's *The Art of Re-enchantment*.¹³⁹ Wilson's study follows many performing ensembles through fifty years of the early music revival, so the possibilities for future research are limited by allowing bespoke interviews to guide the narrative in ways which are not necessarily obvious to the reader. Quotations are often so short that we have to trust Wilson's use of those quotes for both context and poignancy. This is a criticism that I have already made in print elsewhere and I hope to have avoided in my own approach since my study lends itself more readily to detailed observations.¹⁴⁰ To further this point, I note that Bernard Sherman was declined an interview by Christopher Hogwood on the basis that he had already given several which were not then used.¹⁴¹ In summary, the use of longer quotation is designed to do justice to the interviewees' context for each particular comment, and allow readers to judge perspective (from both interviewee and myself as author) for themselves.

The idea of mixing bespoke interview with pre-existing interviews from broadcast and print sources is a standard biographical path. We see this approach presented clearly by Perchard who provides a list of his own bespoke interviews at the end of his study. Wilson takes a similar approach and I have adopted this practice also.

¹³⁹ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁴⁰ Ed Breen, review of *The Art of Re-enchantment*, by Nick Wilson. *Early Music* 42, no. 2 (2014): 301-3.

¹⁴¹ 'The exceedingly busy Christopher Hogwood had just invested a great deal of time in interviews that were never published, and I didn't yet have a publisher at the time I approached him.' Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*, ix.

Writers who describe Western music with reference to the techniques of ethnomusicology have also influenced me. A key catalyst for my study was Stephen Cottrell's paper: *Music as Capital: Deputizing among London's Freelance Musicians*.¹⁴² I use the term catalytic because it was this paper that first made me consider the story of David Munrow as it was being told to me by Early Music Consort of London performers whom I met when I was a young freelance singer 'deputizing' on the London choral scene. In turn, Cottrell's work led me to read Bruno Nettl's study: *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music*.¹⁴³ In this book Nettl reflects on Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934) when he says 'I learned that one significant way to comprehend a culture is to find dominant themes that exhibit themselves in a variety of cultural domains and behavior patterns'.¹⁴⁴ And it is through reflection on these methodologies that I have quoted myself as an interviewer in many of the transcribed passages from bespoke interviews in order to make my own contribution and point of view apparent to the reader.¹⁴⁵

Sociological methodologies are also of particular importance in this study since it seeks to explore the *abstract theory* of paradigm change in musical performance practice (in this case, the early music revival of the twentieth century) through a *grounded theory* enquiry into the performance of early music by an individual practitioner. As Tia DeNora writes: 'We need, in short, to follow actors in and across situations as they draw music into (and draw music as) social practice.'¹⁴⁶ And by focusing on music-making at the level of social operation I attempt to *show* how links

¹⁴² Stephen Cottrell, "Music as Capital: Deputizing among London's Freelance Musicians," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11, no. 2 (2002): 61-80.

¹⁴³ Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music*, Music in American Life (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 6. Here, Nettl is reflecting on: Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1934).

¹⁴⁵ On this matter readers are referred to the interviews with David Corkhill (Chapter 6) and Christina Clarke (Chapter 5) where the author's voice is also transcribed.

¹⁴⁶ Tia DeNora, "Musical Practice and Social Structure: A Toolkit," in *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, ed. Eric F. Clarke and Nicholas Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 38.

have been made between musical and social structures, in order to avoid drawing unrealistic divisions between music and society. It has therefore been essential to include a biographical account of Munrow's musical development so that the relationship between his musical ambitions and outside forces that operated on his performances can be appreciated in full rather than as a fragmented sequence of footnotes.

Finally, the sociological perspective illuminates notions of social status and cultural value. Munrow worked against a prevailing background of 'serious' classical music and was seen as a pioneer in breaking many taboos of concert performance: for instance he was one of the first early musicians to minimize on-stage tuning during a concert performance. In his performances this pioneering spirit was evident in the way that he strived for the high standards of classical music concerts but eschewed a traditional reverence for the printed work and the definitive performance in favour of embracing improvisatory qualities. In the light of this it would not be possible to look at what Munrow played and how he played it without seeking a picture of the other influences behind these; an example of this improvisatory spirit in Munrow's work can be found in Munrow writing to Hugh Keyte at the BBC with plans for a forthcoming concert: 'I'm going to try to avoid most of the repertoire we've recorded, and where we do repeat ourselves to find a new interpretation!'¹⁴⁷ This attitude is strikingly different to the way in which mainstream classical music is normally performed.

Method

The premise of this thesis is therefore to study recorded sound and to relate it to words written or spoken about that sound. By taking the measurement of recorded

¹⁴⁷ David Munrow to Hugh Keyte, March 17, 1976, DM/1/2/2, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

sound with signal processing software as a reference point, performances are described and measured in detail. This information is then considered in the light of biographical and musicological evidence. Performance features are submitted to basic questions such as: is there a reason for this performance decision, and to what extent is the performer aware of this feature?

In reviewing literature surrounding a performance, consideration has been given to the function of each document. In particular, when descriptions of performances come from administration and business correspondence, or from the social correspondence of artists these words have been read within an appropriate social framework, not as if they were themselves musicological texts.

The sources used in this thesis range from the recorded legacy of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London, existing scholarship, Munrow's own papers and frequently, the papers of his colleagues and peers, as well as Munrow's scores, concert programs and record reviews. This study also considers bespoke interviews with artists and music professionals who worked with Munrow and who claim influence in either direction. Interviews usually take the form of new events carried out specifically for this study but also include older interviews taken from public broadcasts on television and radio.

As this range of sources suggests, there are few studies and published articles about David Munrow in existence so a considerable amount of data-gathering was necessarily undertaken before any comment or analysis could take place. The approach to such investigative work can be described as having had three main strands:

1. Archival research and literature reviews.
2. Interviews and oral histories from performers and academics of the initial revival period and also from others who may have been influenced by Munrow.

3. Analysis of recordings both public and private.

Using three methods offered the possibility of cross-referencing information by a process of triangulation. It has often been the case that facts were misremembered, poorly recorded or that audio sources needed identification. All opportunities to compare information between complementary sources were taken throughout this investigation.

Such a method of triangulation, where possible, has also been used to highlight changing attitudes to Munrow's work over the decades since his death. The reception history covered in chapter 1 was organized chronologically to highlight changing attitudes which, in turn reflect changing social contexts. To this end, the work of Jonathan Stock in documenting the life, and many life-stories of the Chinese musician Abing offers an extremely valuable model.¹⁴⁸ By considering each different version of Abing's biography against the narrative of musical evidence, Stock is able to reflect that:

as the particular "social context" within which Abing is invoked continues to change, we can expect new narratives to arise from his life and music and from the modes of ideology needed to perceive and explain them.¹⁴⁹

Comparison of narratives from Munrow's lifetime with more recent evidence seeks to highlight such changing social contexts.

These three main categories of my investigative work are now explored in more detail.

¹⁴⁸ Jonathan Stock, "Musical Narrative, Ideology, and the Life of Abing," *Ethnomusicology* 40, no.1 (Winter 1996): 49-73.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

Archival Research and Literature Review

The main archival sources for David Munrow and the EMC are highly individual collections and, as such, will always need a careful consideration on their own terms before the documents they hold can be interpreted.

When approaching any archive it is important to ask fundamental questions about the collection itself as well as the nature of the papers that lie within. As Filippo de Vivo explains, a primary consideration should be why the record or text survives at all.¹⁵⁰ Why should this matter? An example from the BBC written archives neatly shows how a scribbled telephone message was never intended to be considered as historical *evidence*. A key sentence in the notes made by a secretary who called Munrow reads: “He feels it’s his duty to make the concert a typical fun-Munrow type for Greenwich Theatre, not a BBC ‘do.’”¹⁵¹ Now whilst it’s tempting to take this statement at face value and assume the secretary is more or less quoting accurately, however, considering the document as a whole reveals several key aspects that throw reliability into doubt. The memo is written in pencil on seven torn sheets of paper and opens with: ‘Dear Diana, I rang DM (I suppose about 10000000 times) & finally got through after 6pm!’ suggesting some frustration with the hour (possibly working late) as well as an irritation at having to take the message at all. Considering the startling informality it is quite possible that Munrow’s comments as reported here have been tainted by the mood of the messenger and such tainting would have been implicit to the note’s intended recipient. Perhaps the tone of frustration mirrors an earlier conversation these two BBC

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Elizabeth Williamson, “A Letter of Travel Advice, Probably,” (Conference paper presented at *Footprints in the Butter: Looking for the Elephant in the Archives*, Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, Queen Mary, University of London, September 18, 2009); Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 26.

¹⁵¹ Notes from a telephone conversation: January 25, 1971, BBC Written Archives Centre (BBC WAC) R83/19 – David Munrow.

employees had about Munrow, or it might even reflect a general feeling of frustration cultivated over several encounters with Munrow. Whatever the situation, it raises a possibility that there is something unsaid and once that possibility is detected, the sentence must be used with caution and caveat.

With these considerations in mind it is important to strike a balance between accepting what little archival material we can at face value (literal readings of facts such as dates and time of performances) and the acknowledgement of the wider context within which they must take their place. This wider context is frequently discernible in smaller-grained narratives that run through official correspondence such as these BBC letters and memos: the personal relationships of the people involved inevitably reveal themselves from time to time. Such social connections reveal a powerful mechanism at work within the early music revival, but at the same time it is likely that any archive, however detailed, can only preserve an incomplete picture of this personal communication. The possibility of uncovering uncomfortable truths in this way was fed back into the methodology of this research so that both the evidence selected for use and the methodology used to interpret that evidence worked directly towards the research question chosen and not towards reporting biographical discoveries that did not contribute to a musicological debate. As Anthony Pryer writes, this process of selection is of considerable importance because ‘even if historians do not make up the facts, they do make up the story.’¹⁵²

Yet even before the individual nature of these documents can be assessed, the nature of the archive itself must be considered. Daniel Starza Smith suggests that one way of revealing an archive’s potential for research is to reappraise its ontological status ‘what the archive *is*—by attempting to recreate the original social conditions that

¹⁵² Anthony Pryer, "Re-Thinking History: What is Music 'History' and How is it Written? Anthony Pryer Reflects on the Problems of Music Historians and on Some Recent Histories of Early Music," *The Musical Times* 135, no. 1821 (1994), 682-690.

created it.¹⁵³ He goes on to explain that in his own case of dealing with the Conway papers, reconstructing the original social conditions involved removing layers of orderliness imposed by later archivists. This orderliness was particularly important when dealing with Munrow's papers, since an archivist too has catalogued them. At the most basic level, suggested dates for individual documents may not necessarily be correct and must be verified rather than blindly accepted; and it should be noted that the archivist was not an early music historian so that pages which contain notes that suggest a different original sequence have been left as such in the name of archival preservation, and duplicates of documents (or earlier drafts of the same document) have not been grouped. An example of this can be seen in the file DM9 in the Papers of David Munrow. Here, the first page of Munrow's lecture notes is placed towards the end of the file. And it is unclear if this is the order in which it was left by Munrow, or simply an error through use.¹⁵⁴

The history of Munrow's papers, which Jeremy Summerly has described as 'a fantastic testament to a jobbing musician', revealed further methodological conundrums; for instance, it was initially unclear whether or not this collection survived intact and if Munrow himself intended it as a comprehensive collection.¹⁵⁵ Throughout the timespan of this investigation it became apparent that this could not have been the case when a number of Munrow's papers held in other private collections were mentioned to me and were discovered to have musical content. In particular, Gill Munrow kindly explained to me that she also had several notebooks of musical research by David Munrow in her private collection, and with this in mind importance can no longer be attached to the fact that some documents are conspicuous by their absence in

¹⁵³ Daniel Starza Smith, "How Do You Know if John Donne has Been in Your Archive?" (Conference paper presented at *Footprints in the Butter: Looking for the Elephant in the Archives* Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, Queen Mary, University of London, September 18, 2009).

¹⁵⁴ David Munrow, [Academic Notes], c1966, DM/9/8, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

¹⁵⁵ "Mr Munrow, His Study," Jeremy Summerly, *The Archive Hour*, aired January 7, 2006, on BBC Radio.

the RAM collection of Munrow's papers. The absence of a document can now no longer be considered to signify that it was deemed unimportant by David Munrow since it may simply have become separated from these papers. In the same vein, some seemingly minor documents, although clearly thought important enough to keep, should not be overestimated simply because they are in the RAM archive. However, despite such discoveries of private collections, the exact contents of Munrow's archive when it was his working collection still remains unclear, and as such any sort of value judgments cannot be made with authority. At all times, the papers have not been judged as a more coherent collection than they actually were in his lifetime; Munrow may never have attached importance to the way he selected items to keep and may not have even realized that some of those items had been kept. An imagined re-fragmentation of the collection into messy piles strewn across the floor of Munrow's music room in Chesham Bois has been the only way to understand their true function and the history behind the collection.

Interview and Oral History

When asking people to give of their time to talk about early music I avoided asking questions that they had already answered elsewhere in the public domain; exploiting the opportunity to discuss new territory was the most direct way of filling the gaps in existing knowledge, therefore the lacunae identified in the previous chapter informed the most urgent lines of questioning.

When discussing the work of the traditional historian, Barry S. Brook makes an illuminating observation:

The oral historian functions differently. He is not writing history; he is employing a method of gathering contemporary historical data. His method provides the traditional historian and the historical disciplines with an added

dimension, for he sets out deliberately to create a body of historically significant evidence.¹⁵⁶

The methods used in this thesis have sought to bear Brook's observation in mind, and to structure each interview so as to record as much data as possible.

Interview sessions were chosen in preference to questionnaires so as to avoid, as far as possible, denying this project the enrichment of face-to-face meetings and the opportunity to hear vocal inflections in the recollections of EMC members and colleagues. Oral histories are the spoken word, and as the historian William Owen explains, those whose memories we seek 'are living individuals who either made history or witnessed it, and it is important to have their recollections recorded.'¹⁵⁷ This was especially pertinent in situations where musicians were of retirement age and had a new set of priorities outside of their professional musical careers. Sadly, a few key people have died in recent years: Michael Morrow of *Musica Reservata*; the musicologist and friend of Munrow, Jerome Roche; lutenist James Tyler and the baritone Maurice Beavan. My field of research was poorer without their input, but this situation is a powerful reminder that when undertaking an oral history project which stretches back this many years, time is always of the essence.

There has also been considerable overlap between a semi-structured interview and a freely developing oral history interview, and as such I frequently chose to exploit techniques gleaned from both methods. Occasionally, informal conversations held away from the microphone have been referred to as 'conversations' rather than 'interviews', a distinction maintained throughout the thesis. Each individual person was as unique as their perception of the events under discussion and so in order to get the most from an interview session the meetings were structured according to their needs and the

¹⁵⁶ Barry S. Brook, "Oral History and Culture in the Music of Our Time," *College Music Symposium* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 233.

¹⁵⁷ William Owen, *A Life in Music: Conversations with Sir David Willcocks and Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ix.

environment in which they are able to talk. For instance, Martyn Hill kindly agreed to an interview one afternoon in March 2009 at Trinity College, London, where he teaches. When we met it was apparent that the only place we could talk was in the noisy coffee bar full of students and as such it was also clear that not only did Martyn Hill feel uncomfortable with being recorded in this situation but that any attempt at recording would be almost completely obliterated by background noise. Martyn is a demonstrative conversationalist and kept moving away from the microphone when talking and jumping up from the table to greet pupils as they passed through. In order to accommodate these issues I relied on simple note taking and then filled out the text immediately after the meeting. Since there is no accurate transcription of our conversation, Hill is not quoted directly in this study and the interview is referred to as a 'conversation' to highlight this distinction.

Whatever the individual circumstances, all meetings began with a similar sequence of introductory questions asking interviewees how they met David Munrow and when they first heard his music. I also asked artists about their own musical background and education as well as how they became involved with early music. This is where the two main interview methods tended to branch; once these introductory questions had been answered and links to Munrow and early music established, the participant then either required prompting through a whole series of questions or broke into conversation readily. Most interviews become free-flowing conversation after a certain amount of trust had been built but the point at which that occurred was always individual.

When I asked to interview Jasper Parrott—Munrow's agent and university friend—he asked for a series of questions to be sent before he agreed to meet. However, during the course of the interview Parrott repeatedly broke away from the sequence of questions and into his own recollections, which often crossed over from the musical

threads of conversation and into the social and personal interactions of the EMC. At one point I turned off my recording equipment at Parrott's request while he recalled his grief on hearing of Munrow's suicide, and then switched it on again when we returned to the question sheet. The question sheet therefore functioned as a useful reference tool that we were free to diverge from but which could also be used to prompt a renewed flow of conversation when a particular avenue was exhausted.

In Parrott's interview in particular there was a keen sense of him telling me set pieces; anecdotes which had been told and retold in the past and which may be tailored to particular social situations. A good example of this concerns Munrow's 1971 concert with John Eliot Gardiner which Parrott himself introduced by saying: 'And there's a sort of anecdote which is sort of nice about it [...]'¹⁵⁸ which shows that this segment is a predetermined format. Other clues to this segment being an anecdote which came from the changing rhythms of Jasper Parrott's voice and the speed of his speech that slowed down as he enjoyed the retelling of a fondly remembered scenario. In such instances there was a clear sense of the interviewee enjoying the retelling of a favourite story and the interview became an oral history.

However, it was at this point that as interviewer I had to be aware that my interviewee may have ceased to think critically about his or her responses and be talking in a less guarded manner than before. It also brought issues of transcription to the fore as this was the sort of scenario that could not be adequately shown by literal transcription alone. To cover these eventualities all recordings have been kept by the author who will negotiate their preservation in an appropriate archive in the future.

¹⁵⁸ Jasper Parrott, interview by author, London, June 12, 2009.

The Analysis of Recordings

Recordings are still something of a new concept for musicology even though they have, for some years now, been commonplace in many types of musical research. King's College London was part of the CHARM project—The AHRC Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music—and as such I have had the opportunity of meeting researchers in this field and discussing techniques of transcription as well as analysis.¹⁵⁹

The methodology used in sections of this thesis which focus on recorded sound is based on techniques of signal processing, drawn from three specific sources: First is a guide to a particular software: *A musicologist's guide to Sonic Visualiser* by Nicholas Cook and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson.¹⁶⁰ This offers essential information on the basic operations of signal processing and the manipulation of data that such software programmes can harvest. Taking this further, Leech Wilkinson's book-length study *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance*, offers a detailed look at how such data can be interpreted in the light of older performance practices and traditions of performance over long periods of time.¹⁶¹ In particular, this latter study formed the backbone of my methodology in measuring vibrato (see chapter 5). Finally, I learned much about the use of spectrograms to understand harmonic information from *Peter Johnson's* essay: *Performance and the Listening Experience: Bach's 'Erbarme dich'*.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ www.charm.kcl.ac.uk. Accessed August 17, 2009.

¹⁶⁰ "A Musicologist's Guide to Sonic Visualiser," King's College London, accessed 10/12/12, http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/analysing/p9_1.html.

¹⁶¹ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance*, (London: CHARM, 2009), www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html.

¹⁶² *Peter Johnson, "Performance and the Listening Experience: Bach's 'Erbarme dich'". In Theory into Practice: Composition, Performance and the Listening Experience*, Collected writings of the Orpheus Institute (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 55-101.

Digitization played an important role in this project since many of the recordings that I refer to are no longer commercially available. In many cases, these recordings are preserved on analogue carriers and required digitization in order to be analyzed with signal processing software. Such analysis has allowed for an exploration of what actually happened in performance, particularly in live performance. For instance, if a performer claimed to be performing in mean tone temperament, analysis of a recording showed to what extent they achieved this. Subsequently, a comparison was drawn between what performers said they were doing or intending to do, and what they actually did. In some cases the level of measurement has been finer than distinctions that can be made by the human ear, and in these instances it has been important to acknowledge the limits of human perception and tolerance in the conclusions that are drawn. This is the case in chapter 5 when vibrato was measured across a range of different recordings yet the differences *measured* do not necessarily reflect the differences that can be *heard*.

Historiographical Considerations

The prevailing methodology of this project has been rooted in a broad historical investigation of performance styles and it is important to acknowledge that a by-product of this or, more accurately, a necessary co-product, has been a certain *historicizing* of early music. Before we continue further it is essential to consider a broader methodology, a slight posturing if you will, within the miasma of theories that surround historiographical debate. How then to *do* the history of the early music revival?

A useful starting point is with the nature of historiography itself. Historiography—the discipline of writing history—is both critical and metacritical; it demands that we question how we select *relics* (facts and artifacts) and how we assign importance to them in order to construct a history. It is also about how we read and

interpret ourselves and human artifacts through language, and as such forms part of the tradition of human anthropology.

‘Memory made scientific’ is how Dahlhaus explained history when he bemoaned its demise as our main reference point for the world around us, yet most history shows only one possible way of organizing the world.¹⁶³ In other words, historians create narratives to tell a story and therefore inflect that story with something of themselves and their understanding of the facts. Those relics that are passed over by a historian can be just as revealing as those that are included, with the obvious caveat that it would never be possible to encompass *everything* that happened in the past. This leaves us with an unavoidable difference between history as it was lived, and history as it is recorded and challenges the historian with minimizing the difference between the two.

There are two main ways of writing a history, Diachronic and Synchronic. Diachronic history is a chronological approach with events explained in the order they occurred, and their consequences given a narrative flow. Histories frequently use this method to present a trajectory of thought and development from the past towards the present to imply progress; *things are getting better* they seem to say. When applied to early music, as indeed it was by Harry Haskell in 1998, the risk is run of suggesting that each early music performance was part of a group endeavour towards the present and this, in turn, implied progress.¹⁶⁴ This argument of progress, if reduced to its logical conclusion would lead to a confusing notion exemplified by the fantastical suggestion that David Munrow wished his Renaissance choral performances could have sounded like The Tallis Scholars’ sound today. By that route, does John Eliot Gardiner wish that his Monteverdi Choir would sound like an as yet unknown choir of the future? Such an

¹⁶³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 3.

¹⁶⁴ Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1996).

implication fails to address the unique circumstances that surround all performances and whilst useful as an overview, lacks the detailed critical structure necessary for this particular project.

Synchronic history offers a more pluralistic approach by exploring interdisciplinary connections and influences more familiar to the ethnomusicologist. Synchronic views are those that take a 'snapshot' of a society freed from the pull of narrative; taking the time to reflect character, atmosphere and smaller contributory factors. A synchronic history of art would differ from a diachronic history not only in the way it collates information in order to tell a story but also in the way it views the artworks under discussion; in a diachronic history the artwork could be autonomous, but in a synchronic history the artwork can never ever be seen as autonomous, since it will always be considered, as a response to, or a dialogue with, some external environment.

I am, of course representing the extremes of these arguments but in doing so I attempt to demarcate the lines on which current historiographical arguments run. Already we can see that to subscribe to a concept of autonomy in music would be to reject the possibility of a synchronic history since Munrow *sui generis* would need no contextualization within the early music 'movement'; yet at the same time is it not possible that some of his ideas were truly individual inventions and disconnected from preceding events? There is clearly a need for compromise between these approaches, the extent of which will change as further relics are recovered in the future. Music history, and my research into a small part of 'early music history', is therefore a mixture of trajectories (diachronic) and paradigms (synchronic) where these paradigms are simply the grids that we throw across the past in order to make sense of it; grids such as 'early music' or 'Renaissance' that possibly bring their own cultural baggage with them.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Here I am paraphrasing from: Pryer, "Re-Thinking History." 686.

In this project, where biographical writing has been a necessity, it must be clear that a certain amount of narrative could not be escaped, since it is the only way that temporal expression is understood, and temporal succession of the early music revival is an important contributory factor to an understanding of a David Munrow phenomenon. However, a purely narrative approach, as we have just seen, would simply reduce Munrow to a sign for something else and since a purely synchronic approach brings with it both paradigmatic baggage and a denial of autonomy we are pushed towards finding a third way.

In recent years there have appeared a number of notable histories that embarked on third ways using Clifford Geertz's concept of a *thick description* - i.e. one that considers context as well as behaviour.¹⁶⁶ The most obvious way of doing this is to frame the narrative within an 'imagined community' (not an *imaginary* community) which is essentially a paradigm like 'Renaissance' but more often than not a geographical location, such as Paris or even Europe. Reinhard Strohm has attempted this with great success and tells us of the need for:

accommodating both the climax of a long tradition *and* the particular conditions of a geographic area of Europe [...]. The essence of art and what people do with it, are separate questions: but we shall attempt to understand them by holding them against each other.¹⁶⁷

Similarly, Christopher Page has written what he considers to be 'a social history illuminated by its interest in music.'¹⁶⁸ And Gary Tomlinson's widely read *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* uses the seemingly marginal

¹⁶⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson, 1975).

¹⁶⁷ Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 542.

¹⁶⁸ Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), vii.

belief in magic (especially the magical writings of the hermit Marsilio Ficino) as a tool with which to explore Renaissance music.¹⁶⁹

How then to integrate such ideas into my investigation of David Munrow, the EMC and their performance practices? Clearly I could not simply adopt a single existing model since this investigation is proposing to examine the performance practice of a particular group of artists and not the artworks themselves; who would be held up against whom?

Neither the case studies nor the social history imply an attempt to suggest how one should listen to Munrow or, indeed, how one should position him within a personal pantheon of musical personalities. I am keen to avoid assigning a *value* to Munrow's work by positioning him along a trajectory of 'progress' since Munrow's work is important as an artwork of its age and as a function within an imagined community and not just because of its role in historical narrative (however much that narrative is in the eye of the beholder). Therefore my thesis is offered as a *possible* reading where the author fully acknowledges Leo Treitler's observation that scholar and object are in a constant state of flux 'whereby each can change in response to engagement with the other.'¹⁷⁰

Ethical Considerations

Sadly, David Munrow committed suicide in 1976 and although this is a study about his performance practice, I have just made the case for understanding his life and social context as part of this study. Due to the special sensitivity of this subject, several interviewees asked me not to record their comments on audio equipment and to see my

¹⁶⁹ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

¹⁷⁰ Leo Treitler, "The Historiography of Music: Issues of Past and Present," in *Rethinking Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 357.

draft chapters before publication. I was also asked not to write about Munrow's suicide. I have not felt at all compromised by complying with these wishes, and found all interviewees most generous with their recollections and their time. Rather than discuss David Munrow's suicide directly I point readers to the obituaries cited during my narrative (particularly those from *The Times* newspaper) which offer a frank account of Munrow's death. It is both out of a mark of respect that it is not discussed here, but also because the author feels that such details will not enhance this narrative in its present form.

Summary

The work presented here offers a reading which combines elements of oral history, archival research and thick description. At times it is likely that there is further information which may come to light and so the reading that is offered must be read within the current field of relics, rather than held against any new discoveries.

It is hoped that the legacy of this project will be both a source of information and interviews about Munrow's role in the early music revival and also a template and catalyst for further study of this late twentieth century paradigm change.

Chapter 3 - David Munrow & The Formation of the Early Music Consort of London

This chapter traces the broad biographical details of Munrow's life. Key influences and connections in his personal development as a musician are named before being extrapolated and studied in greater depth over the following chapters. By compiling a biography of Munrow's formative years it seeks to re-imagine the social context and musicological climate for the foundation of the EMC.

Childhood

David John Munrow was born in Birmingham on August 12, 1942, the only child of Albert Davis Munrow and his wife, Hilda Ivy Norman. Albert Munrow (known always as Dave) was invited to become the first director of Physical Education at Birmingham University and his son, David Munrow, attended the neighbouring school: King Edward VI.¹⁷¹ Hilda Norman was also a teacher at the University, she lectured on the history of dance.

David Munrow's childhood experiences of music were a traditional mix of piano lessons and singing as a boy-chorister at Birmingham Cathedral where he was introduced to a working repertoire of early choral music. During his schooldays he also began a lifelong interest in the recorder after he was taught the basic fingering by an older German student who was lodging in the family home and who was an amateur recorder player.¹⁷² He was also inspired during the 1950s by BBC broadcasts of recorder and harpsichord music by John Sothcott and John Beckett both of whom he would work with in the late 1960s in the early music ensemble *Musica Reservata*.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Birmingham University has a building named after Albert Munrow: for details of The Munrow Sports Centre see The University of Birmingham website. Accessed May 5, 2012. <http://www.sport.bham.ac.uk/>.

¹⁷² Gillian Munrow, conversation with author, London, August 14, 2008.

¹⁷³ John Sothcott, Derek Harrison, and Terry Sothcott, interview by author, Harlow, March 21, 2013.

Willis Grant, the music master at King Edward VI School, remembers recommending to Munrow when he was aged eleven that he learn the bassoon:

He played the recorder very well indeed and he came to me one day and asked could he join the school orchestra. So I had to point out that we didn't use recorders in the orchestra and [...] I recommended the bassoon but had to point out that these instruments were very costly. [...] Well. In a matter of a few weeks I was surprised when he came to me and said 'I now have a bassoon, I've paid for it'. But what astounded me was that he said 'and I can play it now' I heard him and he certainly could play it!¹⁷⁴

A fellow school-mate, the comedian Bill Oddie, also remembers that during his time in the school orchestra not only did Munrow enjoy joking around by making low 'farty' noises on his bassoon but he also gained a reputation for being a 'cut above everyone else' in musical ability too.¹⁷⁵

It would appear that Munrow was a precocious schoolboy, keen to perform before an audience in more than just a musical capacity. As Richard Wood discovered, Munrow's 'impish' humour was evident at an early age: 'Friends remember that at school, David the conjuror, complete with black cloak and top hat, had to clean up after a trick with flour had gone disastrously wrong'.¹⁷⁶ Neither was Munrow's humour confined to informal situations, he regularly appeared in school productions and has a particular mention in a review of *King Henry IV – Part II*:

The two women were also good. Munrow (Mistress Quickly) made a very good sketch of the part although a lot of details had gone astray. In particular his costume needed padding at the hips; below the chest he was perfectly rectangular.¹⁷⁷

Among his other childhood activities were outdoor pursuits and in particular sailing, which he was later to teach during his university summer breaks. Munrow was

¹⁷⁴ Willis Grant interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio. Gillian Munrow remembers this chronology differently: "David began bassoon lessons before taking up the recorder. His main aim in taking up the recorder (after hearing the German student playing it) was that he wanted to win a music competition at school and knew he would not win it on the bassoon!!" Gillian Munrow, email message to author, September 7, 2013.

¹⁷⁵ Bill Oddie interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

¹⁷⁶ Richard Wood, "David Munrow (1942-1976)," *The Recorder Magazine*, no. 26:3 (2006): 85.

¹⁷⁷ J.A.B, "Review: King Henry IV - Part II," *King Edward's School Chronicle* 1959, 37.

also regularly selected for the athletics team and PT competitions, in 1960 he obtained first class honours from the Outward Bound school in Ullswater.¹⁷⁸



Figure 1: David Munrow as a prefect in 1960 (front row, far right)¹⁷⁹

Munrow was a school prefect during his final year at school in 1960 and this sixth form has been described by Humphrey Clucas as ‘remarkable’ since schoolmates aside from Bill Oddie included John Deathridge, organist and later King Edward Professor of Music at King’s College London; and the musicologist Ian Bent, now Honorary Professor in the History of Music Theory at the University of Cambridge.¹⁸⁰

Munrow also ran a school music society which gained the attention and respect of many of his peers. In 1957, he was awarded a prize by the chief master, Canon R G Lunt, in his school music competition: Anthony Baines’ book *Woodwind Instruments and their History*.¹⁸¹ This book was to be a powerful influence on Munrow’s life and one which he later credits in the introduction to his own book: *Instruments of the*

¹⁷⁸ King Edward's School Chronicle, "Congratulations," March 1960, 55.

¹⁷⁹ King Edward's School Chronicle, "The Prefects, 1959-60," March 1960.

¹⁸⁰ Humphrey Clucas, *Taking Stock: The First Sixty Years* (Surrey: The Lewin Press, 2005), 39.

¹⁸¹ David Munrow Book Collection: Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹⁸² Alongside this introduction to organology, early music was heard within the school grounds. In his final year he reported as house captain that 'The Orchestra made its contribution to the Purcell Tercentenary by performing part of a specially collected Suite from the Dramatick Musick', but added that 'Sixteenth century counterpoint triumphed over seventeenth century harmonies, however, and we came second in the competition.' And elsewhere he noted that his house choir sang a sixteenth century madrigal *O Lusty May*.¹⁸³

South America

After sixth-form studies Munrow obtained a place to read English at Cambridge University but first took a gap year position through the British Council.¹⁸⁴ He was sent to Markham College in Lima, Peru where he worked as a general factotum, mostly in the school library. The Principal, Alan Elliot-Smith, remembers that the young Munrow made an impressive contribution to the musical life of the school:

During his very first term there he founded a film society and music society. Well quite frankly this may sound rather cynical but although you get brilliant performances in most school concerts the orchestra is rarely more than tolerable though this one was pleasant to listen to! Although no music was taught in the school and there were no sort of regular orchestral practices that the boys had to attend, he worked it out entirely on his own and he had got them, and they're not a particularly disciplined race, he had got them disciplined.¹⁸⁵

Munrow was also involved with musical activities outside of Markham College. In a 1966 letter of application to the BBC he writes that he gave a solo recital on Peruvian Television and a school magazine article of 1961 congratulates 'D. J. Munrow on two television appearances in Peru with propaganda on behalf of the recorder'.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 4.

¹⁸³ "Evans," *King Edward's School Chronicle*, March 1960, 26.

¹⁸⁴ The British Council did not keep records of the reports filed by voluntary teachers for more than five years unless they were seen at the time to be of significant historical interest. Munrow's report has not been kept.

¹⁸⁵ Alan Elliot-Smith interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

¹⁸⁶ D. A. T. Powis., "Music," *King Edward's School Chronicle*, March 1961, 61.

Having already been introduced to the history of wind instruments through the writings of Anthony Baines, Munrow was both interested and knowledgeable enough to start his collection of folk instruments as he encountered them on his travels in South America. It is not certain whether he realized their similarity to antique western forms whilst on his gap year, but he certainly made this connection when he encountered early European instruments a year later at university. Collecting folk instruments in South America could well have simply been a happy coincidence because, despite displaying such obvious musical promise, Munrow confessed to having had no formal musical training when interviewed by Sue McGregor for *Woman's hour* shortly before his death:

I've always been put off studying music somehow or other—I did have some piano lessons when I was small—but apart from that I've always avoided studying music, I don't know why, but I read English at Cambridge anyhow but really I spent much more time there doing music rather than anything else and in a practical sense. And I suppose that the interest in old instruments started in the year I spent in South America although an interest in early music had already begun really from when I started to sing in a cathedral choir when I was eleven.¹⁸⁷

These self-taught recorder and bassoon techniques were the skills that made all of Munrow's other instrumental playing possible, and it was probably these same skills that enabled him to play the folk instruments he told Sue MacGregor he discovered in South America:

[SM] - How did the interest in instruments start in South America, did you see Indians playing nose flutes or whatever they play there?

[DM] - Well actually they don't play nose flutes but they play a lot of other very interesting kinds of flutes and I made a marvellous journey down the Andes from Peru going down almost to the Tierra del Fuego in Chile and back again all by land and I came across instruments like the flute and the recorder and the harp, which had been brought over by the conquistadores and adopted by the Indians and they'd kept them, you know, in exactly the same way. You know they'd gone on making them in the same way that flutes and recorders and harps were made in the renaissance and that was really when I started collecting instruments.

¹⁸⁷ David Munrow interviewed on: "Woman's Hour," presented by Sue MacGregor, aired September 3, 1975, on BBC Radio.

[SM] - So here you've found a collection of instruments that hadn't moved on since the 16th century and were still being played.

[DM] - Exactly. Yes.

[SM] - How hard was it for you to revive the interest here though, when you brought it over with you?

[DM] - Well I think it's revived itself. I mean I think that in England we've been a bit behind the times compared to other countries like Germany where they started making reconstructions and reviving old music even before the last war or in America where certainly ten years ago there was a great deal more going on than there was here. But I think it's a natural process; it's all part of our interest in the past, collecting antiques, historical movies and all the rest of it.¹⁸⁸

Even before his broader experience of early Western instruments at Cambridge University, travelling through South America in the early 1960s may have helped the past seem less remote to a young student. As Jasper Parrott remembers, the trip gave Munrow a sense that 'music was all joined up' and that 'it didn't matter where it comes from':

I remember he told me a wonderful story about travelling from São Paulo to Bolivia on the slow train—which unfortunately has been now withdrawn—but you could get on and off at any time you liked and any sort of person jumped on and jumped off and that was one of the highlights of his arrival in Bolivia and then in Peru.¹⁸⁹

Another friend and colleague recalled that 'David himself later told me about Bolivia and getting caught up in a war there'.¹⁹⁰ The trip that Munrow talked about on *Woman's Hour* was presumably the same one that took him through Bolivia and, indeed, may have been what Elliot-Smith referred to when he explained how Munrow had spent the long summer holiday which in Peru coincides with the Christmas break:

and when he came back at the end of two months he looked absolutely ghastly. He was unshaven, dirty, clothes torn, not surprising really considering what he'd had to put up with but he certainly had seen Peru and he came back with a series of weird and wonderful instruments which I'd never seen or knew what they

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ "Mr Munrow, His Study," presented by Jeremy Summerly, aired January 7, 2006, on BBC Radio 4.

¹⁹⁰ Guy Woolfenden, email message to author, November 27, 2012. Gillian Munrow suggests: 'I think the "war" mentioned by Guy was being chased by bandits who were trying to steal his father's camera. He hid up a tree for some hours before deciding it was OK to come down again!' Munrow, September 7, 2013.

were about at all. And as he was living with us at the time I used to hear strange noises from him occasionally coming from upstairs.¹⁹¹

Despite what would appear to have been a brush with warfare, Munrow continued to explore as much of South America as possible during his year overseas: in particular there were some problems with a trip that he took to Ecuador towards the end of his stay in 1961. A confusion over travel arrangements resulted in an unexpected journey overland from Guayaquil to Quito. This is mentioned in letters from Colin and Beatrice; Colin was another teacher who accompanied David on his long trip around South America.

Beatrice was terribly distressed when she learned what had happened [...] I didn't mention the Quito-Guayaquil confusion [...] I hope things worked out satisfactorily in Ecuador, and that the long trek from Guayaquil to Quito had its compensations [...]¹⁹²

They offered to explain the situation to his parents for him. Clearly the energetic young man had endeared himself to his hosts because Colin also recalls fondly Munrow's frequent swearing:

I find it very difficult to believe, really, that you've gone from this horizon, and frequently expect to hear the door open energetically and an explosive "SHIT!" as you fall over whatever may be in the way. Do you think the walls have absorbed your expletives, and will remember them some time when it's particularly quiet?¹⁹³

John Turner, a fellow undergraduate and recorder player who was Munrow's frequent musical collaborator and later his family lawyer, remembers meeting Munrow shortly after university enrolment. He recalls that Munrow's interest in the connection between the South American instruments and earlier Western forms was particularly encouraged at university when he was introduced to the medieval and renaissance copies of instruments made by Steinkopf, Körber and Rainer Weber. Turner has reflected that the South American year:

¹⁹¹ Alan Elliot-Smith interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

¹⁹² Colin to David Munrow, c1961, DM1/1/1, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

opened his eyes to the wonders of folk music and the fantastic variety of shapes and sizes (both practical and symbolic!) of folk wind instruments. Most of these were of the flute family, and thus it was fairly easy for him to master the notes. [...] He retained a particular affection for South American folk music with its breathy flutes and lazy percussion. The Peruvian experience left him with an endless fascination which extended to folk instruments of all kinds of which he amassed a very substantial collection, still (I think) intact in a restaurant in California.¹⁹⁴

Munrow was still enthusing about his Peruvian adventures to John Willan a decade later when working at EMI and Willan recently reflected that the whole adventure 'sort of blew his mind.'¹⁹⁵

University

Considering the intense musical content of his South American voyage it seems even more surprising that Munrow did not study music at Cambridge, even if by his own admission he did spend much of his time making music during his university years.

Munrow was at Pembroke college and lived in 'a tiny cramped garret in Botolph Lane and was known for 'furious cycling' around the city.¹⁹⁶ Like all freshers, he arrived a few days before the beginning of Michaelmas term to register at the University. During these few days, before academic teaching began, new undergraduates with an interest in music were invited to meet the Dean of their college, Meredith Dewey:

I used to run a, what they called a, Dean's evening [...] I made it a kind of opportunity to collect musicians because I was a kind of patron of the musical society in the college and about between 20 and 30 used to come and tea and sixpenny buns in the middle. But I used to say 'do something! Play!' and they all sort of gaped at you. And after a few attempts this little sort of shaggy-haired, tousle-haired boy got up. He'd come with a bag and I was rather curious to know what was inside the bag, but gracious me, there were 40 pipes and he'd been to South America and come back with them. And he very diffidently said 'I don't know whether you'd be interested in pipes of South America but here's some' and he thereupon gave a recital practically non stop and entranced us all! I must

¹⁹⁴ John Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," *The Recorder Magazine* 16, no. 2 (1996): 53.

¹⁹⁵ John Willan, interview by author, London, September 19, 2012.

¹⁹⁶ Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," 52.

say at the back of my mind was “My hat, if this boy’s like this now on the first Sunday of term, what’ll he be like in three years? Absolutely intolerable!”¹⁹⁷

One of the first recorder players Munrow met at Cambridge was John Turner and the pair spent many hours together surveying recorder repertoire. Turner remembers that Munrow would spend long periods of time practising chromatic scales honing the quick-fire technique that characterized later recordings.¹⁹⁸ In order to survey a repertoire which demanded larger forces, Munrow organized concerts under the names of Cambridge Pro Musica Antiqua, Cambridge Pro Musica Preclassica and Cambridge Pro Musica. Munrow also sang countertenor in Jesus College Choir throughout his undergraduate years and took over conducting a choir in his college, The Pembroke Singers.

He quickly established his reputation as a recorder player by performing in the Freshmen’s Concert at the University Music Club in November 1961. That particular programme included the Quantz E minor Trio Sonata and, as Turner puts it, ‘after that he was usually the leading light in any concert he took part in’.¹⁹⁹ This is further exemplified by one particular concert in which Munrow played in every single item on the programme from bassoon in Vivaldi Chamber Concertos to obbligato parts for Handel arias sung by Sarah Walker.²⁰⁰

Christopher Hogwood was also to become a great friend and musical collaborator. A year ahead in his studies, he first met David Munrow during the organization of a concert at Pembroke College after news of the freshers’ performance at the Dean’s soiree had spread fast:

It was at the beginning of a new Cambridge year and a college concert had just run short of items. [...] Someone suddenly suggested that there was a new undergraduate who could play the bassoon and recorder quite well and had just

¹⁹⁷ Meredith Dewey interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

¹⁹⁸ Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," 52.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

come back from spending a year in South America. [...] David was pushed forward clutching handfuls of Peruvian pipes and Bolivian flutes and proceeded to entertain and amuse the whole company absolutely impromptu for the next half hour. And only after you'd finished laughing [...] did you realize that you were now a great deal wiser about South American Music, flute playing, flute making and folk improvisation.²⁰¹

At a similar event (possibly the same one) Richard Wood uncovered the following report:

A gap in the programme of the first musical evening of the Michaelmas Term was apparently to be filled by a freshman playing some Brazilian flute music. The freshman, who proved short in stature but ebullient in manner, arrived in M17 with a satchel of twenty or more pipes bought in Brazilian bazaars in the course of the last summer. A lengthy and detailed lecture on Brazilian pipe music followed with illustrations expertly played.²⁰²

Munrow, it would appear, was quick to take any opportunity to share his enthusiasm and knowledge of wind instruments and was also keen to establish himself in the forefront of university concert life.



Figure 2: David Munrow, John Turner (standing) and Christopher Hogwood giving a recital in Millers music shop, Cambridge c.1962²⁰³

Cambridge University also provided an opportunity for many catalytic conversations with leading professional musicians. Thurston Dart, one of the great early

²⁰¹ "Christopher Hogwood Pays Tribute to the Life and Work of David Munrow. (A replacement programme for Pied Piper)," presented by Christopher Hogwood, aired May 17, 1976, on BBC.

²⁰² This passage was written by 'SK' presumably for a student magazine. It is quoted in: Wood, "David Munrow (1942-1976)," 85.

²⁰³ Ibid. Photograph by kind permission of John Turner.

music pioneers of the mid twentieth century, was a particular source of support and nurture and Munrow remembered their first encounter in an interview many years later:

At Cambridge I met Thurston Dart. In his study at Jesus, he had a crumhorn hanging on the wall. One day I asked him to lend it to me, and that wakened my interest in the field of old instruments.²⁰⁴

One of the earliest public occasions on which that very crumhorn was played by Munrow was for a 'Smoking Concert' at the University Musical Club when 'Sixteenth century canons for recorder and crumhorn' appeared on the programme. John Turner remembers that the programme said 'The audience was invited to "smoke particularly hard during this item"' - an early indication of Munrow's humorous approach to presenting unfamiliar sounds to an unsuspecting public.²⁰⁵

Dart also held regular musical evenings combining performances on early instruments with stimulating conversation at which Munrow was a frequent attendee and contributor. Furthermore, Charles Brett remembers one of Dart's departmental lectures in which Munrow was involved:

There was a lecture series on the history of instruments, at Cambridge by Thurston Dart, 'Thrustron Drat' we called him! And when David came back with all these instruments Dart handed over the lecture to David. 'Mr Munrow has come here with all these instruments...' and David gave the lecture. And that was the sort of start, I suppose, of the way he could interpret things to the general public.²⁰⁶

Munrow remained in contact with Dart throughout the rest of his life and attended his memorial service in 1971.²⁰⁷ Dart had also come to music through a non-standard route; a choirboy in the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court Palace, he had studied as a teenager at the Royal College of Music before taking a BSc in Mathematics at University College, Exeter. After a spell in the Royal Air Force he studied for a year in Brussels

²⁰⁴ Alan Blyth, "David Munrow Talks to Alan Blyth," *Gramophone*, May 1974.

²⁰⁵ Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," 52.

²⁰⁶ Charles Brett, interview by author, London, February 18, 2013.

²⁰⁷ A small printed card, from University of London King's College Faculty of Music, concerning Robert Thurston Dart (1921-1971), informing that "a memorial concert will take place at St John's Smith Square, London SW1, on Saturday 3 April 2.15 pm - 3 pm.": [Card for Thurston Dart Memorial Service]. Papers of David Munrow: DM9/21, Royal Academy of Music Library Special collections, London. 1971.

with the famous musicologist Charles Van den Borren before teaching at Cambridge University and establishing his career as a harpsichordist. Dart's activities linked him to many of the key early music organizations of the mid twentieth century including the *Galpin Society Journal*, *The Purcell Society*, *The English Folk Dance and Song Society*, *Musica Britannica* (of which he was secretary), The Boyd Neel Orchestra (which later became his own Philomusica of London) and the pioneering publisher and record label L'Oiseau-Lyre in Monaco (financed by Louise Dyer who was also Dart's patron). Through Dart, Munrow accessed this world of scholarship and performance and would have heard about the teaching of Van den Borren and German musicologists of the early twentieth century. The influence of Dart's activities can be seen clearly in Munrow's teaching at Leicester University.²⁰⁸

Another source of support and influence was the harpsichordist Mary Potts who taught Christopher Hogwood, Colin Tilney and Peter Williams. According to the composer Peter Dickinson, Potts' 'influence could perhaps be seen as complementary to that of Thurston Dart in the official Cambridge University Music Faculty'.²⁰⁹

Munrow did not limit himself to early music activities, he was also active outside of his own college and across the University music department as a whole. A good example of this can be seen from 1962 when he played bassoon for Girton College Musical Society's Lent Term Concert which was conducted by Margaret Bassington (now Bent), a pupil of Thurston Dart. The concert consisted of *Cantata* (1952) by Stravinsky and *Mass in B flat* (1802) by Haydn. Interestingly, the soprano soloist was Christina Clark who later recorded with Munrow and the orchestra contained both Duncan Druce and Simon Standage - also future Munrow collaborators. Philip Brett, the Byrd scholar, was in the basses of the chorus and the scholar (and former King

²⁰⁸ As discussed in Appendix one of this thesis: David Munrow, [Academic Notes], Papers of David Munrow: DM9/8, Royal Academy of Music Library, London. c.1966.

²⁰⁹ Peter Dickinson, "Remembering David Munrow: for forthcoming book project to be edited by John Turner," (2010).

Edward's Schoolboy) Ian Bent, who was to write many reviews of the Early Music Consort's work, sang tenor.²¹⁰ Munrow also played bassoon in a performance of Purcell's *Ode to St Cecilia* together with Martyn Hill (tenor) and David Thomas (bass) conducted by Edgar Alder. Christopher Seaman was playing the piano (he was then a timpanist) and kept inserting English cadences into the piano part. Apparently Munrow sniggered all the way through the performance at this but never played a wrong note even though he was laughing whilst playing his bassoon. Hill remembers this as an example that Munrow was a consummate professional who could have lots of fun but never at the expense of the performance.²¹¹ Munrow also played in early concerts with The Monteverdi Choir which was founded in Cambridge in 1964. Other notable musicians at Cambridge during the early sixties who would have overlapped with Munrow for a year include David Atherton (with whom Munrow would collaborate for a Southbank concert in the 1970s) and Andrew Davis.

Cambridge was clearly a melting pot of young musicians who would go on to major careers in the [early] musical world.

Munrow was elected president of the Cambridge University Music Club during his final year, and organized a production of Purcell's *The Fairy Queen* in Pembroke College with The Pembroke Singers which was so keenly anticipated that even before tickets went on sale it 'had vast blocks of seats reserved for the music faculty [...]'.²¹² Neither was Munrow's growing reputation confined to Cambridge, James Bowman remembers that his name was also known at Oxford University:

I knew him by reputation. I was at Oxford but his legend, as it were, had already started then and I'd certainly heard of him as an early music person and I was by no means ignorant of his concerts. I mean the concerts [...] that he put on in Cambridge, it was well known in Oxford. I remember him coming to the music

²¹⁰ A copy of this programme is held in the private collection of Margaret Bent.

²¹¹ Martyn Hill, conversation with author, London, March 25, 2009.

²¹² Wood, "David Munrow (1942-1976)."

society in Oxford to play with the Cambridge University Music Society and everybody was very impressed by him.²¹³

During one of the summer vacations Christopher Hogwood recalls that Munrow was asked to attend Dartington Summer School by George Malcolm who needed a bassoon player. Malcolm was a key influence alongside Thurston Dart in encouraging Munrow to be a professional musician:

I think the other influence in that direction was probably George Malcolm. I know David went to Dartington as a student for the summer school one year and George was short of a bassoonist and David was pushed in to fill that gap too and after he'd been auditioned by George and played very successfully, George went to him the next day and said that he really thought he was so good he really ought to think of taking up music professionally. I think this is what really stuck in David's mind.²¹⁴

Yet despite having established a solid reputation and firm friendships and contacts in the musical world, he did not go on to study for a music qualification at masters level, neither did he follow Thurston Dart in 1964 to King's College London for his postgraduate qualifications despite this being a route taken by his colleague John Eliot Gardiner. Instead he returned to the Midlands to study with the English department at Birmingham University, where he wrote a thesis on a collection of 'seventeenth-century bawdy songs'; Thomas d'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*.²¹⁵

A Professional Musician

One possible factor in Munrow's decision to keep his postgraduate studies within the orbit of a university English department could have been parental pressure. Since his undergraduate years David had had a serious girlfriend, Gillian Reid. She and

²¹³ James Bowman interviewed on: "David Munrow," Presented by Bernard Levin, aired June 27, 1976, on BBC Television.

²¹⁴ Christopher Hogwood interviewed on: *ibid*.

²¹⁵ Blyth, "David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth." David, however, never completed this thesis or took a Masters degree at Birmingham: 'but went to teach at George Dixon's Grammar School which gave him time to play with the RSC wind band at Stratford in the evenings. He eventually gave up teaching - after about a year - and went full time to the RSC wind band. It was at this point, when his parents thought he was mad to give up a good teaching job, that they asked me to intervene!'. Gillian Munrow, e-mail message to author, September 7, 2013.

David met through a choir that Gill had been encouraged to join by a work colleague while she was working as a teacher in Cambridge. John Turner remembers:

[Munrow] inherited his small stature from his father, and this, combined with his natural dynamism, produced a charisma which was perhaps somewhat enhanced, even in the permissive 60s, by the fact that he dared to pursue and ultimately win a seemingly unobtainable young soprano.²¹⁶

David met Gill at a rehearsal when he was a deputizing for the conductor one evening. They dated whilst David was at Cambridge and later on, when Munrow was offered a job as a bassoonist for the Royal Shakespeare Company, Gill remembers that his parents asked her to persuade him not to become a full-time musician despite his already busy professional schedule.

Before Hogwood had left Cambridge he and Munrow had teamed up with Gillian Reid (who was at this point Gillian Kernohan) to tour music clubs and societies across the country giving lecture recitals. The first lecture recitals they did were organized as this trio - Hogwood, Munrow and Kernohan. They started with three lectures booked in a row and toured in a Morris van driven by Hogwood. Gill remembers that initially the lectures only called for a few instruments so programmes were based around the recorder, yet the van was still needed to transport the harpsichord. Gill also remembers that they all felt rather sheepish at taking the work because none of them were yet experts. The lectures started off as being recorder-based and aimed at schools, but as Munrow's collection grew so did the number of instruments they included in their talks.²¹⁷ Munrow's notebooks record the outline of his talks:

Introduction: how many recorder players? Non recorder players and recorder players alike find it hard to see it in its historical perspective. Recorder players sometimes give the impression that the recorder is the beginning and end of

²¹⁶ Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," 52.

²¹⁷ Munrow, "conversation with author."

baroque music – non recorder players sometimes give the impression that the recorder is just the end of baroque music.²¹⁸

Munrow's notebooks also show that a sequence of 'Shakespearean Pop Tunes' were frequently programmed for these talks. Gill often accompanied on percussion and bells and, at times, Christopher Hogwood joined with Harpsichord and Regal as he does on the Oryx recording 'The Medieval Sound' which captures something of this lecture-recital spirit.²¹⁹

Gill and David continued to work as a duo after Christopher went to Prague in 1964 for a gap year. Hogwood was a year or so ahead at college and it was when Munrow went to Prague to visit Christopher that he met Jasper Parrott, who was later to become his agent and friend. Jasper Parrott remembers Hogwood's year in Prague as a British Council organised event:

my father was then the British Ambassador and so because I was very enthusiastic about early music and played the oboe quite badly and the recorder probably worse [...] I sort of got to know Christopher and we provided him with quite a lot of hospitality—food—and also some connections because my father had good connections in the music business. He was a very keen amateur musician, a pianist. And then David came out to visit Christopher for two or three weeks I think and so we sort of got together quite a lot and in fact rather bizarrely we even once [...] provided the music at the American embassy for something like an Easter service for which Chris played the harpsichord and David and I played the recorders which as you can imagine his level of recorder player was, you know, sort of stratospherically better than mine. So it was a great, great thing and David was exceptionally sort of nice and encouraging [...].²²⁰

As a postgraduate student David worked on summer camps for his father, teaching sailing on Lake Coniston and rock climbing in the Lake District. A fellow postgraduate student Jack Salway remembered:

I really got to know David when we were the only two postgrads at the summer camps which were organised for the first year students studying Physical Education. We are a similar age (about 24/25 at the time) and did not

²¹⁸ David Munrow, *The Recorder*, 1966, DM/9/6, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²¹⁹ David Munrow, Gillian Reid, and Christopher Hogwood, *The Mediaeval Sound: David Munrow Introduces Early Woodwind Instruments*, Oryx / Peerless EXP46. 1970. LP.

²²⁰ Jasper Parrott, interview by author, London, June 12, 2009.

relate to the teenage students and we were too young really to relate to the staff so we stuck together during our free time. His main role was to teach sailing. We were based on the edge of Lake Coniston in the Lake District. We spent the evenings together chatting about the day's events etc and often singing Gilbert and Sullivan together. He told me of his old instruments and his time in Peru but I didn't take much notice.²²¹

Munrow has been described as spending the years 1965–1968 as ‘consolidating his ideas and technique’.²²² This is certainly an accurate observation but these years had none of the hermit-like qualities one would expect from such a description, they were also years spent organizing many concerts and giving lecture recitals whilst undertaking various teaching jobs. Munrow began life post-Cambridge by teaching at a school which, according to Salway, he did not enjoy:

the last time I saw him in about 1966 when he was thoroughly fed up with his teaching job at George Dixon's Grammar School in Birmingham. We bumped into each other on the campus at Birmingham. This is a very vivid memory which I recall as if it was a year ago. I remember the exact spot and how I walked away feeling very sad to see him looking so despondent. Within a short time of this meeting he was famous!²²³

Whilst the formation of the Early Music Consort of London lay in the future, Hogwood remembers that Munrow's musical interests started to focus to a greater extent on pre-baroque music:

I think the change occurred really in the period when I had left Cambridge and David was just leaving and doing a little research in Birmingham at which time he gave a big concert of Susato dances from *Danserye* which are basically four part unspecified instrumentation and he arranged—provoked partly by a record which I think is now almost forgotten but was very formative then, the Terpsichore Suite done on Archiv—and it was from that sort of very coloured instrumentation that David had the idea to work on another set of dances and give them the same treatment and gave a very impressive concert that opened people's eyes to the fact that there was a large repertoire of music there. And in the time that I was away—I was in Prague—David came out to Prague and again we played lots of Baroque music then but there was a mutual feeling that were getting a bit sick of Telemann and looking elsewhere. And found by talking that the mood had very much moved towards early renaissance or medieval music

²²¹ Jack Salway: Internet post by ‘piedpiper’ on Davidmunrow.org accessed September 18, 2009. Post entitled ‘Contemporaries of David Munrow Remember’.

²²² Notes for Renaissance suite: Music composed & arranged for the Soundtrack of the Joel Santoni film “La Course en Tete”. EMI Records HQS 1415 1974. Notes by James Durant.

²²³ Jack Salway: Internet post by ‘piedpiper’ on Davidmunrow.org. 2009.

and he said that he was thinking of going in for organizing a group that would specialize in that repertoire.²²⁴

With the aim of exploring earlier repertoire, Munrow was beginning to gather around him the musicians that he would work with for the rest of his life. The countertenor James Bowman recalls meeting Munrow and being asked to take part in his concerts:

I met him quite by accident in somebody's house in Ladbroke Grove and once again there was this small figure on the telephone all afternoon obviously fixing jobs for other people. And I thought he was the secretary of the lady whose house it was and I didn't pay much attention to him and after we'd finished rehearsing he came up to me and said "Oh I rather like your voice, would you like to do some concerts with me?" So I, being broke at the time, said "Fine, as long as there's some money involved in it," and he said, "Yes I can arrange some things for you in Birmingham," and that's really how it all started.²²⁵

Bowman has also recounted this story in more humorous terms when interviewed in 1992 by Brian Kay:

Well I'd always heard of David Munrow, I knew of his existence at Cambridge. He was a sort of legend ... and I was doing some concerts with a lady called Mary Remnant. She'd asked me to do some performances with her and I went to rehearse in the house of a musicologist in Notting Hill Gate. And in the corner of the room there was a portly young gentleman who spent the whole time rushing around in a mackintosh making telephone calls. I thought he was a sort of cleaner who would empty the dustbins or something. I didn't know what on earth he was doing. And eventually he came up to me and said "My name's David Munrow" and of course I was totally flabbergasted, this was the legendary character...and to cut a long story short he invited me to join his group there and then.²²⁶

In his retelling of the story, Munrow himself also highlighted his instant attraction to Bowman's voice:

and then I heard James Bowman and thought that here was the most fabulous 'noise' I'd ever heard, so he joined us too.²²⁷

²²⁴ Christopher Hogwood interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio. The Archiv recording to which he refers is: *Terpsichore: Renaissance and Early Baroque Dance Music*, Ullsamer Collegium, Konrad Ragossnig, Archiv LP. Accessed October 12, 2011. <http://universalmusic.nl/ondemand/albums/112385753>. The Early Music Consort of London was initially known as 'The Early Music Consort' and they only added the London reference when American tours started to be arranged.

²²⁵ James Bowman interviewed on: "David Munrow," presented by Levin, 1976.

²²⁶ "James Bowman: a 20th-century voice (1)", directed by Brian Kay, aired April 25, 1992, on BBC Radio. H243/01 VHS sound recording, British Library Sound Archive, London.

²²⁷ Blyth, "David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth."

Mary Remnant, herself an early collaborator in Munrow concerts, remembers the venue for this meeting as being the house of the harpist, Marilyn Wailes.²²⁸ A name had to be selected for the ensemble that was to perform in these concerts and Bowman remembers that Munrow asked him:

‘Do you mind if I call it *The Early Music Consort?*’ not even ‘of London’ just The Early Music Consort and I said ‘That’s fine by me’. And he was doing a series of concerts at, I think it was, Birmingham University and also one in Coventry and it was just a series of about four and that was really the initial plan and there was no idea of carrying on on a permanent basis.²²⁹

Munrow’s incessant fixing and organizing still had connections to Cambridge life. Jasper Parrott remembers one such concert that took place in Jesus Chapel:

I actually participated in one of David’s really quite epochal concerts which was in the chapel of Jesus when he did one of his first ever *big* assemblies of wind...a sort of Medieval Renaissance [...] including Tielman Susato and all sorts of things. [...] But the thing was I had, and I think I was probably the only person in Cambridge who had, a bass recorder... and he knew this and I bought this in Prague and when he came to me, he approached me, and said “Well look I’d really like to ... is there any chance I can borrow your bass recorder?” And I said, “You can borrow *me* and the bass recorder but you can’t borrow the bass recorder”.²³⁰

The concert took place on 25 April 1965. A private LP was made and tape copies sent out with letters of introduction, including one to the University of Birmingham.²³¹ The concerts in the Birmingham area for which Munrow had recruited James Bowman were to include one very special concert at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts which took place on 28 May 1965. At this concert Sir Anthony Lewis, then president of the Institute, remembers that Munrow ‘did not just emerge into the field of medieval and renaissance music – he exploded into it’.²³² He also remembered planning the concert:

²²⁸ Mary Remnant, interview by author, London, October 3, 2012.

²²⁹ James Bowman interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio. Later in this interview Bowman mentions that the ensemble added ‘of London’ to their name for marketing purposes when they undertook USA tours.

²³⁰ Parrott, "interview by author."

²³¹ This tape is mentioned in: David Munrow, Jesus College Music Society Cambridge, May 1, 1966, DM 2/1/3, Papers of David Munrow: Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²³² Anthony Lewis et al., "Tributes to David Munrow," *Early Music* 4, no. 3 (1976): 376.

...and I asked him what kind of concert he wanted to give and he said 'a concert of dance music'. Well, this was not quite the kind of thing that we were accustomed to but I said, 'very well, let's hear it,' and we were not disappointed. We went into the hall, I saw an array of the instruments that we associate with him and from the very first chord they played I could see he had imbued them, his players, with the vitality that always oozed out of him. He communicated this to his players in the same way as later on he was to communicate it to students at the [Royal] Academy [of Music].²³³

James Bowman took part in the concert and remembers the catalytic effect it had in hardening Munrow's resolve to become a professional musician:

Yes, I sang at it. I think Christopher was away in Czechoslovakia...I remember it, it was a lunchtime concert actually [...] we went to the canteen afterwards and lunch was off and David was furious. But the concert itself was a riotous success and the Barber institute was almost full of students and I remember he was very, very happy at the reception we got. And I think he really decided after that that things were obviously going to be ok and people were receptive to what he was trying to do. I think this, as you say, was a great breakthrough for him.²³⁴

Lewis also recalled the occasion when he contributed a piece for Munrow's obituary in 1976:

When the day came and we went into the hall, there indeed was a big band on the platform, but not quite the type one might have expected. What followed I described in my report to the Barber Trustees, where I spoke of the concert having been presented 'with sensational impact' (an understatement). 'A large team of enthusiastic and highly skilled performers on cornetts, shawms, crumhorns, various sizes of recorders and several recondite varieties of percussion was assembled as well as the more familiar trombones, oboes and cors anglais. These forces were disposed for part of the concert at various points in the foyer of the Institute. This enabled effects of antiphony to be exploited, and the impression received was brilliant and invigorating. The programme, which started in the foyer with Italian 17th-century canzoni, ended with renaissance dance music played on the stage with indestructible rhythm. Altogether an exhilarating occasion.' It was indeed, and nothing like it had been heard in the Barber Institute before. Its decorous and civilized walls rang with the sound and elderly professors were practically dancing in their seats. A new epoch had opened.

Lewis went on to summarize the main factors of this epoch:

The hallmarks of that epoch were already evident - the precise intonation, the professional control of period instruments, the discriminating choice of repertoire and the immense artistic gusto that carried all before it. David led us into a new and fascinating world of musical experience by his insistence on the same (or higher) standards of performance in the execution of medieval and

²³³ Anthony Lewis interviewed on: "David Munrow," presented by Levin, 1976.

²³⁴ Ibid.

renaissance music as was expected in the repertoire of later periods. Gone was the unease that beset so many previous performances of earlier music—the starved tone, the flaccid rhythm, the listless phrasing—this was replaced by confidence and mastery that enabled the music to break through the veil of insecurity that had previously surrounded it.²³⁵

1965 also saw the first of many recitals at Hinckley Music club with which David and Gill were to have a long association. The club's website recalls that:

David Munrow and Christopher Hogwood approached Marjorie King in 1965 to ask if they might be engaged for a performance of their repertoire of 'old' music. A fee of ten guineas was agreed, and an 'Elizabethan Evening' of Tudor music was presented in the Old Cottages, Lower Bond Street (now the Hinckley Museum). This was the start of the memorable association between these artists and the Club. The occasion led to several return visits by David Munrow with his Early Music Consort, and in 1969 David became the Club's first President.²³⁶

That concert took place at Hinckley Music Club, on Thursday 11 November, 1965. The programme comprised sixteenth-century music played by the duo.²³⁷

In April 1966 Munrow was offered a position as bassoonist for *The Royal Shakespeare Wind Band*. Munrow's parents thought he ought to aim for something more reliable and lucrative but Gill remembers using the argument that David was young enough to see where this road would lead him without jeopardizing his chances of taking a serious job later if he needed to, so she never tried to persuade him as they wished and instead acted as a mediator. She also added that both she and David had offered similar advice to The King's Singers, with whom they were friendly when just starting out.²³⁸

Woolfenden remembers that Munrow, initially, played very few early instruments:

²³⁵ Lewis et al., "Tributes to David Munrow," 376.

²³⁶ Eric Bamberger, "Hinckley Music Club History" Hinckley Music Club. Accessed May 1, 2012. <http://www.hinckleymusicclub.co.uk/history.htm>.

²³⁷ A programme of 16th century music played by David Munrow and Christopher Hogwood: David Munrow, Hinckley Music Club Recital, November 11, 1965, DM 2/1/1, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²³⁸ Gillian Munrow, "conversation with author."

David came in as a bassoon player, not because I wanted to deny him the right to play all these weird things but he actually didn't even possess them; he was just getting in to crumhorns although he played the recorder beautifully.²³⁹

But gradually Munrow's collection grew and Woolfenden did much to encourage Munrow's interest and remembers that his new recruit 'was happy to play bassoon but spent every waking moment encouraging me to write for a wide range of early wind instruments.'²⁴⁰ Woolfenden also remembers that Munrow used to prepare notes in the hope that he would compose for the needs of his growing instrument collection:

I still have a sort of orchestration book that David wrote for me on two tatty sheets of manuscript paper in which he described the quality, nature, range, pitch of all these instruments and there are little remarks such as 'don't throw this one at me without time to warm up because I've only had it for a day'.²⁴¹

A different extract from one of these sets of notes informs Woolfenden that 'these instruments operate most happily in home keys or one removed. Other keys are much more difficult but still possible'. And more directly, 'The rauschpfeife has only two dynamics – raucous and silent.'²⁴² This enthusiasm, once it had taken hold, grew quickly and Munrow began to acquire instruments in large quantities:

And every day over one period in, in must have been '66, '67, he turned up with an even larger golf bag of strange instruments and one could hear him practising in the band room and of course I was fascinated—drawn as by a siren sound to the extraordinary noises to the point that it seems like a wonderful idea that I actually write a score which featured him and the right moment turned up for Trevor Nunn's production of *The Taming of the Shrew* which only had four instrumentalists in it because that's the way we did it—we did it small and small is beautiful I hope! And David played something like nine or ten instruments in the course of one evening's performance.²⁴³

Munrow himself fondly recalled the productions in a radio interview:

²³⁹ Guy Woolfenden interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

²⁴⁰ Woolfenden, November 27, 2012.

²⁴¹ Guy Woolfenden interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

²⁴² Quoted in: Wood, "David Munrow (1942-1976)," 85.

²⁴³ Guy Woolfenden interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio. Gillian Munrow remembers this bag as being an electric guitar case, rather than a golf-club bag. She also added: 'in the *Shrew* he (and the other members of the band) were on stage in costume throughout the performance. As the season wore on the musicians and the actors had (very discreet!) water pistol fights.' Gillian Munrow, e-mail message to author, September 7, 2013.

[The audience] would have seen a lot of me if they went to *The Taming of the Shrew* because we had to sit on the stage on a rather hard bench for the duration of the performance. [...] They would have seen a great deal more of me in another way if they'd been to see *Troilus and Cressida* because I had to sit cross-legged in the middle of the stage, naked but for a loincloth, which was rather curious because I was playing a heckel bassoon which seemed rather absurd!²⁴⁴

Woolfenden then was also a key figure, who not only gave Munrow a public platform on which to perform, but also encouraged him to explore further his early wind-instrument technique and gave him the opportunity to do so with the band. Even when writing new music, Woolfenden was interested in evoking a sense of historical accuracy and mentioned in that interview his frustration with the Spartacus epic films that showed Roman soldiers with straight trumpets yet playing notes that such instruments could not have produced. Visual authenticity was clearly an important part of his philosophy and one which also may have influenced Munrow.

Munrow was also a keen stage-performer at the RSC, happy in costume but frequently chastised by the company for his mischievous habit of giggling and causing others to 'corpse' on stage too. James Bowman remembers a typically humorous scenario:

There are several amusing incidents obviously which he recounted with great gusto. I remember apparently there's an occasion during *Hamlet* when the recorder was thrown to him to play which most nights he caught it although apparently he wasn't very good at catching. I don't know if he was a tennis player or not. But apparently one night he missed the recorder which was thrown to him to play and it broke in 3 pieces and fell in the lap of a lady in the stalls apparently. And he was very prone to getting the giggles in performances of pieces...²⁴⁵

In 1966 David Munrow married Gillian Reid. Munrow was continually encouraged by Gill; she had given him a copy of Alec Harman's *Man and his Music* for Christmas 1965 and several similar inscriptions show how her gifts helped him to build

²⁴⁴ This extract is used in: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver. The author suggests its original source is: "Woman's Hour," presented by MacGregor, 1975.

²⁴⁵ James Bowman speaking: "David Munrow," presented by Levin, 1976.

up his own library over the following years.²⁴⁶ Many years later she was referred to as his 'super secretary'.²⁴⁷ In 1968 Munrow performed in the RSC production of *The Taming of the Shrew* that toured to the Ahmanson Theatre, Los Angeles, USA from the second of January until the tenth of February. Gill travelled with him and together they found opportunities to present their lecture recitals to American audiences.²⁴⁸ Gill remembers that she and David had just bought a cine camera and enthusiastically filmed everything. In particular she remembers Munrow devising and directing a sequence on a beach which had concrete benches along its length—the sort that has advertising on the backrest—and one was displaying an ad for a funeral home. David was behind the camera and Gill was sat on the bench obscuring the ad and flanked by the two other men. The men got up, Gill fell into lying position as if she had been dead the whole time, and in doing so revealed the funeral poster behind. This story is typical of Munrow's humour and skill for succinct presentation.

Munrow's collection of instruments grew and grew and he continued to be encouraged by Woolfenden and buoyed by the success of his lecture-recitals. However, the more indispensable Munrow made himself the more difficult it became for the wind band when he needed time off. As Woolfenden remembers:

there was literally nobody in the whole kingdom who could deputise for him. And, on one occasion in *The Taming of the Shrew*, far from double booking himself, he was ill! He could give me only 24 hours notice, and I had to rewrite the whole score in about 12 hours flat for a bassoon player and a cor anglais. There was just nobody else who could do it.²⁴⁹

After a few years Munrow left the company amicably to pursue his freelance career. Yet even without the glamour of RSC productions life was rarely dull. Early on in their

²⁴⁶ This book can be seen in: David Munrow Book Collection, Royal Academy of Music Library, London: Alec Harman: Man and his music: Marked "To David with much love from Gill. Christmas 1965".

²⁴⁷ Blyth, "David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth."

²⁴⁸ David Munrow and Gillian Reid, Happy Valley School Ojai California, January 21, 1968. DM/2/1/78, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²⁴⁹ Quoted in: Michael Oliver, "David Munrow: Changing the Musical Landscape," *The Listener* (1977), 658.

marriage, Gill recalls that a friend of hers drove them in his old van over to Moeck in Germany for Munrow to order recorders. They took a late ferry and were so cold that they decided to drive through the night. At one point in Germany when they were dangerously low on fuel they passed a closed petrol station and David insisted they stop and see if they could wake someone to sell them some petrol. Probably because he was feeling guilty that he couldn't drive, David offered to take charge of the conversation and knocked on the door of the flat over the garage repeatedly until he eventually woke up the owner. After brief explanation in German they got their petrol and David paid. They drove off slightly bewildered at how angry the petrol station owner had been with them until the friend who was driving commented that the fuel needle had not moved at all. It turned out that David had accidentally asked for a small amount of petrol. Since he didn't drive he had no idea what petrol should have cost so didn't even notice that it was so cheap. No wonder the owner was so angry at being woken up.²⁵⁰

Throughout these post-Cambridge years, Dart was still an important influence on Munrow and even employed him to teach early music ensembles at his new department at King's College, London. Indeed, respect flowed both ways as David Fallows remembers when discussing his own prospects of work with Thomas Binkley's Studio der Frühen Musik in Munich after graduation:

In the year of Munrow's debut I was telling Thurston Dart of my own plans to work for an early-music ensemble in Germany, adding that it seemed to me that the next twenty or thirty years were likely to see some exciting developments in the understanding and performance of medieval and renaissance music. [...] But he then went on to say that if I took myself at all seriously I should be working with Munrow. The simple answer to that was that Munrow hadn't offered me work whereas the other group had. But it was clear enough even at that stage that Munrow was a man of the most enormous promise.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Gillian Munrow, "conversation with author." Gillian Munrow also added that this friend was David Powis, who also gave her driving lessons. Gillian Munrow, e-mail message to author, September 7, 2013.

²⁵¹ "Mr Munrow, His Study," Jeremy Summerly, *The Archive Hour*, aired January 7, 2006, on BBC Radio.

Another important musical avenue opened up for Munrow in 1966; he took a part-time job lecturing early music history at the University of Leicester. One of his classes was a twenty week history course complete with a reading list, discography, exam questions and a shopping list of scores for the university library to buy. His notes survive in the academy collection and indicate the range of his listening and reading at this time.²⁵² The soprano Deborah Roberts was one of Munrow's pupils at Leicester University and recalled Munrow's combination of humour and explosive energy. She remembered choosing Leicester University specifically because it offered her the chance to study with Munrow:

As well as teaching the early part of the course he would also run a kind of workshop. [...] he would explode in with piles of instruments and fling them all on to the floor and there would be a whole load of very eager students, because this was open to everyone, and each week he would give us something else to do. Now [the] shawm was one of his favourite ways of winding up a particularly cantankerous English professor whose lectures were happening at that time. The lecturer would come in red in the face – I don't know who was redder in the face because of course David had just been playing the shawm. [...] ²⁵³

Roberts also remembered Munrow's serious side and the high standards he expected of his students when he marked her first essay on Trecento Music:

I'd got this wonderful bibliography at the end of all these books and I waited for my results to come back and my essay came back and he'd just written on the bottom: "a bibliography is a list of books you have consulted not every one you can think of". ²⁵⁴

Dart's support of Munrow might have influenced the bibliographies and discographies that accompany the lecture notes that Munrow prepared for his teaching at Leicester University. Many of Safford Cape's recordings are present as are Leo

²⁵² David Munrow, [Academic Notes], c1966, DM/9/8, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²⁵³ Nicholas Kenyon, Sally Dunkley, Andrew Van der Beek, and Deborah Roberts, "Celebrating Inspiration: In Memory of David Munrow," Pre Concert Discussion: *Brighton Early Music Festival*, November 10, 2012. Gillian Munrow has also remembered that David Munrow: '... taught in what was the Attenborough family home (which was part of the campus) and [he] had his rooms upstairs, he used to wonder if it was the bedroom of either of the brothers!'. Munrow, September 7, 2013.

²⁵⁴ Kenyon et al., November 10, 2012.

Schrade's 1956-8 series of Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (vols I-IV: Fauvel, Machaut, Landini) all of which would have been known to Thurston Dart.²⁵⁵

Munrow also began to actively pursue career opportunities in London. He taught early woodwind instruments at King's College London. This must have been organised by Thurston Dart who was by this time the head of the new music department. Here he may have also met Jeremy Montagu who was also teaching for Dart as well as working at the Horniman Museum in Forest Hill. Incidentally, Montagu remembers the pressures of teaching for Thurston Dart, known as Bob:

I had written about six or eight lectures, whatever it was, to cover the history of musical instruments worldwide so I'd written them rather than do it from notes because there's a hell of a lot to get in and he said I had them for an hour. And of course the first morning I turned up there he said "of course you know I mean a University hour don't you? We start five minutes late and finish five minutes early!" And I said "No Bob I didn't!"²⁵⁶

Towards the end of 1966 Munrow's own experiences were summarized briefly in a letter of application to the BBC which he addressed to Basil Lam, mentioning his university friend Duncan Druce by way of introduction:

Dear Mr Lam,
Mr Druce suggested that I should write to you about the early woodwind instruments that I play. I enclose a tape with accompanying sheet of notes and a separate envelope containing some recent programmes.
May I give you some details about myself? I play renaissance and baroque recorders, crumhorns, dulcian, kortholt, rauschpfeife and racket. This season I have been using these instruments in productions of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre. I recently played the recorder obbligato in the BBC Midland recording of Handel's 'Orlando' and the crumhorn and rauschpfeife in the recording of the music for 'A man for all seasons' with members of the English Chamber Orchestra. I have given broadcast solo recitals abroad on Czech radio and Peruvian television. I lecture part-time in the history of early music at Leicester University and teach early woodwind instruments at King's College London. I am particularly interested in organizing programmes of early music such as the enclosed programme 'Kings and Queens' – a history of royal patronage in music 1400-1700. I should be most interested to be considered by the BBC as a) a solo player b) a recorder and harpsichord duo with Christopher Hogwood.

²⁵⁵ Charles Van den Borren, with whom Dart himself studied, was the father-in-law of Safford Cape and Leo Schrade's work is published by L'Oiseau-Lyre in Monaco.

²⁵⁶ Jeremy Montagu, interview by author, Oxford, December 6, 2009.

We would both be willing to come for an audition. If you were interested in the consort would an audition for it also be required? ²⁵⁷

His career as a professional musician was now a reality.

The Early Music Consort (of London)

During 1967 Munrow founded The Early Music Consort with Christopher Hogwood. It had a core of five players, not all of whom lived in London: James Bowman (countertenor), Oliver Brookes (viol), Christopher Hogwood (keyboard and percussion) and Robert Spencer (lute). The consort was often joined by Mary Remnant (fiddle). Their repertoire was to span from Leonin to Handel, as well as modern commissions with Munrow himself playing an ever-expanding number of different instruments. The original idea was to keep it close to Leicester and the Midlands because Munrow was based at Stratford full time but eventually it was inevitable that Munrow should run his consort and leave the Stratford band.

One of the other important things the consort did early on was to audition for Mrs Tillett of the agency Ibbs & Tillett following an introduction and recommendation from Jasper Parrott. The final audition took place in the Wigmore Hall on June 19, 1967. James Bowman remembers that although members of the consort were nervous, the audition was a surprise success. The Early Music Consort was the first early music group to be taken on by Ibbs and Tillett.²⁵⁸ Yet the consort was, at first, a modest enterprise. James Bowman remembers there being fewer instruments in the early concerts:

It was basically him [Munrow] on a recorder with, I think, he had a couple of crumhorns. He had none of these rackets and shawms and things that he was playing then. He was a bit shy about bringing them out! We had a bass viol, we had a lady who played the fiddle—Mary Remnant, an early member of the consort—and I just sang and I didn't even play percussion or attempt the viol as

²⁵⁷ David Munrow to Basil Lam November 18 1966, BBC WAC RCONT12 - David Munrow - Artists File I 1966-67.

²⁵⁸ David Munrow, Final Audition, June 19, 1967, DM 2/1/17, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

I was made to do latterly! So I mean it was a fairly limited thing but it was always exciting every time we got something new to enlarge the group.²⁵⁹

By the end of the year the consort had had three important concerts. The first was a 'Programme of Popular Music of the Renaissance and Middle Ages' and took place on February 30, in St Mary's Hall, Coventry and broadcast live on BBC Radio radio (Midland) with notes written for the announcer by Munrow himself. Robert Spencer also performed as both a lutenist and baritone.²⁶⁰ At Leicester University on 9 November the Consort was joined by Robert Tear for a programme entitled 'Kings and Queens'.²⁶¹ And, finally, The Kings and Queens programme was repeated at the University of Louvain on December 12, and broadcast on Belgian Radio. An abridged version of two programmes: 'Popular Music in Europe 1600-1300' and 'Music of English Kings and Queens 1400-1600' became the Consort's first concert in The Wigmore Hall in the Spring of 1968.²⁶²

A private recording of an early Wigmore concert preserves Munrow's charming concert banter:

Now wind instruments - the very big instrument is a shawm, very much a town band outdoor instrument first heard in Europe by the ears of the first crusaders who went into battle and had their ears assaulted by the most terrifying sound which they quickly recognised as that of a twenty-one piece shawm band [audience laughter] ...so they captured one or two and took them home and tamed them [laughter] and...um... The crumhorn, which takes its name from two German words *krumm* meaning bent and *Horn* meaning horn [laughter] which works with a double reed inside a wind cap, rather like a bagpipe. Um, similarly working are the sordouns, this also has a reed inside a wind cap but it's double-barreled, there are two tubes inside the block of wood rather like a bassoon so the sounds up here in the wind cap, travels down one side, turns around a corner at the bottom, comes back and emerges out of that rather insignificant looking hole [laughter]. And finally the rackett [laughter]. The rackett comes from another German word meaning crooked and it is indeed the most crooked musical instrument that anybody yet devised because inside the tube turns round ten times - so if you could stretch it out on end it would come to

²⁵⁹ James Bowman interviewed on: "David Munrow," presented by Levin, 1976.

²⁶⁰ Programme DM 2/1/20 and Script DM 7/1, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²⁶¹ Queen's Hall, Leicester University, November 9, 1967, DM 2/1/21, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

²⁶² The printed programme: Wigmore Hall London, March 17, 1968, DM 2/1/33, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

about eight feet. The Germans have another word for it actually - they also call it *Wurst Fagott* [laughter]. And this, of course, is a countertenor... [Laughter & applause].²⁶³

Munrow and The Early Music Consort were now firmly on the musical map.

Broadcasting with the BBC

The role that the BBC was to play in the encouragement and promotion of both Munrow as a broadcaster and solo performer and of The Early Music Consort of London could not have been predicted from their humble beginnings on the books of the Midlands region. When Basil Lam wrote back to Munrow following his initial letter of application, he assumed that the young musician was already an artist with the regional BBC offices. However, BBC internal correspondence shows that the Midland region had not yet heard David Munrow play. Patrick Piggott replied to Lam:

I shall be glad to have copies of your reports on the tape submitted to you by Mr. David Munrow. Mr Munrow's ensemble is not, as you had supposed, on Midland Region's books, but it is to be auditioned in the near future.²⁶⁴

The date of this audition is not recorded. Munrow, however, was already working as an individual instrumentalist and during April of 1967 he took part in 'The True Tale of Guillaume de Machaut', (recorded on 15 and 16 March), a programme organized by Gilbert Reaney.²⁶⁵ The BBC correspondence also records that Munrow played two different instruments which meant he had to contact the Midland Region office to remind them he was due an extra fee for 'doubling'. An internal memo seeking confirmation of this fact was sent to Douglas Cleverdon who annotated it in red biro saying 'This is correct. He did play two very strange instruments'.²⁶⁶ However, in 1968 after recording a programme of 'Music in medieval Britain' with Gilbert Reaney,

²⁶³ An extract from this private recording was broadcast on: "After Munrow," Anthony Burton, *Early Memories*, aired 1992, BBC Radio 3. British Library Sound Archive reference: H777/01.

²⁶⁴ Head of Midland regional music to Basil Lam, December 20, 1966, BBC RCONT12 - David Munrow - Artist File I 1966-67.

²⁶⁵ The True Tale of Guillaume de Machaut, April 19, 1967, C09/IP/JH, BBC WAC, M31/1491 – Misc MUC-MZ David Munrow.

²⁶⁶ Tuesday Invitation Concert BE711D, April 10 1967, 09/JH/TH, BBC WAC, M31/1491 – Misc MUC-MZ David Munrow.

Munrow received a letter from Jean Holden at the BBC which said that at his request she had 'taken up with London the question of additional payment for artists playing an unusual instrument' but that it had been decided no extra fee was payable.²⁶⁷

Munrow worked with Gilbert Reaney's London Medieval Group several times during 1968. On one of these occasions Martyn Hill remembers that David Munrow had complimented him on his ability to sight-read at the transpositions Reaney required and asked him if he would be interested in working with the Early Music Consort and thus booked him on the spot.²⁶⁸ Munrow and Hill had already met in Cambridge but since Hill was only there for a year before transferring to the Royal College of Music in London, the two men had not had the opportunity to get to know each other properly.

By May of 1968 Munrow and the Early Music Consort were planning their first BBC invitation concert for which, once again, Munrow wrote the script. The first official film of Munrow by the BBC was also produced that summer, 'Devised and directed' by Munrow himself it was called 'Festival Music 1550-1700' and comprised the Early Music Consort (Bowman, Hogwood, Reid & Munrow (Recorder, Crumhorn, Shawm, Curtal)), the Renaissance Consort of Trombones, the Lonsdale Consort of Viols, (Catherine Mackintosh, Roderick, Kenneth and Adam Skeaping) and Il Flauto Dolce. The event took place on Saturday July 3, 1968. It was this year also that another important public broadcast opportunity came for Munrow with music for *The Hobbit* which brought him into contact with the composer David Cain and the work of the BBC Radiophonic workshop.²⁶⁹ *The Hobbit* was to be a very popular success and, as 1968 ended, both David Munrow and the Early Music consort were busier than ever before with concerts, lecture-recitals and BBC contracts.

²⁶⁷ Jean Holden to David Munrow, "Music in Mediaeval Britain," April 1, 1968, 09/JH/FEW, BBC WAC, M31/1491 – Misc MUC-MZ David Munrow.

²⁶⁸ Hill, "conversation with author."

²⁶⁹ *The Hobbit*, August 15, 1968, 09/JH/JB Radio 4 (DA355H), BBC WAC, M31/1491 – Misc MUC-MZ David Munrow.

In January 1969, David and Gillian Munrow moved to St Albans in Hertfordshire. This year saw several key developments. Firstly David Munrow temporarily joined forces with John Eliot Gardiner's Monteverdi Choir at the Queen Elizabeth Hall on the 30th March for a concert entitled 'Renaissance Court Music'. The concert was promoted by Ibbs and Tillett but Jasper Parrott remembers that it was not the success that they had hoped for, largely due to the under-rehearsed nature of the Monteverdi Choir who were still an amateur choir at that point.²⁷⁰

On June 3rd, Munrow had his own Queen Elizabeth Hall concert organized and he was keen to invite the BBC. Seizing the opportunity to promote further his consort, he wrote to Lionel Salter:

I am writing to ask if you would like to come to 'A Renaissance Festival' in the Queen Elizabeth Hall on Tuesday June 3rd. I enclose two tickets together with a leaflet about the concert which is being relayed by the Third Programme. The programme includes a substantial amount of music which has probably not been heard in London before: unpublished duets by Donati and Grandi, a *canzona* by Taeggio, the Scottish 'Pleugh song' and the Susato dances.

Most of the items are large scale and employ relatively large forces. Could part of this programme, or something similar, be considered for a Promenade Concert next season? I feel that the Susato dances in particular would go down well with a Prom audience.²⁷¹

The concert brought together the Philip Jones Brass Ensemble, Colin Tilney and Neville Mariner and the programme included notes on the music by Jerome Roche and Munrow himself. Salter wrote back and promised to attend and report his 'impressions' to William Glock.

Perhaps the highest-profile opportunity of all was offered to David Munrow in the summer of 1969 when the BBC archives show correspondence between Jasper Parrott and Naomi Capon's secretary regarding Munrow's fees for *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* that Capon was producing for BBC Television. Despite their specialist

²⁷⁰ Parrott, "interview by author."

²⁷¹ David Munrow to Lionel Salter, May 17, 1969, BBC RCONT12 – David Munrow - Artists File 2 1968-72.

knowledge, the Early Music Consort were only paid Musician's Union rates rather than the BBC's chamber ensemble rates causing some consternation on both sides. The music was to become iconic. And through happy coincidence, the percussionist David Corkhill remembers that this was this was the project that first introduced him to David Munrow and The Early Music Consort. Corkhill had been studying with James Blades at the Royal Academy of Music and remembers being booked to deputize:

at some point Jimmy said to David that "I can't do this, but this other chap, this student is very good" but I mean I wasn't a student any more at this point. And the first thing I think I did I seem to remember was something at Television Centre.²⁷²

Despite the success of the Early Music Consort of London, Munrow still had a considerable amount of work to do convincing the BBC to pay him and his ensemble in the same way modern instrumentalists were paid. 1969 saw one particularly awkward situation when Munrow was not paid royalties for some music he provided because the BBC thought that he was 'simply a friend of Jim's [Duckett] who was pitching in to oblige' and not a leader in his field.²⁷³ In early 1971 a similar situation occurred when a concert in Greenwich Theatre by the Early Music Consort was arranged to be broadcast without first obtaining Munrow's consent. Although Munrow quickly acquiesced, a secretary's notes show record that 'He feels it's his duty to make concert a typical fun-Munrow type for Greenwich Theatre, not a BBC do.'²⁷⁴

Two months later there was more serious trouble when Peter Marchbank wrote to Munrow objecting to paying two doubling fees and a solo fee for Bowman when appearing with the Consort. Munrow replied the very next day and complained how the same problems kept occurring with the Early Music Consort's contract:

1) Doubling: this has always been paid at the rate of three guineas per instrument with a maximum of two doublings. [...] Since decimalisation I notice that the

²⁷² David Corkhill, interview by author, London, October 19, 2012.

²⁷³ Anthony Cornish to David Munrow, July 4, 1969, DM1/1/3, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library.

²⁷⁴ BBC Internal memo January 25, 1971, BBC WAC, R83/19 – David Munrow.

doubling rate has dropped to £3. [...] / 2) James Bowman: I clearly established two principles about James Bowman [...]: (a) that he is a member of the EMC, since he is a founder member and took part in all our BBC auditions and test dates. (b) that he should always be paid his solo fee for broadcasts with the Early Music Consort. [...] (b) has held good till now whereas (a) has not. In spite of numerous conversations with various producers and people in Bookings, the majority of James Bowman's contracts for broadcasts with the EMC have been issued separately and sent to Helen Jennings, his agent. [...] It is the wish of JB, Helen Jennings and myself that for all the broadcasts with the EMC JB should be booked on the same contract as the rest of us. At the same time I must ask that he be paid his full solo fee for such broadcasts. It is not, as you put it, "a rather awkward precedent" but exactly what Mr. [Glyn] Martin previously agreed. In any case the situation which has now been reached is quite absurd: James Bowman's fee for an EMC broadcast now depends entirely on the whim of Artists Bookings. [...]²⁷⁵

But the BBC did far more than simply offer David a wider audience for concerts with his new Consort; the corporation introduced him to many eminent musicians and also offered him the opportunity to broadcast regularly. An example of the way Munrow seized such opportunities can be seen in early 1970 when his Munrow Recorder Quartet was booked for a programme of madrigals to be produced by Basil Lam. The singers were London-based and conducted by Christopher Bishop. Bishop remembers a conversation in the car as he drove Munrow to the station after the concert:

in that very short period he managed to convince me that it would be a very good idea if EMI, which I was then a producer of, made a record of his group. And I said well I think it's a wonderful idea and he had another record he'd already made; I'm not sure whether it was commercial or an amateur record, I can't remember now. And I took that around the company and persuaded people that it would be a good idea to use him. And a year later we did actually make the first record. And he was the most tremendous fun to work with and, surprisingly, the record became extremely popular.²⁷⁶

That record was called *Two Renaissance Dance Bands* and included some of the same repertoire with which Munrow had 'exploded' onto the early music scene at the Barber Institute five years earlier. Munrow and Bishop were to enjoy a fruitful working relationship at EMI.

²⁷⁵ David Munrow to Peter Marchbank, March 27, 1971, BBC WAC, RCONT12 – David Munrow – Artists File 2 - 1968-72.

²⁷⁶ Christopher Bishop, "Podcast: David Munrow on the record." *On An Overgrown Path* (blog), 2007, <http://www.overgrownpath.com/2007/12/exclusive-david-munrow-on-record.html>.

Possibly the most famous BBC venture that Munrow undertook was the *Pied Piper* series for Radio 3. Based on a suggestion by Peter Dodd, the new Chief Assistant of Radio 3, the short programmes were intended to be suitable for children aged between 6 and 12. In 1971, Munrow compiled four pilot programmes, wrote a script and arranged an interview to compile a selection that would be representative of a typical week's programming.²⁷⁷ Each week would be based around a theme with one show being an interview. The programmes were just twenty minutes long, each episode began with a theme tune played by Munrow himself on the sopranino recorder, and the relaxed style of presentation and wide range of musical tastes caught the attention of many people. With no official BBC researcher assigned to the show, Gill Munrow undertook some of the research and began typing so many of the scripts that, as such, she was added to the BBC contract in August 1972. Arthur Johnson remembers working with Munrow:

In the early stages he wasn't a natural broadcaster. He has a strained delivery which is common in people who are green to broadcasting. But he learned—my goodness he learned quickly—in the space of a very short time, I would compare tapes with what had gone on a few months before, and he was a different broadcaster. He adapted himself to everything he did. Later he relaxed and was prepared to take chances and it gave a sort of spontaneity to the program which, if he had been more careful, the program would have had less life.²⁷⁸

He also remembered how *Pied Piper* was recorded in batches to accommodate Munrow's many other commitments:

We did four programmes—each week had four programs—in one studio session lasting four and a half hours. Which [...] is pretty tight. But he worked so quickly, he could write a whole page of script in just a few minutes if it had to be done.²⁷⁹

The programme was to number 655 editions in total, many of which have not survived. Johnson also remembers how Munrow was always interested in the working

²⁷⁷ Gillian Munrow remembers that it was actually Peter Dodd's wife who first suggested this programme. Gillian Munrow, e-mail message to author, September 7, 2013.

²⁷⁸ "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

of the radio studios and would want to know how the mixing desk and the gramophone decks worked. On one occasion, Johnson remembers looking through the glass into the recording booth to see that Munrow was dancing on the table whilst a record was playing.²⁸⁰ Indeed the programme became an important part of Radio 3's schedule and, as such, has a two-page description in Humphrey Carpenter's history of Radio 3 including an interview with Arthur Johnson in which he recalls how the pressure, professional and domestic, built up on Munrow in 1976.²⁸¹

The composer, Peter Dickinson, found inspiration for a new work in Munrow's Pied Piper persona:

Since he went around recording interviews with people I thought it would be perfectly natural for him to come onto the stage, switch on his portable tape-recorder and proceed to perform alongside it. So that was the basis of *Recorder Music* [...] David liked the idea so I went ahead.²⁸²

This combination of work through *Pied Piper*, broadcasts with the Early Music Consort of London and solo performances, interviews and presentation slots on the BBC was an important part of the rising profile of both David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London.

Other Performing Ensembles

The foundation of The Early Music Consort did not spell the end of Munrow's freelance performing career since at least until the early 1970s Munrow was to appear in many studio recordings. One of the earliest albums on his discography would be as a performer with The Young Tradition, a British folk music band who also worked with folk musicians such as David Swarbrick and the sisters Shirley and Dolly Collins. Munrow also appeared on a number of folk albums with these artists and also on a folk-

²⁸⁰ Arthur Johnson interviewed on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

²⁸¹ Humphrey Carpenter and Jennifer R. Doctor, *The Envy of the World: Fifty Years of the BBC Third Programme and Radio 3, 1946-1996* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), 267.

²⁸² Dickinson, "Remembering David Munrow: for forthcoming book project to be edited by John Turner."

jazz crossover album with The Roundtable in 1969.²⁸³ Interestingly, Gill Munrow also remembers that David was hired as an instrumental soloist on the soundtrack for Lionel Bart's 'Oliver' in a 1968 film and also worked with the electric-folk group Pentangle.²⁸⁴ Alongside this freelance session career Munrow was also a regular member of Musica Reservata, a leading early music performing group which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Jeremy Montagu remembers that Munrow was asked to leave Musica Reservata following on from a disagreement over the use of Michael Morrow's editions in EMC performances.²⁸⁵ Munrow was also a frequent performer with the Deller Consort and The Monteverdi Choir and Orchestra as well as a recorder soloist with The Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields.

Summary

It is tempting to see Munrow as *sui generis* since his biography indicates a unique trajectory which is both eccentric and unusual. However, many early musicians in the 1950s and 1960s were from non-standard backgrounds since there was little in the way of an 'establishment' for early music to grow out of; Noah Greenberg (New York Pro Musica) worked in the merchant navy for many years, and Michael Morrow (Musica Reservata) spent much of his childhood in hospital. Thurston Dart, too, was an autodidact.

It is easy to let Munrow's Peruvian adventures and lack of music degree eclipse the fact that he was the product a well-respected public school that also nurtured other prominent musicians. He was encouraged in music as a child and given a generous platform to develop his skills as a performer and scholar which appears to have suited

²⁸³ For a discography of Munrow's work, readers are referred to: "David Munrow (August 12th 1942 - May 15th 1976) - A discography," Last updated November 30, 2012, Accessed December 12, 2012. <http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/munrow.html>.

²⁸⁴ Lionel Bart et al., *Oliver! An Original Soundtrack Recording*, Colgems: Distributed by RCA, 1968. LP. Gill Munrow also remembers that David Munrow and Harry Secombe laughed a lot during their recording sessions. Gillian Munrow, conversation with author, Middlesex, April 23, 2009.

²⁸⁵ Jeremy Montagu, email message to author, September 4, 2013.

the extrovert side of his personality. Combined with his experiences in the Birmingham Cathedral Choir he was introduced to a wide selection of classical music and gained valuable choral and orchestral experience from a young age. This re-examination of his early biography also reveals the impact of the British Council scheme in Peru that was to come to fruition only in Cambridge University, when Munrow met such musicians as Thurston Dart who could help him fully realize the importance of the connections between the folk instruments he had imported and early Western instruments. Fellow students who would later be specialists and colleagues in many performances also encouraged Munrow during his university years.

The late sixties were an experimental period for Munrow, he worked hard to establish himself as a professional musician and as his interests stretched back to earlier periods of music he founded his consort. Despite the erratic nature of his freelance work he also maintained performing commitments with leading early music consorts such as Musica Reservata and The London Medieval Group. Munrow also worked as a recorder player for The Deller Consort and many chamber orchestras.

By the end of 1970 Munrow no longer needed to work as a bassoonist, he had recorded his first commercial album with The Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco la Primavera*, become established as a performer and broadcaster with the BBC and begun a fruitful relationship with EMI. The remaining six years of his life would be absolutely full of music making.

Sadly, David Munrow suffered from a depressive illness, and for reasons of privacy, that is not addressed in this biography. His mental state was discussed in many of his obituaries and small news reports which were posted immediately after his death.²⁸⁶ As John Turner said:

²⁸⁶ Many of these obituaries are cited in chapter 1.

In the last years the speed of the engine went faster and faster, as if he needed always higher doses of activity to keep at bay the despair that finally made him take his own life at the tragically early age of 34.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," 52.

Chapter 4 - Between Morrow and Modernity

In chapter three a network of influences operating during David Munrow's student life and early career was explored. It would appear that just before founding the EMC, David Munrow gained valuable experience working with both Thurston Dart and a major performing ensemble for medieval music in London in the 1960s: Michael Morrow's Musica Reservata. In later years, however, Munrow objected strongly to any implication that he had been influenced by Morrow's theories and appeared to distance himself from that ensemble.

This chapter explores the performance practice of Musica Reservata to compare and contrast with both the EMC and the ideas of Thurston Dart. It explores how the many recordings of folk music available after World War II inspired performance practice and it also identifies a point of departure for Munrow's own work from his performances with Musica Reservata.

Introduction: Huizinga's Haut and Bas

During the twentieth century, as the broad contours of the periodisation of history, begun in the century before, were subjected to ever closer scrutiny, one study, as Christopher Page has pointed out, was to exert a strong and lasting influence on the perception of the Middle Ages.²⁸⁸ Consider the opening paragraph of Johan Huizinga's

The Waning of the Middle Ages:

To the world when it was half a thousand years younger, the outline of all things seemed more clearly marked than to us. The contrast between suffering and joy, between adversity and happiness, appeared more striking. All experience had yet to the minds of men the directness and absoluteness of the pleasure and pain of child-life.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ For Page's discussion of Huizinga's book and its influence see: Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²⁸⁹ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), 9.

Histories such as Huizinga's have had a profound influence on the collective view of the Middle Ages and have extended beyond history books merging into a subtle, but persuasive, background hum which fed a public taste for what Page once called a 'rumbustuous' Middle Ages.²⁹⁰

Huizinga can help us to understand the changing view of 'medieval' through the twentieth century because, as Page points out, he influenced what the many pioneers of the early music revival did when they approached the question of how to perform the surviving music of the Middle Ages; they, like Huizinga, focussed on the contrasts. Page feels that the audiences for this music have had a considerable amount in common with the audiences for Huizinga's style of book:

Maybe it's just the way that our educational system works in Britain, but I think that many people expect that any sound picture of the Middle Ages is going to be rumbustuous and good fun. It's that sort of medieval banquet, rosy-cheeked wench, sucking-pig view of the medieval past and well, that's something I think that people like to have confirmed in performances.²⁹¹

However, much of the subtlety of Huizinga's exact language was lost in the first English translation (of 1924), which resulted in a variant text nearly one third shorter than the Dutch original. A second (1996) translation attempted to address this shortfall, and in doing so used noticeably less sensational language.²⁹² Consider, even, the title of the first chapter once known by the English-speaking world as 'The Violent Tenor of Life' now translated as 'The Passionate Intensity of Life'. One of the new translators, Rodney Payton, voiced his concerns over this apparent disparity between the Dutch original and that influential first English translation by Hopman:

Given Huizinga's importance to historiography, the fact that the English translation is a variant text has not been given enough attention. [...] Is it possible that English-speaking historians have been discussing this book with

²⁹⁰ Christopher Page speaking on: "After Munrow," Anthony Burton, *Early Memories*, aired 1992, BBC Radio 3. British Library Sound Archive reference: H777/01.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

their foreign colleagues without realizing that they were reading a significantly different text?²⁹³

Payton suggested that the original English translation, by F. Hopman, may have exerted a quite different influence on the English-speaking world than French or German translations or the original Dutch. Although Hopman's translation was overseen and approved by Huizinga himself this did not make it less of a variant text.

Shortly after this new English translation of Huizinga, Page explored the reception history of the Middle Ages in print. He began with a close reading of how this epoch was constructed as a useful bridging period and quoted Brian Stock's argument that the Middle Ages simply served, and continue to serve, subsequent periods of history rather than themselves.²⁹⁴ Page went on to confront the larger narrative of Huizinga's work, chiefly the concept of 'waning', or the autumnal metaphor that the new translation restored to the title, as being continually difficult to prove through music despite many musicological studies, citing the book as important. Huizinga's argument that the harsh realities of medieval life contributed to a retreat into a dream-like state which was to continue in an increasingly over-wrought fashion until the Renaissance was, so Page felt, distilled into the very concept of vivid contrasts and harsh lives that had percolated into musicology. Page summed the situation up:

No doubt these contrasts are essential in some form, if we are to make any sense of what we find; I do not suggest that they be abandoned. My proposal [...] is that they sometimes lead to simplistic and stereotyped reasoning.²⁹⁵

Timothy Day, writing in 2000, saw the influence of Huizinga in the writings on performance practice by musicologist Rudolf von Ficker in the late 1920s but concluded that the influence of such writings on musical performance was impeded by the lack of

²⁹³ Rodney J Payton, *Translator's Introduction* in: Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), xiii.

²⁹⁴ Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France*, xvi.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, xvii.

commercial manufacture of old instruments.²⁹⁶ Just two years later, Daniel Leech-

Wilkinson returned to the same subject when he argued that:

Certainly Netherlands art played a part in the process of translating an image of the colourful Middle Ages into colourful sound [...]²⁹⁷

Leech-Wilkinson suggested that since medieval life is frequently depicted in bright manuscript miniatures which have been protected from light-damage rather than the faded paintings of the Renaissance period, medieval history has been subliminally infused with a view of high contrast.

From these examples we can see that there has been a significant groundswell of research into this notion of Huizingian contrast. However, focusing on contrasts in this way was not a stance held in isolation by Huizinga; other pre- and immediately post-war academics also fuelled this style of narrative. Take for instance a passage introducing instruments of the late Middle Ages from Karl Geiringer's *Musical Instruments*, published in 1943.

The instruments of the late Middle Ages were far too delicate and weak to stand alone. In the paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, [...] instruments of like tone were seldom combined; indeed, the groupings were plainly arranged as to provide the greatest wealth of contrast and variety. This becomes intelligible if we turn from the painting to the actual scores that have come down to us. The essentially different, shrill, and apparently discordant instruments were able to differentiate the separate parts, to which the period of Landino, Dunstable and Dufay aimed to give individual characters. Effects of harmony were not sought after in that heyday of contrapuntal virtuosity, and the contrasting tones of the instruments gave full emphasis to the polyphonic life of the composition. The orchestra of the Middle Ages was instinct with light, radiant, imponderable colours, like the paintings of the primitives.²⁹⁸

Geiringer shows us how a search for contrast can effect the way we expect music to sound. For Geiringer, medieval music was formed from layers of musical lines which were to be differentiated as much as possible in performance, a viewpoint not

²⁹⁶ Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 176.

²⁹⁷ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 59.

²⁹⁸ Karl Geiringer, *Musical Instruments: Their History in Western Culture from the Stone Age to the Present Day*, trans. Bernard Miall, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1943), 89. Quoted in: Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*, 70.

now widely held. Although Geiringer was published in 1946 he began his book much earlier and was disturbed by the second world war, thus his observation that instruments of like tone are seldom combined is considerably earlier than the writing of Thurston Dart (published 1954) who points us to the similarities of these instrumental groupings when he says that ‘Broadly speaking it is true to say that the Middle Ages liked their music and musical instruments to be either very loud or very soft.’²⁹⁹

We could usefully consider this loud and soft distinction as a ‘Huizingian transposition’: a school of thought which began to gather pace in the aftermath of *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. A key foundation for thinking about medieval music in this way was firmly laid in 1954 with the publication of Edmund Bowles’ widely read paper *Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages*. In it, Bowles traces literary sources for the division of instruments into broad groupings of loud and soft, or haut and bas. He based this investigation on three fundamentals: medieval instruments represent an abandonment of Greco-Roman instruments, the development of polyphony created more roles for instruments, and (most interestingly) instruments became substitutes for—or aids to—the singers in the Gothic Era.³⁰⁰ The objective of Bowles’ paper was to break down any assumption that instruments have always belonged in the families that we think of in a modern orchestral setting—woodwind, strings, brass—and to trace documentary evidence that they were once thought of in simple *haut* and *bas* categories instead. ‘In general, the more noise, the more the instrumental combination was generally admired and enjoyed in festive gatherings.’³⁰¹ This paper was to add further credence to a growing picture of an age of extreme contrasts.

²⁹⁹ Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1954; repr., 1963), 154.

³⁰⁰ Edmund A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," *Musica Disciplina* vol. 8 (1954): 115-140.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

The evidence that Bowles produced was entirely based on surviving documents: household expenses, descriptions of pageants, memoirs, and the poetry of Guillaume de Machaut and of Christine de Pisan to name but a few of his sources. Having cited three document sources introducing the reader to the division *haut* and *bas* through the day-to-day business of household records, he then took a ‘cursory glance’ at seven sources in medieval literature to illustrate his point further. On the question of sonority, not just volume, being divided across these two categories Bowles cites twenty-four sources but goes on to explain that the ‘medieval orchestra’ often contained combinations of loud and soft instruments together when the music played on the distinctions between such forces. A further thirty-seven sources lead the reader through brief but relevant descriptions of the *haut* dance, music for tournaments, religious and mystery plays, soft instruments in religious music, pastoral scenes and low instruments in chansons. The paper is a tour-de-force of argument-building through cumulative quotations and ends with Bowles summarising confidently:

In this brief survey of the grouping of musical instruments in the later Middle Ages, we have followed the important role of sonority in determining their use, as well as the undeviating principle of selection which runs through all the musical events of this era. In every performance, sacred or secular, the esthetical question of dynamics and tone color was paramount: loud or soft; *haut* or *bas*.³⁰²

The evidence from the documents, at any rate, is overwhelmingly in favour of the division of *haut* and *bas* and also, incidentally, the idea that instruments could be used as a substitute for (or an aid to) voices.

So by the time medieval music came to be recorded in significant quantities during the 1960s and 1970s the knowledge of *haut* and *bas* was commonplace, as was the side effect of occasionally stressing extreme-*haut* and extreme-*bas*, the former particularly noticeable in dance music. The stark and unavoidable contrast between these two groups of sonorities mirrors the contrast in medieval life that Huizinga

³⁰² Ibid., 140.

described. This representation, although it may well be quite accurate, certainly found a place in popular culture as well as with early music audiences. In his earliest BBC broadcast, Munrow invoked a further Huizingian picture when he cited Ingmar Bergman's film *The Seventh Seal* as a way of understanding medieval attitudes towards the Day of Judgment:

About 1260 the widespread political and religious disturbances in Italy and serious outbreaks of the plague led to the belief that the day of judgement was at hand. Bands of penitents marched in processions, singing *laudi spirituali* and indulging in extreme forms of self-flagellation. In his film 'The Seventh Seal' Ingmar Bergmann gives a terrifying realisation of such a spectacle in 14th-century Sweden.³⁰³

Munrow later worked with director Ken Russell on his film *The Devils* which was heavily censored for its nudity, sexual content and blasphemous language; another famously vibrant medievalism.³⁰⁴

A Vocal Attempt to Imitate Haut and Bas Instruments

On BBC Radio in 1970, the singer Ian Partridge wondered to what extent early singing might have been influenced by the instruments of medieval times, and suggested that a few hundred years ago vocal techniques could have been significantly different from a clip of Janet Baker singing Mahler's *Kindertotenlieder* that he had just played:

Have singers always striven for such beauty of tone and line? I think not. In medieval times and even before, it's thought that singers often tried to imitate the sounds of instruments with which they were performing. Certainly if some of the pictures of the time were a true guide, then singers would probably have treated their voices pretty roughly. They often seem to be wearing a very strained expression on their faces. Moreover, many of the early instruments accompanying them had a very penetrating tone and much of the singing would have taken place out of doors. In these conditions today's extremely cultured

³⁰³ David Munrow, Notes for BBC Monday Concert DM 7/1, October 30, 1967, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library Special Collections, London.

³⁰⁴ *The Seventh Seal*, directed by Ingmar Bergman (1957). [Det sjunde inseglet] (original title) and *The Devils*, directed by Ken Russell (1971). Munrow wrote and arranged the music for *The Devils*.

style of singing would certainly have sounded out of place and would have been quite ineffective too.³⁰⁵

To illustrate the point, Partridge then selected a recording of Jantina Noorman singing *Kalenda Maya* (accompanied by the recorder, tenor rebec and percussion of Musica Reservata) which he described as a ‘lively rendering’ and which he suggested listeners would find ‘fascinating and exciting’.

The whole performance of *Kalenda Maya* is indeed lively but Noorman’s singing also stands out for being raucous, shouted and, in many ways, a relative of the belting technique used in modern-day musical theatre. Subjective descriptions aside, Noorman’s singing was certainly outside the norm of Western art music. Partridge called it ‘exciting’ because in 1970, nothing like this had really been heard in the sphere of classical music before. Here, Partridge suggested, was a voice trying to create the same penetrating tone as an instrument. If this was the case then it seems a short and logical step to suggest Noorman was, in this specific instance, imitating an haut instrument.

Partridge’s assertion that voices imitated instruments in medieval times did not go unchallenged, in fact it was openly contradicted almost immediately after it was said. The programme that Partridge had presented was the fifth in a series of eight on the BBC and David Munrow was approached to be the presenter of the final programme in the series. His broadcast was called ‘Early Ensembles’.³⁰⁶ In order to avoid an overlap between the programmes, Munrow had seen the other seven scripts in advance and they survive among his extant papers in the Royal Academy of Music archive. Munrow began his talk by explaining how music notation had become increasingly prescriptive

³⁰⁵ David Munrow, *Study on Three: The Sounds of Music*, 1970, DM7/11, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library Special Collections, London. The record mentioned is *Kalenda Maya* (band 1) on: *Musica Reservata*, Michael Morrow and John Beckett, *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century*. Delysé ECB 3201, 196, LP.

³⁰⁶ David Munrow, *Early Ensembles* [Radio Script], c1970, DM/7/7, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London. This collection has copies of BBC correspondence and the scripts for all seven programmes in this series.

since the Middle Ages and he attributed the lack of detail in early sources to a lack of need that ensembles would have felt for such stylistic guidance. '[M]usic embraced only one kind of style, and that the latest and most up to date', Munrow argued, adding that since musicians were only ever concerned with the music of their own time they would, necessarily, all have known how to play it; and more specifically, what to play it on. He likened this concept of 'stylistic unity' to a modern jazz ensemble or dance band.

To illustrate the paucity of specific stylistic knowledge that survives, Munrow played the Spanish song *Passe el agoa* sung firstly by Victoria de los Angeles in her classically trained style, and secondly by Jantina Noorman using a similar brash and penetrating tone to the one in *Kalenda Maya*.³⁰⁷ Munrow couldn't resist a note of mischievous delight as he said 'Compare these two versions of a Spanish song written about 1500. Both versions use exact copies of old instruments and both believe fervently in their authenticity.'³⁰⁸ He explained that although they were widely different, they were both permissible within the loose confines of current knowledge. He also added that other possibilities exist as the piece could be performed instrumentally or *a cappella*. What he then said is of considerable interest:

Those two performances also illustrate one of the most important distinctions in musical sound before about 1600—soft and loud—a distinction which I believe applied to singing as well as a playing.

Munrow was explicit; he strongly suspected there was an *haut* and *bas* distinction in voices so therefore he presumably concluded what Noorman was doing was an illustration of that. There is a good reason to believe that his line of thought stemmed directly from Morrow since Munrow was working with *Musica Reservata* around the time he wrote this script. Furthermore, James Bowman once referred to Munrow as having 'cut his teeth' during his time with *Musica Reservata* and when

³⁰⁷ Presumably a variant of what Howard Mayer Brown calls the 'Holler' but sounding almost identical to the loud tone than Noorman used in recordings of different medieval repertoire.

³⁰⁸ Munrow, "Early Ensembles [Radio Script]."

talking about the differing practices of early music ensembles in the late 1960s Jeremy Montagu remembered Munrow as being in close agreement with Morrow on many matters:

We were also well aware that there was no way to know what rhythmic mode was being used. Therefore some pieces we would play in 2/4 and others we would play in 6/8 and vice versa. And, so that there was no argument about 'oh, they got the rhythmic mode wrong', they got the rhythmic mode *different*. But the style in which they play, that was 'nah, that's not how we do it.' So that was a reply to people like [Gilbert] Reaney and so on. It wouldn't apply to David Munrow who did do it in much the same way that we did it.³⁰⁹

So, in terms of style, his colleagues and contemporaries remember Munrow as having been party to the contours of Morrow's arguments and as generally allowing his own performances and philosophy to be influenced by what he had learned in Musica Reservata. With that in mind, what follows is extremely interesting; Munrow's script blatantly contradicts Partridge's earlier programme:

The history of early music is really the history of vocal music: composers wrote for voices and adapted vocal forms for instruments; instrumentalists were often singers themselves and instruments accompanied or imitated voices: makers designed instruments to sound like voices. Pick up any sixteenth-century instrumental tutor and you'll find it begins, like the first recorder tutor written by Ganassi in 1535: 'Be it known that all musical instruments in comparison to the human voice are inferior to it. For this reason we should endeavour to learn from it and imitate it [...]'³¹⁰

Munrow believed that instruments were designed to complement the sound of voices, and if this is the case then voices could not be imitating instruments. He went on to berate those who thought otherwise:

Some people today think that this relationship between the instruments and voices was all the other way round – that voices tried to sound like instruments. This, I believe, to be a vast delusion since it seems to go in the face of all the evidence. It is clear from the music which composers wrote that they thought of the human voice as infinitely fuller, richer and more varied than any single instrument. Of course there were different styles of singing in use just as there

³⁰⁹ James Bowman, conversation with author, London, March 7, 2008. And Jeremy Montagu, interview by author, Oxford, December 6, 2009.

³¹⁰ Munrow, "Early Ensembles [Radio Script]."

are today, not only in different countries, but in different acoustical conditions like the outdoors and indoors division I suggested earlier.³¹¹

In this script, Munrow made no direct reference to *Musica Reservata* besides the suggestion that they believed fervently in their own authenticity. Yet, in a performance field as small as this the ‘some people’ probably included Michael Morrow. If this was the case, Munrow might have been politely distancing himself from Morrow’s ensemble which would explain why he pinned his line of argument to source studies; it was impersonal. What follows did appear to address Jantina Noorman’s singing directly and can be seen as a justification for Munrow’s own differing approach to vocal styles:

But a singer would only have used one style – whilst an instrumentalist could play several instruments imitating different aspects of different styles of voice production. Any singer who tries to sound like a shawm one minute and a recorder the next will ruin his voice in no time.³¹²

Here, Munrow appears to argue that although Noorman’s voice was a perfectly viable option, it is not the only option and therefore other performers are free to choose their own different voices. It is also possible to read a veiled criticism since Noorman could, and often did try to sound like both a recorder and a shawm on different occasions. Maybe Munrow felt she was going to ruin her voice by singing both *haut* and *bas* and that Morrow’s philosophy was too restricting? And furthermore, was Munrow implying that Morrow had arrived at this striking vocal sound through a misguided attempt to make voices sound like instruments? To answer these questions we need to know more about Michael Morrow and *Musica Reservata*.

Michael Morrow & *Musica Reservata*:

Musica Reservata were based in London and directed by Michael Morrow, originally from Dublin. They gave their first performance in 1960 when asked to

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

provide music for The Society of The White Boar which Morrow later described as having 'something to do with Richard III'.³¹³

The performances themselves were highly innovative because of the style and the techniques used in the playing and the singing. In the words of John Sothcott who played recorder with the ensemble:

[Michael Morrow's] enthusiasm for early music seemed [...] to be sustained by an instinctive feeling that the few pieces he knew would sound wonderful if played convincingly in an appropriate style. [...] The spirit and the style of the performance were everything. [...] Michael's reason for attempting performances [...] was to bring the music to life for its own sake and, as he often said, so that he could hear it. [...]³¹⁴

As Sothcott tells us, Morrow felt that without style he would not be able to understand the music properly. Music could somehow be obscured or misrepresented if the style was wrong. Morrow was quite explicit about this point in an article for *Early Music* magazine much later in 1978. He suggested that there were two broad categories of Western music: that which could remain recognizable when performed in a different style (Bach and Mozart in particular), and that for which it was essential to use the appropriate style. For him medieval music (specifically monophonic music) was a cornerstone of the latter category:

The unaccompanied singer or instrumentalist has the sole responsibility of focusing an audience's attention, and in order to achieve this, he must be able both to make use of every rhythmic and melodic nuance in his technical vocabulary, and to exploit his talent for improvisation and ability to memorize.³¹⁵

Morrow explained that for reasons of style he found working with most singers to be a largely disappointing experience because they were often the least willing to experiment with style. In this regard, Musica Reservata's mezzo-soprano Jantina

³¹³ Michael Morrow and J. M. Thomson, "Early Music Ensembles 1: Musica Reservata," *Early Music* 4, no. 4 (1976). This society was founded in 1924 and is still in operation under the new name (adopted in 1959) of The 'Richard III Society'. Details of the society are available from their website. Accessed April 8, 2014. <http://www.richardiii.net/aboutus.php>.

³¹⁴ J. M. Thomson et al., "Obituaries: Michael Morrow, 1929-94," *Early Music* 22, no. 3 (1994).

³¹⁵ Michael Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," *Early Music* 3, no. 2 (1978).

Noorman is clearly an exception: a singer who could, and more importantly *would*, experiment with style.

To be sure, Musica Reservata performances were experimental, but Munrow was wrong to suggest that Morrow believed ‘fervently’ in his own authenticity. In both radio scripts and public talks we find that Morrow repeatedly slipped in a caveat to authenticity:

It is impossible—lacking a time machine—ever to know with any real degree of certainty how medieval music originally sounded. We know a little more about some periods, some countries, than others, but we’ve never actually heard it performed by the players for whom it was composed.³¹⁶

For Morrow, the adventure was by happenstance, the possibility of arriving at an authentic performance outcome through stylistic experimentation, even if there would be no way of ever knowing it had been attained:

For myself, it is only the occasional glimmering of the real thing that is all-important and this can be attained solely by performance backed by research: research, not only in the sifting of statistics – although this is a vital aspect, but also by creative research, that is, becoming aware of the relationship of two or more apparently unconnected factors. And when, very occasionally, these unite to form a hitherto unknown reality, life itself becomes a little more real.³¹⁷

Yet Morrow was adamant that if we couldn’t know what *did* happen, it was still possible to infer things that *didn’t* happen, and one of those would have been a performance style that embraced 20th century aesthetic taste:

And this question of taste is also relevant to the admittedly difficult problems of instrumental and, indeed, vocal colour. Here, again, if one’s only musical experience has been that of Western art music it is very easy to believe that these standards might be absolute ones. But I think one could say that every musical sound that seems ugly to one musical tradition may seem beautiful to another.³¹⁸

This explains why Morrow was not afraid to ask for sounds that were shocking to 20th century Western listeners, and as the performers of Musica Reservata settled into

³¹⁶ “Chelsea,” June 26, 1971, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives. These notes appear to be aimed at art students so it was presumably a concert at Chelsea Art College for which Morrow begins ‘I have been asked to say what’s called a few introductory words about this concert’.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ “The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music,” c.1970, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

a loyal troupe with Noorman's sound leading the way, they certainly were not afraid to provide them. Yet Noorman had not always sung in this brash, penetrating way; the high use of chest voice was, for her, a constructed style. If we consider her first commercial recording, *Dutch Folk Songs*, Noorman's singing is quite the opposite: entirely in head voice, soft, gentle and close to the technique favoured by choral foundations in Oxford and Cambridge.³¹⁹ She only pursued this *haut* style when she began working with Musica Reservata and it was this style that annoyed the tenor Nigel Rogers, an early collaborator of Morrow's who recalled the situation in an interview in 1994:

Musica Reservata, with whom he worked later, was marred for Nigel by Michael Morrow's love of extremes – 'making Jantina Noorman sound like a Bulgarian peasant when she could really sing beautifully.' Nigel refused to change his vocal production to suit Morrow's 'nasty noise theory', and so got into his bad books.³²⁰

Rogers is suggesting that Bulgarian peasants were an influence and that Morrow actually courted a 'nasty noise' from his singers. If Rogers came across as irritable then it is possible that he objected to the way Morrow influenced Noorman's career: John Sothcott also recalled this tension and furthermore referred to Morrow's relationship with Noorman as that of a *svengali*.³²¹ So what was the reason behind all of this? The backbone of Morrow's belief is not often referred to directly, but does appear in one script when talking about the playing styles that are innate to certain instruments:

We've seen how many 13th century instruments could have produced only a certain type of sound. The human voice, however, is capable of producing

³¹⁹ Jantina Noorman, *Dutch Folk Songs*, Folkways FW6838, 1955, LP.

³²⁰ Poppy Holden, "A Shropshire Lad: An Interview with Nigel Rogers," *Leading Notes: Journal of the National Early Music Association* Autumn, no. 8 (1994): 3.

³²¹ 'Well, John Beckett and I discovered her [Noorman]. We went to give a recital I think it was in Bath where she lived with her husband. And we'd been given an introduction to this girl, I think she was American, [...] And who could sing this sort of way and John had tentatively – whether he'd played with her or went down to hear her I don't know – his idea was to get her to sing Purcell songs in the first place. Told Michael and Michael really said damn these songs, blast her, blast everybody I'm going to get her to make the one sound which is like the Reservata ... he gets hold of her – broke her heart in the end! He really was quite rude to her, but he got her and was like a *svengali*, making her sing exactly ... and there's that famous thing of Triste Espana – fishwives voice – quite unlike her normal singing which was very different.' John Sothcott, Derek Harrison, and Terry Sothcott, interview by author, Harlow, March 21, 2013.

virtually any sort of sound that is required of it. And I think it's true to say that fashions in singing tend to follow fashions in instrumental playing.³²²

Although Morrow does not claim that voices are directly imitating instruments, this is, indeed, a strong suggestion that Partridge's radio script was informed by Morrow. Morrow thought that voices would have aligned themselves with the sounds of instruments (out of necessity for good tuning and ensemble if nothing else), and Munrow is deliberately and publically separating himself from such a position.

Assuming that this comment by Morrow is the nub of his idea, the very catalyst for the performance practice of *Musica Reservata*, how did Morrow develop these ideas from such a starting point? This story can be traced from the beginning because Morrow himself attributed the development of his interest in early music to the BBC, and traced the gradual familiarization of early music from Dolmetsch through German scholarship to the founding of the BBC's Third Programme. Morrow felt that a small, but important, dawn in the arousal of interest in early music began with the Dolmetsch family concerts and was quickly fuelled by German scholarship and by editors (such as E. H. Fellowes) who helped bring certain works into the concert repertoire. Then, came a breakthrough:

Shortly after World War II the BBC Third Programme was established with the aim of bringing to the general public music, poetry and drama that was either too old, too new or too exotic to form a part of the accepted repertory. Previously, the only regular opportunity for the average listener to hear preclassical music was in the form of gramophone records. These, however, were limited in scope, owing to the lack of public interest, and to the severe restrictions imposed by the limited playing time of the 78 records. The only early music recorded was, virtually, the incomparable Nadia Boulanger Monteverdi records, made in 1937, and odd snippets of this and, occasionally, of that, in the French collection *Anthologie Sonore* and the English Columbia *History of Music* – both series musicologically out of date practically before they were conceived.

This, then, was the state of affairs before the BBC Third Programme began its marathon series of series, that included a year-long history of music, a geographical and historical survey of plainsong, a history of English lute music (performed by the foremost lutenists in England and Europe), numerous programmes of non-European music, and of folk music from most countries.

³²² Morrow, "The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music."

Without this musical background neither Musica Reservata nor, indeed, any other English professional early music ensemble could have come into being.³²³

Embedded in this long passage is an idea that BBC folk music broadcasts influenced Morrow's approach to early music. David Fallows, who worked with Morrow in the late 1960s, thinks this unique and single-minded approach to performance started with Morrow's isolated childhood in Dublin during the 1930s. The son of a painter, Morrow was hospitalised during much of his childhood and largely self-educated during his formative years.³²⁴ Perhaps it was this very isolation that incubated such original thinking and allowed Morrow to throw down a gauntlet demanding that musicians question existing performance practices. As Fallows put it, Morrow's performance ideas:

had the additional benefits of giving [performers] a challenge and making them think about the music in fresh ways. Here as in all performance art the main enemy of the good is the self-satisfied, the automatic pilot. Unless forced out of that complacency, even the very finest musician (or actor, for example) can produce thoroughly routine performances that have almost no artistic content.³²⁵

Certainly these two ideas line up: Morrow's childhood education must surely have involved listening to many BBC broadcasts and forming ideas influenced by their content.³²⁶ Morrow was not, however, entirely original in this approach; his lines of thought were ones also pursued elsewhere. As early as 1943 Eric Halfpenny, a founder-member of the Galpin Society, published a paper entitled *The Influence of Timbre and Technique on Musical Aesthetic*. It is unclear when exactly Morrow encountered this paper but he certainly knew of its existence since a reference can be found amongst his papers.

³²³ Michael Morrow, "Musica Reservata," February, 1971, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

³²⁴ David Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s: Michael Morrow and Thomas Binkley," in *Essays in Honor of Laszlo Somfai on His 70th Birthday: Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music*, ed. Laszlo Vikarius and Vera Lampert (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

³²⁵ Ibid., 53.

³²⁶ Morrow recalls having the Radio Times sent to him as a student in Italy so he could follow the BBC's music programming choices: Michael Morrow, "Musica Reservata," February, 1971, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

Halfpenny's article served to highlight the research that the development of instruments brought to an understanding of historical aesthetics, a link which, in his opinion, was under-explored. He bemoaned the current vogues for performing all styles of music on the modern instruments and said:

But because, regardless of its period, we still possess in name at least, the instruments specified in its scores, we are well content to let these sleek and efficient prototypes stand token for the whole of their several ancestries.³²⁷

One detects in his tone a feeling that Halfpenny was, or at least felt that he was, a lone voice in the world of British organology such as it was in the 1940s. What is more astonishing, however, is that he went on to describe art as a sociological phenomenon in which performance *is* music:

The fact remains that the history of musical texture is the history of instrumental resource, and that the two have interacted throughout the period under review. Art is a sociological phenomenon. It belongs to its time and place as much as to religion and politics. The fortuitous survival of some portion of this art, and its selective revaluation by subsequent generations is, in the case of music, complicated by the intermediate stage represented by the players and the instruments through which it is revived at each successive performance. The act of performing it is obviously the most important thing about music. Performance *is* music. It is at once the outward revelation of the composer's thought and ideology, and an art in its own right.³²⁸

The idea that music survived only in 'some portion' went against the grain of textual studies which dominated musicology in the first half of the twentieth century. Halfpenny was clear: the music is not *the score*, it is *the performance*. Such ideas, as we shall soon see, are closely aligned to the writings and practice of Michael Morrow. Also, the emphasis on organology as having potential to restore lost sounds is mirrored in the slightly later work of Thurston Dart in the early 1950s:

First of all a very careful attempt must be made to discover the acoustical surroundings in which the music was first performed. [...] Next, the appropriate instrumental sonorities must be restored.³²⁹

³²⁷ Eric Halfpenny, "The Influence of Timbre and Technique on Musical Aesthetics," *The Music Review* iv (1943), 250.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 153.

These two writers make the idea that the sound of the instruments was paramount to the performance very persuasive indeed, but what about the sounds of the voices for which no physical artifacts remain? It is a long jump from these opinions to the loud sounds of *Kalenda Maya* and certainly none of the classical singing that Morrow would have heard as a child had anything like this tone-quality. Other influences are clearly at play also. At a live performance in the Queen Elizabeth Hall by Musica Reservata, broadcast on the BBC, *Kalenda Maya* was introduced by the BBC announcer from notes prepared by Michael Morrow:

The second half of this concert is devoted to French and Spanish Music. It begins with a performance, in outdoors style, of *Kalenda Maya* [...] It's a monophonic song, based, according to a contemporary account, on an instrumental dance tune.³³⁰

This live performance is similar to the one cited above, but uses a countertenor to double Noorman's vocal line. Considering the use of the phrase 'outdoors style', could it be that Morrow was indeed asking Noorman to imitate a shawm or some other such *haut* instrument and could such an idea be traced back to the popular haut/bas binary originally influenced by iconographical evidence? Is it possible—through such an example—to infer that the emphasis was firmly on a binary solution (loud, or soft) rather than on a compromise at this time in the early music revival? To continue assembling evidence towards answering these questions we must read further into Morrow's writings and broadcasts. Clearly, some level of deconstruction of Noorman's performance is needed if we are going to understand how it came about.

Firstly, Morrow and Noorman's reading (on commercial LP release) of *Kalenda Maya* used a recorder, a tenor rebec and percussion; not all *haut* instruments as defined by Bowles. There is no reason on the basis of balance alone for Noorman's singing

³³⁰ Home recording of BBC broadcast: "A Concert of Renaissance and Medieval Music," in the private collection of Geoffrey Shaw. Undated. The repertoire matches the concert: Musica Reservata, Queen Elizabeth Hall (London), July 2, 1967. Concert programme in Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

style; although elsewhere on the same album her ‘nasty noise’ is essential when she is paired with bagpipes for the opening of Adam de la Halle’s *Le jeu de Robin et Marion*.³³¹ Incidentally, the *Robin m’aime* recording can also be contrasted with Safford Cape’s Pro Musica Antiqua recording of the same piece in 1953, for a useful consideration of contrasting vocal techniques in early music.³³² Noorman’s avoidance of the usual Western art music technique, then, is not a one-off, but a frequent occurrence.

In reviewing this record ‘...the quintessence of fishwifery...’ is how Howard Mayer Brown described her singing. He thought it ignored ‘everything that is courtly and refined’ in the music but despite this, succeeded because it embodied ‘such a strong, personal and coherent conception of the music...’.³³³ Strength, as a description for the Musica Reservata sound was also invoked in Morrow’s obituary by David Fallows. Fallows tells us that Morrow stood for ‘clarity of line, absolute firmness of pitch, rock-hard intonation and absolute confidence in performance.’ He went on to say that ‘The bright, aggressive sounds of those no-compromise performances was a major shot in the arm for everybody present.’³³⁴ Elsewhere he wrote that Morrow’s performances were ‘calculated to eliminate the Good Queen Bessery’ and the *Merrie England* invoked by madrigal singing and recorder groups.³³⁵

Part of this ‘shot in the arm’ approach was, as Montagu remembers, based on a hearty and constant approach to dance rhythms:

And you look at *Arbeau's Orchesography* — the basic dance manual of 1588 — the only two dances that he gives in full with the percussion part there’s no variation whatsoever. It’s absolutely constant; which is what we did. That and the fact that we went, as you might say, slap-bang into things is what broke the ground with the audiences who had never heard medieval music played like

³³¹ Musica Reservata, Michael Morrow and John Beckett, *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century*. Delysé ECB 3201, 196, LP.

³³² Pro Musica Antiqua and Safford Cape, *Series A: Troubadours, Trouvères and Minnesänger « Adam de la Halle: Le jeu de Robin et Marion »*, Archiv Produktion APM 14 018, 1953, LP.

³³³ Howard Mayer Brown, "Review: [Untitled]," *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1563 (1973), 498.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s: Michael Morrow and Thomas Binkley", 52.

that—they'd been brought up with Dolmetsch—and we were fundamentally anti-Dolmetsch.³³⁶

Dolmetsch presumably represented the quintessence of 'Good Queen Bessery' for Morrow. Montagu also remembers Morrow asking for a straight tone from a player who also performed with Dolmetsch:

Although Desmond Dupre who was a Dolmetscher used to play with us occasionally when we needed an extra viol [...] And Michael would say: "Desmond, you won't use any vibrato tonight will you?"³³⁷

John Sothcott suggests the origin for these anti-Dolmetsch sounds in his obituary piece:

The conscious and deliberately used influence of various traditional or exotic forms of music in his versions of medieval music are very evident on recordings made at the time. This kind of empirical research was previously unheard of and has often been made use of by others, usually without acknowledgement.³³⁸

Perhaps this 'empirical research' stemmed from Morrow's interest in what Fallows called 'records of folk-singers on the borders of Europe' in the same obituary piece?³³⁹ Recordings of what Sothcott remembered as traditional (read: European folk) music, and exotic music (read: anything non-European, folk or otherwise) became readily available from the mid 1950s onwards and Morrow was kept abreast of this fieldwork through friendship with a key folk music scholar A. L. Lloyd (known as Bert) who helped him realize that there were indeed close connections between medieval music and longstanding traditions in folk music communities. To pursue this line of reasoning for a moment, here is a picture that accompanied Morrow's 1978 article on performance practice for the magazine *Early Music*. It shows bagpipe dancing to gudulka accompaniment (a Bulgarian folk instrument closely related to the medieval rebec) and the photograph was taken by Lloyd himself.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Montagu, interview by author.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Sothcott in: Thomson et al., "Obituaries: Michael Morrow, 1929-94", 538.

³³⁹ Fallows in: ibid.

³⁴⁰ Michael Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978), 233.

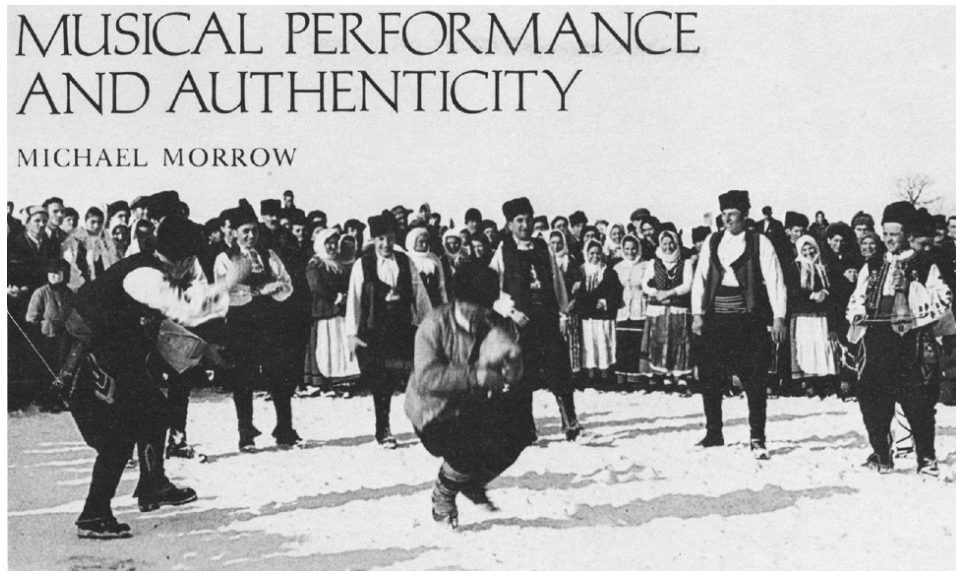


Figure 3: Bagpipe dancing to *gululka* (rebec) accompaniment in 1950s Bulgaria (photo by A.L. Lloyd)³⁴¹

A photograph from the same event is also used on Lloyd's collection of Bulgarian Music for Columbia records:



Men dancing the Daichovo horo at Stefanovo village, Tolbukhin, Dobrudzha (Side II, No. 26)

Figure 4: Photograph by A.L Lloyd used by Columbia Records³⁴²

'The borders of Europe' and in particular, The Balkans, are a recurring theme in Morrow's research into medieval performance practice. Interviewed in 1976 he said:

³⁴¹ This photo appeared in: *ibid.*

³⁴² A. L. Lloyd, *The Folk Music of Bulgaria*, Columbia Records KL 5378, 1954, LP.

I remember once listening to a singing Balkan [...] and being struck by the male singer's perfect intonation and thinking that a 13th-century motet must have sounded something like this—perfect fourths and fifths, very wide major seconds and wide major thirds that really are dissonant—otherwise it would sound like nothing at all.³⁴³

‘Like nothing at all’ is a good example of how strongly Morrow felt style was the key to understanding the music. And this accords neatly with Fallows’ recollection:

Sounds were harsh; chords were to be dead in tune (we spent hours tuning thirds and particularly seconds); ensemble was rigid; and rhythms were to be unyielding. One of the fiercest rows I heard in a Musica Reservata rehearsal was when one musician implied (only implied) that another had slowed down to a cadence. It was terrifying.³⁴⁴

The attraction of Balkan voices for Morrow seems, then, to have been this ability to sing unyieldingly in tune with intervals that Morrow felt should be quite precise. When interviewed by Tony Palmer around the same time on LBC radio, Morrow touched on Balkan voices again and selected a folk recording as an example of style:

[TP] That sounded very suspiciously to me like some bagpipes! Michael Morrow, *Musica Reservata*: tell me more! What was that?

[MM] It's a Yugoslav folk song which the woman is singing in a very moving style. The text sounds as if it's very sad indeed. In fact it's all about old husbands marrying young wives and it's deeply satirical. And I think it's a good example of if one doesn't know the style of the area, or period, one can mistake the mood of the piece.³⁴⁵

Morrow was so struck by Yugoslavian performance that he also discussed it in print on a separate occasion in *Early Music* magazine.³⁴⁶ In a script for an unknown occasion Morrow went into further detail as he bemoaned the early music performances of the 1940s which he felt were ‘somewhat watered down to suit the musical taste of the time’:

³⁴³ Morrow and Thomson, "Early Music Ensembles 1: Musica Reservata," 515.

³⁴⁴ Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s," 52.

³⁴⁵ Tony Palmer, LBC Radio Interview with Michael Morrow: 1CDR0005846, c1974, Musica Reservata collection British Library Sound Archive. This recording can be identified as between 74-76 because earlier in the broadcast James Callaghan was mentioned as foreign secretary.

³⁴⁶ Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," 234.

the lack of conviction and vitality in most modern performance of this music became startlingly apparent when, in the early 1950s, I heard a broadcast of part of a Yugoslav festival of folk music, which included a group of villagers singing in simple but throat-cuttingly precise harmony. I realised for the first time that if a harmonic language is limited, its effect upon the listener will—of necessity—depend upon the existence of a tradition of exact intonation: the details of intonation may vary considerably from district to district, but the tradition of intonation of each area will constitute an essential and immutable part of its music.³⁴⁷

He went on to say that the innovations of nineteenth century orchestral writing have not continued a demand for such precise intonation, and he traced a line to 12-tone music as the ultimate acceptance of equal temperament. For Morrow, it seemed obvious that when dealing with less dense harmonic textures, such as those demanded by a drone accompaniment, precision of intonation would be paramount. At which point, when talking about slightly later repertoire, he launched into a critique of modern performance and modern vibrato:

The variety of tuning systems employed in the instruments of the modern orchestra would have been intolerable during the renaissance, and the result is only acceptable to the modern listener because an excessive use of vibrato blurs to some extent the intonational anomalies and, of course, modern ears—or fairly modern ears—have become conditioned to what would have seemed to a 16th-century listener to be sheer cacophony.

Morrow even compares the tuning of a recording by Nellie Melba (1861–1931) with a modern Wagnerian ‘whose aim appears all too often to be one of accuracy to the nearest semitone’ to prove his point. He sums up by quoting Percy Scholes as saying ‘the modern singer has come to rely on interpretation at the expense of technique’ and then using this reasoning to justify the hard line stance of *Musica Reservata*:

John Beckett, John Sothcott and I all feel deeply and unanimously on the subject of the need for total stylistic conviction and accuracy in the performance of the music of any period. Without this, the music at worst, does not exist at all; at best, it is deformed, dishonoured, and sent out to walk the streets.

³⁴⁷ Morrow, "Musica Reservata." This festival was, possibly, the 1951 Opatija festival recorded by Peter Kennedy which became the Columbia World Library volume *Yugoslavia*.

On this basis, Morrow would often ask singers to perform a song before they saw a modern translation in order to prevent them putting ‘any false feeling into their singing’.³⁴⁸

This all amounts to something of a manifesto, and from this manifesto we can infer Morrow’s strength of feeling. Interestingly, he was not the first person to find the softness of the prevailing performance style unsuitable for early music. When responding to an invitation to Musica Reservata’s 1960 debut concert Thurston Dart wrote to Morrow:

Good luck to you all (most of whom I seem to have the pleasure of knowing already), & let me know of your next concert. Make the music sound robust now & then – so often one hears it as though everyone were wearing kidgloves....³⁴⁹

Dart’s own recordings of medieval music were indeed robust but the singing he directs does not break out of the stylistic norm of the mid-twentieth century.³⁵⁰ Morrow may have been influenced by this notion of robustness, but it still didn’t address his underlying concerns about style. In fact, in another *Early Music* interview when asked directly about how Noorman’s style evolved Morrow said: ‘My principal aim was not to have people singing like the BBC Singers’ and he went on to reiterate that what he was after was ‘precision of articulation and precision of intonation’.³⁵¹ He also mentioned in print that:

With several very happy exceptions I have always found it very difficult to work with singers. This is partly due to my ignorance of 20th-century vocal-technique: articulation from the diaphragm rather than the throat, expression by means of the eyebrows instead of the voice.³⁵²

His attraction to Balkan voices, therefore, can now be summarized by the following broad points: There is a Balkan tradition of monophonic music which has a style that is understood by both its indigenous performers and audiences. Such a style is

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Thurston Dart to Michael Morrow, May 6 1960, Box 1, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata K/PP93, King’s College London Archives.

³⁵⁰ For a consideration of Dart’s performances of Notre Dame repertory, see chapter six.

³⁵¹ Morrow and Thomson, "Early Music Ensembles 1: Musica Reservata," 516.

³⁵² Michael Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," 237.

also particular to their repertoire and region. Morrow observed that Balkan singing has a consistency of intonation appropriate to harmonically sparse music, because such vocal techniques allow for a clear and direct portrayal of that intonation thus allowing drones to assume harmonic importance. Morrow also focused on Balkan techniques because such folk music is often performed out-of-doors. Finally, many Balkan vocal techniques avoid diaphragmatic articulation, assumed to be an invention of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century operatic technique.

But the influences also came from elsewhere: both David Fallows and Jeremy Montagu remember that Morrow was fascinated by the singing of Genoese fishermen.³⁵³ Howard Mayer Brown dubbed Morrow's defiance of Western art singing 'The Reservata Holler'.³⁵⁴ But Morrow did not think of *Musica Reservata* as having just the one identifiable style but rather a 'series of sounds, the articulation, intonation, vocal and instrumental colour that's characteristic of each particular period and country'.³⁵⁵ So whilst it's tempting to highlight the 'hollering' qualities as indicative of Morrow's philosophy we must listen more closely because he is claiming that there are many different ways in which his singers holler: therefore, to focus simply on the volume is to ignore the bigger picture.

The resulting styles employed by *Musica Reservata* aimed at precision. Precise it may have been, but many listeners just thought it was ugly. Morrow knew this when he remarked:

...there are two things most audiences and all music critics abhor: non-conventional singing and non-conventional violin-playing. With crumhorns, of course anything goes.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s: Michael Morrow and Thomas Binkley." And: Montagu, interview by author. Presumably this would be the famous recordings of Genoese Trallaleri and specifically the deconstructed 'La Partenza' from field recordings by Alan Lomax. Notes about this piece can also be found amongst the uncatalogued papers of A. L. Lloyd at Goldsmiths College Library, London.

³⁵⁴ Howard Mayer Brown, "Choral Music in the Renaissance," *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978), 166.

³⁵⁵ Michael Morrow and J. M. Thomson, "Early Music Ensembles 1: *Musica Reservata*," 515.

³⁵⁶ Michael Morrow, "Musical Performance and Authenticity," 236.

Jeremy Montagu, the percussionist for *Musica Reservata* explained the approach to articulation as ‘bite and attack’ when he prepared a biography commissioned by the British Council for Germany under their auspices in 1972.

Some of the evidence for the authenticity of this bite and attack comes from the instruments themselves. For example, the wide-bored renaissance recorder plays more strongly and with more attack than the conical baroque recorder; if one plays the renaissance instrument in the gentle way which is current with the baroque instrument, it sounds wrong and the player can feel that this style doesn’t suit the instrument. The crumhorn gives even better evidence: unless one blows strongly, attacks firmly and maintains full air pressure, the instrument immediately goes out of tune. Confirmatory evidence comes from the few old organs [...], in particular the Compenius organ of Frederiksborg Castle near Copenhagen, [...]. The attack of this organ is a complete revelation to those who thought that early music was gentle; it is strong and virile and immensely exciting.³⁵⁷

In particular of singers Montagu also explained:

And so Michael Morrow had to find singers whom he could persuade to forget all that they had learned; to listen to folk music; to sing absolutely in tune without any vibrato; to develop the same form of attack as the instrumentalists, and all this he triumphantly achieved.

In the light of this evidence we can, therefore, suggest a preliminary conclusion that Morrow pinned the reasoning for this style on both the precision or intonation in European folk singers because he found it to be ‘congruent’ with the ‘bite and attack’ of medieval instruments.

If we now return to the original comments made by Ian Partridge we can accept that Morrow appears to believe that voices aligned themselves with the style of instruments, but in (re)creating his medieval and renaissance sound world, was he influenced by the paintings and drawings of medieval singers that Partridge mentions? In an attempt to answer this question we turn first to Jeremy Montagu.

In his 1976 publication, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments*, Montagu attests several times to the importance of understanding the nature of paintings:

³⁵⁷ Jeremy Montagu, “Musica Reservata,” c.1972, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

One very often sees pictures of instruments held incorrectly or not properly tensioned, because neither the artist nor the model is a musician who knows how the instrument should be played; for this reason one has to be careful when reconstructing instruments or when trying to deduce playing styles from old pictures.³⁵⁸

So a healthy skepticism of sources was afoot amongst one member of *Musica Reservata* at least and it seems unlikely that this would not have been discussed with Michael Morrow.³⁵⁹ Montagu also commented:

we [in *Musica Reservata*] were well aware that there was no basic knowledge of what instruments had played anything. We know what instruments were around from [...] the iconography. [...] But we also knew that your average picture of a group of divergent musicians all together is simply an illustration of psalm 150 or whatever it might be and therefore not an illustration of a playing ensemble as such.³⁶⁰

Here Montagu speaks for the whole ensemble, implying that both the musicians of *Musica Reservata* and Michael Morrow displayed a keen awareness of the pitfalls of reading iconographical sources literally and as such using them cautiously and wisely. Strained expressions appear to be something of a red herring to understanding Noorman's technique because it is notable that no one has recalled being asked to look strained while they sang in any of the interviews that have been conducted. Also, Morrow's surviving papers never refer to iconographical sources for voices; only folk traditions and instrumental sounds. Particularly pertinent to this argument would be Morrow's 1971 concert talk for art students in Chelsea; surely here, of all places, he would have discussed iconographical sources relevant to singing technique? Yet, still, there is no mention of such a connection.³⁶¹ So whilst such a connection cannot be disproved, it is certainly conspicuous by its absence.

This brings us back to the chicken-and-egg situation of voices and instruments; who is imitating whom? Munrow believes that voices were the exemplar which

³⁵⁸ *The world of Medieval & Renaissance Musical Instruments* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976), 69.

³⁵⁹ Montagu remembers many long conversations with Michael Morrow, interview by author.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ "Chelsea," June 26, 1971, Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & *Musica Reservata*, King's College London Archives.

instruments attempted to imitate and Morrow appears to believe voices imitated instruments because they were duty-bound to align themselves with the prevailing sonority of an instrumental texture to avoid tuning problems which medieval and renaissance listeners would have found ‘sheer cacophony’. The fact that Morrow is so diplomatic on this point leaves room for a wistful air of necessary compromise about his beliefs: singers *had* to imitate instruments to avoid a clash of sonorities, this did not mean they *wanted* to, he seems to say:

vocal tone has always been related to the tone produced by the instruments of the time, and it seems unreasonable to expect musicians of any period to admit serious incongruity between vocal and instrumental colour [...]³⁶²

If we look back over the evidence collected so far in this chapter a logical argument can be constructed: the central problem is that we do not know how medieval and renaissance voices sounded because none have survived and we cannot reconstruct a lost vocal style. Morrow, however, believed that voices have always been congruent with instruments of their time in timbre and in style. Because instruments do survive, and/or can be reconstructed and their physical properties reveal some necessary playing techniques, he was able to observe that some European folk singers sound a bit like the old instruments. Furthermore, Morrow observed that the same European folk singers displayed astonishingly accurate and unwavering intonation skills. He concluded that if modern singers borrowed ideas from European folk singers in order to sound congruent with old instruments, then they may move closer to a lost style.

To begin to place the difference between the prevailing style of early music singing and Morrow’s new ideas into context, it is useful to consider contrasting recordings of *Kalenda Maya* from around the same dates as Partridge’s broadcast. For many artists after the war, early music singing was undertaken with a standard chamber-music technique. This sort of approach can be heard clearly if we contrast Noorman’s

³⁶² Morrow, "Musica Reservata."

singing of *Kalenda Maya* as played by Partridge with a near contemporary recording by Gerald English and The Jaye Consort.³⁶³

Before we start with this pair of recordings, we should note the method used for analysis. Spectrograms have been chosen as an informative way of illustrating the musical texture and also, in the following chapters, of measuring vibrato. All spectrogram images are taken using the *Sonic Visualiser* program.³⁶⁴ These graphs show frequency against time and are also coloured by intensity (red being the strongest, green the weakest). They can be plotted from any sound source and, unless otherwise stated, all are shown at the same screen magnification to aid quick visual comparison.

Jantina Noorman's performance demonstrates a strikingly different technique to Gerald English; consistently loud, unwavering and strong. At times she takes chest voice as high as possible in a manner reminiscent of a 'belt'. There is a blend of Balkan techniques as well as a hint of modern music theatre to her approach. It is easy to see how anyone familiar with the sounds of medieval instruments might think that she is imitating one of them just as Ian Partridge suggested. Yet we now know it is more complex than imitation, it is an attempt to sound 'congruent'.

At the beginning of *Kalenda Maya* the percussion part enters first followed by the recorder.

³⁶³ Gerald English and The Jaye Consort, *Medieval Music: Songs and Dances of the Middle Ages on Authentic Instruments*, Pye «Golden Guinea Collector» GSGC 14092, 1967, LP.

³⁶⁴ Sonic Visualiser is freeware, distributed under the GNU General Public License (v2 or later) and available for Linux, OS/X, and Windows. It was developed at the Centre for Digital Music at Queen Mary, University of London. <http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/> This particular spectrogram plots (amongst other things) the pitch of a sound (in cents) against time; and in the example shown here the notes sung by Jussi Björling show not only their fundamental tone but also their partials (harmonics) too. For an explanation of measuring vibrato from spectrograms using Sonic Visualiser readers are referred to: "The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance," CHARM, accessed August 18, 2009. www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html. (Chapter 8, Paragraphs 72-77). Another reason for choosing this method of analysis is to aid readers who do not have access to these audio recordings since, for reasons of copyright, the author is unable to provide an accompanying collection of audio tracks.

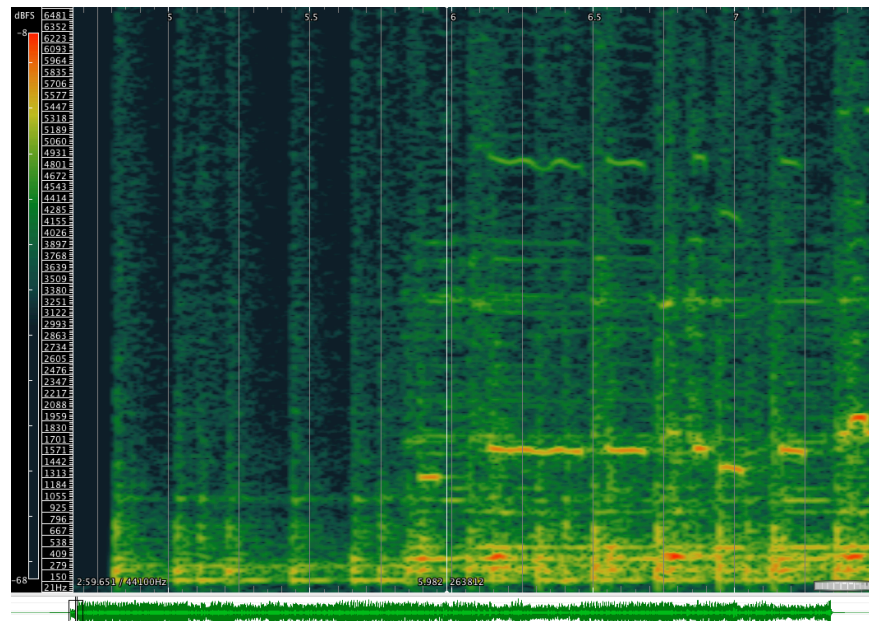


Figure 5 Musica Reservata: *Kalenda Maya*, introduction

The vertical measuring lines (thin white) show 0.25 second intervals, the other vertical line (thick white) is simply the curser on the software viewfinder. The percussion plays for less than two seconds before the recorder enters but it sets up a loud and regular pattern that is unbroken for the duration of the track. The vibrant and complex tone of the percussion can be seen in the height and duration of the harmonics that rise up from the red and yellow readings of the fundamental tones at the bottom of the screen. The recorder enters with the tune at about 5.5 seconds on the graph and its steady and loud notes can be seen as bold red lines.

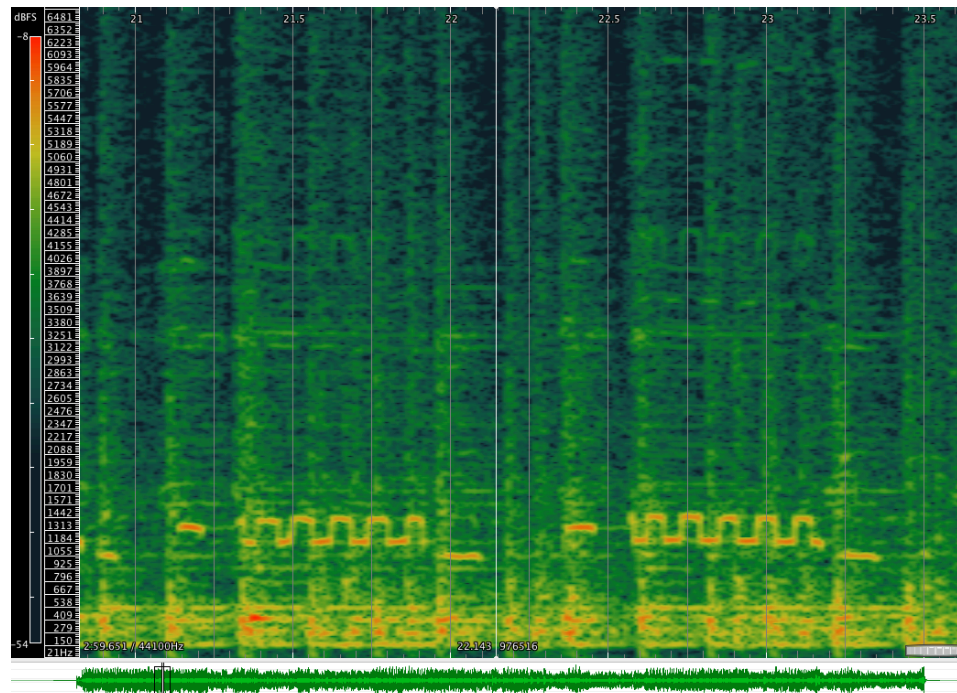


Figure 6 Musica Reservata, *Kalenda Maya*: recorder trill

This picture shows two recorder trills in the verse introduction before the voice enters. The trills oscillate rapidly between F5 and D5 with noticeable regularity and accuracy; this type of trill was particularly associated with the player John Sothcott.

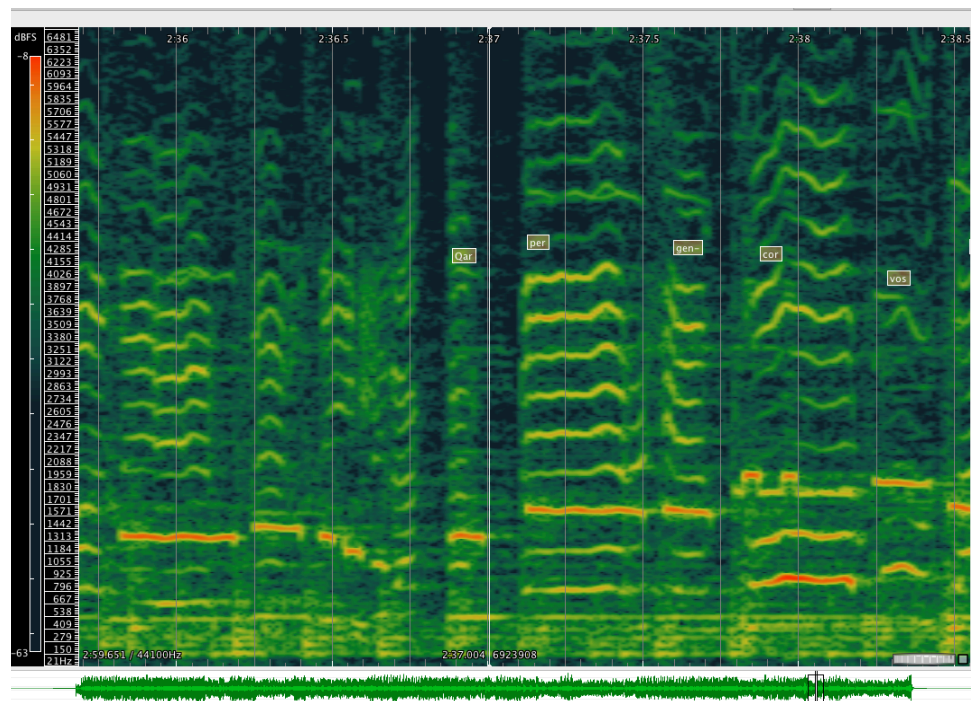


Figure 7 Musica Reservata, *Kalenda Maya*: Jantina Noorman's voice

Figure 3 shows the direct vocal sound of Jantina Noorman. In order to orientate ourselves with the difference between the vocal line and the recorder doubling, let us take the stressed word ‘per’ at 2’37” as an example. Considering the white vertical measuring lines show 0.25 of a second, we can see that although the voice is wavering on ‘per’, this is too fast to be an audible vibrato. What is also of interest is how the voice is strong in so many of the upper harmonics (green being the weakest colour, yellow in the middle and red the strongest: see the scale on the left hand side of the screenshot). The recorder part is still visible towards the bottom of the spectrogram as a strong, direct, red line. It is doubling Noorman’s part and we can judge how closely the two align.

Turning our attention to the Jaye Consort recording with Gerald English we can see from the introduction that the percussion is subtler and less clearly defined. It actually contains a percussion instrument that sounds three times before the voice enters just before the 2-second point.

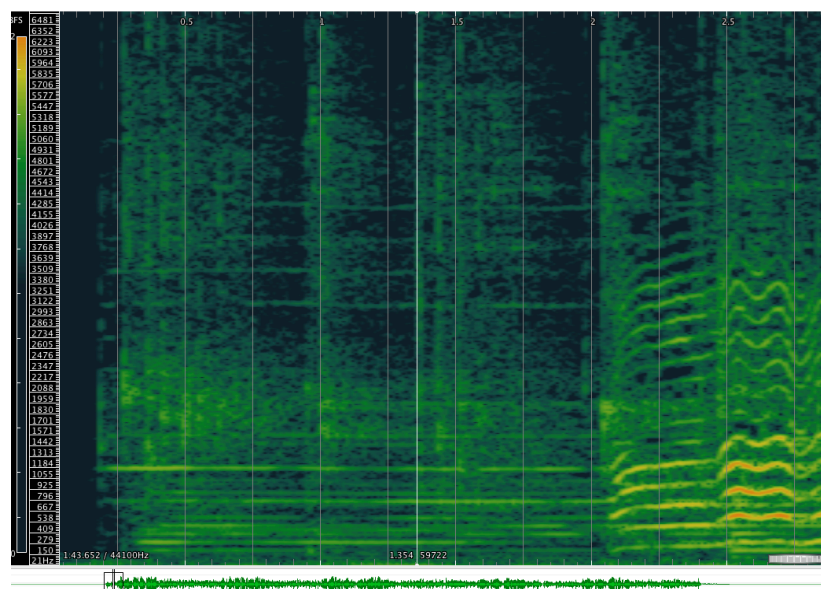


Figure 8 Jaye Consort, *Kalenda Maya*: introduction and vocal entry

The Jaye Consort are performing the piece much more slowly and, in fact, they only perform the first verse. This spectrogram shows the seventh line of that verse, the syllable ‘vos’ of ‘vostre’ is in the same position as the ‘per’ that Noorman sang.

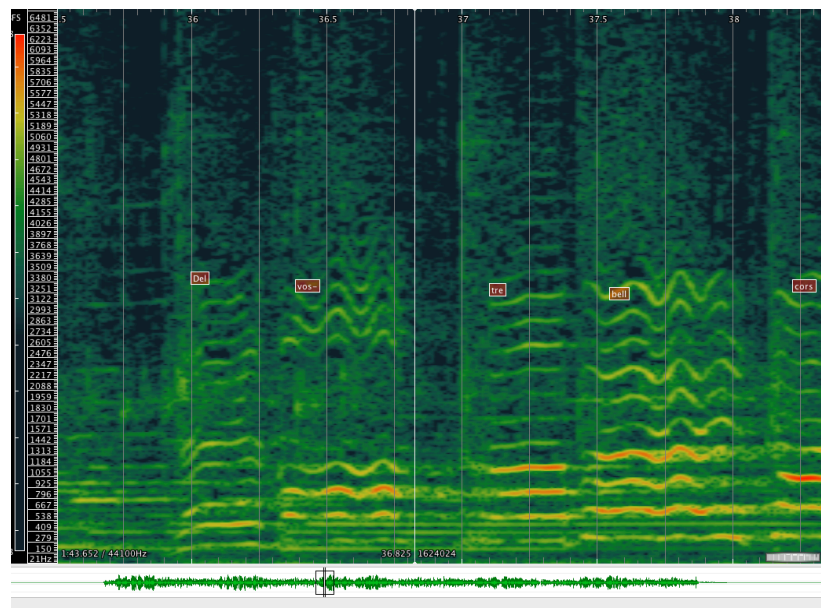


Figure 9 Jaye Consort, *Kalenda Maya*: Gerald English's voice

There is noticeable portamento and a slower pitch oscillation which is heard as a gentle vibrato. The vibrato's irregularity prevents it from dominating the sound, unlike a more overtly 'operatic' vibrato would (as discussed in the next chapter).³⁶⁵ Notable in English's performance is his tendency to lose volume between the syllables; there is distinct drop between the two syllables of 'vostre' which sounds like a clean break during playback. This avoidance of singing through the phrase helps to keep the performance light and simple without English having to adopt a straight-tone vocal technique. The less time he is singing in full voice the less time we hear the voice oscillate.

So, in these two rather different performances of *Kalenda Maya* we can observe several points. Morrow's style incorporates two very prominent solo lines (Noorman and the recorder) both of whom exhibit little, if any vibrato and play with an almost

³⁶⁵ Throughout this thesis I use the term 'operatic' as a shorthand for the prevailing vocal technique of mid-twentieth century Western classical singers. This is, in part, because the vocal training was aimed primarily at operatic repertoire even though these voices worked in oratorio, song and chamber music also.

constant, rigid tone. The background of his recording is a complex meshwork of percussion sounds. The precision of his recording is seen in the way that the busy spectrogram information divides into clear sections achieved by the dramatic drops of volume between each note. There are no legato phrases. In the Jaye Consort recording, however, the vocal style is much more legato but with some less dramatic drops in volume between the notes which give a clean, light feeling. The voice uses an irregular vibrato. The percussion is much softer and penetrates the texture less. As a result of these differences, Musica Reservata's recording is louder and brasher; much more of an aural assault, and the Jaye Consort seems much more like chamber music.

Munrow's Performances

Munrow, like many other freelance musicians, had grown increasingly frustrated with Morrow's disinterest in the financial potential of Musica Reservata and had, on occasion, tried to encourage Morrow to take concert programmes on tour once they had been devised and rehearsed. Morrow, however, was focused on exploring new repertoire and so the idea of repeating a programme held little interest for him. For Morrow, the adventure was simply in creating a musical performance.

In the late 1960s, as Munrow was founding his own consort he may well have felt resonances between Morrow's ideas and the folk music which he experienced first hand in South America during his gap year. Certainly, we have seen that Munrow's interest in the relationship between South American instruments and early Western instruments flourished in Cambridge with encouragement from Thurston Dart, and after 1964 (when Christopher Hogwood was in Prague) Munrow's interests gravitated towards earlier music. Morrow's search for a stylistic toolkit was one that Munrow would also make in the later 1960s as his own knowledge was beginning to find an outlet in performance; but the Early Music Consort was to be characterized by a quite different approach to singing styles.

The performances that Munrow directed are, in many practical ways, different to Morrow's; yet they were considered by members of Musica Reservata to take much the same approach. It is possible that Munrow's performances may be underpinned by his 'tooth cutting' experience with Musica Reservata as Bowman suggested, but the resulting sounds were often different and this is due in a large part to the vocal style of his singers. Comparing Munrow's recording of *Passe el agoa* to Morrow's, we hear a markedly different vocal tone from the countertenor James Bowman to that from Noorman. By simply being a countertenor Bowman was reasonably novel in the early 1970s and his singing is as unwavering and direct as Noorman's, yet his pure falsetto could be described as akin to a young choral scholar's whereas Noorman's singing took a different model for its basis.³⁶⁶ This is not to suggest that Munrow was not also acutely aware of the problems of performing medieval music, and not interested in authentic style. Indeed, the biography in the programme for his Wigmore Hall debut with the Early Music Consort of London read:

The Early Music Consort was formed in 1967 by David Munrow to give authentic and uninhibited performances of music from 1200 to 1750, concentrating particularly on English Music.³⁶⁷

Yet in his search for this 'authentic' and 'uninhibited' sound Munrow was drawn down a different path to Morrow's, Munrow was attracted to lighter Oxbridge voices who could also sing with accuracy and steady intonation. This is a point John Potter, a singer with the EMC in later years, has also made.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ *Passe el agoa* is on the album: David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Royal Courts of Europe 1150-1600*, Nonesuch 7 1326-1, 1970, LP.

³⁶⁷ David Munrow, Wigmore Hall London, March 17, 1968, DM/2/1/33, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

³⁶⁸ Quoted in chapter 1: "There has been no revolution in singing to compare with that of instrumental playing. In England the very musical, Oxbridge-trained light voices adjusted to the new requirements [of the early music movement] with the minimum of change in their existing techniques: the 'Reservata holler' [...] proved much less enduring than the relatively conventional singing preferred by David Munrow" John Potter, "Reconstructing Lost Voices," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (California: University of California Press, 1992), 311.

Compared to the *holler*, Munrow's singers are relatively conventional. Maybe the instant attraction that Munrow reported feeling for Bowman's 'fabulous noise' was, in part, driven by a desire to minimize the alienation between performer and audience that Musica Reservata seemed deliberately to court. Interestingly, this quality, as we have already seen, is stressed by the use of the word 'attractive' in a biography of the Early Music Consort of London.³⁶⁹

Use of the word 'attractive' cannot be simply coincidental, there must have been some conscious, or subconscious, charm campaign in operation. And with this observation we seem to arrive at a significant forking in the philosophies of Munrow and Morrow. It was summed up neatly in a newspaper interview with Morrow:

He [David Munrow] said recently that his aim is to popularize old music, which I think he does very successfully. My aim is not that.³⁷⁰

Morrow's own aims had no commercial purposes whatsoever, as Sothcott reflected, Morrow simply wanted to hear the music as it was. Sothcott does not expand on this comment, but the context seems to imply that 'as it was' refers to 'as it was in the middle ages'. Morrow's no compromise approaches with his star singer Jantina Noorman are far from the softer-yet-equally-accurate tone that Munrow cultivated from his star soloist James Bowman. One reviewer called Morrow's 1968 album, *Music from the Time of Christopher Columbus*, which featured Noorman's harsh *Pase el agoa*, 'devastatingly ugly' but not everyone found the results disagreeable; Ian Bent wrote of another track on that same album *Está la reyna*:

There is, for example, a wealth of artistry in Jantina Noorman's singing [...] Her high-pressure sound, begun and quitted without wavering of pitch or volume, is

³⁶⁹ EMC Biography and Discography, July 1972, David Munrow 1968-1975, EMI Archives, Hayes, Middlesex.

³⁷⁰ This is found in an interview with Phillip Sommerich – from a newspaper clipping (no date or provenance) in Box 1 Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata K/PP93, King's College London Archives.

infinitely more moving than would be [...] 'a less robust and more "artistic" treatment'.³⁷¹

He also mentioned in the same review that the voices 'make the same *kind* of sound, translated into vocal terms' as the instruments, and this is, as we have seen, a very accurate summary of the philosophy that Morrow was developing.

We need now to ask how this question of making 'the same kind of sound' actually operates in performance and how Munrow operates differently to create an attractive alternative. With *Pase el agoa*, we have a particularly useful case study because alongside the two recordings that Munrow compared in his BBC script we also have his own recording of the same piece.

Firstly, we can examine the two recordings that Munrow himself chose:

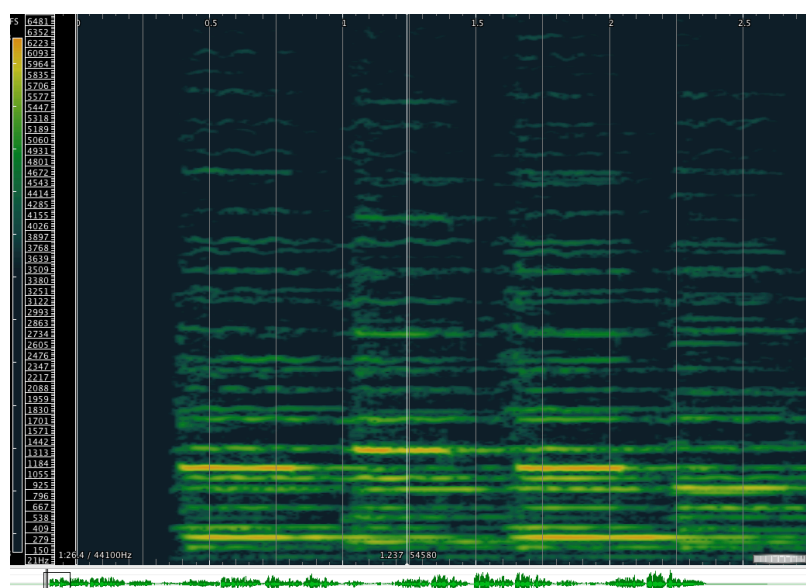


Figure 10 Waverly Consort/ de los Angeles, *Pase el agoa*: introduction

The Waverly Consort performs a neat, light introduction with almost no vibrato and very clear breaks between each note.

³⁷¹ Ian D. Bent, "Review: Music from the Time of Christopher Columbus by Musica Reservata; Beckett; Morrow," *The Musical Times* 110, no. 1516 (1969), 643-644. In this review Bent also quotes the 'devastatingly ugly' comment. The source for 'devastatingly ugly' is: Denis Arnold, [Review] 'Music from the Time of Christopher Columbus' *Gramophone* March, 1969. p. 1318.

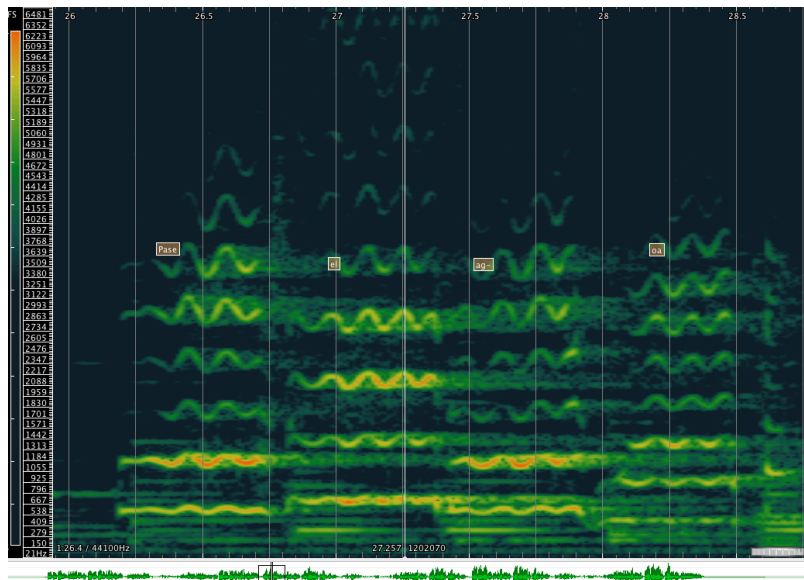


Figure 11 Waverly Consort/ de los Angeles, *Pase el agoa*: first vocal entry

When Victoria de los Angeles enters her voice is clear with a prominent and regular vibrato. The texture, however, remains uncluttered as her voice stands forward from the softer instrumentalists and subtle percussion. If we take the longest note of her performance, which happens to be the last note, we can observe a reasonably regular vibrato which is almost a whole tone wide.

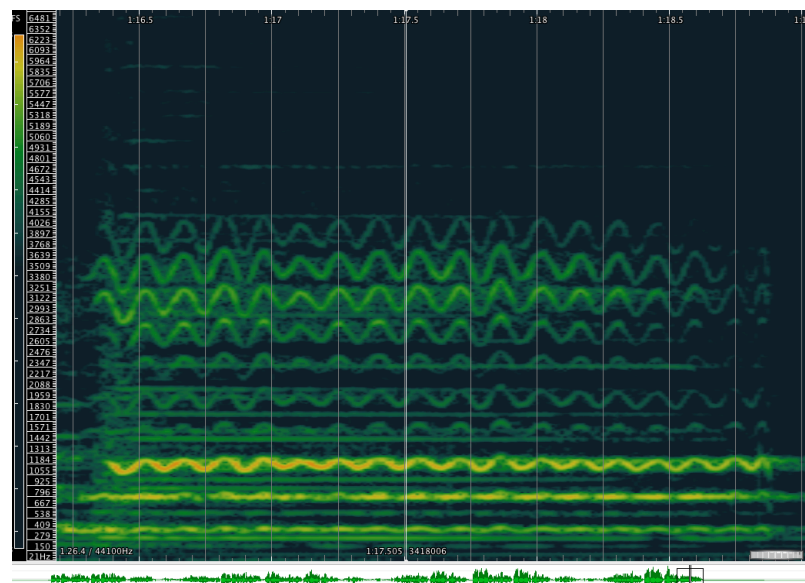


Figure 12 Waverly Consort/ de los Angeles, *Pase el agoa*: last note (including voice)

This is all in stark contrast to Morrow's performance. There is no instrumental introduction; rather the music begins with a wall of sound.

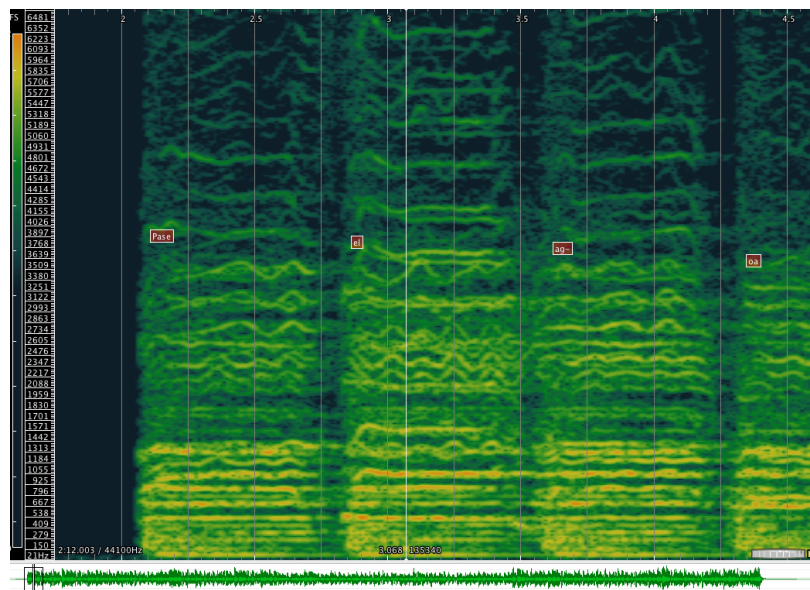


Figure 13 Musica Reservata, *Pase el agoa*: first entry

The texture is dense and tightly packed, and the notes are noticeably straighter toned from vocals and instrumentals alike. If there is oscillation, it is highly irregular. So why is it so packed? Such density is caused because Morrow is using several voices, one on each part and doubled with an instrument. If we look at a verse with only two voices singing we get a clearer picture of the vocal quality:

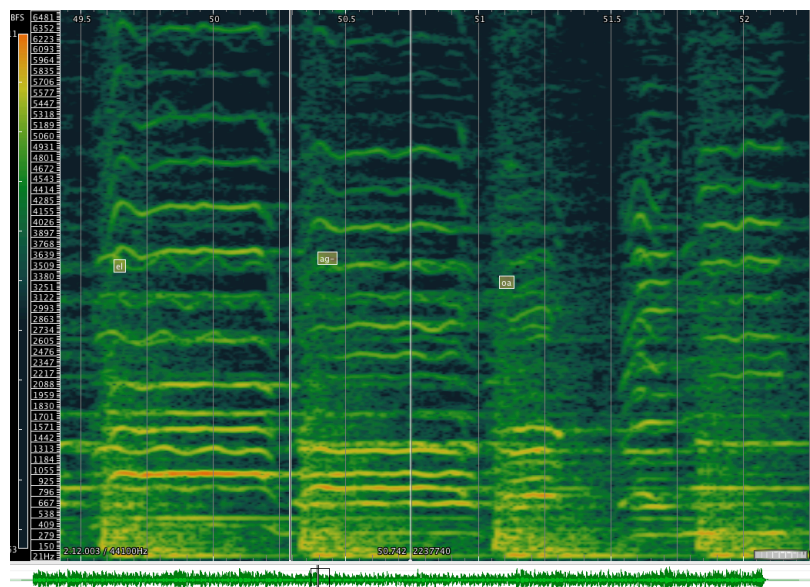


Figure 14 Musica Reservata, *Pase el agoa*: Middle verse with two voices

Noorman is joined by another singer (on a lower part) but the straight-toned, harsh sounds can be seen clearly as can the slight *portamento* on occasions. Note Noorman's very strong word 'el' which happens each time. It helps to identify her waveform in the texture. This part of the texture is similar to that we observed earlier in *Kalenda Maya*; tightly defined wedges of sound show little vibrato and strong harmonics from Noorman. Percussion also pervades the texture giving noticeable harmonic information as it makes percussive or 'wet' sounds which light up the higher part of the spectrum.

An essential difference between these two performances is encapsulated by the approach to the word 'el'. For Noorman, 'el' is stressed because it lies on a higher note and her high use of chest voice demands an increase of volume in order to reach it; but for de los Angeles, it is an unimportant word so her stress is reserved for the first syllable of 'agoa' on the next note. Noorman is not performing a text-based approach, and this is crucial to understanding the philosophy of *Musica Reservata*.

What we can observe from David Munrow's performance is a combination of elements found in the other two. Munrow's performance uses the countertenor, James Bowman, and begins without an instrumental verse. Like the Waverly recording, the EMC accompaniment is light and Bowman's voice matches this sound by exhibiting only a few irregular oscillations making him sound warm yet minimizing vibrato. However, like Morrow's recording, the music is noticeably sectionalized by the words which creates a very clean and 'tight' ensemble; yet again, Munrow is more moderate and does not go as far as to make it sound choppy.

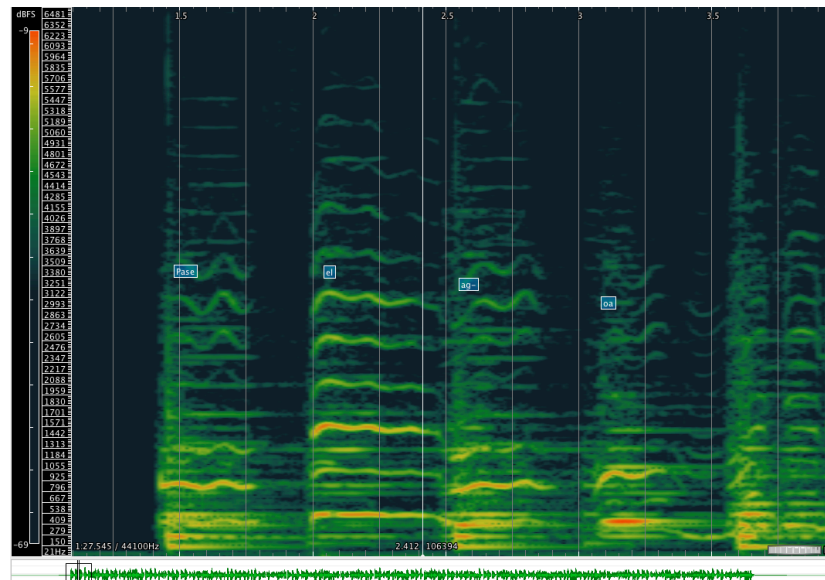


Figure 15 Early Music Consort of London/Bowman, *Pase el agoa*: beginning

Bowman is also capable of a laser-like straight-toned sound as we can see here on his last note.

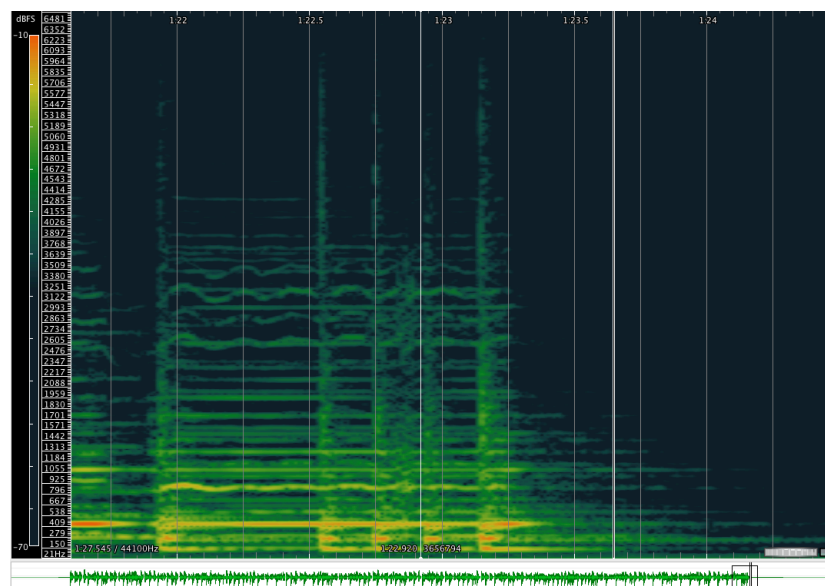


Figure 16 Early Music Consort of London/Bowman, *Pase el agoa*: last note

That last note is not quite straight-toned but sounds as though it is. It begins with a deep orange intensity on the spectrogram which softens into yellow then green showing a gradual diminuendo. The percussion can be seen rounding off the piece with four strikes. The very straight red line towards the bottom of the spectrogram is the viol and it is orange throughout: a firm foundation and Bowman's note is the thickest line seen above this. In this respect, his last note is quite different from Noorman's

unrelenting finish; here, without using a grand *ralentando* or dramatic decrescendo Bowman feeds the listener an essential aural clue that the performance is over by fading his intensity *gradually*. This clue is compounded by the finishing flourish from the percussion. The whole manner of this ending is different from Musica Reservata who seem just to stop, and The Waverly Consort who have Victoria de los Angeles giving a standard *ralentando* to her cadence and holding the long note with an operatic vibrato. I think that with these points in mind it is obvious that the vocal approach, and indeed technique, is the elephant-in-the-room.

Munrow's own vocal interests are stated in some of his interviews, and noticeable in more than one source are references to Alfred Deller and Cleo Lane, diverse artists (explored in the next chapter) who have a characteristic vibrato pattern in common. By modeling his performances on a 'clean' minimal vibrato sound which is close to a choral scholar ideal (Bowman), Munrow claims a middle ground between the acceptably Western sounds of the 20th century (Los Angeles) and the forthright delivery of Musica Reservata (Noorman). Perhaps he is staking out the territory of the newly emerging Early Music Consort of London as an attractive alternative to the highly original but contentious sounds of Musica Reservata? Furthermore, Munrow's performance is with soft instruments to which he matches a countertenor. This suggests that an *haut/bas* binary is in operation. Munrow was lucky to have singers who were willing to experiment with their voices in such an unconventional way but it is easy to forget that in 1968, when Munrow met James Bowman, countertenors were also still unconventional in solo work. Perhaps Munrow was relying on the fact his audience would also think Bowman was 'the most fabulous noise' they'd ever heard?³⁷²

³⁷² There are many references for this story, here the following is quoted: Alan Blyth, "David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth," *Gramophone*, May 1974.

The Point of Departure: Landini's *Questa Fanciulla*

David Fallows once wrote an article suggesting that the album, *Ecco La Primavera*, on which this ballata by Landini can be found, was 'an attempt to set the record straight' after Munrow's experiences of recording the same repertoire on the Musica Reservata album *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron* a few days earlier and he also suggested that the former album influenced the latter.³⁷³ Munrow was furious at Fallows' assertion that he was influenced by Morrow, and asked for a printed apology.³⁷⁴ This apology was never granted as there were good reasons for subscribing to Fallows' point of view. *Ecco la Primavera* can be seen both as an album which is influenced by the work of Musica Reservata and an album which takes a deliberate and significant step away from the Musica Reservata orbit. Indeed, *Ecco La Primavera* was a bold statement on the part of Munrow: an assertion of independence from the gravitational pull of Michael Morrow's uncompromising vision for medieval music as well as the first album made solely by the EMC.

The contrast in the performances of Landini's *Questa fanciulla* was referred to by Munrow himself in a radio script for his 1970 programme, *Medieval Florence*:

One simply can't be dogmatic about how music of this period was performed. The composers just didn't give any performance indications: no tempo, no dynamics, no instrumentation, and they left the performers quite a few problems of textual underlay to sort out as well as considerable license to ornament the music themselves.

Here are two utterly different interpretations of "Questa fanciulla Amor" in the first, a tenor is accompanied by viols and lute; in the second, a mezzo soprano is accompanied by two crumhorns and triangle [...]³⁷⁵

Despite what is clearly a different approach, both performances used Leo Schrade's 1958 edition of this song, and followed his suggestion in the editorial

³⁷³ David Fallows, "Performing Early Music on Record-1: A Retrospective and Prospective Survey of the Music of the Italian Trecento," *Early Music* 3, no. 3 (1975), 259.

³⁷⁴ David Fallows, email message to author, December 15, 2012.

³⁷⁵ David Munrow, *Medieval Florence* [Radio Script], October 29, 1970, DM/7/12, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

commentary that the song was most likely to have been performed with a vocal top line and instrumental accompaniment.³⁷⁶ That several performers were shared across the albums further highlights the difference in approach taken by both directors.

Questa fanciulla is both a prayer and a love song:

Love, please make this girl compassionate, for she has wounded my heart in your fashion. / Lady, you have so stricken me with love that I can only find rest when thinking of you. / You have drawn my heart out of my body with your beautiful eyes and joyous face / Have pity on your servant, I ask for pity on my great distress.³⁷⁷

We will consider four performances of this song all recorded within a ten-year period.

Performance	Approx tempo	Instrumentation
Musica Reservata 1968 ³⁷⁸	112	Mezzo Soprano (Jantina Noorman) 2 crumhorns, triangle
Early Music Consort of London 1968 ³⁷⁹	78	Tenor (Nigel Rogers) 2 viols, lute
Studio der frühen Musik 1973 ³⁸⁰	120	Mezzo Soprano (Andrea von Ramm) Tenor (Richard Levitt) Fiddle, Lute
St George's Canzona 1978 ³⁸¹	116	Countertenor (Derek Harrison), vielles.

Taking these performances in chronological order, we see that Morrow's version used one of Jantina Noorman's 'holler' vocal styles accompanied by crumhorns and a triangle. The anatomy of this performance can be quickly surveyed using the evidence for Musica Reservata's approach already discussed. Noorman has been asked to sing

³⁷⁶ Francesco Landini, *The works of Francesco Landini*, ed. Leo Schrade (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1958).

³⁷⁷ Translation copyright Decca 1968. Printed in *Early Music Festival* Decca 289 452 967-2, 1968, CD. A reissue of: David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 642, 1969, LP.

³⁷⁸ Musica Reservata, Michael Morrow, and John Beckett, *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's "Decameron"*, Philips SAL 3781 / 802 904 LY, 1969, LP.

³⁷⁹ Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*.

³⁸⁰ Thomas Binkley and Studio der frühen Musik, *Francesco Landini*, EMI "Reflexe" 1C 063-30 113, 1973, LP.

³⁸¹ St George's Canzona and John Sothcott, *A Tapestry of Music for the Black Prince and His Knights*, Enigma K 53 571, 1978, LP.

absolutely in tune and that means without vibrato and with a sound that is not incongruent with Morrow's chosen instruments, crumhorns.

Crumhorns, although historically anachronistic, are presumably the right sort of reedy wind-cap sound to deputize for the long-lost douçaine.³⁸² The decision to include triangle percussion brought the music into a world of functional dance accompaniment and this dance style reminds the listener of an oft-recounted contemporary account of two girls dancing a ballata.³⁸³ This, in itself, is a good reason for assuming that Morrow was at least familiar with Ellinwood's edition of Landini, despite it being much criticized by Schrade.

Ellinwood describes a ballata as:

a song-dance which has close connections with the Troubadour music and also resembles the French virelais. All of this music is very close to the social life of the period. It is, for example, the sort of music used in the daily interludes of Boccaccio's Decameron.³⁸⁴

The association with Boccaccio chimes with the title of Morrow's album — *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron* — and Ellinwood then moved on to emphasize the humanist movement by making the point that:

the human emancipation, which was being expressed more and more in the paintings of the early Renaissance found an immediate expression in these madrigals, cacce, and ballate of the Italian Ars Nova.³⁸⁵

This, as we have seen, is the very sort of assumption that Morrow railed against by arguing that although we can understand there is expression at work, we cannot say how that musical expression once operated and we cannot be sure it worked the same

³⁸² Munrow uses this reasoning in his liner notes for the album: David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Crusades*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 673, 1970, LP. It seems reasonable to conclude that Morrow is possibly making the same point. Also, for David Fallows' account of Thomas Binkley's attempt to reconstruct a douçaine, see: David Fallows, "Notes on a Mystery: Cornamuse and Dulzaina," *Early Music* 7, no. 1 (1979), 135.

³⁸³ Ellinwood recounts a story where some dancing and singing girls were performing *Orsu, gentili spiriti* '...so sweetly that even the birds in the Cyprus trees sang more sweetly'. Francesco Landini, *The works of Francesco Landini*, ed. Leonard Webster Ellinwood (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939), xv.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

way as it does today. This is why Morrow believed that Noorman's mode of expression should not worry us if it is not recognizably expressive to our modern ears.³⁸⁶

Musica Reservata's performance did not set out to defamiliarize this music entirely: one aspect which is still immediately recognizable is the dance-like quality. The rhythmic drive of the dance seems to be essential to Morrow's conception, and Noorman's execution, of this piece. Indeed, Wolf, as early as 1931, also described the balata as 'a song to be danced' emphasizing that its 'relation to the *estampida* of the troubadours is evident.'³⁸⁷ Taking Schrade's edition as a basis, the dotted crotchet beat is about 112. Fallows has described this performance as 'a grotesque dance' but was also quick to explain that such surprising hard-edge was 'not born out of ignorance [...]' Michael Morrow was posing questions about the nature of music, about musical expression, and about the very prettiness of the performing style he had inherited.³⁸⁸

Consider the first entry of the ballata:

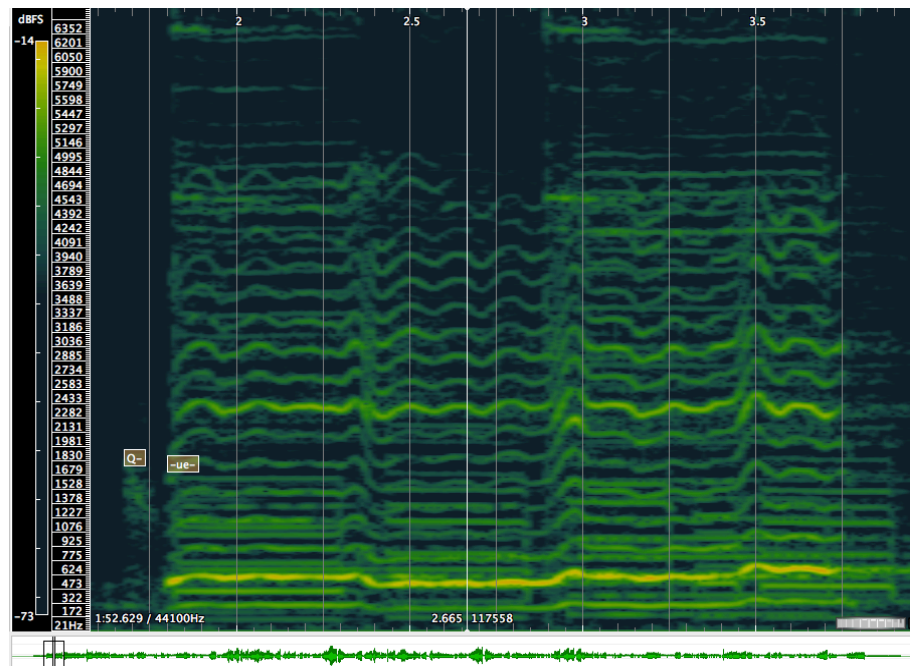


Figure 17 Musica Reservata: *Questa Fanciulla* - first entry

³⁸⁶ Here, I am paraphrasing his comment 'If, for instance, there is a description of a 13th century singer that says something to the effect that he sang very beautifully indeed, it might be irresistible – but not to me – to think of Fischer Dieskau.' In Morrow, "The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music."

³⁸⁷ Johannes Wolf, "Italian Trecento Music," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 58 (1931): 19.

³⁸⁸ Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s," 54.

Noorman places her consonant before the first beat of the piece so that the initial attack of the music occurs as she opens into the vowel-sound. The net result is that her full-voiced vowel aligns with the instrumental entry. Her tone is strong, even, and devoid of audible vibrato. From the first four notes shown in the spectrogram (figure 17), we can see that there is no legato singing as Noorman bumps the front of each note of the melisma with a surge in intensity which causes a slight wavering of pitch. Notable in figure 17 also, is the vibrato-less tone of the crumhorns.

That Munrow heard this performance before he directed the recording of his own, just a few days later, is obvious; Munrow is playing the crumhorn on Morrow's record. It is therefore possible to read into the sleeve notes of Munrow's *Ecco La Primavera* a barbed comment in his choice of a madrigal-text by Jacobo da Bologna, thought to be Landini's teacher, which he quotes:

I do not praise a singer who shouts loudly: / Loud shouting does not make good singing / But with smooth and sweet melody / Lovely singing is produced, and this requires skill.³⁸⁹

Munrow says of Jacopo's text that 'this gives us an insight into the style of vocal performance which he preferred'. Making such aesthetic assumptions about the concept of 'lovely singing' in the Trecento is, as we have just noted, exactly the sort of reasoning that Morrow avoids. Through Munrow's performance we are alerted to this fundamental branching of opinion between these two directors, and as a result of this branching I would suggest again—as, indeed, Fallows has before me—that Munrow's album can be read as a response or even a riposte to *Musica Reservata*. It is, in effect, a statement of intent for the future differences between these ensembles: the point at which their paths first significantly diverge.

With the loud, nasal sounds of *Musica Reservata* still fresh in Munrow's mind, he eschewed the crumhorns and percussion for his own performance, instead deciding

³⁸⁹ As translated on the sleeve notes to: Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*.

on soft string instrumentation to accompany this ‘lovely’ style of singing, and he did this by searching for clues in Trecento poetry. He describes this process in his 1970 script for the radio programme *Medieval Florence*:

The majority of ballate have three parts of which the top part is melodic and vocal, and the lower two are without text and are intended to be played on instruments. The result is a type of accompanied solo song with a wide range of expressive possibilities. We aren't sure what sort of instruments are used because the composers never indicated instrumentation. But sometimes the poets provide a little evidence. In Prodenzani's *Saporetto* we read:

With the lute played the tenor / With such melody that everyone's heart / was cheered through its sweetness. / With the cithern he also made some music / Then came the muted shawm with the tenor.³⁹⁰

Munrow's first sentence paraphrases the preface to Schrade's edition of Landini when discussing the vocal top line, but his passage about Prodenzani's poetry draws on the preface to Ellinwood's 1939 edition, proof that Munrow consulted both.³⁹¹ The Prodenzani quote is from sonnets 33 and 34 from a section entitled *mundus placitus in saporetto* and quoted in full in Italian by Ellinwood.

This poetry led Munrow to conclude that ‘In practice, a combination of plucked and bowed strings seems to suit the more serious pieces very well [...]’. Such open acknowledgement of the use of subjective performance descriptions is characteristic of Munrow's approach. The resulting EMC recording of Landini's *Questa Fanciulla* can be seen as a deliberate attempt to make a ‘popular and attractive’ performance with ‘lovely’ singing which did not sound like ‘shouting’.

³⁹⁰ Munrow, "Medieval Florence [Radio Script]."

³⁹¹ Ellinwood mentions Prodenzani's sonnets on p. xxviii, and David Munrow probably read this. On p. xxxviii Ellinwood also discusses the role of instruments, citing his own paper: Leonard Ellinwood, "Francesco Landini and his Music", *Musical Quarterly* Vol. 22, No. 2, April 1936: 190-216. He also recommends: Theodore G  r  ld, *La musique au moyen   ge*, (Paris: H. Champion, 1900), chapter xx. On p. xxxix Ellinwood goes on to say 'that instruments were used to a considerable degree none will deny. The parts given without texts have intervals difficult or impossible to sing, and have an excessive use of ligatures which again excludes the possibility of singing. In the frequent instances where the ballata parts have texts omitted in one or more manuscripts, but not in others, there is a constant simplification made by omitting repeated notes and by using more ligatures.'

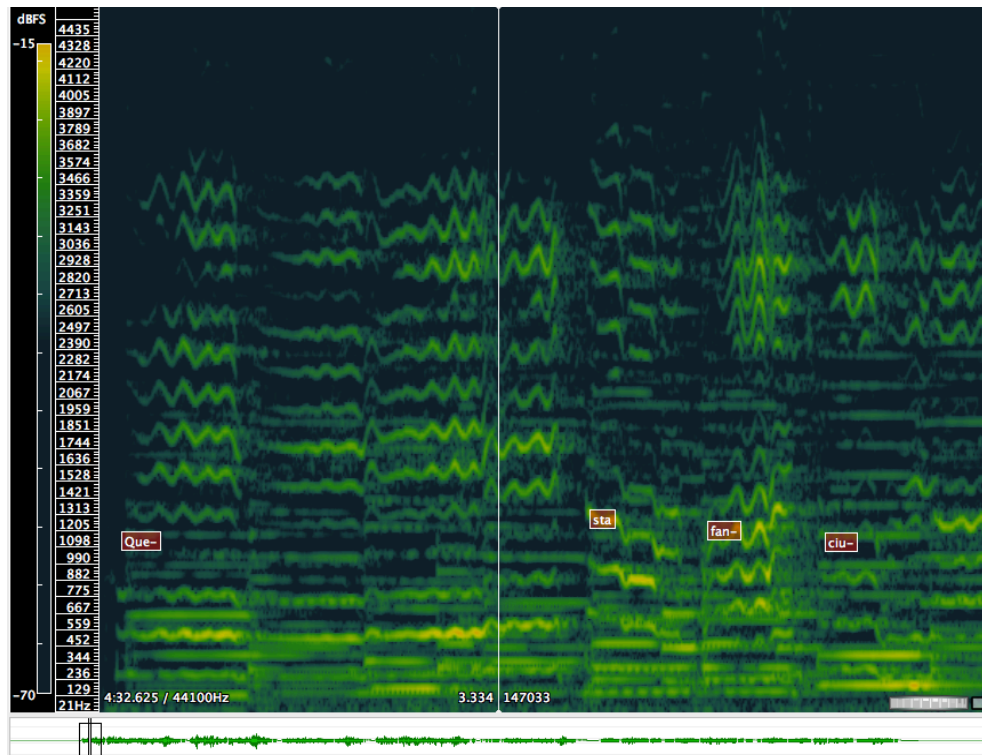


Figure 18: Early Music Consort – *Questa Fanciulla*, opening

Rogers' singing has already been discussed in terms of its minimal, but noticeable, and indeed constant, vibrato sound. Here, in comparison to Noorman we can see its constant use brings the voice much closer to conventional Western singing and not only because of this vibrato but also because of the legato phrasing, the slight portamenti and the richer harmonic information that is synonymous with Western classical singing. That this performance is also slower, allows this legato to be heard more obviously, the dotted crotchet beat being approximately 78bpm.

If Fallows encourages us to see Morrow's performance as having spawned this reaction from Munrow, he also suggests the same sort of reaction from Thomas Binkley in Germany after Morrow's record was released:

Thomas Binkley, director of the Studio der frühen Musik, was not present at the Musica Reservata recording sessions. But he heard the record (when I played it to him), and ten days later he too was recording *Questa fanciulla*. The immediate results are in a two-record set distributed only by Swedish

Rikskonsserter (Expo Norr RIKS LPED 1-2). But a later version is on their Landini record; and this may be the best of the 'florid style' performances.³⁹²

In this later recording to which Fallows refers, *Questa Fanciulla* is sung by two voices.³⁹³ Fallows appears to imply that Binkley was inspired by the Musica Reservata recording to perform the work himself. If this is the case then Binkley must have felt quite strongly about the piece because his performance is quite different to that of Musica Reservata.

Fallows, who is an important source of information about the performance ideas of both Morrow and Binkley, contrasts them by saying:

the fundamental difference between the two is one that is present in almost all music-making, namely between the vertical and the horizontal, between precision and flow. Every performer is making that choice the whole time. But both men took their views to extremes.³⁹⁴

Whereas Morrow was interested in strong textures and brilliantly tuned chords Fallows observes that Binkley took a different approach.

Essentially his [Binkley's] musical approach was one of long lines, of movement towards a point, of the overall form being more important than anything else.³⁹⁵

This observation holds true as an accurate summary of Binkley's performance of *Questa fanciulla*. Elsewhere, Fallows goes further in his description:

Everything flows almost shapelessly on its way to the cadences. Two voices (Andrea von Ramm and Willard Cobb) make Landini's discantus and tenor lines as smooth as it is possible to make them. On the contratenor line Sterling Jones played a vielle equally smoothly, almost encouraging the singers to accelerate as they approach their cadences.³⁹⁶

The vocal lines are indeed, exceedingly legato and do not appear, even on close listening, to be distracted by vigorous rhythmic intent. Rather, they feel slippery as if their trajectory from the start to the finish of each section is inevitable and this is an effect created by those slight accelerations towards the cadences.

³⁹² Fallows, "Performing Early Music on Record-1: A Retrospective and Prospective Survey of the Music of the Italian Trecento," 259.

³⁹³ Thomas Binkley and Studio der frühen Musik, *Francesco Landini*.

³⁹⁴ Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s: Michael Morrow and Thomas Binkley," 52.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 53.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 54.

In order to understand this performance and to situate it alongside the work of Musica Reservata and the EMC it will be necessary to look into the biography of this group. The Studio der frühen Musik was founded in the same year as Musica Reservata, and from an LP cover in 1972 (the year before this Landini record was released) we read:

In 1964 professional musicians joined together as the Studio der frühen Musik (the Early Music Quartet) to specialize in performances of pre-Baroque music. Two singers and two instrumentalists founded a new kind of stylistic interpretation, naturally dependent on the use of original instruments and original languages. By emphasizing such aspects as stylistically correct improvisation and the use of full forms in performance, an historically true sound picture is accomplished. In the twelve years of their existence they have become world-renowned through their concerts and recordings.³⁹⁷

Unfortunately, Binkley did not discuss his ideas about 'new kinds of stylistic interpretation' in print in as much detail as either Morrow or Munrow discussed theirs. However, several recent studies have begun to dissect his performance style. Fallows is obviously a key voice in the understanding Binkley's approach and he feels that text was a prime motivation for the singing of Andrea von Ramm:

for Andrea von Ramm everything began with the text. Perhaps what interested her were the text's vowels and its consonants before its meaning; but the meaning was still of major importance. Almost inevitably, then, tempos changed to accommodate the changes in the meaning of the text, the sounds of particular words, even the colour of particular vowels. Equally inevitably, there was an emphasis on the completeness of the story, on the piece coming to an end in a way that made the listener aware that it was the end.³⁹⁸

Here Fallows describes the primacy of the text, both as meaning and sound, as the key driver in the slippery phrasing that characterizes von Ramm's singing and divergence from steady tempo.

Fallows is not a lone voice in his consideration of Binkley's style; Benjamin Bagby and Barbara Thornton have also written about him. Bagby and Thornton were students at the *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis* where Binkley and his quartet taught

³⁹⁷ From LP Sleeve notes for: Thomas Binkley and Studio der frühen Musik, *Guillaume de Machaut: Chansons II*, EMI "Reflexe" 1C 063-30 109, 1972, LP.

³⁹⁸ Fallows, "Performing Medieval Music in the Late-1960s," 53.

during the heyday of their ‘Arabic’ period in the early 1970s. They too focus on Binkley’s insistence on performance of full-forms, from memory, but also stress that Binkley:

did not espouse any particular ‘theory’, but was responding as an informed and intuitive performing musician to the imaginal needs of a music which had lost its context and its expressive voice.³⁹⁹

This, too, points to an approach, not dissimilar from Morrow, whereby Binkley saw it as a duty to inform himself historically if he was to perform this music.

Another interesting parallel between Morrow and Binkley is in the use of memory. Binkley would insist on performances from memory, which created what Fallows refers to as ‘the most incredible ensemble’ between the performers.⁴⁰⁰ This can be related to the telepathic sense of ensemble of the Bulgarian State Choir, performing at the Royal Festival Hall in London in the 1950s, that so captured the imagination of Morrow and which he sought to recreate in his performances.⁴⁰¹

It is interesting to follow how the paths of Morrow and Binkley diverge from similar starting points, an inspiration from folk instruments on the borders of Western classical music and the pursuit of ensemble. Whereas this path drew Morrow ever closer to exacting standards of intonation and rhythmic vitality, it is quite audible in this recording that Binkley was less concerned with such short-range details than he was with the longer-range structure of the piece.

Yet historical evidence was clearly important to Binkley, as David Lasocki explains:

The studio never used the word “authentic” about its performances. Rather, Tom would inform himself fully about the historical evidence of how a certain repertoire was performed, try to furnish plausible historical instruments for the

³⁹⁹ David Fallows et al., "Obituary: Thomas Binkley, 1931-1995," *Early Music* 23, no. 3 (1995): 539.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 538.

⁴⁰¹ This was remembered in detail: John Sothcott, Derek Harrison, and Terry Sothcott, interview with the author, March 21, 2013.

job, then take his inspiration from the texts and the instruments to make additions in what he felt was the spirit of the music.⁴⁰²

This is, of course, much more noticeable in monophonic music where the scope for improvisation is higher than in the comparatively more descriptive notation of Landini. Still, the broad outline of these comments can be observed in Binkley's recording of *Questa fanciulla*. Something of Binkley's own viewpoint can also be read on his LP sleeve notes:

It would be unfair and frivolous to discuss Landini's music in terms of his cadences or treatment of dissonance. This would be to discuss the paintbrush of the painter. The artistry of his music is to be found beyond the techniques he employed. Landini's was a world of sounds and ideas, and his music is of immense depth, never frivolous, seldom even really light-hearted, actually rejecting all simple and clear emotions, yet suggestive, warm and personal.⁴⁰³

Now we hear from Binkley himself that a close inspection of detail is somehow less important than the longer-range musical ideas of Landini's work.

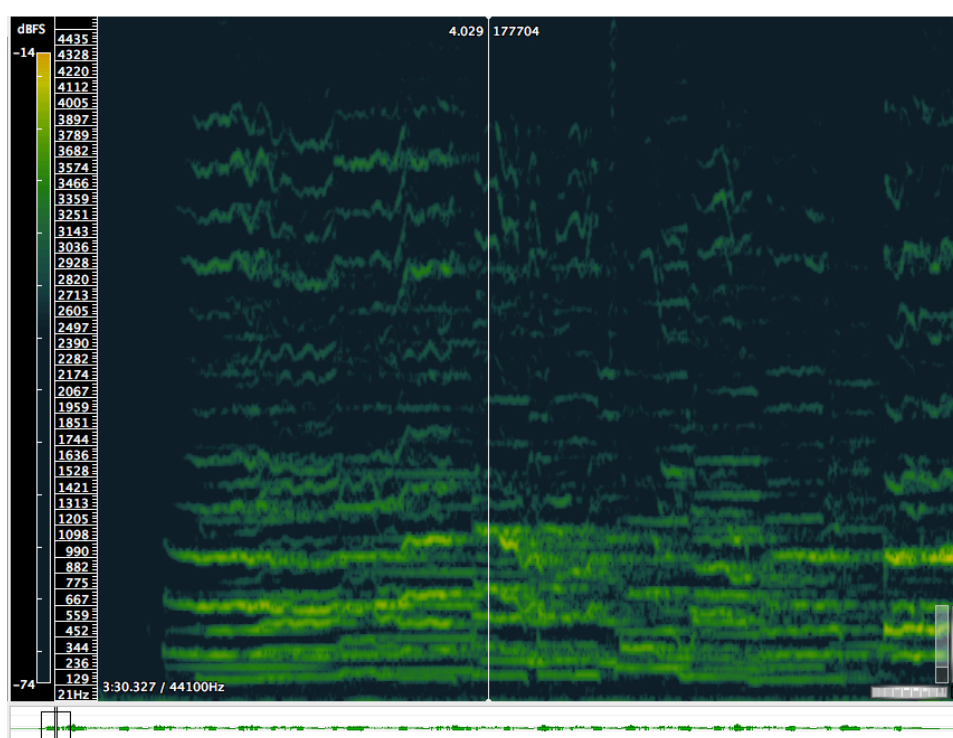


Figure 19 Studio der frühen Musik: *Questa fanciulla* - opening

Immediately, we can see from the spectrogram in figure 19 that this performance is less defined than either the Early Music Consort performance or Musica Reservata. It

⁴⁰² David Lasocki, "The Several Lives of Tom Binkley: A Tribute " *Early Music America* (1995): 19.

⁴⁰³ Liner notes for: Thomas Binkley and Studio der frühen Musik, *Francesco Landini*.

is also considerably faster (dotted crotchet in Schrade's edition being equal to 120 for the first few notes but then displaying considerable flexibility). The main difference between these performances, however, is that Binkley uses two voices (mezzo soprano and tenor) and also performs the full form of the poem. This, Fallows observes, creates some stability because 'the lower voice more clearly controls the wavy rhythms of the discantus.'⁴⁰⁴ This sense of coherence, I would suggest, is a characteristic of Binkley's performances, as is the flexible approach to tempo. These aspects of performance combine to create a smooth lyrical style which has a folksy and intimate feel and is quite different from the more formal, smooth, yet somewhat laboured, singing of Nigel Rogers.

One final performance that is worthy of note is by the St George's Canzona, directed by John Sothcott (founder member of Musica Reservata). Like Munrow, Sothcott branched out, away from Musica Reservata, in the early 1970s and invested increasing amounts of time in his own amateur ensemble, The Harlow Canzona, which eventually developed into The St George's Canzona. They took this new name from a period as the resident ensemble at the St George's Theatre in North London, a rival enterprise to today's Shakespeare Globe.

Sothcott remembers that part of his motivation was to work in a more democratic ensemble and without a conductor:

we thought this sort of music shouldn't be conducted, it should sort of be self motivating from within. Which is the way we always ran The [St George's] Canzona.⁴⁰⁵

The resulting performance of *Questa fanciulla* takes a similarly thorough approach to Binkley's in that it also uses the full form of the poem and has a more flowing and flexible conception of ensemble and tempo. But in terms of a hard-edged,

⁴⁰⁴ Fallows, "Performing Early Music on Record-1," 259.

⁴⁰⁵ Sothcott, Harrison, and Sothcott, interview by author.

precise sound-world it owes a great debt to Morrow's school of thought, theories which Sothcott would have known intimately from his time in Musica Reservata.

Many of the St George's Canzona performances are characterized by a bright, vital and attractive string sound which is the product of the vielles (with and without drone strings) that Sothcott himself researched and made. Coupled with the brilliant timbre of Derek Harrison's countertenor the whole performance of *Questa fanciulla* is lighter and more springy than the others, even though it is not the fastest considered here. The tempo is around 116 bpm.

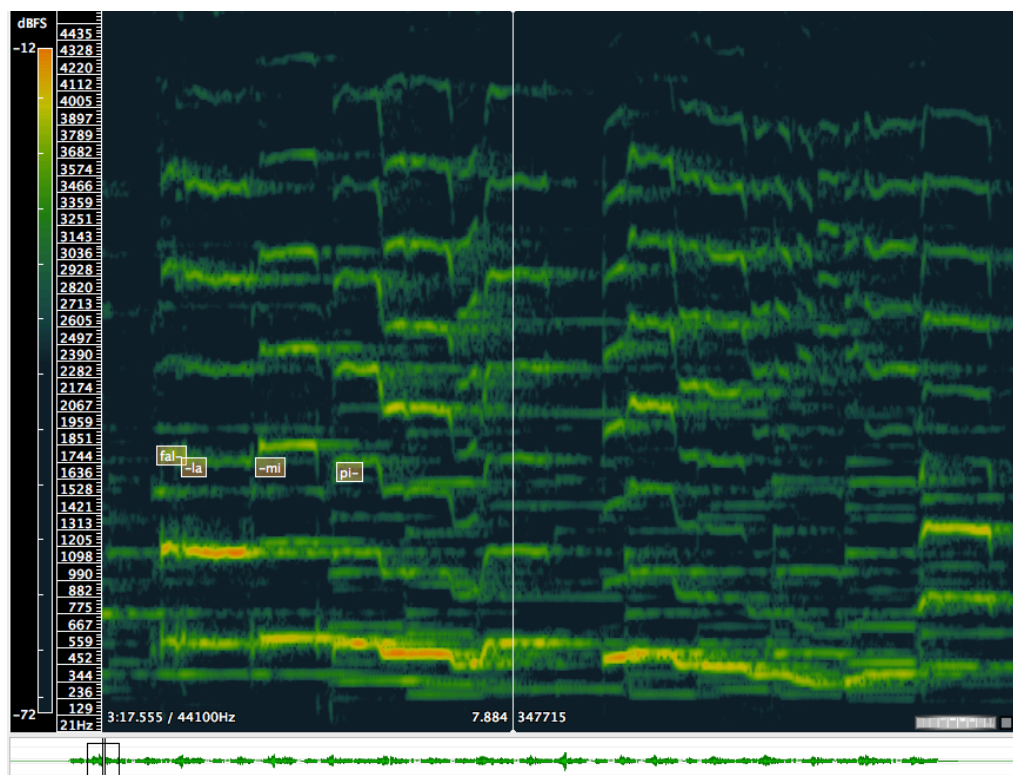


Figure 20 St George's Canzona: *Questa fanciulla* - verse 1

If we look here at the line in verse one, 'falami pia', we can see that Harrison uses quite a penetrating tone which floods the texture with harmonic information. He is loudest on the a: and i: vowels and sings in a direct fashion reminiscent of Noorman's style, but entirely in head-voice (falsetto). This creates a reedy, but attractive tone-quality which is maintained at a relatively constant intensity throughout the song. There are few, if any, deliberately legato moments, and melismas are articulated precisely and

obviously. Set against a bed of plucked string sounds, the texture is busy and detailed without sounding heavy or cluttered.

The consideration of these four performances of *Questa fanciulla* again situates Munrow as being between Morrow's uncompromisingly empiricist viewpoint and the relaxed, attractive sound of modern performance styles. To be sure, Munrow's performance takes many of the straightforward and bright sounds of *Musica Reservata*, but unlike the St George's Canzona who retain this at the centre of their approach, Munrow interprets the song as lyrical and dreamy which is something that connects it to the performance by Binkley. However, what marks Munrow out in this instance is that he is liberated enough from the constraints of vocal style that seem to bind the other artists, to allow Rogers to use a noticeable amount of vibrato which, in turn, makes his performance sound less different or 'other' than any of the recordings directed by Morrow, Binkley or Sothcott.

Where is 'The Music'?

Throughout this chapter, we have seen several quotes which refer to performance. Notably, Eric Halfpenny wrote that 'Performance is music'.⁴⁰⁶ And I would like to suggest now that this informed Morrow's own views to a certain degree whereas it did not noticeably inform Munrow.

If we take an overview of Morrow's writings discussed so far we can see that he suggests that style is essential, without style the music does not exist at all but with the wrong style the music would be dishonoured.

This distinction between style and performance is of interest. Morrow seems to be suggesting that if the music is not performed with style it doesn't exist, which in turn suggests that if the music is not performed at all it does not exist at all. Is Morrow really

⁴⁰⁶ Halfpenny, "The Influence of Timbre and Technique on Musical Aesthetics."

suggesting that the music only exists in performance, because only in performance can it have style? If so, this inspiration for this view can be traced back to Eric Halfpenny.

We can certainly say with some confidence that Morrow is indeed very close to suggesting that the music does not exist outside of a performance. And just to be clear, by performance I refer to the performance that takes place in one's head when reading the notation as well as a play through by performers.⁴⁰⁷

Elsewhere in the same piece of writing Morrow states:

any extension of our present knowledge means that we shall be able to examine afresh well-known manuscripts, but with a greater understanding of the music they represent.

Which is an admission that 'the manuscript' is nothing more than a 'representation' of the music. It seems for a moment that Morrow has a definite theory about performance and music but the thorn in the side of this argument is this statement:

In performing medieval and renaissance music we all share the same object: that of attempting to recreate the past in all its glory and its horror.⁴⁰⁸

It is surprising, after so much trailblazing, to discover that Morrow does not distinguish between recreating a *performance* with recreating the *sound of the music*. Usefully, Morrow hints that his sympathies lie with recreating the sound of a performance when he comments elsewhere that he is trying to give a performance which 'might not absolutely affront the composer.'⁴⁰⁹

What I am suggesting here is that Morrow continually teeters on the brink of saying that 'the music' is 'the performance'. What he ends up doing, however, is falling down a linguistic rabbit hole and regarding 'the music' as a separate construct that will arise, resplendent and heroic from hibernation if only someone could unlock the style.

⁴⁰⁷ His arguments are close to those suggested in: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositions, Scores, Performances, Meanings," *Music Theory Online* 18, no. 1 (2012). Accessed June 6, 2012. <http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.12.18.1.leech-wilkinson.php>.

⁴⁰⁸ Montagu, "Musica Reservata."

⁴⁰⁹ Morrow, *The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music*.

It is startlingly close to exploding the persistent myth of servitude to composer intention. Morrow accepts that he will never know if he has got the style right but whereas his rival, David Munrow, saw this as a liberating situation, one can sense Morrow's continued frustration as he searches for this illusory thing: 'the music'.

If no one today has heard the music performed by the players for which it was written [...], how can one hope to say with any certainty, as I once heard stated on the radio, following a bleating English choral performance of a 16th-century Spanish motet; 'and that is how it must have sounded in the cathedral of Seville in 1543'? O madre mio!⁴¹⁰

This certainly leads us some way to understanding why Morrow has such fixed views of performance and why this would have frustrated a young David Munrow who was, after all, keen to tour, perform, and possibly just to hear as much early music as possible. Such philosophical reflections on the very nature of music do not appear in Munrow's writings; instead he continually describes his sense of wonderment and joy at the repertoire he is uncovering and openly admits that inconclusive evidence allows for many different ways to perform a piece. Munrow is closer to an admission that he is really just building on supposition—as indeed Hogwood commented—and in these terms he is far more realistic about his activities and what he can achieve. In order to better understand this distinction, we could usefully reduce this line of reasoning to compare Munrow as a jobbing musician with Morrow as an historical reenactor.

Conclusions

David Munrow appears to have been influenced by his work as an instrumentalist with Musica Reservata in the late 60s and certainly he and Michael Morrow shared an interest in music from across Europe which could serve as a model for the performance of medieval music. This influence can be traced back to Thurston Dart's book *The Interpretation of Music* in both cases. Morrow tended to confine his

⁴¹⁰ Morrow, "Chelsea."

inspiration to ‘the borders of Europe’, the Balkans in particular, whereas Munrow went further, to South America, to the Middle and Far East and across Europe.

Fundamentally, these two men disagreed about singing and this disagreement caused an irreconcilable branching of approach between the two ensembles. Morrow felt that singers would have always had to adapt their technique to align with the sonorities (or limitations, depending on your point of view) of the instruments involved in accompanying them, whereas Munrow felt that since all instruments were imperfect attempts to match the human voice in prowess and flexibility, he could take a broader and more personal approach to singing and singing styles. His inspiration came, largely, from a set of conclusions he came to about vibrato which is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 - What should it all sound like?

Introduction

The previous chapter identified both minimal-vibrato and world music models as key features of the performance practice of Michael Morrow. It also suggested that Munrow used similar models but interpreted them in a consciously ‘attractive’ fashion. This chapter now explores vibrato and world music in the writings and record collection of David Munrow.

Central to this chapter is the reconstruction of two discographies found amongst David Munrow’s papers. The first accompanies an unpublished paper covering Munrow’s opinions on vibrato from c1970. This paper includes a discography that lists individual performances but contains no sound files. The second discography is taken from a reel-to-reel tape labeled ‘What should it all sound like?’ which is a compilation of sound recordings from various sources, all without documentation or references. In both cases I have reconstructed these discographies so that consideration can be given as to why Munrow should have wished to group these recordings together and to ask what the narratives of these collections tell us about the musical investigations they represent.

First, this chapter defines features of vibrato that Munrow identified and admired and then traces those features through EMC recordings. Signal processing software offers an analysis of such recordings to compare Munrow’s aural observations with a visual representation of various performance parameters present in each extract. Secondly, this chapter expands on the broad stylistic influences of folk and world music. Thus a stylistic toolkit is created which outlines the main tenets of Munrow’s performance practice in medieval music.

Discography 1: Vocal Vibrato

When Jerome Roche criticized a recording of Gesualdo for unsteady intonation due to the singers' vibrato it prompted an exchange of letters in *The Musical Times*.

This particular exchange so intrigued David Munrow that he took it as a starting point for his unpublished essay, *Vibrato*.⁴¹¹ Munrow's essay may have been notes for a public lecture since a page of it is written on 'Dartington Summer School' headed paper. The essay was structured in three parts: first the discussion of Roche's review, next a literature overview which considered the current teaching on vibrato, and then, finally, a discussion of vibrato as exemplified by a short discography.

The catalyst for Munrow's essay

The subject of Roche's review was the album *Monteverdi and his Contemporaries* by Denis Stevens and the Academia Monteverdiana. At one point in the review Roche complained of 'excessive' vibrato in the singing of the five soloists and justified his stance by saying that '...questions such as the singing of pure 3rds in triads [...] cannot be given proper consideration with such general vibrato.'⁴¹² He then chose as an example the last cadence of Gesualdo's *Luci serene* where he thought that the bass should 'support the harmony' rather than wobbling.

Denis Stevens refuted this charge of *excessive* vibrato; and measuring it on electronic equipment reported that 'the speed of the individual vibratos never falls below the accepted seven per second, and that deviation from pitch is less than $\pm 3\%$ ' proving, in his opinion, that the lines were never obscured.⁴¹³ We should note that Stevens pointed out that his singers could not have been using excessive vibrato because they only used it for the embellishment of key moments: 'I asked the singers for vibrato

⁴¹¹ David Munrow, "Vibrato," *Papers of David Munrow*, DM 9/11, Royal Academy of Music Library, London, c.1970. This date is suggested by the RAM catalogue.

⁴¹² Jerome Roche, "Review: [Monteverdi and his Contemporaries]," *The Musical Times* 110, no. 1522 (1969), 1252.

⁴¹³ Denis Stevens, "Vocal Vibrato," Letters to the Editor, *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1526 (1970), 387.

on the final chord of Gesualdo's madrigal because the words are “more e non langue”, indicating a climax both musical and sexual.’⁴¹⁴ Roche, replied simply: ‘MT readers need not be blinded by the science [...], for on these matters the ear is, thankfully, the ultimate judge.’⁴¹⁵

From this exchange we learn that Roche objected to ‘general vibrato’ on the grounds that it obscured tuning and suggested that choral performance could be the only way to achieve ‘steady intonation’. He did not elaborate on why choral performance would be steadier, but we can infer that the nature of a chorally trained voice is one that employs less vibrato. From Stevens’ reply we learn that he was unaware of the constant nature of the vibrato in his own ensemble and it is this comment which neatly exposes a central problem with discussions of vibrato: listeners—be they experienced musicians or otherwise—appear not to hear vibrato in the same way as each other. If this is the case, it suggests that there must either be some disagreement about what vibrato is, or a subjective element to judging how much vibrato is being used.

By way of illustrating the gap between Roche and Steven’s perception of vibrato in that particular recording of *Luci serene* the vibrato was measured using software to create a spectrogram:

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ “Jerome Roche writes:” *ibid.*, 388.

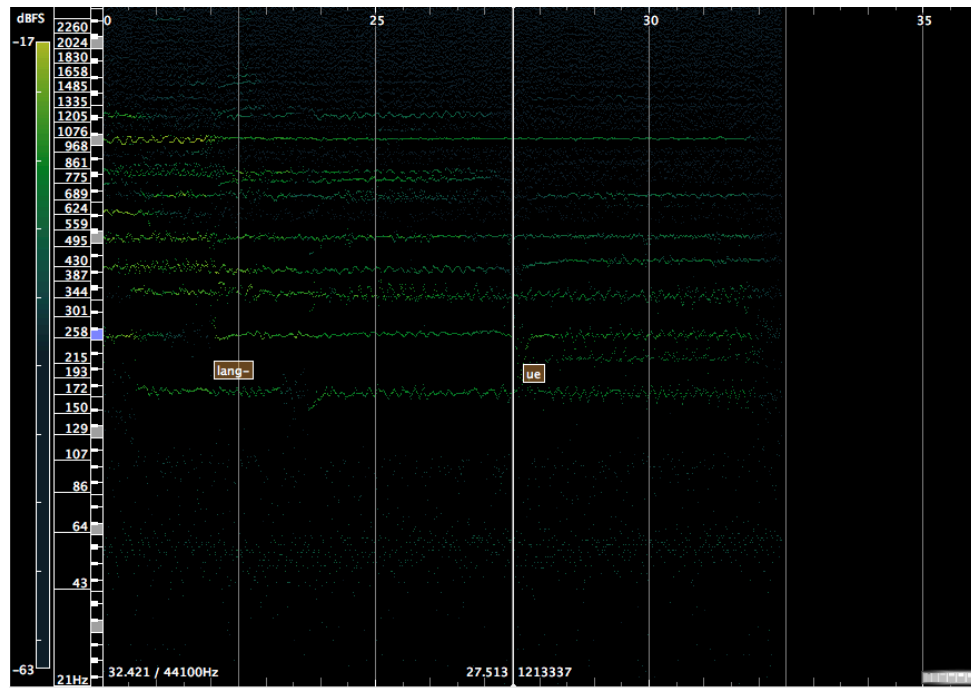


Figure 21: *Luci Serene* - final cadence

On the above spectrograph plot the final two words of the last voice to sing ‘*langue*’ have been annotated so that the last cadence can be seen clearly. The lowest voice does indeed appear (visually) to use vibrato. When measured this voice exhibits a vibrato of: 302cents (3 semitones and 2 cents vibration of pitch) and 0.81 seconds over a 5 cycle measurement which is an average of 6.09 cycles per second. Clearly, this does mean that the vibrato speed of the lowest voice drops below 7 cycles per second. Since Stevens gives no details of how he measured vibrato speed he may have been using an average which also considered other moments and voices on the recording, but it seems reasonable to consider this particular bass note at this particular cadence since it is the one that Roche pointed out.

Again, two useful observations can be made from these measurements: first that we are immediately confronted with a problem of averages when measuring vibrato, since even a quick glance at the spectrograph plot above shows that it is often a changeable phenomenon and secondly that measurements cannot accurately describe

how vibrato will be received and understood by the listener, since elements of personal taste and aural perception are in operation: what is too much for one listener may be totally acceptable to another.

Munrow's literature review

Munrow approached this conundrum by looking back to the first scientific studies of vibrato from the 1930s acoustics laboratories of the University of Iowa directed by Carl Seashore.⁴¹⁶ In one of these studies, Max Schoen studied pitch vibrato using a *Tonoscope*, a device that transferred sound waves to a physical medium so vibrations could be photographed under stroboscopic light to obtain wave images.⁴¹⁷ With this apparatus, Schoen examined 'five world-famous opera singers' all performing the Bach-Gounod *Ave Maria*. Six years later Seashore himself expanded considerably this field of research through new photographic and electrical recording techniques; the result was that he could identify and measure other parameters alongside pitch. These investigations resulted in a detailed definition of vibrato:

The vibrato in music is a periodic pulsation, generally involving pitch, intensity, and timbre which produces a pleasing flexibility, mellowness and richness of tone.⁴¹⁸

Such proof that vibrato was more than just an oscillation of pitch was slow to influence musicians, and still not fully exploited or even acknowledged by the writers of Grove's dictionary more than two decades later.⁴¹⁹ This may have been because, despite the rigorous scientific procedure, Seashore's study had shortcomings in its chosen sample field which was indicative, largely, of only one particular type of Western singing. This is explicit in the title of Milton Metfessel's paper in the same series: 'The

⁴¹⁶ An example of the continuing influence of this article is its citation in: G. Moens-Haenen. "Vibrato." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 16, 2013, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/29287>.

⁴¹⁷ Max Schoen, "Pitch and Vibrato in Artistic Singing: An Experimental Study," *The Musical Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1926), 275-290.

⁴¹⁸ Carl E. Seashore, *The Vibrato*, Studies in the psychology of music vol. 1 (Iowa: The University of Iowa Press, 1932), 349.

⁴¹⁹ Robert Donington, "Vibrato," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Eric Blom (London: Macmillan, 1954), 764.

Vibrato in Artistic Voices'.⁴²⁰ In surveying Metfessel's work it is clear that what constitutes an 'artistic voice' is one which employs an audible and consistent vibrato which by the 1920s had become perfectly normal in Western art singing. Such is the uniformity in the style of singing measured by Metfessel that he is led to confidently surmise that 'almost every artistic tone has a vibrato.' And on another occasion he tells us that 'most singers cannot sing a tone that would have any semblance of desirability without using the vibrato'. That he does not elaborate on criteria for *desirability* suggests that it is probably the vibrato that led him to consider the tone as 'artistic' in the first place, or at least contributed an essential component to the tone so that it could be classified as 'artistic'. Yet even if he did not specify what factors classify a voice as 'artistic', Metfessel tells us that vibrato had been dividing opinions for at least a century:

There are three rival camps on the point of vibrato desirability. There are those who object to any kind of vocal pulsation, whether vibrato or tremolo; those who maintain that vibrato is acceptable in its place on tones which naturally would tremble; and those who champion the vibrato unreservedly.⁴²¹

From this it is clear that judgments of taste and value were already assigned to vibrato in the early part of the twentieth century in turn indicating this was an era with a variety of singing styles on offer. This was also an era which immediately followed a time of change, where overt and constant use of vibrato became the dominant attitude in Western musical performance; this is exemplified not only in singing but also notably in the violin playing of Jascha Heifetz (1901–1987). Such debates were common currency amongst critics and presumably among audiences also, leading one to suspect that older listeners were used to hearing much less vibrato than younger listeners.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Milton Metfessel, "The Vibrato in Artistic Voices," in *Studies in the Psychology of Music* (Iowa: The University of Iowa Press, 1932), 14–117.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴²² The American critic Virgil Thomson was particularly critical of Heifetz, often resulting in acidic, but amusing, reviews. For a collection of his writings including such material see: Virgil Thomson and Richard Kostelanetz, *Virgil Thomson: A Reader: Selected Writings, 1924–1984* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Having described what vibrato is in terms of sound waves Metfessel then turned his attention to how vibrato is created and attempted to explain how it can be taught in singing lessons. First of all he introduced the concept of 'involuntary vibrato', a situation where the possessor is not aware of having vibrato and cannot sing a 'desirable tone' without vibrato; yet he stated that vibrato was not a universal human trait because, before training, some voices have vibrato and some do not. Metfessel claimed all voices could be trained to use vibrato once a certain physical maturity had been reached:

The vocal muscles producing vibrato must reach a certain stage in their development before they can function in that capacity. With some the muscles develop quicker than with others; but probably if they are going to function involuntary at all they will do so during adolescence.⁴²³

This suggests that vibrato was understood by Metfessel as a muscular action which, due to the underdevelopment of a child's whole physique (not just the larynx), was not usually observed before adolescence. However, the research in this particular essay could not identify a single muscle group as being responsible, rather, Metfessel reported that cases of both laryngeal and diaphragmatic vibrato were observed as well as a combination of the two. In a survey of research from other sources as well as his own teaching and observation Metfessel concluded that in training the vibrato:

It is not a matter of voluntarily fluctuating the muscles, but of letting the muscles fluctuate themselves [...] the correct muscle-set will be known when the muscles fluctuate. Once the right position is achieved the kinesthetic clues for it will become familiar so that it is not difficult to get the correct muscular adjustment at will repeatedly.⁴²⁴

Vibrato, therefore was seen by Metfessel as a learned and deliberate device employed by the 'artistic' singer which could also occur naturally (albeit to a lesser extent). The central importance of vibrato can be divined from Seashore's 1936 study when he says: 'All recognized professional singers sing with a pitch vibrato in about 95% or more of their tones.' This not only neatly illustrates how widespread the

⁴²³ Metfessel, "The Vibrato in Artistic Voices," 72.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 84.

practice was at Seashore's time of writing but further hints towards his definition for the phrase 'recognized professional singers'.⁴²⁵

Having cited these studies, it comes as a surprise that Munrow makes no reference to their specific findings within his own essay. Rather, Munrow chooses to discuss a second work: the 'Vibrato' entry in Willi Apel's 1944 *Harvard Dictionary of Music*; which cites Seashore. After defining vibrato in stringed instruments as 'a slight fluctuation of pitch produced on sustained notes by an oscillating motion of the left hand' Apel focused on the discrepancy between the use of the terms 'vibrato' and 'tremolo' in singers.⁴²⁶ Vibrato, he explains, is historically a reiteration of the same pitch but at his time of writing is used by singers to refer to 'a scarcely noticeable wavering of the tone' which does not result in a noticeable fluctuation of pitch. If this wavering of tone were to 'degenerate into a real wobble' then such an 'unwelcome effect' is what singers refer to as tremolo even though, historically, that too means something else.⁴²⁷ We can read into this that a singer's vibrato, according to Apel, is considered to be present when pitch fluctuation is hardly noticeable and tremolo when it is too noticeable.

Another source, frequently quoted by Munrow in his essay, was Robert Donington's 'Vibrato' entry in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1954. Here, Donington offered a definition of vibrato as 'A slight and more or less rapid fluctuation of pitch for expressive purposes.'⁴²⁸ Interestingly, this definition, like that from Apel, cited Seashore but also refrained from taking into account parameters of rate, intensity or timbre as discussed in Seashore's studies. This focus on pitch fluctuation, however, supported Seashore's observation, above, concerning the widespread use of pitch

⁴²⁵ Carl E. Seashore, *Psychology of the Vibrato in Voice and Instrument*, University of Iowa studies in the Psychology of Music (Iowa: The University of Iowa Press, 1936), 48.

⁴²⁶ Willi Apel, "Vibrato," in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (London: Heinemann, 1944), 791.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Donington, "Vibrato," 764.

vibrato in the tones of professional singers. Donington also divided his entry between string instruments, wind and voice discussing individual techniques for vibrato such as rocking one or more fingers on the string of an instrument or by fluctuating the air supply to a wind instrument.

Interestingly, Donington's description of vocal vibrato classified 'a comparable fluctuation of intensity' as a tremolo explaining that the nomenclature for vibrato and tremolo have been reversed from their usual instrumental meanings in the case of singers. Singing teachers, he explains, warn against the fluctuation of pitch, preferring a fluctuation of intensity which, despite being a tremolo (like the organ stop), is called a vibrato by singers. Thus, the pitch vibrato gets the title of tremolo and, as such, carries negative connotations. Here he is in perfect agreement with Apel. These observations by Donington were expanded in his 1963 book *The Interpretation of Early Music*, which was the newest source Munrow considered.⁴²⁹ Here, Donington quotes Carl Flesch's *The Art of Violin Playing*:

From a purely theoretic standpoint, the vibrato, as a means for securing a heightened urge for expression, should only be employed when it is musically justifiable.⁴³⁰

Munrow notated a photocopy of *The Interpretation of Early Music* with the words 'musically justifiable' where they are cut off on the page-turn suggesting that they held some importance. Certainly, in his Grove entry Donington recorded his final thoughts as:

Current opinion tends to disfavour the true vibrato unconditionally, but to encourage the tremolo or singer's "vibrato", provided that it is consciously and skillfully controlled and used with restraint for deliberately expressive purposes.

⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ The pages in question are no 168 and 169 which also contain some crossings out and an annotation in Munrow's hand: Munrow, "Vibrato." Photocopied sheets from: Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 168-169.

⁴³⁰ Carl Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*, trans., F. H. Martens, vol. 2 (New York: Carl Fischer, 1924) Quoted in Donington, *The interpretation of Early Music*, 169.

⁴³¹ Munrow, "Vibrato."

Here, Donington is suggesting that the use of vocal-vibrato is usually an intensity (breath pressure) vibrato and that even this type of vibrato could be encountered too frequently and without thought as to musical context.

Munrow's views

Having summarized both Donington and Apel, Munrow then chose to illustrate these arguments with thirteen examples of recordings that appear to exemplify vibrato used in different ways and different situations annotated with his own comments. Some of these recordings are instrumental and some vocal. It is possible to retrace Munrow's steps through this short discography by aligning his comments with a close analysis of the recordings on that discography.

Munrow began his essay by focusing on the letters from *The Musical Times*:

This correspondence is the first really good argument in print about vibrato which I have come across. It illustrates the confusion that exists about the word – exactly what it means, how it is defined and how far it should go.⁴³²

The tone of Munrow's comments indicate that he was using the word 'argument' to mean a disagreement rather than a hypothesis, thus he observed that such disagreement over how to use the word vibrato was very common. This led him to suggest, as a starting point, a simple definition of vibrato as: 'The slight and more or less rapid fluctuation of pitch' which was taken directly from Donington's entry in the Grove dictionary.⁴³³ Although Munrow acknowledged this was an incomplete definition, limiting himself to pitch is somewhat unexpected after citing Seashore's work: that Munrow has not included Seashore's information on timbre and intensity suggests his intention was to limit the discussion to Roche's comments about intonation and pitch vibrato. Taking these parameters as key to Munrow's thinking, each recorded

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Munrow's actual words: "If we accept for the moment the fairly simple definition of vibrato as..."
Ibid.

extract from the discography will now be considered first in terms of vibrato depth and speed.

Method

In order to measure different vibratos across such a wide range of recordings spectrograms have again been used. Short sections of each audio extract have been chosen to include reasonably long and prominent notes where vibrato can be heard most clearly.

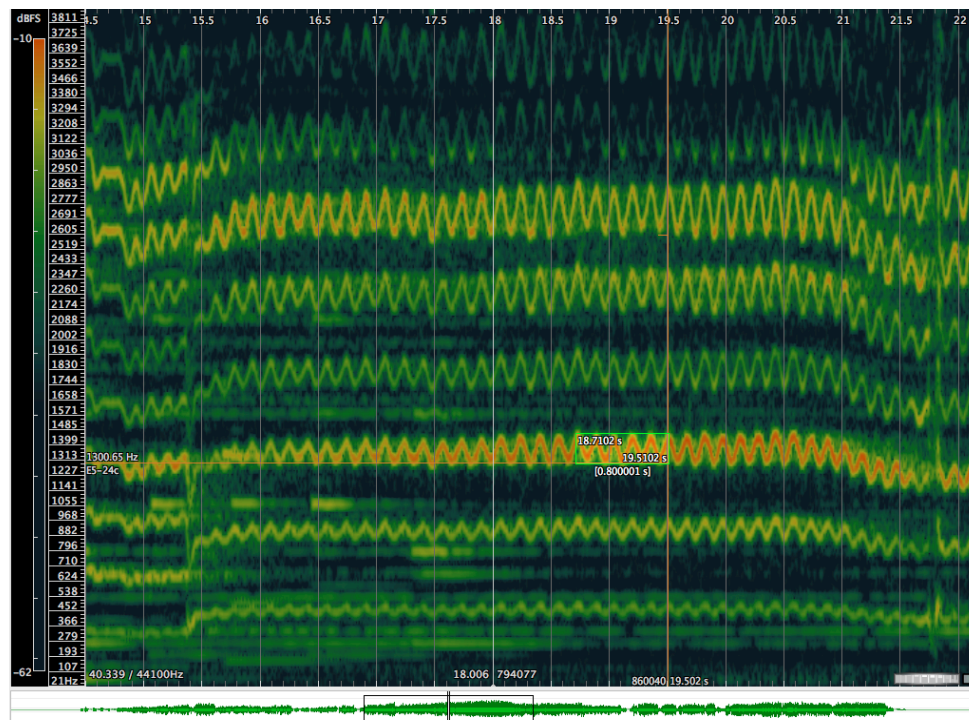


Figure 22 Jussi Björling's voice spectrogram

For example, in figure 22 we see a short extract of Jussi Björling's voice on a long and prominent high note at the climax of a phrase. Björling is singing the duet *Solmne in quest' ora* from *La forza del destino* (Verdi). At a glance one can see that the vibrato is regular and from the strong red colour of the third harmonic or 'singer's formant' (seen on the third line up from the bottom) the voice is loud and clearly heard over the orchestra. For much of the screen in view we can see a long note is being sung and the harmonic content of this note is indicated by the wave-forms visible at higher

and lower pitches. It is also easy to observe the differing intensity of the note; red/orange colour shows points of maximum volume whilst the green/yellow shows the points of minimum volume.

The green square is a measuring tool. Here it has been placed around five consecutive vibrato cycles so that the time value of cycles per second can be calculated. The same square can also be repositioned to read the amplitude of the waveform to see how wide an individual cycle is. Finally, to aid simple visual comparison, a time-measure of thin white lines has been displayed. In this extract the lines are spaced 0.5 seconds apart so this long note lasts just over 5.5 seconds in total. This method has been repeated for each extract cited in Munrow's discography.

Results

Key	Recordings	Source	Speed on long note (cycles per second)	Depth (cents)
JU	La Forza del Destino: <i>Solenne in quest'ora</i> Jussi Björling ten, Robert Merrill bar. RCA CM 9844-E (10")	iTunes store	6.1	198
JP	Duet from Cantata No 42 J.S. Bach (Robert Shaw Chorale) Eileen Farrell Sop Jan Peerce Ten. RCA LM 6023	LP transfer	6.2	249
PM	Kyrie: <i>Missa da capella</i> Monteverdi. Prague Madrigal Singers Supraphon SUA 10558	LP transfer	6.1	147
TYT	<i>John Barleycorn</i> The young tradition. Transatlantic TRA 172	iTunes store	15.9	30
BW	Wedding song: <i>Podrum verviat kiten svatove.</i> Bulgarian Women. The living tradition series, ARGO RG562	Amazon download	28.7	92

Key	Recordings	Source	Speed on long note (cycles per second)	Depth (cents)
JN	<i>Triste Espana</i> Janita Noorman Musica Reservata. Philips SAL 3697	Philips CD:432 821-2 (released 1992)	12.7	45
JB	<i>Triste Espana</i> James Bowman & EMC BBC Broadcast (Plaistow) ⁴³⁴	This recording is not available. The same track is taken from 'Music for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain' Testament SBT 1251	7.1	111
LT	The mad scene: <i>Lucia de Lammermor</i> Donizetti Luisa Tetrazzini ATL 4079 Fidelio	Itunes store	7.2	110
AD	Agnus Dei: <i>Mass in B Minor</i> Alfred Deller. Leonhardt Baroque Ensemble. BachGuild BG 550.	LP transfer purchased from http://www.scho laantiqua.net/	6.7	227
CL	<i>Please don't talk about me when I'm gone</i> Cleo Laine. Fontana TL 5 316	iTunes store	5.6	500
LC	<i>Llul arique</i> The Flute of Latin America – Los Calchakis. Major Minor records SMLP76	Amazon download	5.52	243
CD	<i>Heartsease</i> Carl Dometsch, Joseph Saxby Decca LM 4518 (10")	Carl Dolmetsch Pearl CD transfer. Gem 0234	7.6	51
HY	<i>Air on a G String</i> Hozan Yamomoto Shakuhachi Victorola VICS 1458	LP transfer	4.4	101
BL	<i>Doina Oltului Hora</i> Panpipes and Romanian Folk Orchestra Artia AZp-105	Amazon download	6.9	131
MK	<i>Mevlana</i> Mustafa Kandirali Clarinet and Turkish night club band	Youtube Accessed 1/12/12 http://www.yout ube.com/watch? v=7jqmDownU QU	5.8	127
HS	<i>Feathers</i> by Hale Smith Eric Dolphy sax. ESQ 32. 153	Out There/Eric Dolphy New Jazz OJCCD-023-2 (NJ-8252)	4.7	74

⁴³⁴ Music of the Iberian Peninsula, 01/PC/DGM, contract dated April 27, 1970, BBC WAC RCONT12 - David Munrow - Artists File 2 - 1968-72. The producer for this programme was Steven Plaistow.

Figure 23 Results table

The following figures show screen-grabs from the spectrograph plots of each extract corresponding to the points at which they were measured. Such screengrabs can only show a few seconds' worth of music so each one is chosen to be as representative as possible for the vibrato featured on the recording as a whole.

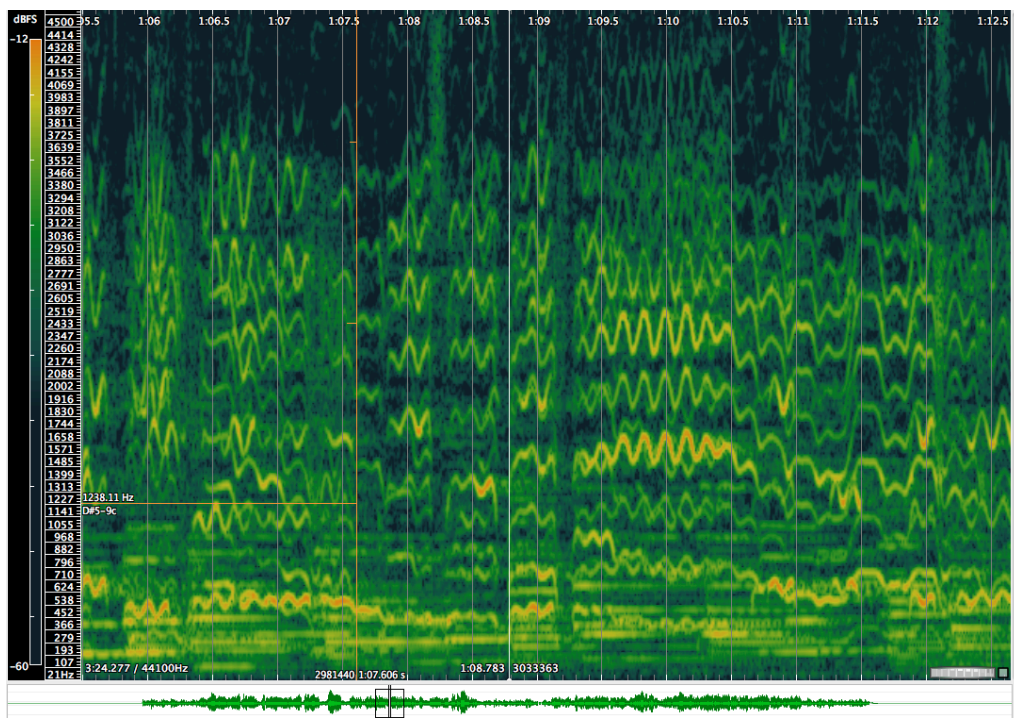


Figure 24 JP

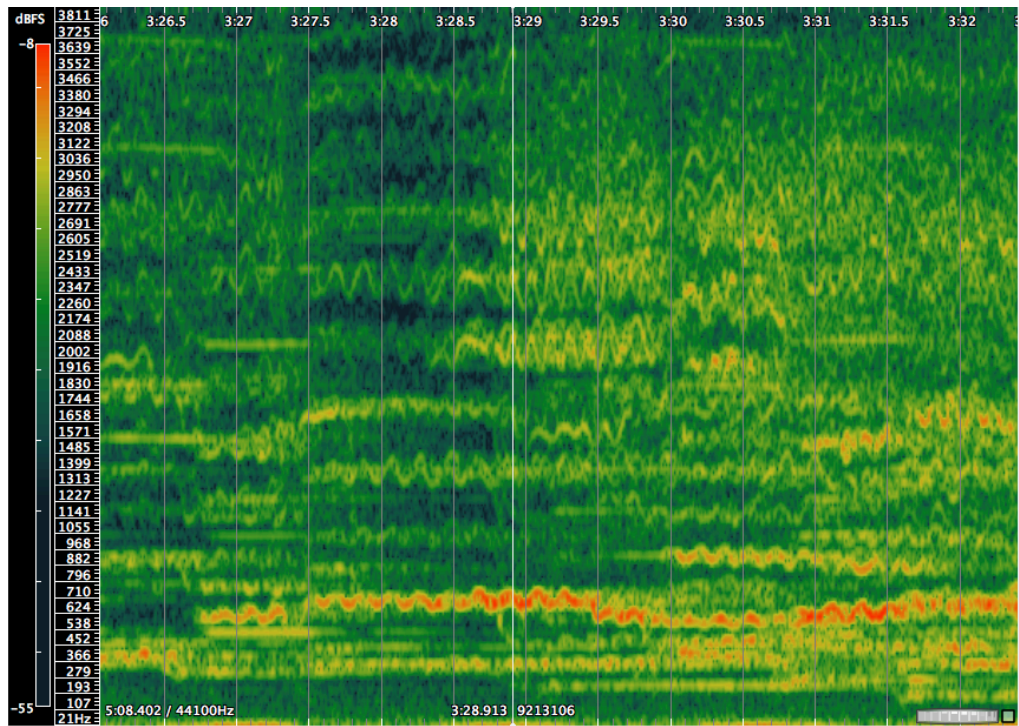


Figure 25 PM

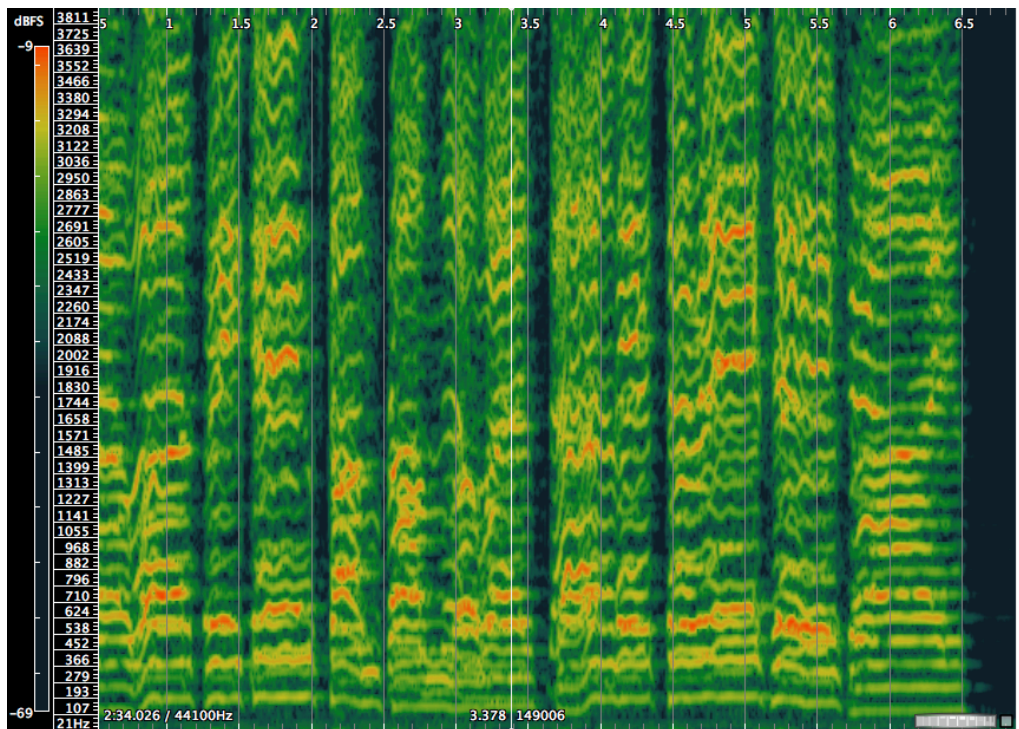


Figure 26 TYT

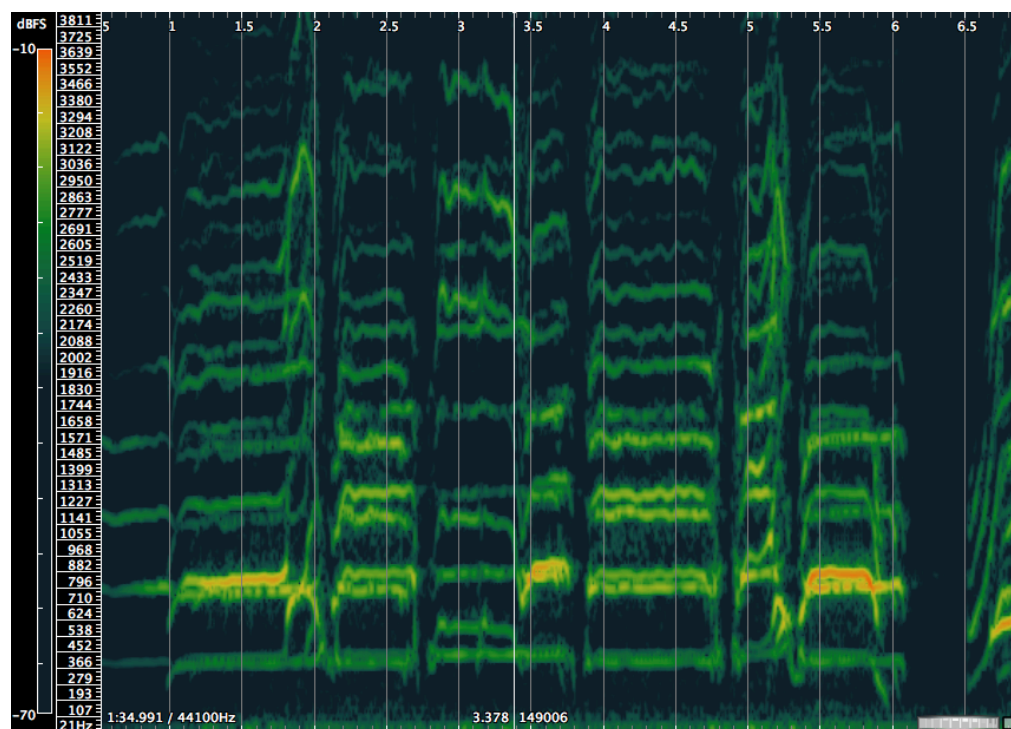


Figure 27 BW

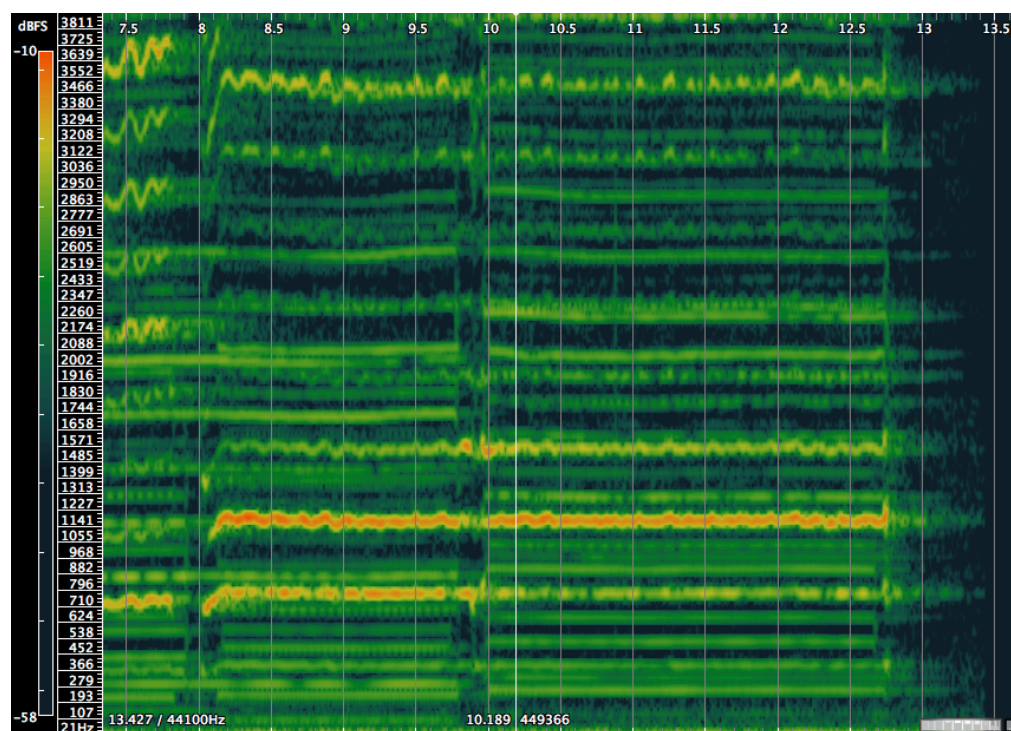


Figure 28 JN

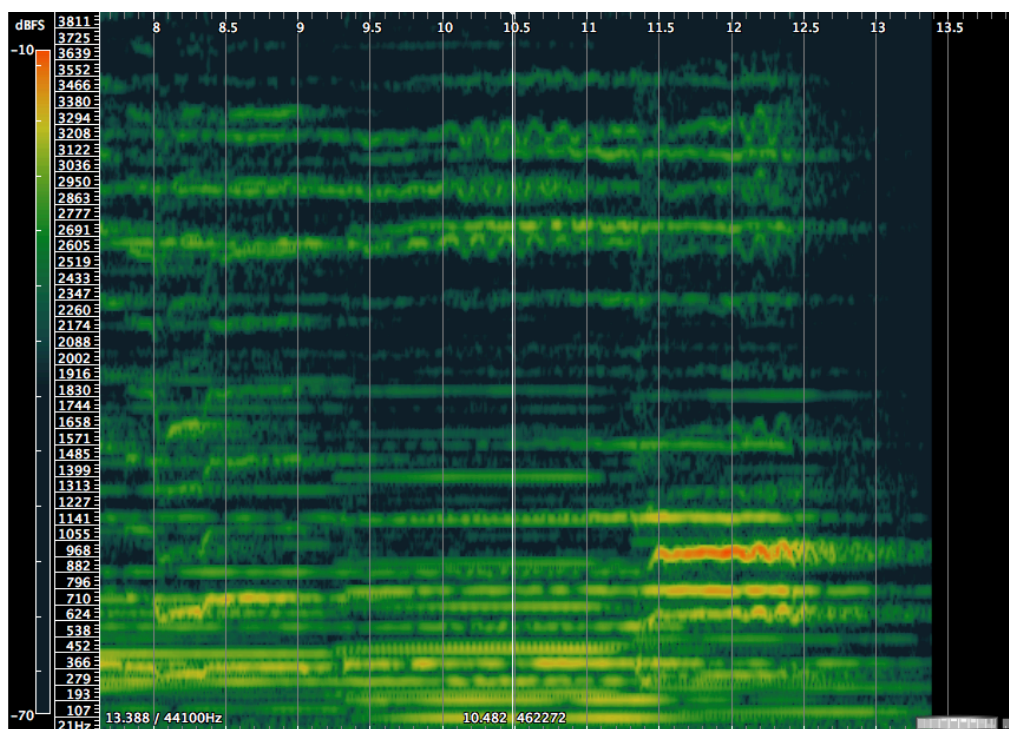


Figure 29 JB

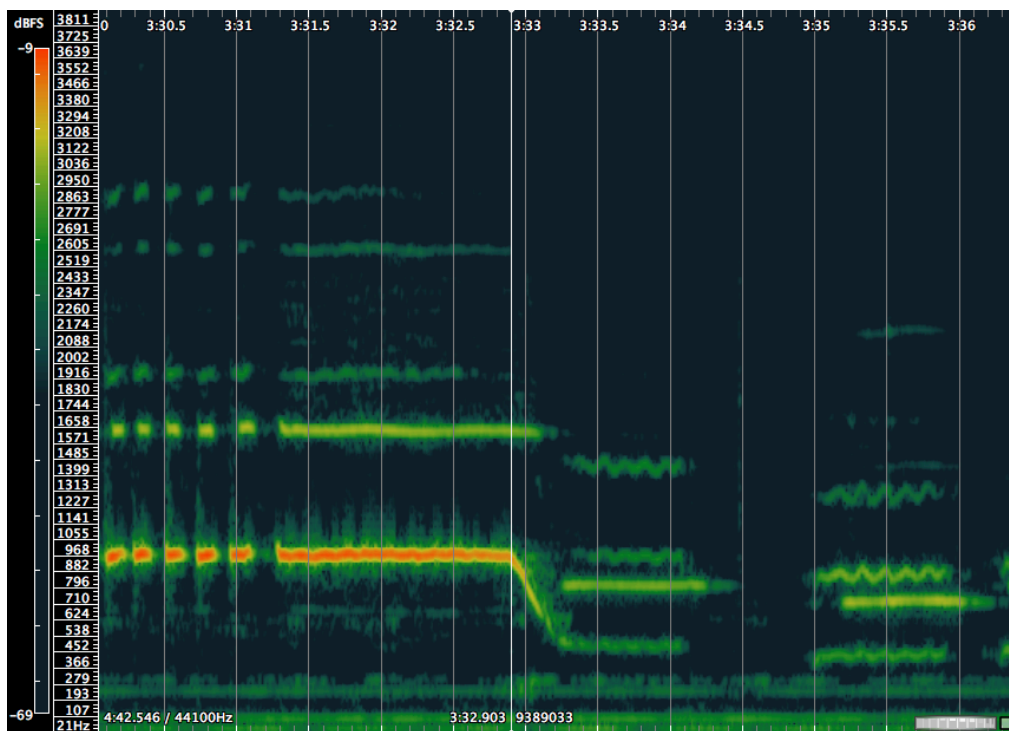


Figure 30 LT

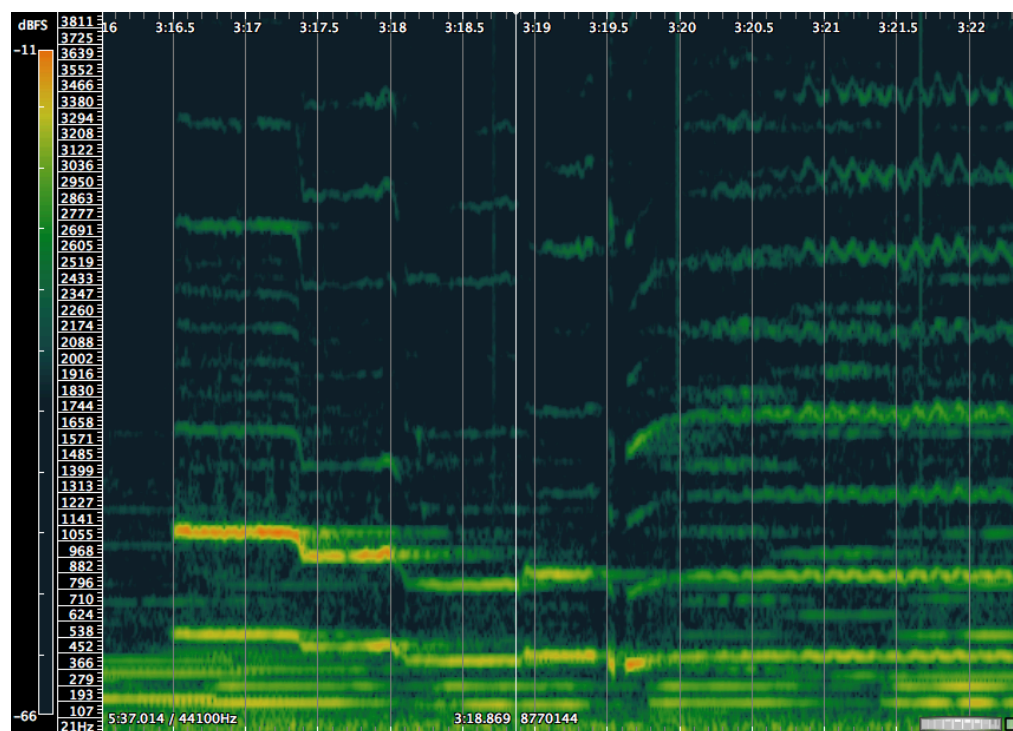


Figure 31 AD

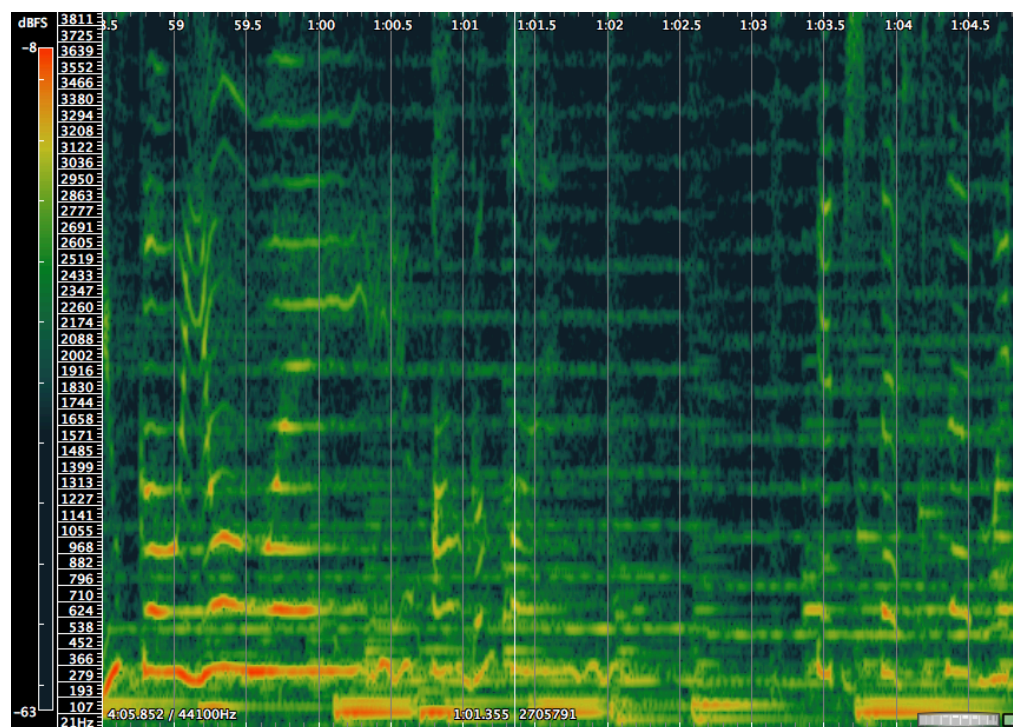


Figure 32 CL

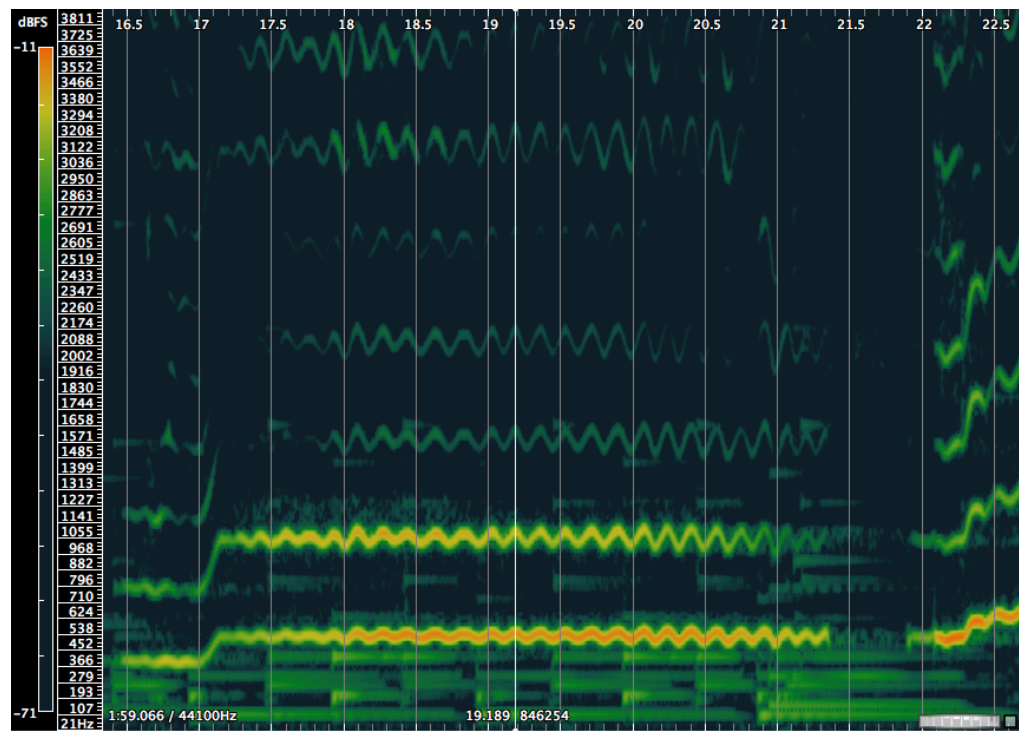


Figure 33 LC

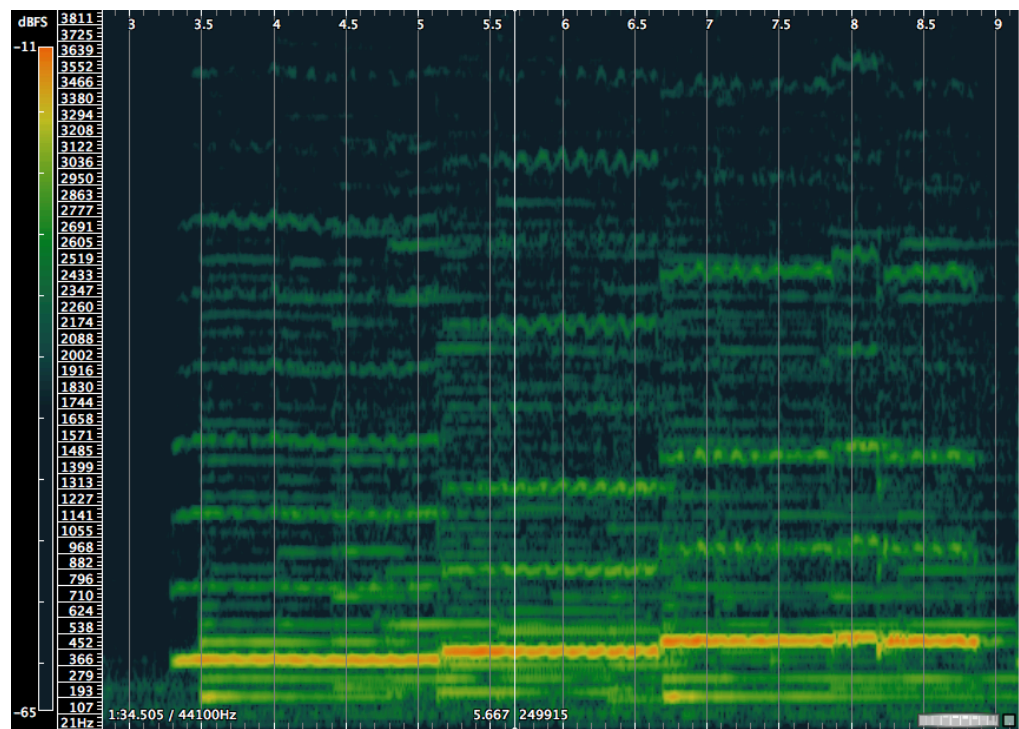


Figure 34 CD

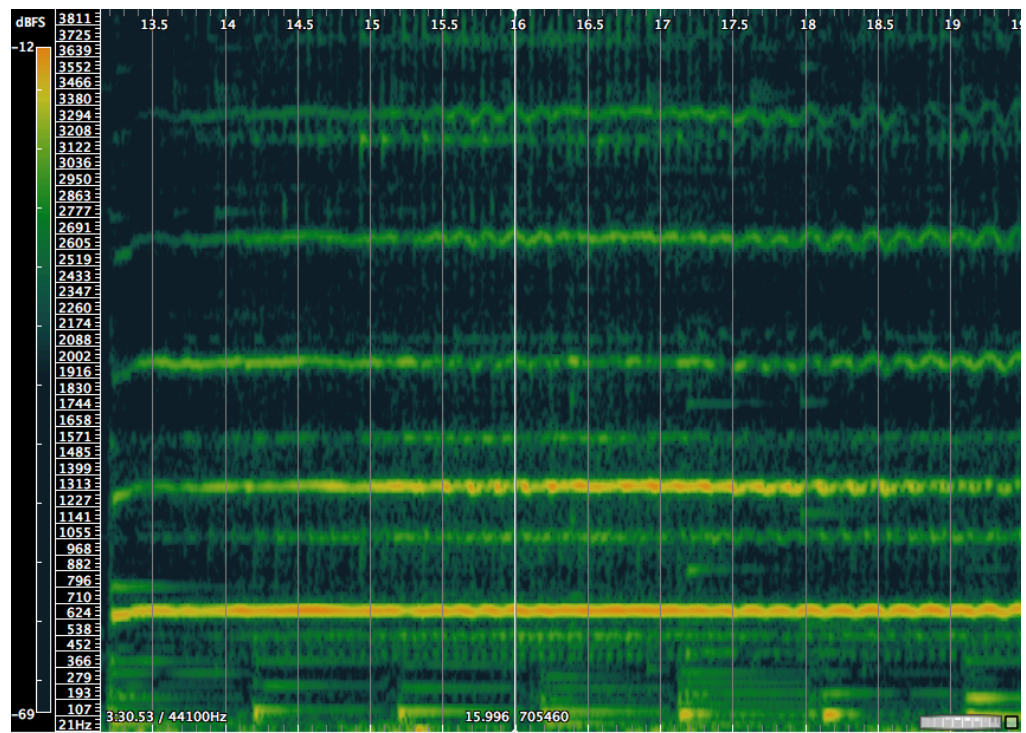


Figure 35 HY

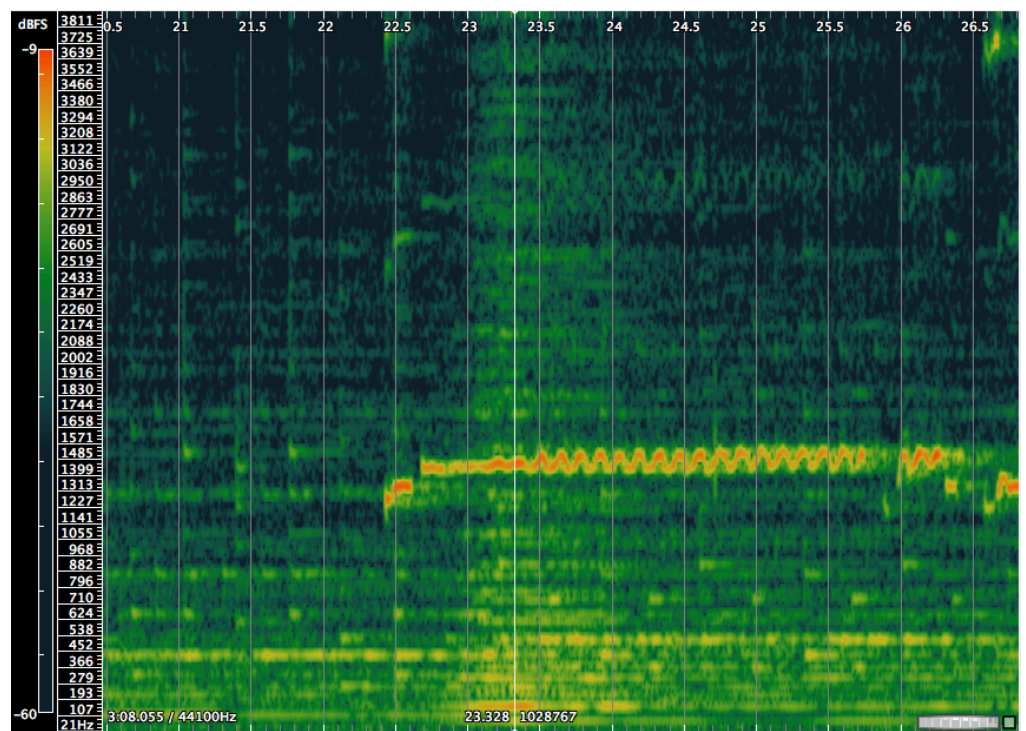


Figure 36 BL

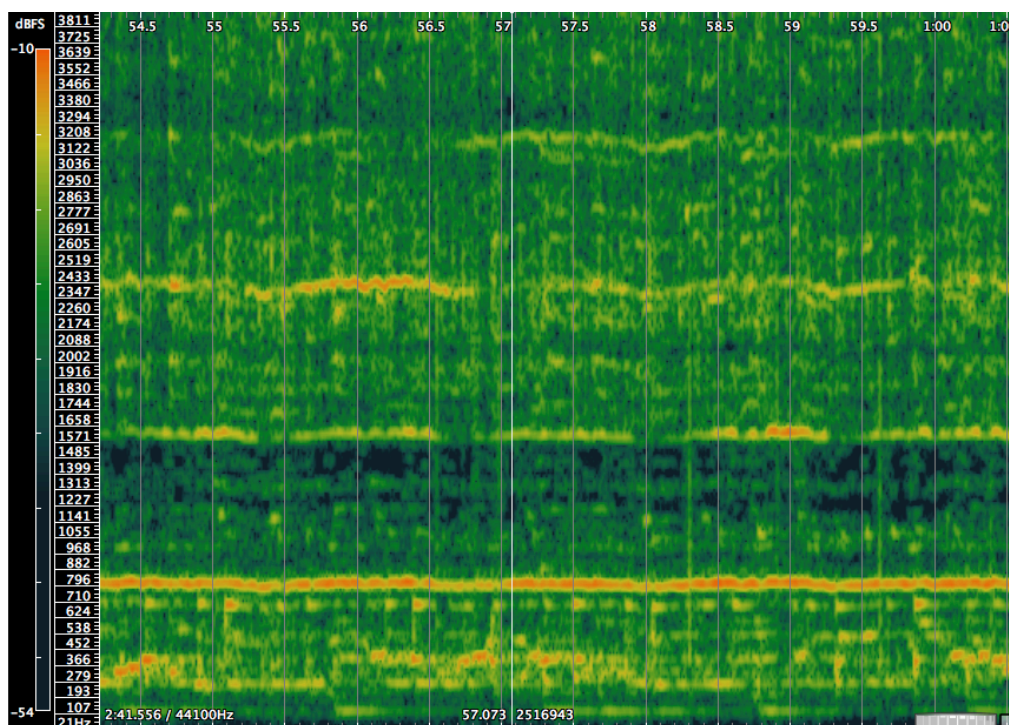


Figure 37 MK

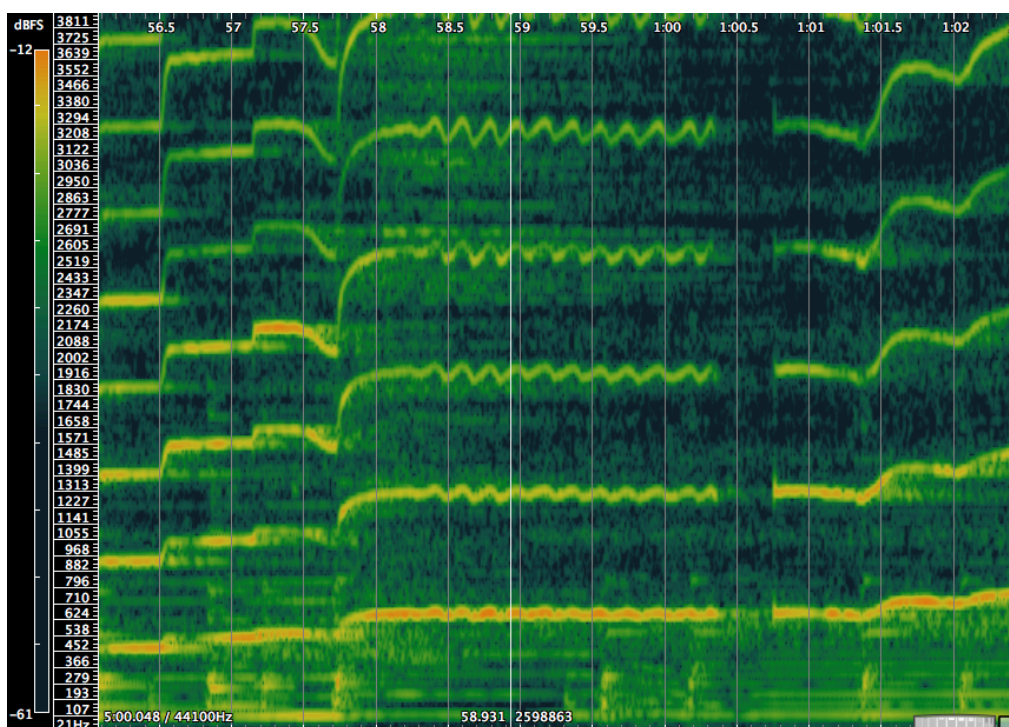


Figure 38 HS

The table of results and the spectrograph images immediately suggest a wide variety of different sounds and vibratos across the selection of recordings. We can now take each recording in turn to trace the main features of Munrow's argument.

In the example of Jussi Björling's (1911–1960) singing, vibrato can be heard clearly on every note except the one in the turn before the climax and the oscillations on the long climatic note are extremely regular. Munrow said that this example was 'a good illustration of the battle between voices and orchestra... [and]...it makes clear that vibrato has become one of the singer's principal weapons in a formidable armoury.'⁴³⁵ In his essay he made a clear link between vibrato and the process of creating enough volume to sing with a large orchestra and below this recording in his list he wrote: 'Whatever you may think of this style of singing and its use in romantic opera, it has produced generations of singers who can't sing in any other way.'⁴³⁶ Since this is the only recording on the list that has a specific location embedded in the essay, we can also relate it to the quote which follows, a sentence from Marafioti's book called *Caruso's Method of Voice Production*:

A wonderful display of brute force [...] performed by ignorant screamers who feel proud of their athletic achievements⁴³⁷

Let us consider why the vibrato is present in the first place. Munrow suggested that it was a necessary by-product of increased volume yet did not elaborate on the link between these two factors. By quoting Marafioti he also implied a *macho* element ('brute force...'). Munrow avoided comments about the physical science of the sound waves and would not have been able to measure them as has been done here without laboratory equipment. However, when it came to the psychology of hearing, he made several comments: First he suggested an appreciation of craft in this singing ('formidable armoury') and implied an alignment of his views with those of Marafioti that it is or could be 'ignorant' and 'athletic'. Secondly, Munrow gave his opinion that

⁴³⁵ Munrow, "Vibrato."

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ P. Mario Marafioti, *Caruso's Method of Voice Production: The Scientific Culture of the Voice* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1922), 35.

these sorts of singers had lost the ability to sing in any other way. This implied that Munrow sought to criticize this style of singing simply because it was inflexible.

For his second example, Munrow again chose a recording of internationally recognized solo singers (Eileen Farrell 1920–2002 and Jan Peerce 1904–1984), but rather than romantic opera they are singing a cantata by J S Bach. The style of singing, however, exhibits some similarities to that of Jussi Björling, chiefly the wide and obvious vibrato as well as the sheer heft of the sound. It is impressive if not a touch overwhelming to the post-HIP listener. Similarly, in the next disc, The Prague Madrigal Singers (PM) recording in 1966 also employ what could be described as a mid-century operatic style of singing. Munrow wrote on his list next to this recording: ‘It’s not just solo singing: listen carefully to this choir – exhibiting many other faults besides vibrato.’ He also adds: ‘The lines of polyphony aren’t clear...’ which is an openly negative reaction to The Prague Madrigal Singers and their use of vibrato as well as being dismissive of their performance standards. This Prague Madrigal Singers example supports Munrow’s observation that ‘...it has produced generations of singers who can’t sing in any other way’ because here, as in the Bach, are singers performing music with is clearly not romantic opera but using the vocal technique one would expect to hear in Verdi’s music. This opening trio of recordings thus appears to demonstrate both the impressive stamina as well as the inflexibility of a modern operatic technique. This universal application of such technique to all eras of music (not just romantic opera) would appear to be Munrow’s chief objection.

The next four recordings on the list appear to belong together in a group since they sound as if they have little or no vibrato at all. Contrasted with the choral singing of The Prague Madrigal Singers is a song which Munrow also played in his radio series *Music of Ritual*: ‘John Barleycorn’, sung by The Young Tradition (TYT). The recording sounds unusual because of the acoustic space, or lack thereof, when a spectrogram is

examined it is obvious that it has been recorded in a particularly dry acoustic as there is almost no reverberation at all. This results in the voices sounding exceptionally delineated. Despite this fact, we can observe from the graph plots that there is vibration here, yet if we cannot hear it then I would suggest it is not vibrato but simply the natural imperfections in a human sound known as jitter.

These British folk singers are followed by a recording of Bulgarian folk singing from the *Argo Living Tradition* series. Their piercing straight-toned voices sing in clear unwavering lines, which at times lock together to form a striking unison. Again, there is no audible vibrato but there is what Morrow described as ‘throat-cuttingly precise harmony’ with wide major seconds and piercing unisons.

The vibratoless soundworld of this group continues with two recordings of the same piece: *Triste Espana* sung first by Jantina Noorman and then by James Bowman. As we have already seen, Noorman was the main singer with *Musica Reservata* with whom Munrow also played at this time. As shown in the last chapter, Michael Morrow had particular views about singing which were influenced by folk singers from the Balkans and these views would have most certainly been known to Munrow when he compiled this discography, leading Noorman’s placement after the Bulgarian voices to be more than coincidental. In the second example of *Triste Espana*, by Munrow’s own ensemble, we hear countertenor James Bowman singing the top line. The contrast between *Musica Reservata*’s attempts to reconstruct older singing techniques and Munrow’s success led John Potter to describe Munrow’s ensemble as the first time that ‘early music singing was perceived as attractive to listen to.’⁴³⁸ This recording of James Bowman’s singing is not the exact one that Munrow listed in his paper since, when he was writing, the album *Music for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain* still lay in the future and Munrow had listed a live BBC broadcast of this piece produced by Stephen

⁴³⁸ John Potter, *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 115.

Plaistow which appears not to have survived. When the EMC *Triste Espana* was measured it was not possible to calculate the speed of James Bowman's vibrato on any notes apart from the last one because that was the only note that had enough *clear* cycles in it.⁴³⁹ We may also note that Noorman exhibited measurable oscillations despite vibrato being difficult to identify by ear. These two performers are similar examples of minimal-vibrato singing where the measured deviations of pitch are vocal imperfections rather than intentional oscillations. These four recordings appear to represent a negligible vibrato style and vibrant, clear lines of music.

There then followed a pair of recordings that Munrow grouped with the same explanation:

Many of the best early opera singers did use vibrato with taste, care and could effect a portamento.⁴⁴⁰

Luisa Tetrazzini (1871–1940) came first and although famous for her romantic opera roles, is of an earlier generation than Jussi Björling, and therefore represents a very different style of singing. This is highlighted by Munrow's use of the term 'early opera singers' and with this in mind it seems Tetrazzini's presence in this discography is merely to show simply that she is capable of lesser vibrato rather than to comment on a larger change in singing styles. In this extract Tetrazzini was singing with minimal vibrato to imitate birdsong and she called this her 'white voice' and wrote about her decision to sing this way:

Too wide a smile often accompanies what is called "the white voice." This is a voice production where a head resonance alone is employed [...]. This "white voice" should be thoroughly understood and is one of the many shades of tone a singer can use at times, just as the impressionist uses various unusual colors to produce certain atmospheric effects.

⁴³⁹ Five clear cycles of vibrato were taken as the standard measurement for vibrato speed throughout this paper.

⁴⁴⁰ Munrow, "Vibrato."

For instance, in the mad scene in "Lucia" the use of the "white voice" suggests the babbling of the mad woman, as the same voice in the last act of "Traviata" or in the last act of "Boheme" suggests utter physical exhaustion and the approach of death. Having touched upon the reasoning and technique behind 'white voice' she offered the following caveat:

An entire voice production on these colorless lines, however, would always lack the brilliancy and the vitality which inspire enthusiasm.⁴⁴¹

So Munrow felt that this example of Tetrizzini's singing demonstrated her flexibility as an artist, it showed that she was in control of her vibrato because she could reduce it to 'white voice' passages on demand. This is something which Munrow seems to imply that later generations of artists like Björling or the Prague Madrigal Singers could not do. Interestingly, Tetrizzini also wrote directly about the subject of Vibrato:

The pupil suffering from tremolo or even very strong vibrato must have courage to stop at once and to forego having a big voice. After all, the most beautiful voices in the world are not necessarily the biggest voices, and certainly the tremolo is about the worst fault a singer can have. But that, like almost any other vocal defect, can be cured by persistent effort of the right kind.⁴⁴²

Here we can observe one possible source in which Munrow may have read about a link between vibrato and volume.

The second of this pair of soloists is Alfred Deller (1912–1979), a countertenor whose sound is quite different from James Bowman (although we should note that he is singing quite different repertoire and at a higher tessitura than Bowman). Despite beginning his notes with almost undetectable oscillation, Deller's vibrato is much more obvious towards the ends of the notes where it reaches 227cents showing that he, too, seems to be able to use vibrato with discretion.

The last section of recordings was grouped under a note by Munrow: 'Use of all kinds of controlled vibrato in jazz and pop worlds'. Cleo Laine (1927-) came first, and

⁴⁴¹ Luisa Tetrizzini and Enrico Caruso, *Caruso and Tetrizzini on the Art of Singing* (New York: Dover Publications, 1975), 30.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 37.

as one of the most famous jazz singers of the time would have been a recognizable voice of the early 1970s. Laine, like Deller, also used vibrato most noticeably towards the end of her notes rather than consistently throughout and with much larger oscillations than Deller. In fact, this last group of extracts appears to serve the purpose of merely demonstrating that there is a large variety of vibrato types available, the pressure-vibrato of Carl Dolmetsch's recorder playing, the intermittent vibrato of the South American flutes, Panpipes, a Turkish clarinet player and the sensuously slow vibrato of a modern jazz saxophone - so slow in fact it is almost a pitch bend rather than true vibrato. Munrow shows us that vibrato is not the intellectual copyright of Western art-music, and that it is a far more complex and varied phenomenon than the regular oscillations of modern Western operatic technique.

When these vocal vibratos are plotted onto a graph we can draw comparisons between them more readily and we can see an exemplification of Harold Seashore's conclusion: '...the vibrato is not heard even by the best musician as it really is, which lies at the bottom of the confusion which has prevailed on this subject.'⁴⁴³ So with Seashore's words in mind, it ought not to surprise us that some of these figures turn out to be rather unexpected.

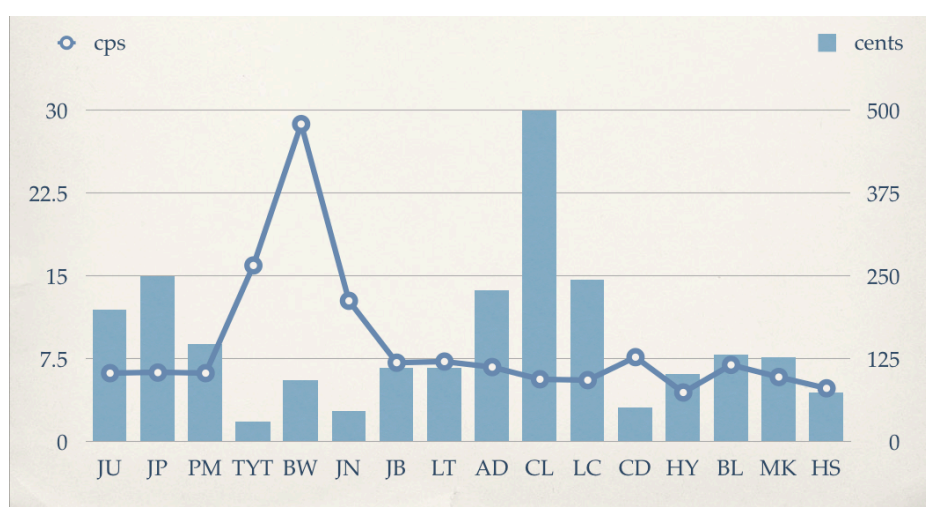


Figure 39 Results graph

⁴⁴³ Seashore, *The Vibrato*, 10.

The first three recordings, JU, JP and PM, show a similarity of pitch depth and vibrato speed that we would expect from their aural characteristics.

One of the first things we can note about the second group is that none of these singers could completely eliminate pitch vibration from their voices despite sounding as if they had. That is no great surprise because this is one of the features that enables us recognize a sound as human, a phenomenon which has been described by John Chowning in his study 'Perceptual Fusion and Auditory Perspective'.⁴⁴⁴ What is surprising is that TYT, BW, JN and JB all sound like vibratoless production. There are actually good reasons to disregard this second group of recordings from this graph altogether: first, TYT, BW and JN are all greater than 12 cycles per second which is too fast to be considered vibrato suggesting that spectrogram technology enables us to measure with more accuracy than we can hear and secondly, JB only exhibited vibrato cycles in one note on the entire recording so that can be considered an anomaly. If 'the ear is the ultimate judge' these recorded sounds do not exhibit a noticeable vibrato.

The next group: LT and AD both display oscillations albeit LT at a shallower pitch depth (which is presumably what contributes to the 'white noise' approach). But how to explain Deller's apparently standard vibrato size? This is easily accounted for when we look at the characteristic shape of vibrato on key notes; a straight sound which develops into a standard vibrato later. This is something we can observe even more clearly in the vocals of Cleo Lane too:

⁴⁴⁴ John Chowning, "Perceptual Fusion and Auditory Perspective," in *Music, Cognition, and Computerized Sound*, ed., Perry Cook (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), 265.

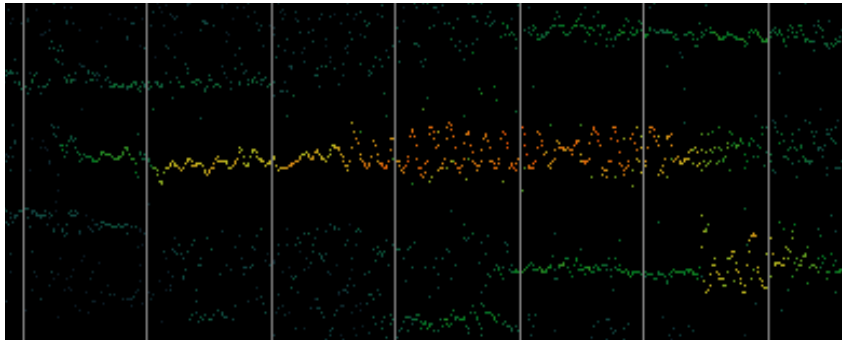


Figure 40 Deller: developing vibrato

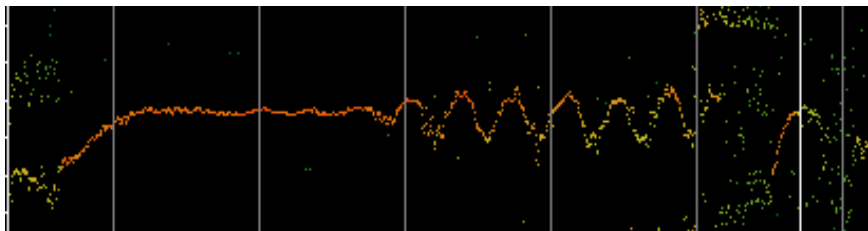


Figure 41 Laine: developing vibrato

Figure 40 shows the syllable ‘to-’ from ‘qui tolis’ sung by Alfred Deller with white vertical lines placed at 1second intervals. Figure 41 shows the word ‘do’ sung by Cleo Laine, with white lines placed at 0.5 second intervals. In both of these cases we can see clearly how the note begins with a minimal vibrato and develops over time. (Here, the magnification is different for each image so please refer to the earlier screen-grabs for an indication of the relative size and speed of each cycle.)

The front of Deller’s note tells us a lot about the way we hear vibrato or, as in this case, the way we often *do not* hear it. There is a visually noticeable imperfection on the waveform plot but we do not hear vibrato on the recording until the strong, wider, more regular cycles after the first 1.5 seconds. Regularity of frequency and depth is key to our detection and perception of vibrato. Cleo Laine’s truly straight-toned front-end is prefaced by a stylish portamento which is a characteristic of her personal style. This portamento gives the front part of her note warmth and intimacy, two characteristics we would not expect in the absence of vibrato.

From the colouring of the spectrogram we can also see that the intensity of Laine's waveform is subject to change. The peak of each vibrato wave from her voice is more red than the middle or bottom which may explain the bright sound of her voice. In Deller's example we notice a general swelling of intensity that occurs when vibrato begins to become noticeable towards the second half of the note which suggests he is (deliberately or otherwise) highlighting vibrato as an expressive device.

In his next section Munrow has paired an example of recorder playing by Carl Dolmetsch with a track by the South American musicians *Los Calchakis*. His comment that it is 'quite wrong to suggest that vibrato is a sophisticated device and that primitive musicians don't use it' is written beside these two discs.⁴⁴⁵ In the table and the figures above, the singer of *Los Calchakis* was measured, (as it is assumed from the title of the paper—vocal vibrato—that this was the point Munrow was making) but like Dolmetsch this track also begins with a pressure vibrato on the recorder.

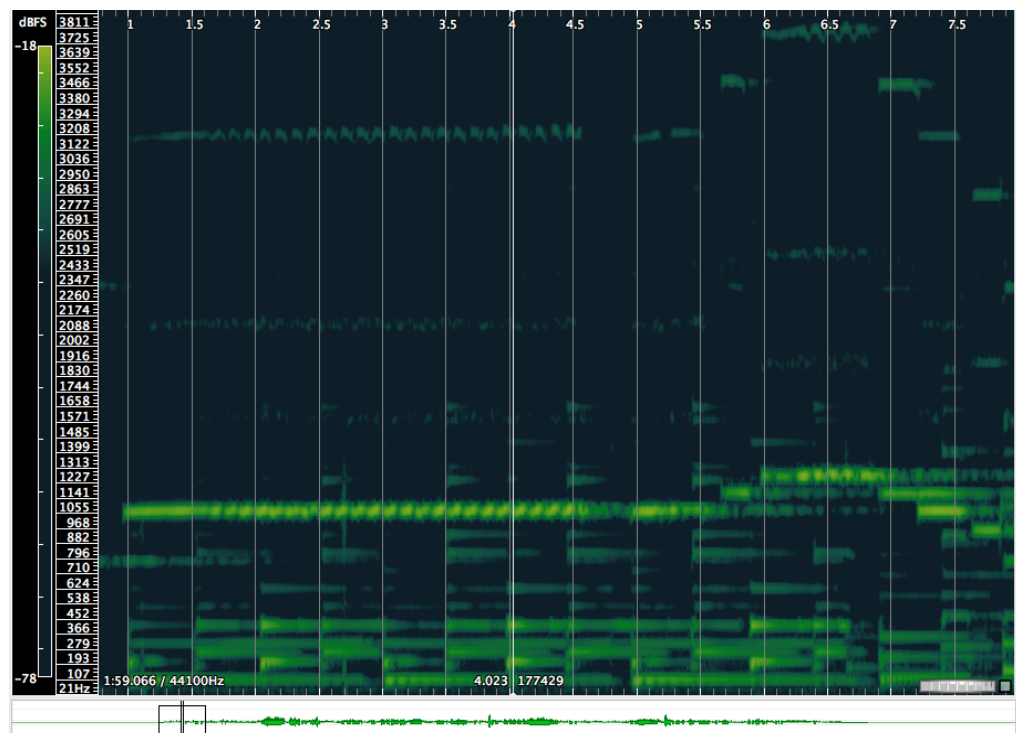


Figure 42 LC: first entry (second note of the piece) pressure vibrato

⁴⁴⁵ Munrow, "Vibrato."

This first recorder entry shows pulsations of intensity (and therefore breath pressure) in the recorder playing. It can be seen more clearly in the upper partial of the spectrogram although the changing colour of the lower plot also indicates changes of intensity. If we compare this variation of intensity with Carl Dolmetsch, the results are surprising:

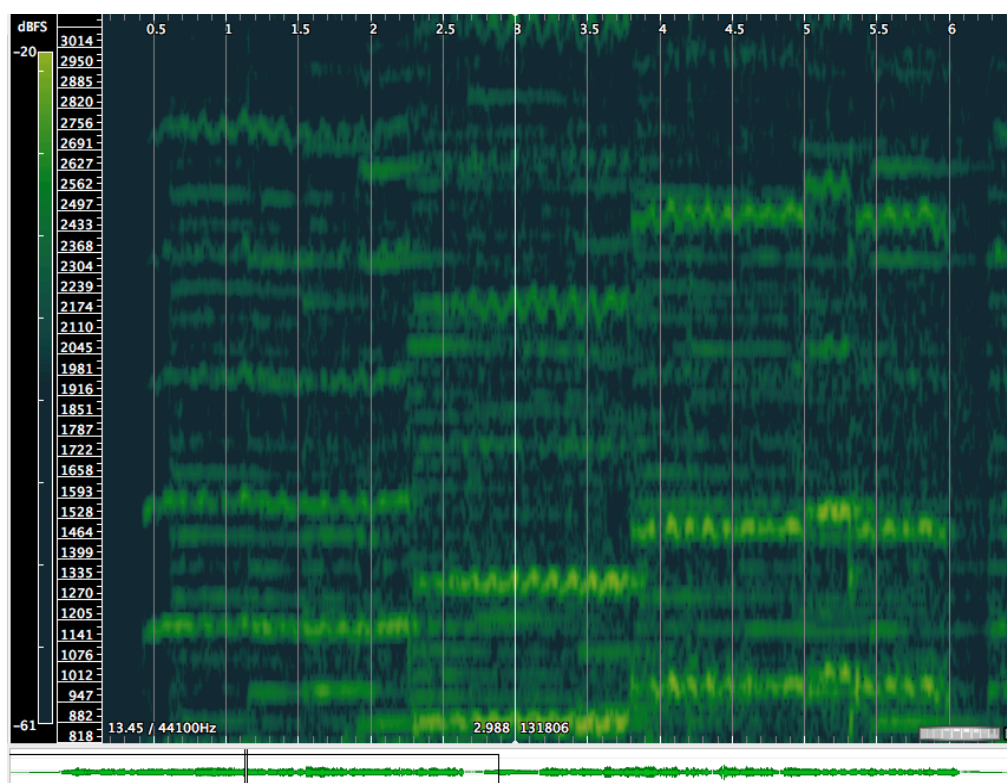


Figure 43 CD: first entry

The vibrato of Dolmetsch has a more regular shape and, indeed, he seems to be using an unusually obvious amount of vibrato, much more than in other tracks from the same recording session with Joseph Saxby. It is fair to assume, therefore, that vibrato is an important part of his interpretation of *Heartsease*. The results when plotted on the graph (CD) are most similar to James Bowman (JB). Yet the vibrato from Dolmetsch is more shallow than James Bowman, so why does it sound so obvious? The explanation is twofold: first Dolmetsch applies vibrato for the duration of each and every note whereas Bowman's singing uses vibrato only on one note in the entire piece, and then

for only part of the note. Secondly, Dolmetsch's playing includes more pressure vibrato so what we hear is a difference in wind pressure on the recorder to make the oscillating sound. In order to see this clearly the colour rotation has to be increased to 100 on the spectrogram software and the display set to show peak bins only. This colouring allows us to see how the intensity of the waveform changes constantly through each note with green being the least intense and red the most intense. This effect is greatly enhanced because the note passes in and out of a narrow frequency band which constitutes one of the 'singer's formants'. Anything within that band is louder than outside it thus a fluctuation of volume can be detected by the listener during the note. Here we can see that the upper part of the cycle is more intense than the lower:

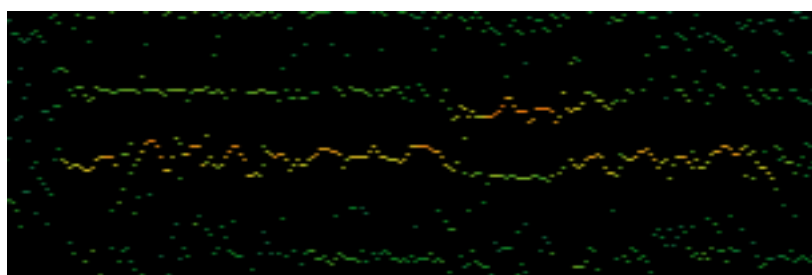


Figure 44 CD: changes of intensity during vibrato cycles

The resulting aural similarity, which is what Munrow would have considered, of these two recorder players (LC and CD) is striking and by exploring their waveforms electronically we realize that pressure vibrato is what contributes to this similarity. Munrow may have therefore been intending to point out similarities of vibrato across the different traditions of the music and the players in these extracts.

In the last group of examples Munrow simply wrote on his list 'Vibrato as an expressive device' and here we see the most pronounced demonstration of the developed vibrato: Bach's *Air on a G String* played on the Japanese shakuhachi (bamboo flute) which was the first example of this section. Here is the first note of that recording taken from the spectrogram plot.

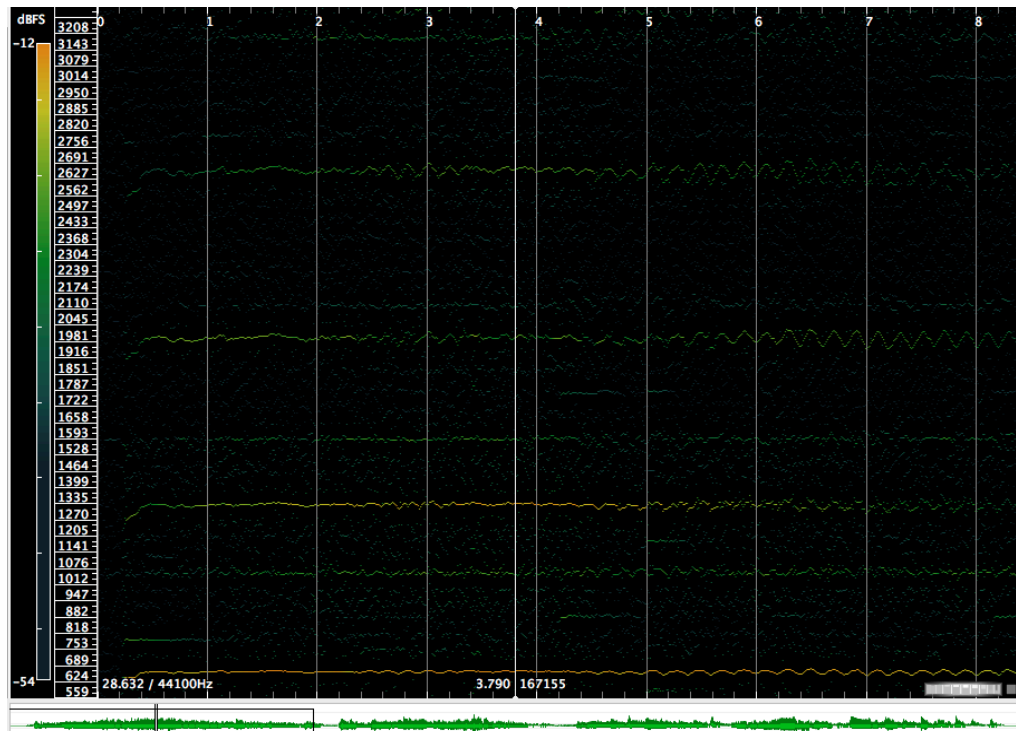


Figure 45 HY: first note

There is an obvious development of the vibrato through the note in this example too and the same phenomenon is observed in much of the shakuhachi playing on this track. We should also note that at a rate of 4.4 cycles per second this is one of the slowest vibratos we have heard so far and therefore one of the most prominent. This phenomenon of developing vibrato is also shown on many of the long notes of the panpipes in the following example *Doina Oltului Hora*.

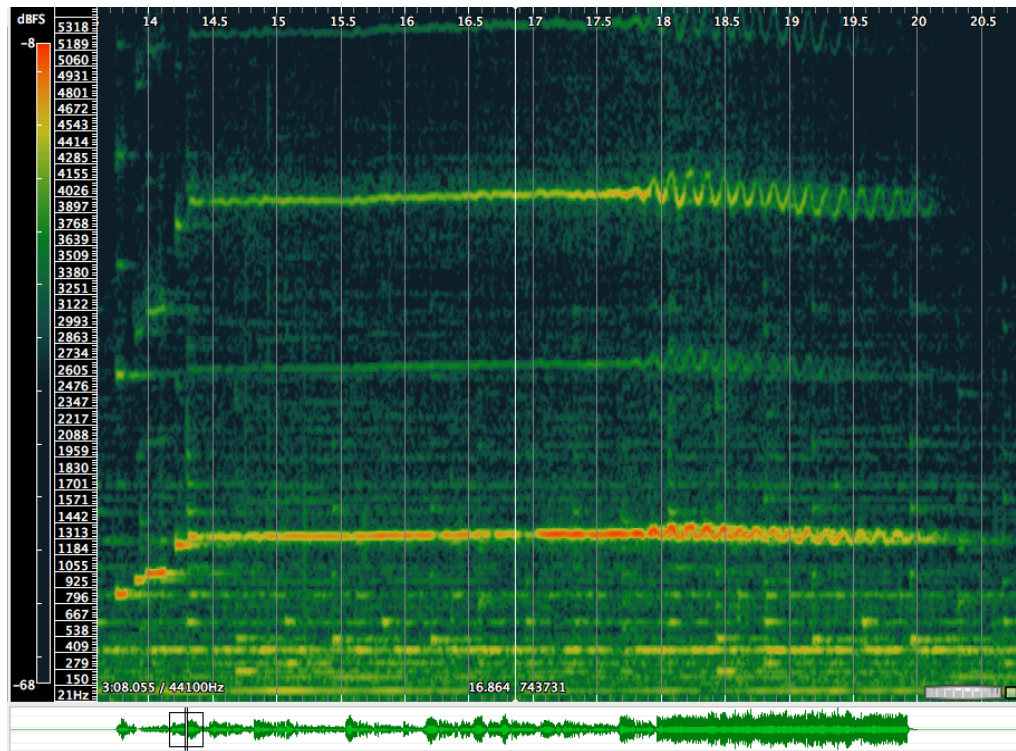


Figure 46 BL: developing vibrato on a long note

Mustafa Kandirali's clarinet solo in *Melvana* shows a mixture of straight toned and vibrato notes with a clear instance of a long note developing vibrato. The slowest vibrato, however, is recorded in the last example on Munrow's list: *Feathers* by Hale Smith, played on the saxophone by Eric Dolphy. This has a rate as low as 1 cycle per second on certain prominent long notes, and moves through 117 cents so it arguably slows down to a pitch bend effect and ceases to become vibrato at all. The vibrato measured for our purposes here, though, is from one of these regular sections on the image below since this is a frequently occurring formation on long notes. In this spectrogram plot we can see that not only is the vibrato prominent and slow but portamento is also an important part of this performance.

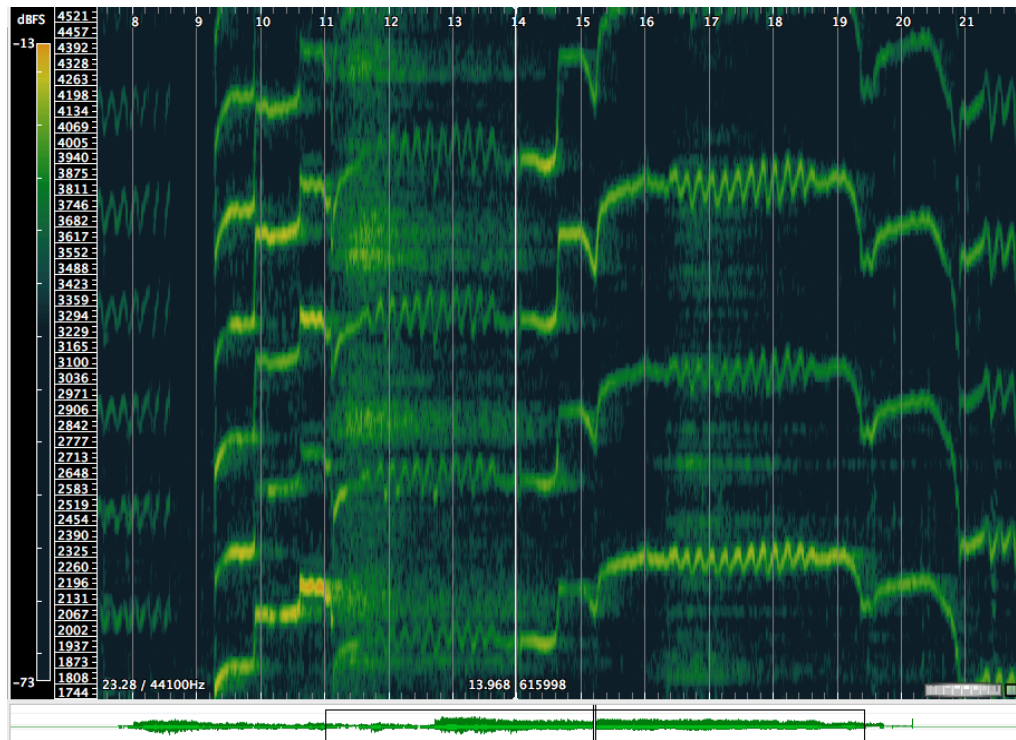


Figure 47 HS: characteristic portamento and developing vibrato shapes

This combination of slow vibrato and portamento coupled with reasonably straight toned beginning on long notes is an essential part of the lazy, intimate feeling of Smith's playing. It sounds unhurried and improvisatory.

Interpreting the results

Taking the information above we can now consider how Munrow has built his discography. It starts with two groups of three examples. In the first group (JU, JP, PM) he began by playing an example of modern operatic singing as used chiefly in romantic opera, with Jussi Björling. Björling used an obvious and constant vibrato. Munrow expressed disappointment that many artists *exclusively* use constant vibrato even in non-operatic repertoire and to illustrate the point he included recordings of Bach cantata 42 and The Prague Madrigal singers singing Monteverdi both with constant and obvious vibrato from the singers. Munrow's point would appear to be that whilst this is a

perfectly legitimate and impressive style of singing it is not suitable for all forms of music.

Contrasted with this constant vibrato singing, Munrow's next section of the list included music where negligible vibrato was used (TYT, BW, JN, JB). First the folk singing of The Young Tradition where the style was bold and clear with minimal vibrato, and then the voices of Jantina Noorman and James Bowman both demonstrate singing the same song with minimal vibrato but using very different vocal techniques. This section of the discography seems to demonstrate how much variation there is in a minimal vibrato sound and also how clear and tidy homophonic and polyphonic textures can sound when vibrato is reduced. That Munrow also included a track of Bulgarian singing in this section of his discography may well have been intended as drawing a parallel with the research that Michael Morrow was undertaking into folk singing as an explanation of Jantina Noorman's singing style. The results from these four are all irregular; the vibrato is either too intermittent to warrant measuring (JB) or too fast to be considered vibrato. In these latter cases it is possible that the spectrogram shows 'jitter' (JN particularly) which is the natural imperfections on a waveform produced from a human voice. Measurements should be viewed with those considerations.

The next two extracts show famous solo singers from a Western music tradition singing solo arias with little vibrato. Luisa Tetrazzini and Alfred Deller (LT, AD) both sing parts of their arias with minimal vibrato but do allow it to develop on longer notes. Munrow acknowledges that Tetrazzini is from an earlier generation than Björling (a generation where singing styles were different) but he chooses an example with especially minimal vibrato to show that reducing vibrato is a skill Tetrazzini has. This theme is then taken up in the track from Cleo Laine (CL) who develops a very wide vibrato on long notes which all start with minimal oscillation suggesting that she uses vibrato consciously rather than automatically. This section highlights that some artists

can exercise choice and control over their vibrato and Munrow also crosses the high art/low art binary between pop, jazz and classical.

Then Munrow turns to instruments and includes two examples of vibrato on the recorder, one from Latin America and one by Carl Dolmetsch (CD) notable for use of pressure vibrato. And in the last few examples included in this study we find uses of vibrato as an ‘expressive device’ by a Japanese shakuhachi player (HY), panpipes (BL), a Turkish clarinet solo (MK) and a jazz saxophonist (HS). These tracks show vibrato developing on long notes but not being omnipresent on every note. These vibratos were among the slowest measured and the wide tradition of musics surveyed also makes an important cultural point; vibrato is not the sole domain of Western musicians.

A toolkit for interpreting vibrato

If we relate these results to the subsequent research from scientific fields, it would appear that Munrow had a keen ear. First, on the point of regularity in operatic singing, Johan Sundberg’s research from the early 1980s concludes that:

The regularity of this modulation [phonation frequency] is considered a sign of the singer’s vocal skill: the more regular the vibrato, the more skilled the singer.⁴⁴⁶

This would appear to agree with the regularity of the first three examples and also of the singing of Victoria de Los Angeles examined in the previous chapter. Björling’s vibrato is the most regular and, it is notable, that his singing is balancing quite a loud orchestra. Munrow already pointed to a connection between volume and vibrato as part of the singer’s ‘formidable armoury’ and again, turning to Sundberg’s seminal study of Western operatic singing we find he is in agreement:

The amplitude of the vibrato undulations varies with loudness of phonation [...] Generally the extent is ± 1 or 2 semitones (we recall that a semitone step along an equally tempered scale corresponds to a frequency difference of almost 6%).

⁴⁴⁶ Johan Sundberg, *The Science of the Singing Voice* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1987), 163.

Vibrato rates smaller than ± 0.5 semitones are more typical of wind instruments than of singers, and vibrato rates exceeding ± 2 semitones tend to sound bad.⁴⁴⁷

Remember that Sundberg is only considering Western operatic singing yet this is in agreement with Munrow's observations. Now it becomes obvious how Tetrassini sang her scene with minimal vibrato, because in this scene her singing is so soft that volume is not needed whereas in Björling's scene he is more heavily orchestrated and producing a wide spectrum of sound in order to balance that orchestra. Besides, his aria is a crowd-pleaser and as such demands high volume since it is intended to impress and overwhelm the audience with its power and physical endurance, whereas Tetrassini's 'Mad Scene' is of an entirely different psychological nature altogether. There is a further point to be made here about the history of singing, Tetrassini belongs to an earlier generation than Björling where styles were different. In fact, Tenors singing Italian opera started using heavy vibrato long before anyone else and Björling is a wonderful example of this famous sound which would not have been known to Tetrassini's generation.

This short comparison is pointing towards a different sort of toolkit than has been imagined so far. Whilst the measurement of vibrato speed and depth, as undertaken in the graphs above and as undertaken by Denis Stevens in 1970, proved that Munrow had a good and perceptive ear for understanding vibrato, it is the shape and the nature of the vibrato use that seems to be the theme running through these examples. With this in mind, a toolkit for understanding Munrow's approach to vibrato must include consideration of when vibrato is used, rather than just the depth and speed of that vibrato. We should, based on the evidence so far, expect it to be used in a developing fashion (like Cleo Laine or Alfred Deller) and not in a constant fashion like Björling.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 164.

Vibrato in other recordings by David Munrow

The Early Music Consort of London's chief singer was James Bowman, a voice which we know instantly impressed Munrow on first hearing. Bowman's sound is that of minimal (if any) vibrato. The other countertenors that Munrow uses regularly are Charles Brett and David James; singers also noted for their own minimal vibrato.

Taking Brett's singing into consideration first, it is useful to find a track where he is a solo singer. There are only a few such tracks under Munrow's direction since Brett was more often used as an ensemble singer but in volume II of *The Art of Courty Love* Brett sings *De home vray* by Johannes de Meruco accompanied by rebecs and an alto cornemuse.⁴⁴⁸

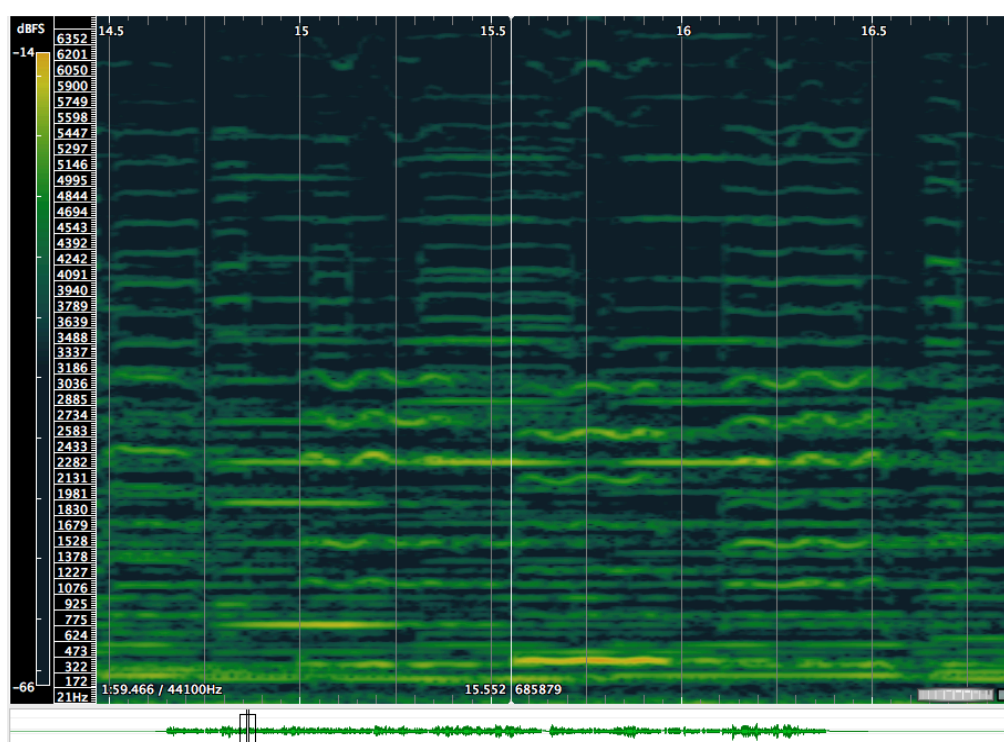


Figure 48 *De home vray*

⁴⁴⁸ Incidentally, as Ian Bent notes in his review of Trecento repertoire as recorded by Morrow and Munrow, that this harsh reeds-and-alto ensemble is unusual for Munrow and is more associated with Morrow: 'James Bowman's smooth countertenor voice on the former contrasts sharply with the throaty 'shouting' style of Jantina Noorman, whose voice is often combined in Reservata's favourite ensemble with two alto crumhorns to produce a bristling, ear-cleansing sound quite foreign to David Munrow's conception of the music.' Suggesting that this very combination is derived by Munrow from his work with Morrow. Ian D. Bent, "Review: Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron by Musica Reservata; Morrow; Beckett," *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1527 (1970), 513.

Brett's voice is easy to distinguish in this spectrogram because it is surrounded by straight instrumental tones. In this particular part of the spectrogram Brett has three hocketed notes in a melisma on the French 'eu' vowel sound. His voice can be seen clearly against the straight tones of the instruments. His vibrato sounds slight on very short notes, and is often intermittent. It measures as 114 cents in depth (over a semitone) and aurally, it is noticeable as a gentle flutter rather than a true vibrato.

Martyn Hill, a frequent singer with the EMC has the most noticeable vibrato of any of the performers and his voice is closest to the traditional operatic sound. An example of his most 'operatic' style of all performances for Munrow can be heard on *En memoria d'Alixandre*.⁴⁴⁹ In this track, Hill is accompanied by a regal, and from the figure below we can see the contrast in tone:

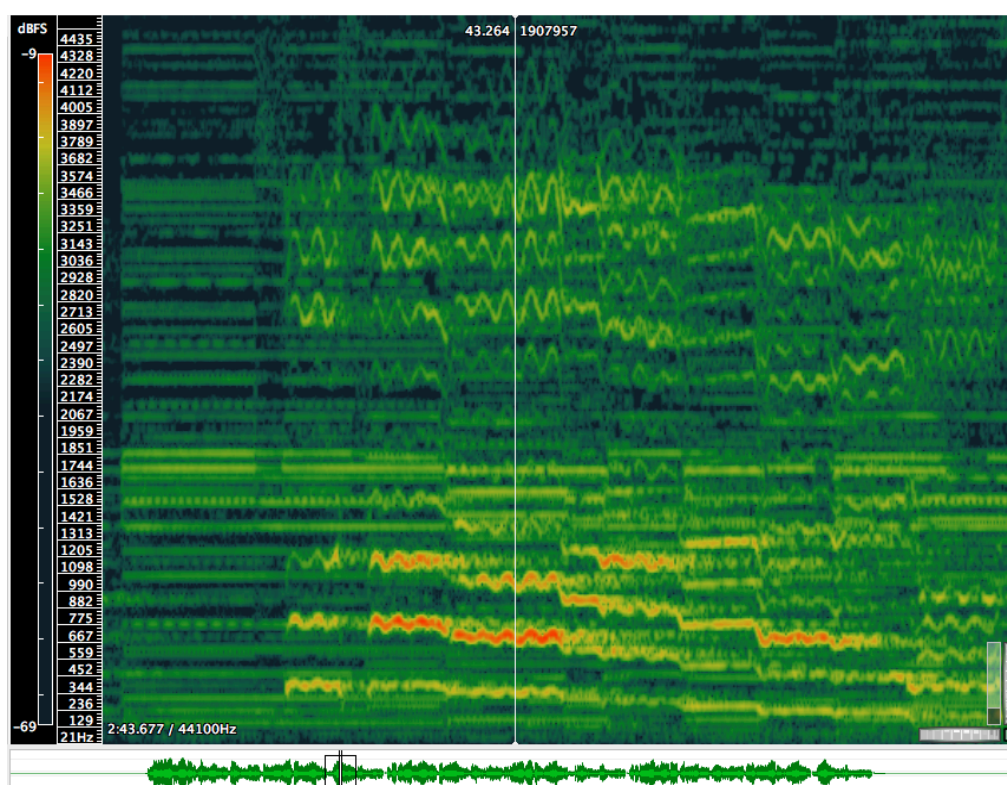


Figure 49 Martyn Hill and regal

⁴⁴⁹ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain*, EMI, CSD 3738, 1973, LP.

First the regal is playing several notes and its clear, straight tone can be seen. Compared with this it is easy to identify the waveform of Hill's voice and with that the incongruity of Hill's vibrato with the straight tone of the regal. This is a clear departure from the Morrow-approach of twinning 'bite and attack' which is similar between an instrument and a voice.

On the long note in figure 50, Hill's vibrato is 259 cents wide and 5.30 cycles per second, which is quite slow and sounds quite obvious. However, it is only really in operation towards the end of the note, following this *developing vibrato* style that I suggest is a Munrow trait.

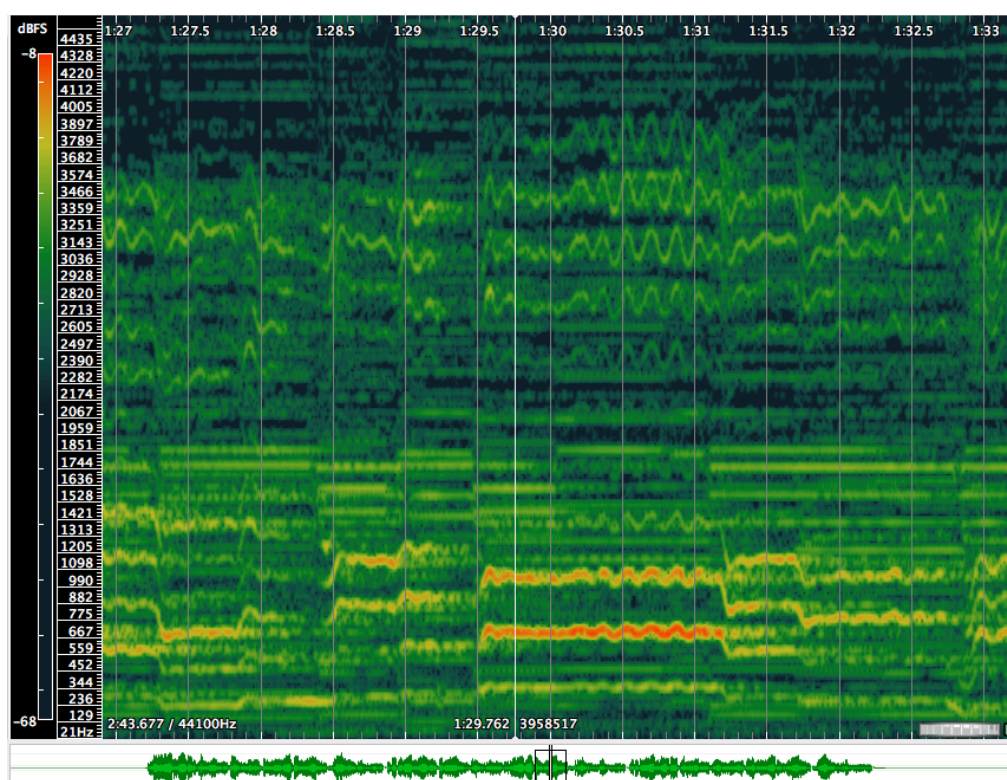


Figure 50 Hill: vibrato on a long note

Hill's voice is strong in the traditional 'singers' formant' but, as we see in this instance of the *Munrow trait*, his vibrato is not constantly used and neither is it entirely regular when it is in operation. This takes away from the operatic sound and leaves a clarity to each pitch; the antithesis of the 'nearest semitone' approach which Morrow

railed against. Interestingly, Hill remembers that he was not included in Munrow's plans to reform his consort towards the end of his life but that he did promise ongoing solo engagements. Munrow, Hill recalls, was encouraging him to pursue an operatic career and not a consort one with the EMC.⁴⁵⁰

A quick glance at the singing of Nigel Rogers in *Questa fanciull'amor* allows us to briefly survey the singing of another tenor soloist who worked much less frequently with the Early Music Consort of London.⁴⁵¹

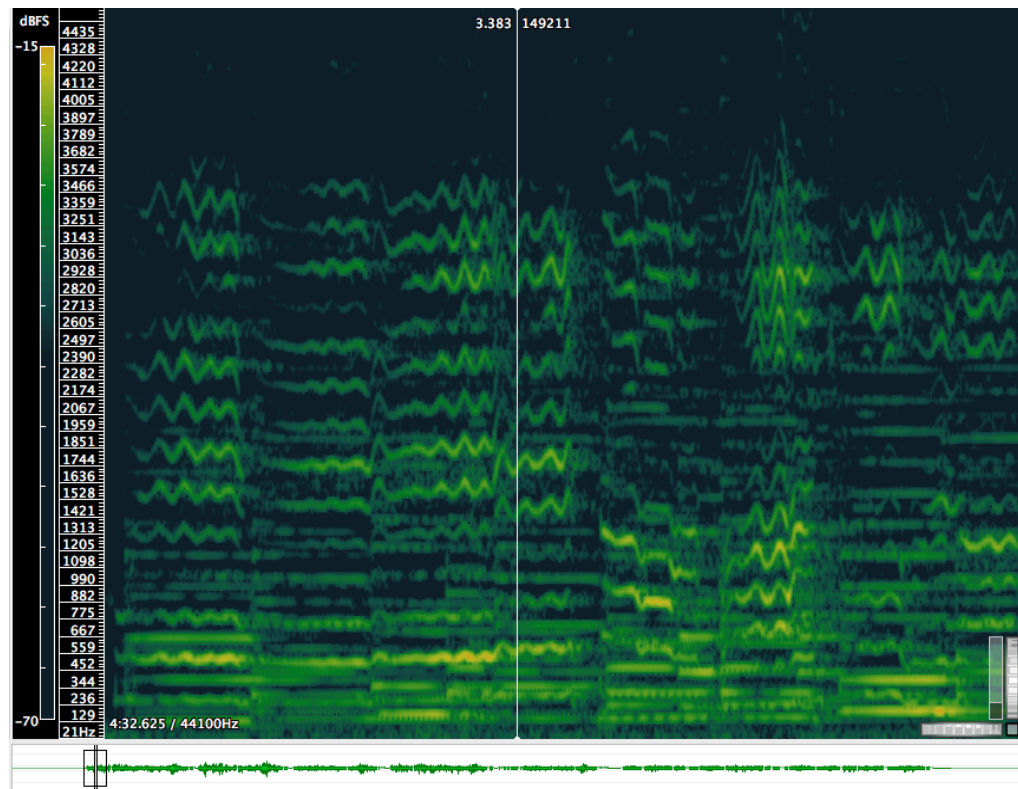


Figure 51 Nigel Rogers: *Questa fanciull'amor*

Rogers' approach to vibrato is much more consistent within each note and the cycles are much more regular.

⁴⁵⁰ Martyn Hill, interview by author, March 3, 2009.

⁴⁵¹ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*, Argo [Decca] ZRG 642, 1969, LP.

Another singer who appeared in a one-off capacity for the Early Music Consort was the soprano Christina Clarke. In *Chanterai por mon corage* we can hear her light, resonant soprano voice but also a noticeable amount of vibrato.⁴⁵²

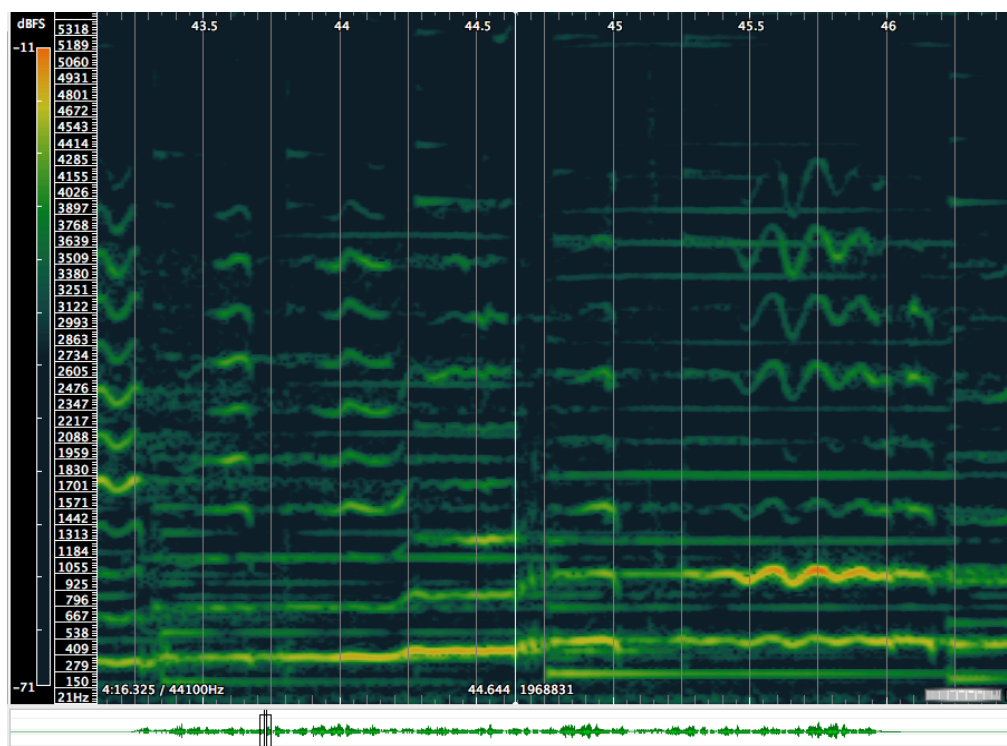


Figure 52 Christina Clarke: *Chanterai por mon corage*

The song is performed quite gently and quietly, so there is less activity in the third harmonic than would be expected. The voice is also closely recorded to give an intimate feeling. There are also fewer long notes in this piece so it is harder to see the vibrato in a prolonged situation. Aurally, the vibrato is noticeable but not dominating. Clarke remembered this recording session in an interview with the author:

[CC]: Well, there was one recording that I was in, it was called Music from the Crusades, I think Geoff [Shaw]'s on it [...] where I simply had one little thing [...] *Chanterai por mon corage*. Um, first of all it was hammered down all the time and because my French was wrong! I mean it was a distinct disadvantage to know any French you know?

[EB]: Yes, because you're singing in medieval French or something I suppose aren't you?

⁴⁵² David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Crusades*, Argo [Decca] ZRG 673, 1970, LP.

[CC]: mmm. And then I was hammered because I'd got too much vibrato. And I got very annoyed. I felt like saying 'stuff it you lot you've got the wrong soprano' you know. I didn't actually walk out on them but I nearly did.

[EB]: So he did actually ask for a minimal vibrato sound then?

[CC]: Yes⁴⁵³

Christina Clarke was a voice already known to Munrow from other concert situations but she was unprepared for this recording session and unfamiliar with the style in which she was asked to sing. Therefore, whilst we should not see Clarke as indicative of Munrow's intended ensemble singing ideal, her recollection of this recording is extremely helpful in pointing out that Munrow was pursuing a minimal vibrato sound.

Soprano sound is something that would appear to be unsettled over the recording life of the EMC. Munrow did not settle on a regular performer (as he does on other voice parts). It is possible, of course, that he wanted to change the soprano sound dependent on repertoire, but this seems unlikely when we consider the two different soprano voices used on the album *The Art of the Netherlands*.⁴⁵⁴ On the track *Inviolata, integra et casta es, Maria*, Sally Dunkley and Rosemary Hardy are the sopranos but they have noticeably different voices (figure 53).

⁴⁵³ Christina Clarke, interview by author, February 22, 2013.

⁴⁵⁴ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of the Netherlands*, EMI SLS 5049, 1975, LP.

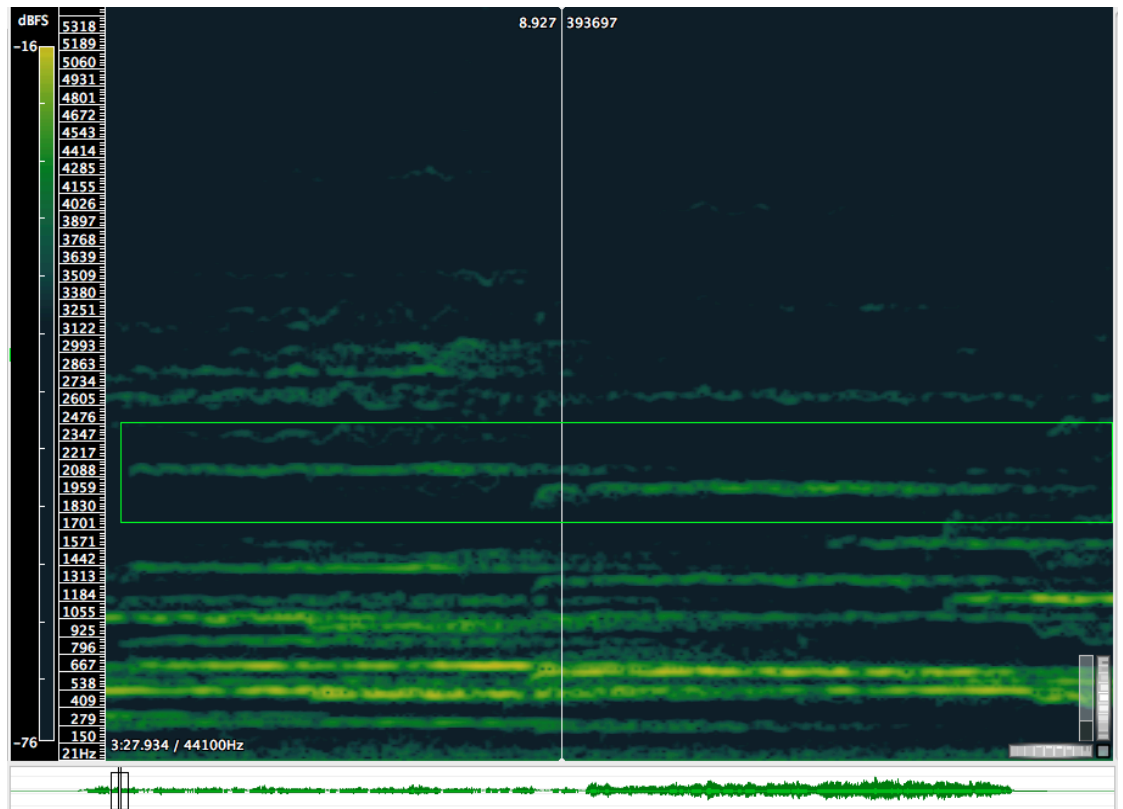


Figure 53 *Inviolata, integra et casta es, Maria*: Sally Dunkley and Rosemary Hardy

In figure 53, a green box has been drawn around two notes sung by Sally Dunkley which appear to overlap because of the resonant acoustic. We can see these notes are quite straight toned and gentle. In fact, this is a vocal renaissance texture and all the voices appear quite straight-toned without strong third formants. The strongest voice is actually the countertenor David James, who also exhibits a very straight tone with no noticeable vibrato at all. What is intriguing about the recording of this motet however, is the two incongruent voices. Both Rosemary Hardy and Martyn Hill have obvious vibrato in what is otherwise a straight texture.

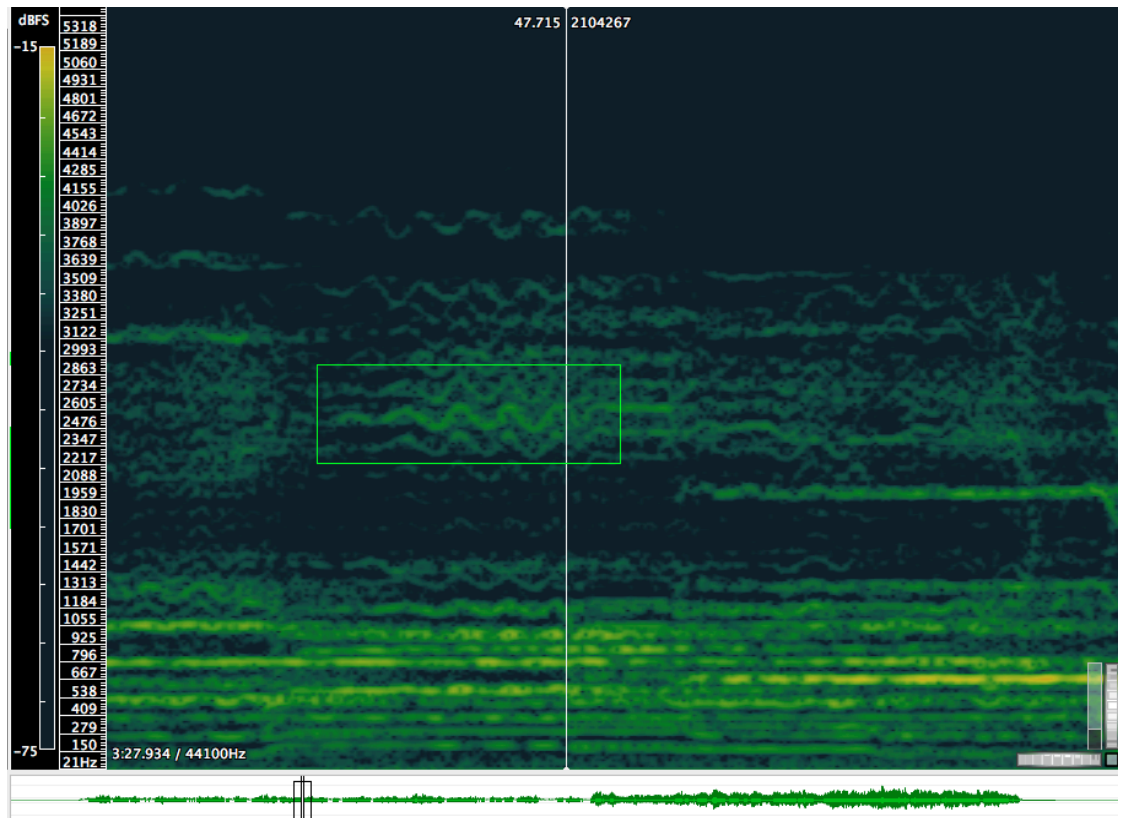


Figure 54 Rosemary Hardy

Figure 54 shows how Rosemary Hardy's vibrato on her first phrase entry is a subtle but regular occurrence. The same is true of Martyn Hill. These gentle vibratos warm an otherwise straight texture which, one could posit, was an intended effect by Munrow. Particularly noticeable is the fact that Dunkley has the long straight notes of the cantus firmus so that the top of the texture is always a vibratoless ceiling whereas Hardy sings a more busily moving inner part. This could also be noted of the twinning of Bowman and Hill in *Passe el agoa* considered above. The top line characterizes the vibratoless quality of the performance as a whole whereas Hill's vibrato towards the end of the notes lends a warmer character to the texture from within but does not dominate the overall blend.

Summary of Discography 1: Vocal Vibrato

Munrow's own conclusion in his essay touched on the central idea behind this discography when he quoted extensively from Carl Flesch's 1924 violin tutor, which suggests that we tire of '*perpetual* vibrating in an excited manner' [my emphasis], because such an effect makes 'all performers appear too like one another.'⁴⁵⁵ This was heard in the examples of JP and PM. We should note that these examples show no extremes of depth or speed in their vibrato but are united by their constant use of it.

Including The Prague Madrigal Singers in this discography served an interesting purpose. Not only did it allow Munrow to comment on how unclear the lines of polyphony are when sung with unrelenting vibrato but it also enabled him to draw favourable attention to the sound of The Young Tradition, Musica Reservata and his own ensemble, The Early Music Consort of London all of whom Munrow had performed with before 1970. With this in mind we can assume that an advertisement for the newer early music ensembles (chiefly The Early Music Consort of London) is in operation.

The minimal vibrato sounds that Munrow listed, chiefly TYT, JN, JB and LT, were all faster and shallower than the other examples of vibrato. When this was combined with Munrow's own explicit disapproval of *constant* vibrato we begin to understand that he was suggesting a preference for 'controlled' vibrato. Such controlled vibrato is heard in the examples of LT and AD where they consciously opt for a minimal vibrato sound even though in different repertoire we may hear them use more vibrato. By 'controlled' he referred to vibrato when used as the artists chose rather than unrelentingly applied. In the instrumental extracts he also referred to this vibrato as being used for 'expressive' purposes.

⁴⁵⁵ Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*. Quoted in: Munrow, "Vibrato."

Munrow's discography, therefore, shied away from scientific observation as in the Seashore studies, and opted instead for an observational approach. Yet, it is this spectrogram-science that allows us to see something of how Munrow's ears were judging the sound.

Discography 2: What Should It All Sound Like?

David Munrow used to say that if you wanted to travel in time you should travel in space: he claimed that it is possible to learn something of the aesthetics and the techniques of medieval and Renaissance music of Western Europe by studying the folk musics of the wider world.⁴⁵⁶

This phrase apparently originated with Thurston Dart and was put into action by early music ensembles such as Studio der frühen Musik, Musica Reservata and the Early Music Consort of London during the 1960s.⁴⁵⁷ The influence of Dart on such exploration of folk music is palpable even as early as 1952 where one can read, in his monumental book *The Interpretation of Music*:

Other evidence may be found in the remoter regions of Europe and the Near East. The music and musical instruments heard in the mountains of Sardinia and Sicily, and the bands still used for Catalan dance music are medieval in flavour. The Arabian lute, rebec and shawm are still much the same as they were when they were introduced into Europe by the Moors.⁴⁵⁸

Dart drew attention to the very borders of Europe which we have already identified as later fascinating Morrow. Perhaps it was Dart, having been invited to that debut concert by Musica Reservata, who introduced Munrow to Morrow? Munrow would have had the opportunity to hear Morrow's BBC broadcasts during the 1960s and

⁴⁵⁶ Keith Potter, "Oriental Influence: Keith Potter on a New 'Music in Our Time' Series Devoted to East-West Musical Relations, Which Begins on Thursday (R3, 10.15pm)." *The Listener*, September 29, 1983, 34.

⁴⁵⁷ It is remembered as having originated with Dart by David Fallows speaking on: "Mr Munrow, His Study," Jeremy Summerly, *The Archive Hour*, aired January 7, 2006, on BBC Radio.

⁴⁵⁸ Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1954; repr., 1963), 153-154.

also the broadcasts of baroque music performed by John Sothcott and John Beckett.⁴⁵⁹

We have established that Munrow's interest in folk music was encouraged initially by Thurston Dart himself, and I have suggested (in chapter four) that Munrow was also significantly influenced by Morrow's work with Musica Reservata. Whatever the initial catalyst for his interest, Munrow's own consumption of folk music records is readily discernable from many of his radio broadcasts including the *Pied Piper* series in which programmes could feature a range of music from African drumming to Victorian Music Hall numbers.

The amount of folk music considered by Munrow on the air during the early 1970s is considerable. Furthermore, Munrow had already spent time in the late 1960s working with Michael Morrow's ideas on folk music in Musica Reservata and, at the same time, working with many leading folk musicians such as Shirley and Dolly Collins, The Young Tradition and the electric-folk group Pentangle; so his connections to the British folk scene were clear. It is therefore both interesting and potentially significant that a tape of selected recordings should survive which bears the title 'What should it all sound like?' amongst Munrow's papers in the Royal Academy Archive.⁴⁶⁰ There are no further details, but the way the tape is labeled, with the total time as well as David's name, suggests it was edited for his use perhaps to accompany a talk or, indeed, a radio programme.

There remains the possibility that this tape was prepared for Munrow by Michael Morrow and that it is an example of Morrow asking his players to listen to folk musicians. This however, seems remote as such a system of preparing tapes has not been remembered in any of the interviews conducted with Musica Reservata players

⁴⁵⁹ This was mentioned by John Sothcott in: John Sothcott, Derek Harrison, and Terry Sothcott, interview by author, March 21, 2013.

⁴⁶⁰ David Munrow, "What Should it All Sound Like?," in *Papers of David Munrow: DM 9/14* (Royal Academy of Music Library, London, c.1970). A spool of audio tape (¼ inch) in its original box, which has written on it: title "What should it all sound like?", duration "7½ mins". This spool has been transferred to CD and is available to listeners visiting the RAM archive. It cannot, however, be copied.

and also one of the extracts is the same as from Munrow's vibrato paper. I would argue against this possibility based on the release date of the first track listed: The Swingle Singers' 1968 album *Going Baroque* offers a terminus post quem for this collection of extracts which is the same year as the Musica Reservata album *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron* and a year after *French Court Music of the 13th Century*. This seems rather late for Morrow to be addressing Musica Reservata performers through this medium when evidence from many press reviews indicate that they had already been performing in folk-inspired styles for a while. Conspicuous by their absence are the many recordings of folk dances and epic ballad singers which Morrow discussed in radio broadcasts, and conspicuous by their presence are two tracks thought to be South American, further suggesting this collection was compiled by Munrow.

The tracks on the tape are as follows:

1. Largo, Swingle Singers: *Going Baroque* (1968)
2. Low, soft reed instruments and a cornet? Not quite polyphonic or possibly with several mistakes in the performance. Sounds like a private recording – these could be antique instruments.
3. Shawm Band – Possibly Gypsy/ Kosovo / Macedonia?
4. Dajcova and Konesta dances – (gajda solo) from *Songs and dances from Bulgaria* (Argo, The Living Tradition 1968)
5. Rumanian panpipes and folk orchestra. Possibly: Barbu Lautaru Rumanian Folk Ensemble (similar to Folkways album *Rapsodia Romina* MON00377)
6. Wooden transverse flute? Possibly South American.
7. Ud? Accompanied by qanun or santur?
8. Venezuelan harps. Possibly: Juan Vicente Torrealba?
9. Rebec/fiddle double-stopping and shouted instructions. Gudulka? Similar to: *Folk music of Greece* (Topic Records)
10. *Podrum verviat kiten svatove* – wedding song (Madzare, 1965) from *Songs and dances from Bulgaria* (Argo, The Living Tradition 1968)
11. Organ music played on reed stops. Possibly a private recording of the Compenius organ? The piece is probably a renaissance dance.⁴⁶¹

There are two interesting factors which arise from consideration of this musical compilation: the source-material is quite similar to that which influenced Michael

⁴⁶¹ Michael Morrow mentioned this organ's reed stops in a BBC radio script which survives in his own archives: Michael Morrow, "Obrecht: Missa Fortuna Desperata – Introduced by Michael Morrow," 1967, in Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

Morrow, and some of this source material is also associated with Lloyd's field recordings. Here we see another strong indication that similar influences lead Munrow down a different path to Morrow.

Taking each of these tracks in turn we can begin to see how a sound picture of the past can be constructed from a composite of other musical traditions. First, *The Swingle Singers*, which is one of only two vocal tracks on this tape. The track is most noticeable for the astonishing vocal precision of the soprano soloist who uses very little vibrato and eschews the technique of formal operatic training. This example combines two themes in Munrow's work; the consideration of style and an approach to vibrato. To consider vibrato, let us look at her opening few notes in a spectrogram:

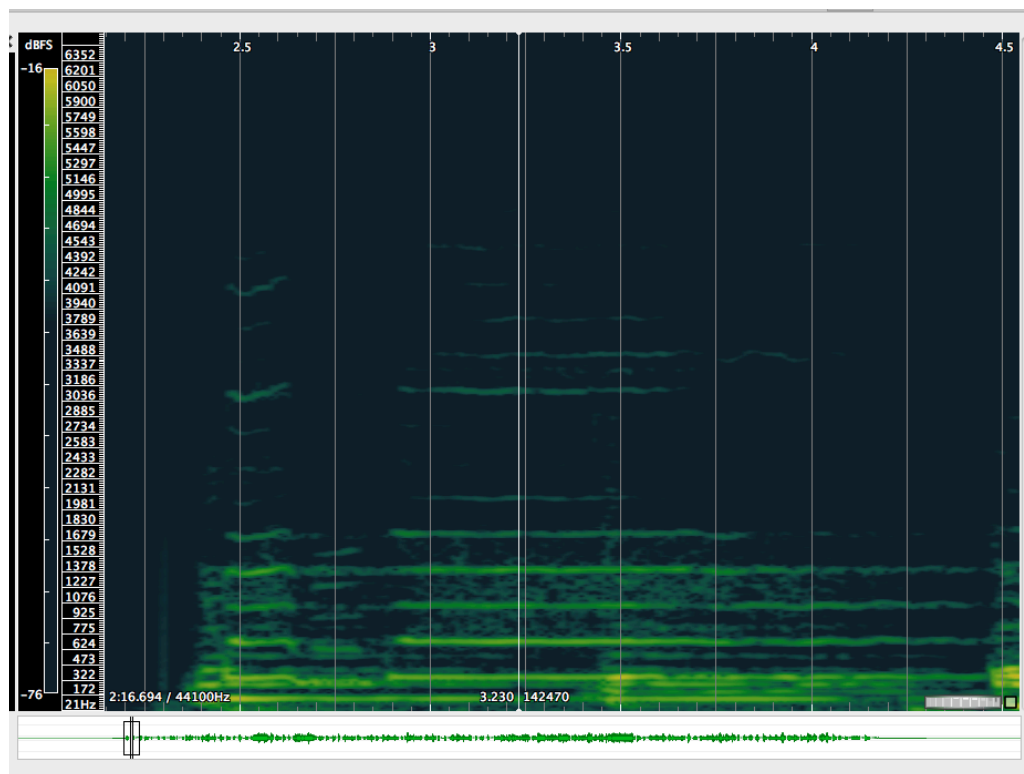


Figure 55 Swingle Singers: opening notes

Immediately, once can see this voice has very little vibrato indeed, and the spectrogram is comparable to the voice of James Bowman since the vocal line (and its

harmonics) are clear, almost vibrato less without being as intense as Noorman and without having the strong third harmonic of a modern operatic voice.

As a control, it is useful to compare this spectrogram with one taken from a modern digital remastering to see how much harmonic information is missing, limited by the monaural reel in Munrow's collection. The settings for viewing the spectrogram (sensitivity, colour rotation, magnification) are the same in each case.

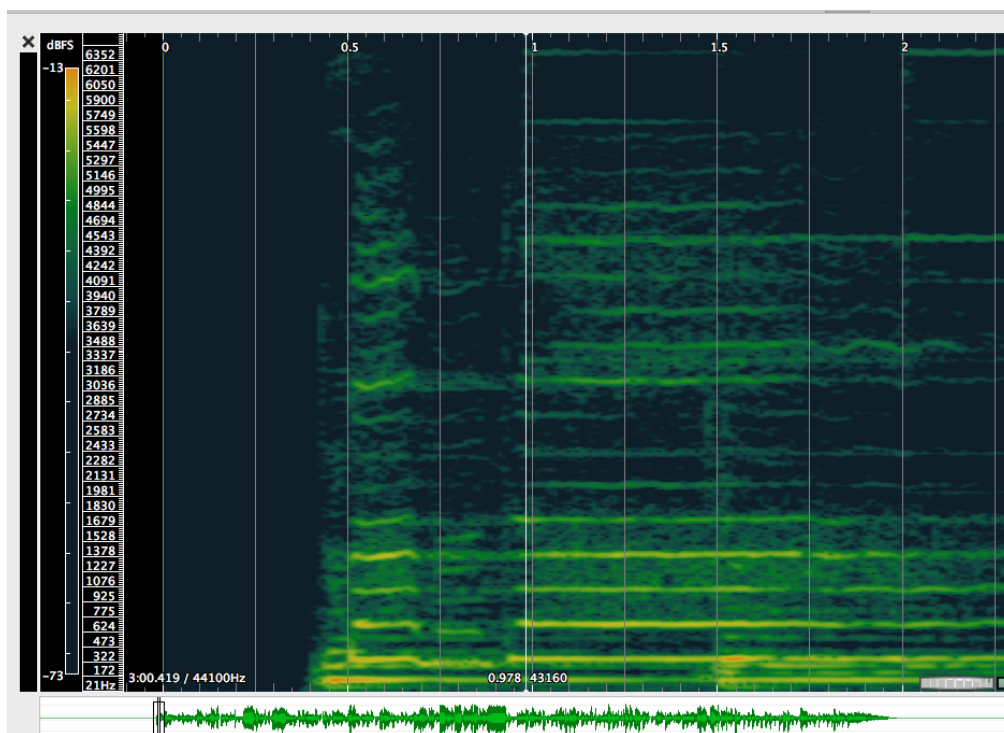


Figure 56 Swingle Singers: digital remaster

This shows that quite a lot of information has been eliminated from the upper harmonic range on the tape copy, but that the basic spectrogram form of the voice is accurate. This voice is clear, almost entirely vibratoless and uses a slight flutter of vibrato to ornament the end of long notes as can be seen in this following plot.

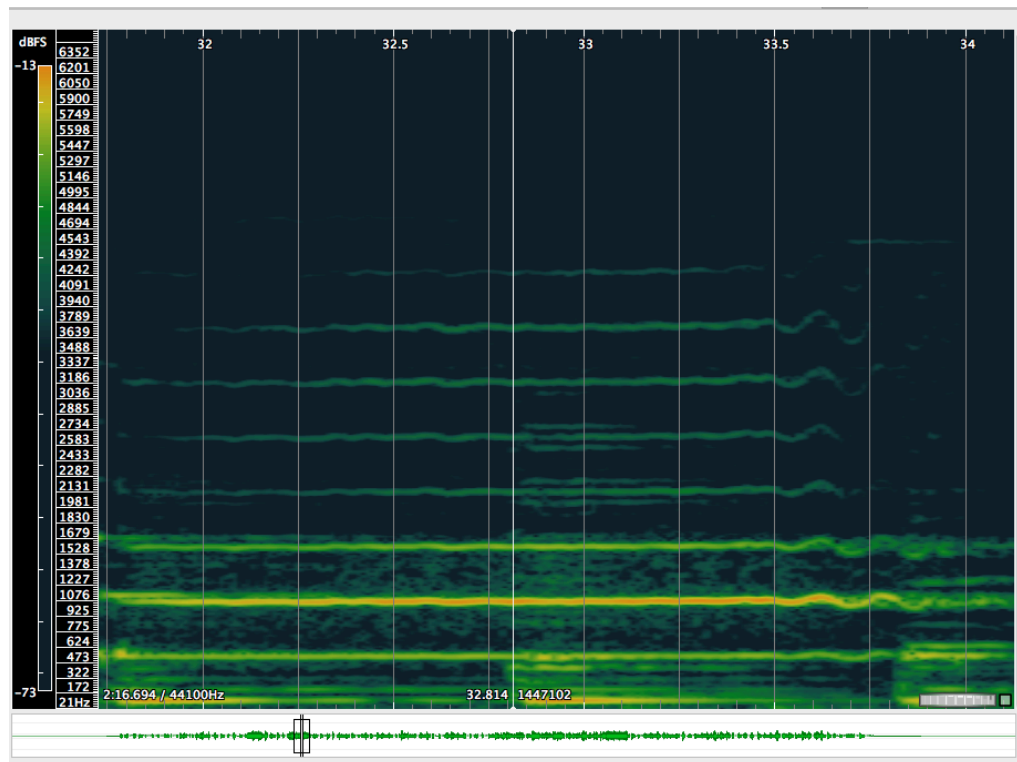


Figure 57 Swingle Singers: characteristic shape of vibrato at the end of a long note

These broad points certainly accord with the spectrograms of James Bowman's singing and can be seen as the middle ground between Morrow's ideas taken from folk influences and the trained operatic singing of the mid 20th-century. The problem here is that although Munrow's later style bears similar hallmarks to this Swingle-Singers track, we must remember that this soprano is amplified and as such is not representative of the impact of this style of singing in a purely acoustic situation. Also worthy of note is that this track is a piece of Baroque music performed in a modern, jazz style. Perhaps part of the reason for including it was to make us realize that earlier music can be sung differently to advantage or even that when sung differently, it still has integrity? By beginning with this track Munrow may be attempting to remove a perceived stigma or fear associated with defamiliarization.

The second track appears to be a private recording of renaissance polyphonic music played on low reed instruments and this may even be Munrow's own students.

Curtals are the most likely instruments being played. The performance sounds amateur because the lowest instrument in the texture makes what sounds like several mistakes in the fugal texture and then at the end of the track reaches the low 'tonic' note for the first time only after a delay. I would suggest that this track serves the purpose of illustrating the articulation and sonority that such instruments are capable of. As the instruments make a relatively soft sound, they could also be illustrating the quiet, indoors side of the haut/bas distinction discussed earlier.

The third track appears to be a shawm band. It is clearly an outdoor recording and Munrow once commented that the shawm 'was normally reserved for use out of doors'.⁴⁶² As we have already noted, David Munrow once introduced the shawm in terms of its Eastern origins mentioning that it was first heard by Europeans during the crusades.⁴⁶³ Despite fitting this description nicely, the extract on this tape, however, is different from the one that Munrow uses on his Granada television series of 1976 to illustrate 'a typical Saracen military line-up' of shawms, long trumpets and drums.⁴⁶⁴ It could therefore be assumed that the function of this recording is to illustrate outdoor music rather than the shawm specifically.

The fourth track contains music played on a bagpipe. Besides the shawm, Munrow thought that this was 'the other really important reed instrument of the Middle Ages'.⁴⁶⁵ That this is a Bulgarian bagpipe (Gaida) suggests the influence of Morrow.

Next, we hear panpipes and an orchestra. The music is very familiar to the track *Mugur, mugurel* on the Folkways/Monitor Records album mentioned in the list above. It is based upon the same accompaniment. The panpipe player sails above the orchestral accompaniment with a noticeable vibrato. Throughout the recording, vibrato is used on

⁴⁶² David Munrow, "Reed Instruments," in *Early Musical Instruments*, directed by Peter Plummer, aired October 1976 on Granada Television (UK) Produced for DVD by David Griffith, Viking New Media 2007. Accessed May 12, 2009. www.DavidMunrow.org.

⁴⁶³ This was quoted in chapter 3, p. 118.

⁴⁶⁴ Munrow, "Reed Instruments."

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

long notes and several cases of ‘developing vibrato’ are seen. I would suggest that this is related to Munrow’s views (discussed in the first part of this chapter) on the use of vibrato to the louder requirements of a soloist when accompanied by orchestral forces. It also shows vibrato in a soloistic setting outside the tradition of Western classical music.

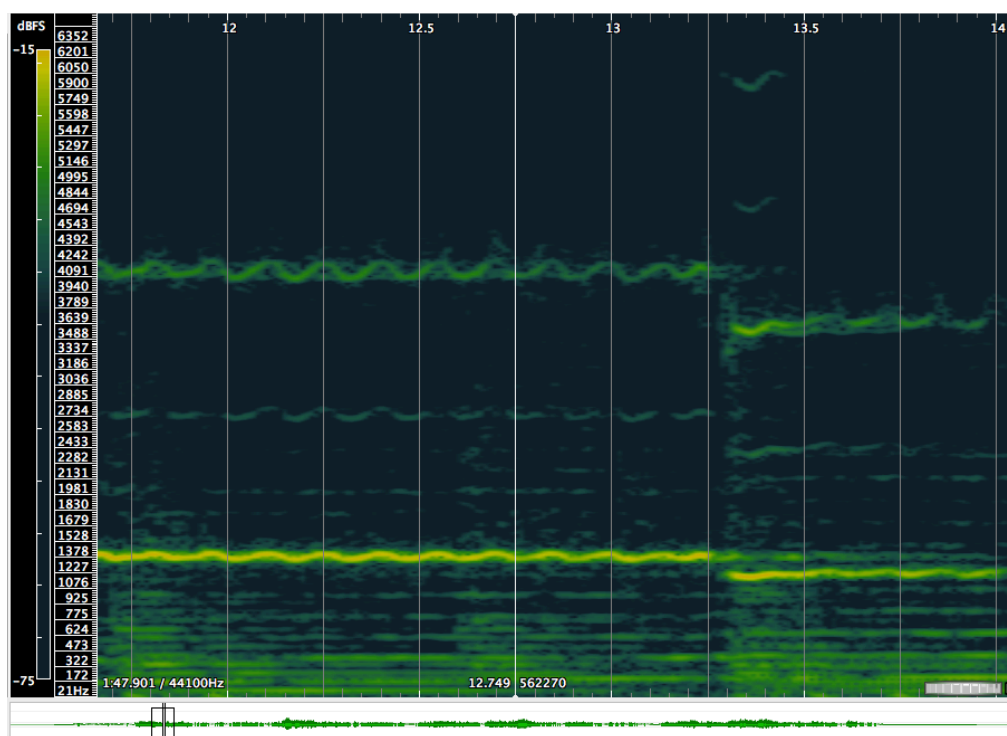


Figure 58 Panpipe vibrato: *What should it all sound like?* (track 5)

These panpipes are followed on the sixth track by a vibratoless solo instrument. The quality of the recording makes it hard to hear if it is a wooden transverse flute or even an instrument made of animal horn. The articulation of the notes is reminiscent of a flautist’s embouchure and tonguing technique, yet there are also horn style traits to the timbre. If this is a South American flute then it harks back to the links with conquistadores that Munrow talked about on *Woman’s Hour*.⁴⁶⁶ That was the very

⁴⁶⁶ "Woman's Hour," presented by Sue MacGregor, aired September 3, 1975, on BBC Radio. As quoted in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

connection that Dart encouraged Munrow to explore by handing over a lecture on the history of instruments in Cambridge, as we saw earlier. This link with South America could stem from Munrow's Peruvian experiences, as John Turner once suggested: 'He [Munrow] retained a particular affection for South American folk music with its breathy flutes and lazy percussion.'⁴⁶⁷ This, again, is a soft, indoor sound.

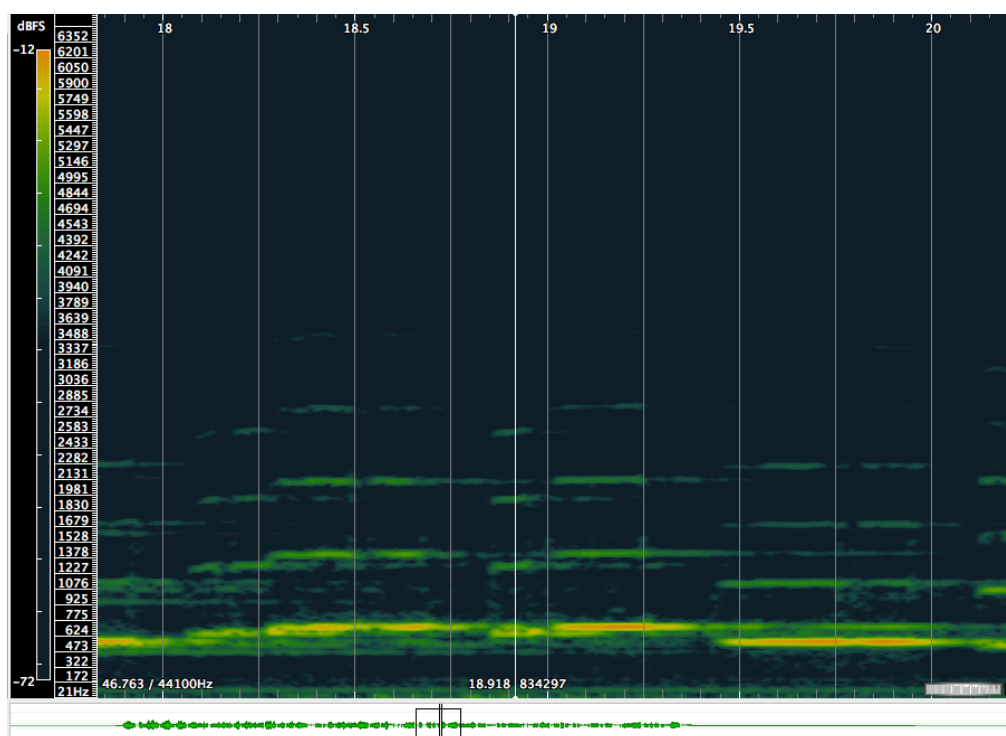


Figure 59 Breathy flute playing: *What should it all sound like?* (track 6)

Track seven features the ud. Possibly this is an ud player accompanied by a qanun or santur. Munrow once bemoaned the lack of plucked instruments in the modern orchestra and mused:

Of course, in the Europe of 400 years ago, a rather different situation existed. Then, plucked instruments really occupied a central part in musical life.⁴⁶⁸

Munrow went on to mention the Middle East, Cairo and specifically Damascus as 'the Mecca of Lute making'. 'Of course, it's not just making traditions but playing traditions that survive as well' he commented - which gives us reason to suppose these could be

⁴⁶⁷ John Turner, "Pills to Purge Melancholy: A Personal Memoir of David Munrow," *The Recorder Magazine* 16, no. 2 (1996): 53. A longer version of this quote appears in chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁴⁶⁸ David Munrow, "Plucked Instruments," in *Early Musical Instruments*.

Damascan musicians.⁴⁶⁹ The monophonic style of Arabic traditions fascinated Munrow and he explained in his Granada documentary series that this was also the case with the medieval lute because medieval players were reliant on a plectrum to strike the strings. This particular recording is plectrum struck. The hard attack and bright sound that this method of attack gives can be seen from the array of harmonic information in the spectrogram.

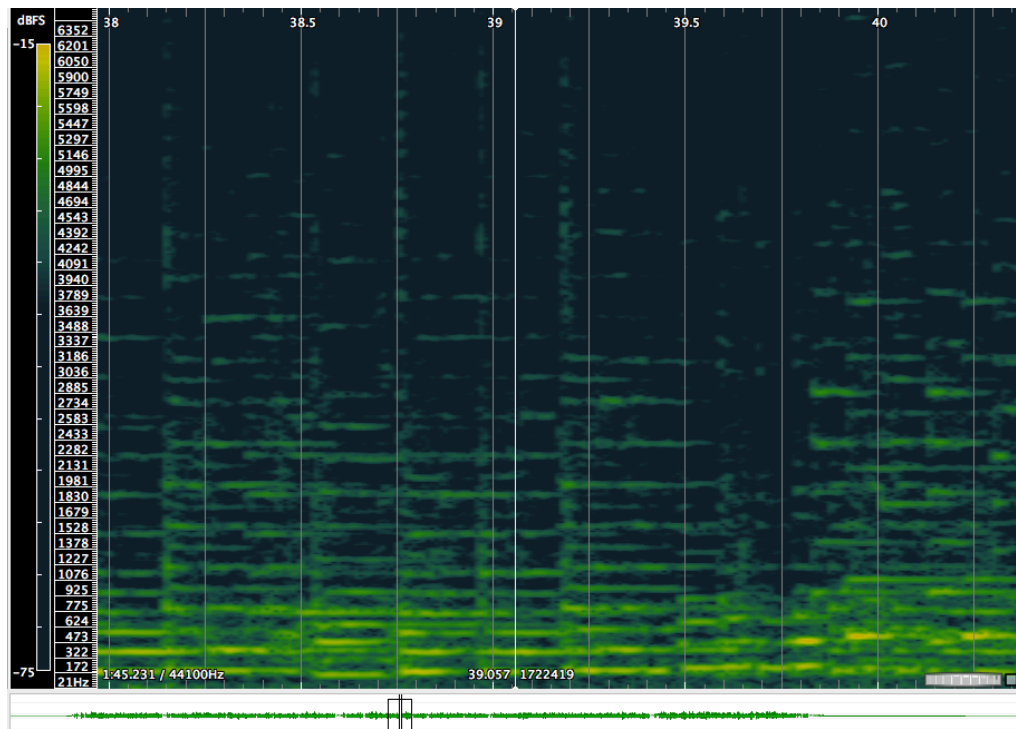


Figure 60 Plucked Ud: *What should it all sound like?* (track 7)

Continuing with plucked instruments, the eighth track features Venezuelan harpists clearly identifiable from the enthusiastic cry of ‘Venezuela!’ from a performer that begins the track. This is the arpa llanera of the Andes and the complex rhythms are typical of this region which Munrow visited in the early 1960s. Several players seem to participate in this recording and after the initial patriotic outburst there are several instances where ‘Brrr’ is shouted in the music as well as whoops and cheers which may

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

be structural communications and I suggest that the artist is likely to be Juan Vicente Torrealba whom David Munrow selected for one of his Desert Island Discs.⁴⁷⁰

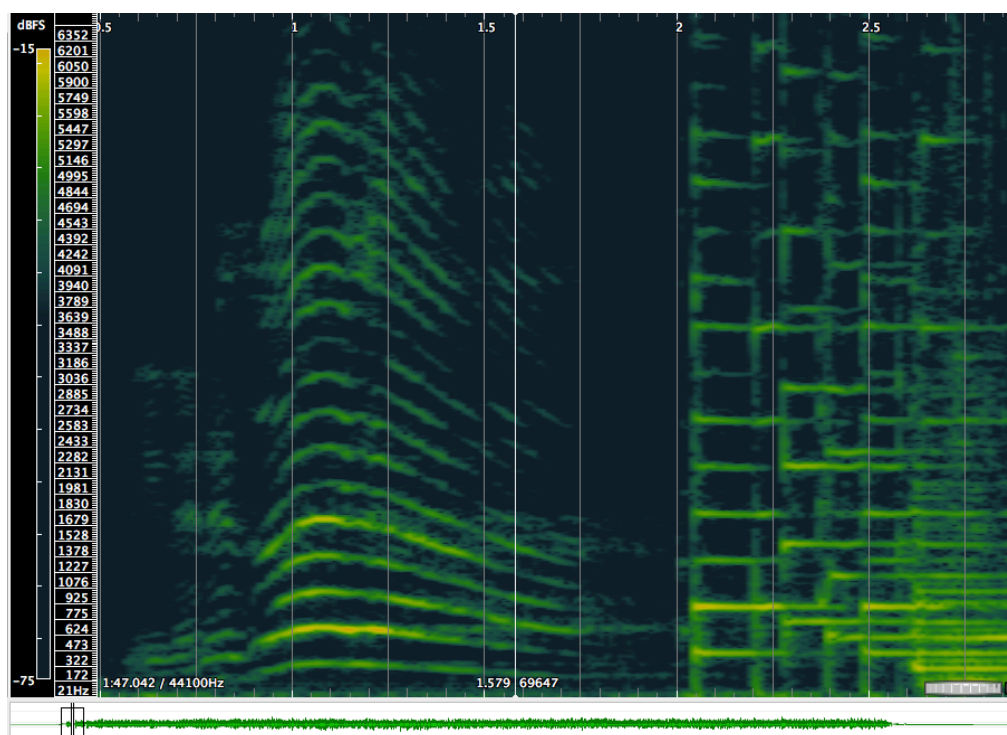


Figure 61 Opening cry 'Venezuela': *What should it all sound like?* (track 8)

Performer interaction through vocalization also features in the next track which appears to be dance music played on one or more small bowed string instruments. This could be a gudulka or rebec descendent and has similarities to *Trigonia* on the *Folk Music of Greece* album (Topic records).⁴⁷¹ The highly repetitive music seems to be punctuated by shouted instructions and audible footfall and tapping. This could be a folk dance.

The tenth track, *Podrum verviat kiten svatove*, was also used by David Munrow for his vibrato script discussed at the beginning of this chapter. However, the precise tuning and unwavering consistency of this singing is possibly why it is relevant here. The women sing a wedding song but this is not an expression of joyfulness that would

⁴⁷⁰ Roy Plomley, "David Munrow," in *BBC Desert Island Discs*, aired September 30, 1974. Accessed September 30, 2010. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p009n7d0>.

⁴⁷¹ Wolf Dietrich, *Folk Music of Greece*, Topic Records TSCD750, 1969, LP.

have been recognized by a British listener in the late 1960s. This track recalls Michael Morrow's theories of precise and defined styles for music which have a simple harmonic basis; the aesthetics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are clearly not absolutes, nor are they universal traits.

The final track is a reed organ. I suggest it is the Compenius organ (The Chapel of Frederiksborg Castle, Denmark) again, an idea which Morrow had talked about in a radio script.⁴⁷² The reedy sonorities provide a clue to the laser-like accuracy of some of Munrow's recordings, in particular his preference for minimal vibrato sound.

This tape reel 'What should it all sound like?' provides several important clues to performance practice around the world on folk instruments and allows us to take an overview of Munrow's world music interests. With this in mind, we are able to provide a toolkit for useful comparisons as we look at some individual performances in the following chapters. The instruments on this reel tape are all instruments related to Medieval forms. That is voice, soft and loud reeds, bagpipes, panpipes, flutes, ud, harp, bowed strings, Bulgarian singing and an organ. This selection shows that Munrow was interested in surviving traditions of folk instruments but that he is often focused on the softer, more aesthetically familiar (attractive) examples rather than Morrow's hard Balkan models. Munrow's selection also indicates a preference for demonstrative rhythmic vitality and clarity.

Conclusions

The two documents reconstructed and explored in this chapter, Munrow's essay on vibrato and the tape reel 'What should it all sound like?', have both been preliminarily dated c.1970 by the archivist of Munrow's papers at the Royal Academy

⁴⁷² Morrow discusses the attack of this sound on: Morrow, "Obrecht: Missa Fortuna Desperata – Introduced by Michael Morrow."

of Music library in London. Their content and their position in his files have both contributed to this decision as has the medium of their content such as the tape reel and the early Xerox copies amongst the pages of 'vibrato'. If these dates are to be taken as accurate for a moment, it places this whole line of thought at the very beginning of Munrow's commercial career. Having only recorded a few records by 1970 and having yet to embark on regular broadcasting, Munrow's view of the musical past as preserved by folk music seems to be crystallized by the beginning of this new decade.

What we may find of interest here is the difference in results that Munrow draws from this source material as compared with the conclusions of Michael Morrow who also surveyed Balkan sources. Munrow seems to have been drawn to an idea that music could be attractive and uncompromisingly vital at the same time. This feels as if it is a tempered view of the *Musica Reservata* approach but could, in reality, be an influence from the sparkling South American music as represented by the Venezuelan harpist of 'What should it all sound like?' or the lullaby of Los Calchakis as listed in the discography accompanying 'Vibrato'.

Interesting also is the wide range of world music traditions that Munrow surveys. This is also reminiscent of the approach to musical surveys that Munrow took in his popular *Pied Piper* radio series. However, it is also suggestive of the approach to medieval music, and styles of improvisation in medieval music, taken by Thomas Binkley and his Studio der Frühen Musik. Binkley, as we shall see in the next chapter, looked at Andalusian, and North African traditions of folk music for potential models for improvisation and it is notable here how Munrow has also included music with improvisatory sections in the two documents just surveyed. For this reason, the work of Thomas Binkley and his Studio is included in the case studies of the next chapter.

A recurring theme throughout all of this music would appear to be an approach to vibrato which develops from minimal to a slight, but noticeable oscillation

throughout the duration of a note. This is a trait that can be specifically linked to Munrow's vibrato paper and also found in his recordings throughout the remainder of his life.

This, and other factors discussed here, will be traced through a selection from the Early Music Consort of London discography in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 - Shared Music-Cultural Space

This chapter contextualizes EMC performances within a shared music-cultural space created between the four leading ensembles for medieval music during the 1960s and early 1970s. These are the ensembles identified by David Fallows in chapter one of this thesis: New York Pro Musica, Studio der frühen Musik, Musica Reservata and The Early Music Consort of London.

First, considering the performance of medieval monophony, the dances *Tre Fontaine* and *Ghaetta* and also Machaut's *Douce Dame Jolie*, are compared and the toolkit of performance analysis as defined in chapters 4 and 5 is applied to the recordings to identify meaningful points of overlap and departure in performance practice. Then, in the second part of this chapter, the same process is undertaken with contrasting pieces of medieval polyphony: the anonymous *On parole de battre* from the Montpellier codex and Dufay's *Vergine Bella*. These pieces offer a greater focus on vocal styles in performance.

This chapter shows how often an idea generated by a single performance may be taken up and considered by the other ensembles who, in turn, invoke a sense of dialogue by recording the same work in a variant ways. It also considers which musical editions and musicological publications these ensembles were consulting when preparing their performances and how closely these performances reflect the musicological advice of their time.

Part One: Medieval Monophony and 'Turkish Nightclub Music'

David Munrow once spoke of the monophonic medieval repertoire as offering the most problems to a potential performer:

I think the most difficult to come to definite conclusions about performance is the music of the troubadour and trouvère and minnesingers period where you have these often very long unaccompanied melodies which there seems to be a

certain amount of evidence to suggest that they were not sung unaccompanied and where there are enormous problems as to what rhythm was intended by the composer. This wasn't very clearly indicated and there are all sorts of arguments as to whether they were sung freely or whether we apply the rules of modal rhythm from the church music of the time and then when you've done that you still have the problems of fitting verse two and three and then when you've done that you still have to decide whether there should be any accompaniment and then you have to get it translated and then you have to find out how to pronounce it and for one song you could have spent about a week and still not have come to any definite conclusions. I think that's the hardest. And generally speaking, the less that there is written down then the harder it is until you finally reach medieval dance music where there is hardly anything written down. I mean, there are just a handful of dances and what are we all to do when we have all played all the dances that there are? Well I think then perhaps we ought to start making up some of our own. As far as dance music is concerned I think it is rather absurd to try and treat it reverently as if it was a mass. And so we [The EMC] try to take the spirit rather than the letter.⁴⁷³

From this intense and dense paragraph it is immediately obvious that Munrow both relished and respected the challenges presented by performing the medieval monophonic repertoire. His own performances of troubadour and trouvère repertoire have been touched upon in the previous chapter when discussing the singing of Christina Clarke, but it is worth noting here that for a 1970 album of such repertoire, Munrow's editions were prepared by the musicologist Ian Bent, and modal rhythm was applied.⁴⁷⁴ It is of particular interest that Munrow should have grouped this very early repertoire together with the much smaller surviving medieval dance repertory in his comments. That dance repertory was a regular part of EMC concert programming and often provided encores in concerts or instrumental showpieces during broadcasts: moreover it often forms the mainstay of recollections by Munrow's performers.

From comments made during a radio interview by James Bowman, we learn that these dances were often referred to as 'Turkish nightclub music' within the EMC. To move towards understanding this, let us first examine a transcript of Bowman's

⁴⁷³ David Munrow speaking on: *Talking About Music 161*, vol. 1 LP0200417, British Library Sound Archive, 1974.

⁴⁷⁴ For a particularly clear application of modal rhythm in this repertoire, see *Li noviaus tens* (Le Châtelain de Coucy) on: David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Crusades*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 673, 1970, LP.

comment in detail; the other speakers are Jeremy Summerly (who presented the programme) and David Fallows. They have just heard an extract of Munrow playing *Istampita Tre Fontane*.⁴⁷⁵

[JS] - This is obviously ringing bells for the people 'round this table looking at the David Munrow archive. I'm sure I've just seen that 13th-century Salterello go past. Here it is. But what he's done is he's taken a 13th-century saltarello—David Fallows talk us through this—I mean what you would see in the manuscript is not what we've just heard there I would think?

[DF] - Well all you have is one line in the manuscript but the rhythms is basically what David Munrow does, the percussion backing was added, he's put in a few more ornaments and he's just played that music at a hell of a lick and with so much verve that it sounds as though it's from a Turkish nightclub as James was saying.

[JS] - This is a piece you remember him playing well I think...

[JB] - Oh, we used to get it every concert, it was a standing joke. It was known as 'the Turkish nightclub piece' and he used to make it longer and longer in concerts and go redder and redder in the face. I mean it was a sort of standing joke. It was always brilliant; we were always amazed. But it was the one that brought the house down, all over America, you'd go to some terrible Midwestern town which didn't know a crumhorn from a whatever [...] and this piece would absolutely have them totally hysterical. [...] but it was the wonderful percussion on that recording of David Corkhill which really made it - which I always thought was terribly exciting.⁴⁷⁶

This interview, therefore, reveals that the medieval dances bore a fond (and potentially revealing) nickname and it also illustrates that these dances were very popular with audiences when played by Munrow largely because of his extrovert instrumental technique. We are also reminded that they were a key part of EMC concert programming.

Locating the influences behind Istampita Ghaetta

When, in 1969, two recordings of Italian *trecento* music were made within days of each other, it did not escape critics that Munrow's instrumental playing was evident

⁴⁷⁵ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*, EMI SLS 863, 1973, 2 LPs.

⁴⁷⁶ "Mr Munrow, His Study," presented by Jeremy Summerly, aired January 7, 2006, on BBC Radio 4.

on both records.⁴⁷⁷ Was this idea of playing the music ‘at a hell of a lick’ a new idea first heard under the auspices of the Early Music Consort of London or was it one that Munrow imported from *Musica Reservata* or does it may be stem from another, earlier source? Certainly the approach taken to some of the dance music on these albums was felt to be very similar in at least one way by the musicologist Ian Bent:

both groups treat the instrumental dances as long virtuosic solos on single melodic instruments over drones, allowing no change of solo instrument during their course. David Munrow’s dazzling shawm technique is evident on both records [...]. The dances are colourful, exciting not rarely exotic; and are magnificent showpieces for early instruments.⁴⁷⁸

Jeremy Montagu remembers that these trademark performances by Munrow of medieval dance music took place first as a solo shawm player in *Musica Reservata* which is where he encountered the transcriptions of the famous *Lo* manuscript made by Michael Morrow:

David Munrow—who had started his own group I think while he was at Cambridge—obviously having heard us, did come and join us [*Musica Reservata*]. He was a highly capable musician of course, as you know, he was always quite easy to deal with and everything else. You know, he was a good acquisition. [...]

And in fact David, [...] right to his last days played pieces like Ghaetta and the big Istampitas from Michael’s manuscript. [...] but I mean Ghaetta, great chunks of it Michael had written because the manuscript itself is corrupt and so on and David went on playing all these without the slightest attribution or credit or royalty when it was recorded or anything.⁴⁷⁹

We can see that between them Bent and Montagu make several points: Munrow had a reputation for playing these pieces in a quick fashion which was popular with audiences, this was a style that came into being during his time with *Musica Reservata*, and that he was accused of using Michael Morrow’s transcriptions (identifiable by reconstructed passages) of some of the dances for his later performances with the EMC.

⁴⁷⁷ The records in question are: David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*, Argo (Decca) ZRG 642, 1969, LP. And *Musica Reservata*, Michael Morrow, and John Beckett, *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's "Decameron"*, Philips SAL 3781 / 802 904 LY, 1969, LP.

⁴⁷⁸ Ian D. Bent, "Review: Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron by Musica Reservata; Morrow; Beckett," *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1527 (1970), 513.

⁴⁷⁹ Jeremy Montagu, interview by author, December 6, 2009.

Montagu's assertion that Munrow used transcriptions made by Michael Morrow is not unique to the interview of 2009, it is echoed in earlier sources too. A letter from Montagu to Morrow mentioning this very fact is preserved amongst Morrow's collection of papers in the archives of King's College London. Dated September 1973, Montagu suggested the possible licensing of Musica Reservata scores to Paul Williamson's Oriana Ensemble:

I've been doing some playing with a small group organized by Paul Williamson [...] the other players in the group are, like Paul, all young, or anyway younger than us, and keen, [...] The result is that we play from printed editions, and you have spoiled me with your editions, for enjoying this.⁴⁸⁰

Musica Reservata had severe financial difficulties in the early 1970s and had that very same month advertised for donations to their music research fund.⁴⁸¹ This letter might be read as Montagu politely finding a way for Morrow to make some more money from his music research. What is interesting about this letter is that Montagu continues with a cautionary word:

Before doing any of this, I would need [Paul Williamson's] agreement, and that of the other members of the group, that they would not do a David Munrow with any of the music; unless they all promise this, I would not proceed.

Presumably, Morrow found Montagu's suggestion agreeable, and logically we can assume that he also agreed that David Munrow did at some point 'do a David Munrow' because the archive also preserves a copy of the letter that Montagu then sent to Paul Williamson a few days later.

The problem of the safeguards is that neither [Morrow] nor I want another David Munrow, who is still using Musica Reservata material with neither acknowledgement nor fee.

⁴⁸⁰ Montagu to Morrow, September 6 1973, in *The Papers of Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata*. London: King's College London Archives.

⁴⁸¹ Michael Morrow, "Advertisement: Musica Reservata Research Fund," *Recorder and Music* 4, no. 6 (1973). Press clipping in *The Papers of Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata*. London: King's College London Archives.

John Sothcott, who often played *Ghaetta* as the soloist in Musica Reservata also remembers the outline of the story when David Munrow was accused of using Morrow's transcription of the dance without proper acknowledgement:

There was a famous piece called Ghaetta which is a 14th century Italian Istampita which I used to play on the recorder. Munrow had borrowed it because he said he wanted to, he asked Michael if he could borrow it because he wanted to play it on the curtal or whatever he wanted to play it on. And he used to do this and then Michael found it was on records with no acknowledgement of Michael. And he said there was a whole section of that which was missing from the manuscript and Michael had put it in and he'd used that without any acknowledgement. Of course it was fatal, and the BBC got on to it and eventually Michael got on to the BBC who got on to me. And, what was all I knew, is that I had a copy of this Ghaetta and David Munrow asked to borrow it and Michael told me to lend it to him; which I did. So there. I knew nothing more about it but he had a copy of it and apparently Munrow had pinched it and anyway there was a terrible row about it at the time. Not with me, but with them.⁴⁸²

This particular recollection by Sothcott suggests two important additional features. Firstly that there should be a significant part of the score which is reconstructed by Michael Morrow (and therefore not found in the earlier transcriptions which were widely available) and secondly that the scoring and style of this dance on the recorder was part of Musica Reservata's approach.

Ripples from this story may also be detected in a further source, Jeremy Silverman, writing in *Time Out* magazine nearly two years after Munrow's death, also mentions that Morrow's scores were often circulated without permission:

Most of the best early music performers are, or have been associated with 'Musica Reservata': Andrew Parrott, Katherine Mackintosh, the Skeaping brothers, Don Smithers etc. And there are many Morrow-versions, stolen and unacknowledged, passing the rounds of other groups. Munrow was a fledgling here, so were James Tyler and ex-adman Anthony Rooley, organizer of our Early Music Centre's 'Festival'.⁴⁸³

I quote him here at length to show how he places Munrow, Tyler and Rooley in the very next sentence which may imply that The EMC's [and Rooley's?] involvement in 'passing the rounds' is common knowledge. There seems to be no reason why they

⁴⁸² John Sothcott, Derek Harrison, and Terry Sothcott, interview by author, March 21, 2013.

⁴⁸³ Julian Silverman, "The Old Band Wagon," *Time Out (London)*, October 13-19, 1978, 19.

could not otherwise have been placed along with Parrott, Mackintosh and Skeaping in the first sentence. Morrow, this article suggests, is the godfather of his own generation of the early music revival.

From such anecdotes it seems reasonable to assume that Morrow sometimes made his own editions. An overview of published scores for *Ghaetta* and *Tre Fontane* reveals that there was limited choice in the 1960s and that none of them was reliable. Indeed, Frederick Crane commented on the editions of these dances whilst reviewing Musica Reservata's *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron*:

The editions used are pretty faulty; what is notable about them is that in the long pieces the manuscript's rhythms have been altered at several points in order to maintain a fixed metre throughout. [...] The Early Music Consort's *Ecco La Primavera* [...] includes six *Lo* pieces in fine performances of greater authenticity than most, except for the faulty editions used (as with Musica Reservata).⁴⁸⁴

Crane has noted that based upon the aural evidence the same edition is being used by both ensembles. Alexander Blachly went a little further in the *Musical Quarterly*:

Both groups appear to have used a limited number of sources, insofar as this can be determined from checking the performances against the available editions. [...] The dances are taken mainly from Johannes Wolf's "Die Tänze des Mittelalters" in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, I (1918), although The Early Music Consort sometimes seems to follow the versions of the dances contained in the Davison-Apel and Schering anthologies. Let us look more closely at Musica Reservata's use of Wolf. The correction of some of Wolf's errors of transcription, in addition to the appearance on their record of a dance published in only recently a modern form (In pro), implies that [Musica Reservata] had access to *Lo* or at least to a reproduction of it.⁴⁸⁵

Since neither the Davison-Apel nor Schering anthologies mentioned contain either of the dances under consideration in this chapter we can safely remove these from the equation. Also, the 1965 facsimile edition by Gilbert Reaney is footnoted in Blachly's review as apparently being unknown to the performers so that can be removed

⁴⁸⁴ Frederick Crane, "On Performing the "Lo Estampies", " *Early Music* 7, no. 1 (1979), 30.

⁴⁸⁵ Alexander Blachly, "Review: Musik aus der Zeit von Boccaccios Decamerone by Musica Reservata; John Beckett; Michael Morrow; Ecco la Primavera: Florentine Music of the 14th Century by The Early Music Consort," *The Musical Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1971), 338.

from consideration also. This evidence also seems to point towards a unique edition of the *Lo* dances peculiar to both Musica Reservata and The Early Music Consort of London. It seems, however, unlikely that any influence over the choice of edition could have flowed from Munrow to Morrow since most of Morrow's colleagues remember him as having undertaken all the musicological scholarship and performance decisions by himself. As Sothcott puts it, 'Michael was always the absolute arbiter.'⁴⁸⁶

Certainly it was the general feeling of Montagu that Munrow used Musica Reservata material for his own performances, and the extent of this closeness between the two performing groups on the cusp of the early 1970s has already been explored in chapter four (using the case of Landini's *Questa fanciulla*). Unfortunately, direct comparison of scores in the case of these *Lo* dances is not possible. Whereas the scores for Munrow's performances, largely preserved in the Royal Academy of Music archive, can be viewed; the scores for Michael Morrow's performances in the same archive are unavailable for study.⁴⁸⁷ Therefore, any analysis between the two performances to determine the use of a similar transcription source has to be undertaken aurally.

Returning, then, to this question of published editions we see that elsewhere Crane also compiled a chronological list of editions of the *Lo* estampies.⁴⁸⁸ If we look at the contents of such publications we discover that only the following published prior to 1976 contain either Ghaetta or Tre Fontane:

- Johannes Wolf, 'Die Tänze des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918–19), 10–42.
- Hans Joachim Moser, 'Stantipes und Ductia', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1919–20), pp. 194–206. (Ghaetta only)
- Gilbert Reaney ed., *The Manuscript London*, British Museum, Additional 29987 (Musicological Studies and Documents, 3, n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1965).

⁴⁸⁶ Sothcott, Harrison, and Sothcott, interview by author.

⁴⁸⁷ Morrow's collection of performance materials held by the RAM is, at the time of writing, uncatalogued and therefore not available to researchers.

⁴⁸⁸ Crane, "On Performing the "Lo Estampies", " 31.

- Jan ten Bokum ed., *De dansen van het trecento (Scripta musicological ultrajectina*, 1, Institut voor Muziekwetenschap der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Utrecht, 1967).

Performances before the death of David Munrow must therefore either be derived from one of these editions or from a specially prepared and unpublished performing edition. Considering the publication of *Lo* in facsimile by Reaney in 1965, this latter point is entirely possible, despite Crane's note that Musica Reservata were apparently unaware of its publication, since both Musica Reservata and *Lo* were London based.⁴⁸⁹

The Recording Process

Recording these dances presented several difficulties. Jeremy Montagu remembers that the plan was that percussion should remain absolutely constant whatever happened to the solo instrumental line:

Now Michael, as I said, had ideas about the sound and he also had strict ideas about the rhythm with which I totally agree, in my own part that dance music should be played as dance music and what's needed in dance music is a steady rhythm and if you listen to a Strauss waltz the whole way through you get um-chaa-chaa, um-chaa-chaa ...um ch-ch-ch-cha-chop..um-cha-cha [*sings: 1-2-3, 1-2-3, 1+2+3, 1-2-3*] and so on. [...] It's a steady rhythm with a little something on the corners as you might say, as you go around the bend. And you look at *Arbeau's Orchesography*, the basic dance manual of 1588, the only two dances that he gives in full with the percussion part there's no variation whatsoever. It's absolutely constant; which is what we did. That and the fact that we went, as you might say, slap-bang into things is what broke the ground with the audiences who had never heard medieval music played like that—they'd been brought up with Dolmetsch—and we were fundamentally anti-Dolmetsch...⁴⁹⁰

A little later on in our conversation Montagu mentioned recording the medieval dance repertory:

They were hell to record those big istampitas, [...] because if you fluff in a concert you go on, if you fluff in a recording you stop. [...] And if you start

⁴⁸⁹ The initial Musica Reservata programme from 1960 shows that an Estampie (not identified) was programmed so if Morrow did make transcriptions of instrumental dances himself, including those from *Lo*, he may well have done so before Reaney's facsimile was published. "A Concert of Mediaeval Music Given by Musica Reservata," January 30, 1960, *Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata*, King's College London Archives.

⁴⁹⁰ Montagu, interview by author.

again, are you in exactly the same rhythm and tonality and so on that they can splice the tape? The answer is no. So eventually the way we did it is that I would go on, and I would go [*claps a regular 1-2+, 1-2+ rhythm*] and whatever it was and David would stop and catch his breath and then pick up again.

Similarly, David Corkhill, in an interview with the author, remembers the same system used for recording when he was the percussionist for Munrow's performances with the Early Music Consort of London:

[EB] How did you improvise, or plan, in rehearsal or did Munrow notate things for you?

[DC] Nearly...he would give me an indication of a rhythm [*sings, Dah, duh, duh, duh, duh in 1 2+ 3+ style*] certainly in the early stages. I would also have a part, not a percussion part but a top line of a score or something.

[EB] And you would know what the dance rhythm for it was or whatever? There would be a plan?

[DC] Yes I mean he occasionally wrote crotchet four quavers, or Dum digga dum dum dum, he would write some suggested rhythm [...] maybe a couple of bars and then I might have had, the only real discussion would come, as I remember, when we had to end the piece and it would usually be last note, one extra bar and then a note. [*sings*] and then there would be a little quaver in there... and that would be two bars and a note or one bar and a note.

[EB] *comments that the riotous style of ending sounds like the sort of thing you'd hear in a Black Dyke Mills performance.*

[DC] Yes! It is! And it's great because occasionally there are early music groups here [the Guildhall School] and they're great, they're very intense about it and they want to do it all which is wonderful and is great and again the only discussion we have is how to end it and once we've sorted that they're so thrilled because they've got an end to a piece. It's a really crucial bit of...

[EB] But did you then have to follow the structure, so you would have to know if it was, you were doing ABBA, or...

[DC] Oh yes, yes. I would usually write it down. But the rhythm would remain constant. [...] well one thing we did might have been on the, I don't think it was on the *Two Renaissance Dance Bands*, probably another record. It was such a long blow for everybody, so we'd start dun digga dun dun whatever it was, you know, and then we'd get to the end of the ABA and everyone would stop except for me—it's like having a constant click—I'd keep doing the rhythm [*sings dun digga again*] and then when they were ready [*mimics panting*] we'd go on. And then Willan or somebody would edit at that point and then so there are these kinds of bits in between...⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹¹ David Corkhill, interview by author, London, October 19, 2012.

Taking an overview of these interviews with the percussionists, it is interesting that in more than one respect the modes of operation between Musica Reservata and The Early Music Consort of London are the same: both percussionists play from fragmentary notation provided by the director of the ensemble and both ensembles take recording breaks whilst relying on a constant percussion track for continuity. Since Munrow was playing these dances with Musica Reservata before the foundation of the EMC it seems reasonable to suggest that these ideas originated within Musica Reservata whilst it included Munrow as soloist.

Presenting the dances in performance

David Corkhill remembers *Tre Fontane* specifically:

[EB] do you remember Turkish Nightclub music?

[DC] It rings a small bell.

[EB] It's what James [Bowman] calls one of the medieval dances that Munrow plays always at every concert which was a trademark piece. [...] The really manic one he always does...with the shawm

[DC] Oh that one, that one! Yes yes yes yes! And he used to go completely purple in the face. In fact, recording that kind of music, I remember recording it at EMI, and he stripped off virtually—I remember him taking his shirt off—[...] and it was almost like being there you know.

[EB] Did those things develop over time, did they get more complex?

[DC] Yes, well you say 'over time' but there wasn't very much of that time only a few years you know so it's not like we're talking about a decade or two, you know we're talking about just a handful of years so and as you say it was all very intense you know crammed in to just a few short years so that, and it wasn't as if we were meeting every week.⁴⁹²

Corkhill's two points are firstly that the physical effort involved in Munrow's performances was great and secondly that the dances had little time to develop since the performing career of the Early Music Consort was so short. If Munrow's dance music style had gone through a phase of radical development it must have been after 1964 when he first became interested in medieval music and before Corkhill joined the

⁴⁹² Corkhill, interview by author.

consort around 1970. This does suggest that Munrow's style came of age during his performing time with Musica Reservata. But that is not to assert that he simply stole it from Musica Reservata but, rather, that it may have been inspired by their approach.

Fortunately, a performance of *Tre Fontane* by The Early Music Consort of London is preserved on film.⁴⁹³ This performance confirms the structural points that Corkhill makes. Firstly, Munrow introduces the piece:

The recorder probably first came to light in Northern Italy, so here's a brilliant piece of fourteenth century Italian dance music; just the sort of thing that the earliest recorders would have played.⁴⁹⁴

Munrow then indicates the tempo to his colleagues before the music begins by conducting two beats (a whole bar) with the recorder at his lips.



Figure 62 Munrow indicates tempo with the recorder at his lips ready to start playing

As the music starts the camera pans out to show the ensemble and the title of the piece is displayed on screen. David Corkhill plays a percussion accompaniment on nakers, James Tyler plays a bandora and Oliver Brookes drones on a viol.

⁴⁹³ David Munrow, "Flutes and Whistles," in *Early Musical Instrument*, directed by Peter Plummer, aired October 1976 on Granada Television (UK) Produced for DVD by David Griffith, Viking New Media 2007. Accessed May 12, 2009. www.DavidMunrow.org.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid. 10'01".



Figure 63 The ensemble for *Tre Fontane*

As the performance develops the camera focuses on Munrow's face during a high note; it appears that Munrow is making a great physical effort (despite playing a sopranino recorder).



Figure 64 Munrow: physical effort in *Tre Fontane*

Several other aspects of this performance are deliberately caught on camera. First, Tyler's foot is shown stamping out the beat and then as he introduces a sequence of four descending chords into the music his hand becomes the focus.



Figure 65 Tyler: stamping to the beat in *Tre Fontane*



Figure 66 Tyler: chordal accompaniment



Figure 67 Corkhill: percussion

Munrow's bodily movements indicate when he begins the long final note and he drops his head to show the cut off point. All the other members of the ensemble take their cue from him.



Figure 68 Munrow: final note



Figure 69 Munrow: releases final note

The performance, as we shall see, is consistent with the memories of members of the Early Music Consort of London and also other performances of medieval dances captured on film. The key features are: Munrow was always the soloist and indicated tempo with his instrument at his lips, Munrow showed physical effort and flushed red in the face, David Corkhill's percussion was complex and the camera focuses on him for part of the dance, the ending included the addition of an extra bar (Munrow's high note), a percussive flourish and often a crescendo and that Munrow used exaggerated body language to indicate the end of his last note to the ensemble.

Now we can observe the contours of this *Tre Fontane* performance as seen in other Trecento dance repertory on film. Consider a *Saltarello* played in a different episode of the same series⁴⁹⁵:



Figure 70 Munrow: introductory beats with Shawm at his lips

⁴⁹⁵ "Reed Instruments," in David Munrow, *Early Musical Instruments*.



Figure 71 Ensemble for *Saltarello*



Figure 72 Munrow: physical effort in *Saltarello*



Figure 73 Munrow: long note at end of *Saltarello*



Figure 74 Munrow: releases final note

This particular performance was remembered by Andrew van der Beek, who plays one of the drone instruments, in a discussion with Nicholas Kenyon after a public viewing of the film:

[AvB] I think the thing you notice was his energy that came out of that clip. I think he had all the attributes associated with leadership—energy, capacity for hard work, very quick and sure judgment—and that’s very important when you’re rehearsing and performing musical programs. And I also think the ability to assemble a team who would all work together. And everything we did was terribly well prepared before we’d arrive at the rehearsal. He’d decided exactly what was going to happen, who was playing what, what instruments, there was no time wasted with discussion or any of this pretense of democracy [audience laughter]

[NK] It does slightly seem as if you were playing a supporting role there.

[AvB] I think in that clip we were given those instruments about sort of ten minutes before the recording and it was assumed that one had a basic knowledge of any sort of instrument, and we were all playing one note of course so we used to play that. Yes. I think, that piece, David had been touring in his one-man lecture recitals for probably 5 years so he knew it back-to-front, he knew how to milk it for what it’s worth.⁴⁹⁶

Van der Beek refers to this style of performance as ‘milking’ the music. And in an estampie from the BBC programme, *Ancestral Voices*, of 1976 we again see the same process in operation:⁴⁹⁷



Figure 75: Ancestral Voices (BBC) Estampie: performers watch Munrow for his final note

And also for another Saltarello later in the same series.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ Nicholas Kenyon, Sally Dunkley, Andrew Van der Beek, and Deborah Roberts, “Celebrating Inspiration: In Memory of David Munrow,” Pre Concert Discussion: *Brighton Early Music Festival*, November 10, 2012.

⁴⁹⁷ David Munrow, "Origins and Flutes," in *Ancestral Voices*, produced by Paul Kriwaczek, aired May 1976, on BBC Television.



Figure 76 Percussionists watch Munrow for his final note

It is apparent; therefore, that Munrow curated and delivered well-rehearsed performances of medieval dances that followed a basic template. Furthermore, a comparison of *Tre Fontane* performances played by David Munrow compared with other recordings from similarly specialist early music ensembles will now reveal a flexible approach to performance within an obvious framework of limited options such as percussion, fixed drone, moveable drone etc. What now follows is a consideration of that music-cultural space in *Tre Fontane* performance.

Istampita Tre Fontane

Tre Fontane is an Italian estampie, and contains a complex formal structure in a duple meter. The key structural element of an estampie (or istanpita, to give it its Italian name) is the punctum, a unit of melodic material followed by an open or closed ending. In Italian estampies—like *Tre Fontane*—the puncta are long enough to be considered as verses which themselves contain a varying number of sections. Each verse ends with the same melodic material (section D) which is then followed by an open or closed ending, and each new verse begins with a new melodic section not heard before. The structure has been represented by Timothy McGee in the following manner:⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁸ David Munrow, "Reeds," in *Ancestral Voices*.

⁴⁹⁹ Timothy McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*, Music: Scholarship and Performance, ed., Thomas Binkley (Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989), 40.

Verse	Endings
ABCD	x/y
EBCD	x/y
F_CD	x/y
G__D	x/y

These open and closed endings can be seen clearly marked as first- and second-time bars from a transcription in Munrow's hand:⁵⁰⁰

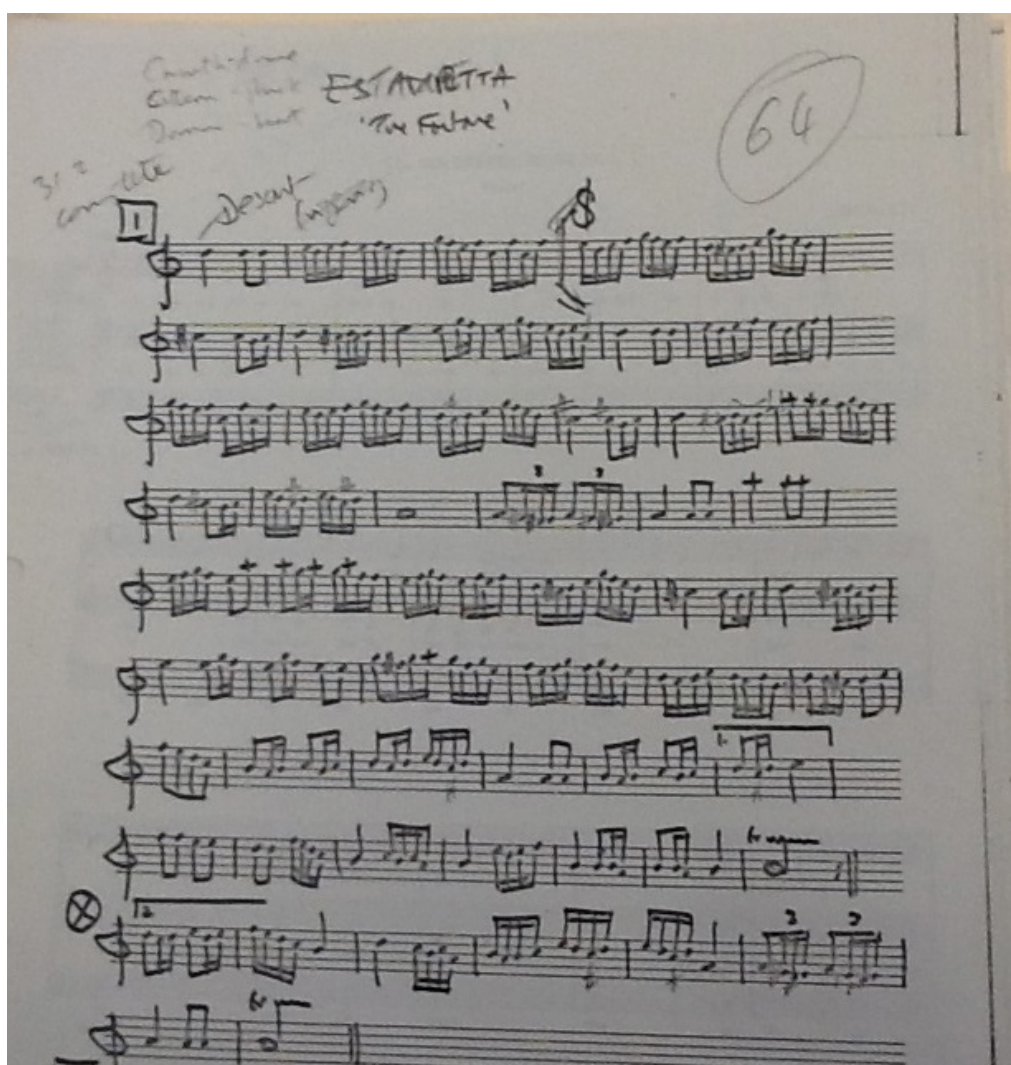


Figure 77. *Tre Fontane* in Munrow's hand (used by kind permission of the Royal Academy of Music, London)

⁵⁰⁰ David Munrow, "Tre Fontane in "Volume II" (The Art of Courtly Love)," in *Papers of David Munrow: DM4/9/2* (London: Royal Academy of Music Special Collections Archive, c1972).

Considering a range of recordings of this dance, *Tre Fontane*, it is possible to compare two performances by David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London with another featuring Munrow as a wind soloist (with Musica Reservata) and also with two performances by different artists in later decades. In the comparison table below the general starting tempo is given as a metronome mark for the crotchet beat as indicated by Munrow's transcription.

Performance <i>Tre Fontane</i>	Total Time	Approx tempo	Instrumentation
Musica Reservata: 1968 ⁵⁰¹	4'15	118	Alto shawm, two drums
Early Music Consort of London: EMI 1973 ⁵⁰²	4'00	132	Sopranino recorder, citole, crwth, nakers
Early Music Consort of London: Granada TV 1976	2'34	141	Sopranino recorder, citole, Viol drone, nakers
St George's Canzona 1985	7'53	111	Vielle(s), plucked strings, percussion
New York Ensemble for Early Music: 1994	9'45	93	Transverse flute, 2 gemshorns

The general tempi of the dances, however, show considerable variation. As befits functional dance music, there is no significant gain or loss of speed over the span of each performance yet the speeds fluctuate slightly within the performance. Munrow's 1973 performance is the one Fallows described on BBC radio as being played 'at a hell of a lick'.

The internal organisation of such dances as presented in performance also exhibits significant structural variation. The two sound recordings featuring David Munrow as the solo wind player only perform verses one and two. That is ABCDx –

⁵⁰¹ Musica Reservata, Michael Morrow, and John Beckett, *Music für Kirche und Kneipe*, Philips 6833 046, 1978, LP.

⁵⁰² Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

ABCDy followed by EBCDx – EBCDy. As Alexander Blachly has suggested, the deviations between the Musica Reservata 1968 and the Early Music consort of London 1973 recordings are similar enough to suggest the same score is being used and that these two performances are simply distinguished in ornamentation only,⁵⁰³ although this is actually impossible to ascertain with any accuracy due to the high levels of ornamentation in Munrow's EMC performances frequently obscuring the melodic outline. Interestingly, Munrow does not follow the score exactly as it is seen in his own hand (figure 77). A serious difference occurs between Munrow's sound recording (1973) and his TV recording (1976) in that on the television performance Munrow does not repeat the second verse but instead plays it just once with a highly decorated closed ending. Such structural differences may have been at the root of how Bowman remembers the performances becoming 'longer and longer' while presumably, the same modular approach enabled this particular performance to be shortened for the requirements of a television broadcast.

The similar deviations from the Wolf's transcription of *Tre Fontane* by both Munrow and Morrow offer an interesting clue as to their performing editions on both of these recordings. Looking at the first verse only, and using Wolf's score as a template, four extra bars of melodic material are inserted between the bars numbers 32 and 33 in Morrow's score for *Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron*.⁵⁰⁴ The same location includes an insertion in Munrow's score for *The Art of Courtly Love* but this time there are only two bars of extra material. Similarly, both performances add an extra beat between bars 39 and 40 in Wolf which duplicated the material in bar 43 and

⁵⁰³ Blachly, "Review: Musik aus der Zeit von Boccaccios Decamerone by Musica Reservata; John Beckett; Michael Morrow; Ecco la Primavera: Florentine Music of the 14th Century by The Early Music Consort," 338.

⁵⁰⁴ Johannes Wolf, "Die Taenze des Mittelalters. Eine Unterfuchung des Wefens der aeltesten Inſtrumentalmufik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1, no. 1 (1918).

balances that melodic motif with the other repeated A's in the same section of the music.

Furthermore it could be suggested that both of these performances must be based loosely on Wolf's score because they both include his transcription variant in bar 81 as shown in this figure from Blachly's review:



Figure 78 Blachly: analysis of Wolf's transcription. ⁵⁰⁵

It would seem that both Morrow and Munrow treat vertical strokes present at this point in the *Lo* manuscript as dividing lines rather than rests. Furthermore, neither Musica Reservata nor The EMC play the *Tertia pars* and *Quarta pars* as shown by Wolf. Blachly suggested that this truncated nature of performance is 'not because this section lacks musical interest but because it shifts meter and introduces faster notes' in the fourth verse that would be difficult to play at these fast tempi.⁵⁰⁶

The remaining two performances have been chosen because they are structurally complete. Both the St George's Canzona and The New York Ensemble for Early Music perform all four verses, each repeated with open and closed endings. Exactly the same deviations as Musica Reservata make from Wolf's first verse are found in the St George's Canzona recording, which is not surprising since Sothcott was a founding member of Musica Reservata and letters between Montagu and Morrow discuss

⁵⁰⁵ Blachly, "Review: Musik aus der Zeit von Boccaccios Decamerone by Musica Reservata; John Beckett; Michael Morrow; Ecco la Primavera: Florentine Music of the 14th Century by The Early Music Consort," 339. Blachly himself describes Wolf's variants as 'errors' which he says 'have been 'corrected' in his example.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

Sothcott's legitimate use of Morrow's scores. Indeed, Derek Harrison, a regular performer of the St George's Canzona confirmed this in an interview:

[EB] And what scores did you play from, were you playing from printed academic editions?

[DH] No, I don't think we ever had any. Well, that's not entirely true. I mean, a certain amount of it came from Michael and what he'd done. Particularly his researches on dances, of course, his realizations.⁵⁰⁷

This confirms that ideas and scores for medieval dance repertory were shared between Musica Reservata and the St George's Canzona and as a result we can expect to see some overlap of ideas. This will not be the case with more modern groups: The New York Ensemble for Early Music, for instance, follow Wolf's score quite closely and exhibit none of the same deviations in the first verse as the other performances we have just discussed. This marked difference by an 'outsider' group serves to throw more emphasis on the suggestion of a very close-knit performance community between Musica Reservata, EMC and the St George's Canzona where I would suggest that Morrow's editions are influencing the performances. This is a point that will be revisited when we look at a wider range of performances of *Instampita Ghaetta*.

The style of accompaniment in *Tre Fontane* shows significant differences between these performances also and is summarized in the following table:

Performance <i>Tre Fontane</i>	Starting note	Drones	Extra information
Musica Reservata: 1968 ⁵⁰⁸	D	-	-
Early Music Consort of London: EMI 1973 ⁵⁰⁹	D	G & D	A flat and F sharp are introduced into accompaniment chords also
Early Music Consort of London: Granada TV 1976 ⁵¹⁰	D	G & D	F and F sharp are introduced into accompaniment chords along with B flat also

⁵⁰⁷ Derek Harrison, interview by author, February 20, 2013.

⁵⁰⁸ Musica Reservata, Morrow, and Beckett, *Musik für Kirche und Kneipe*.

⁵⁰⁹ Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

⁵¹⁰ Munrow, "Flutes and Whistles."

St George's Canzona 1985 ⁵¹¹	C	G & D	This different pitching of the melody in relation to the drone gives an overall 'minor' flavour to the modality of this dance.
New York Ensemble for Early Music: 1994 ⁵¹²	D	-	No drone, but often parallel passagework in fourths with the lower voice emphasizing the main notes of the melody so that the top voice (the notated part) sounds like a decorated version.

In these five performances we encounter a variety of accompaniment techniques, the most elaborate being with David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London. Munrow plays the dances faster and more elaborately decorated than the other performances. In contrast, his own instrumental solos for the Musica Reservata recording are less decorated and accompanied only by a single drum.

In terms of accompaniment, the two other recordings show a significantly different approach to both Musica Reservata and the EMC. The St George's Canzona use a G-D drone but start the music on a C, which changes the relationship between drone and melody to imply a minor modality. The dance sounds melancholy, a characteristic that is emphasized by the bourdon vielle on which it is played, since this lacks the soloistic flair of a loud wind instrument or a high recorder. Similarly, the New York Ensemble for Early Music dispenses with fixed drones altogether, opting for a steady parallel 4th and 5th motion which shadows the structural notes of the complex tune in the higher part. This technique is, in effect, a moving drone.

This accompaniment information is suggestive of a general picture where Munrow's EMC performances are again conceptually close to the approach taken by Musica Reservata. This broad observation is made on the basis of structure, speed and

⁵¹¹ St George's Canzona and John Sothcott, *Medieval Songs and Dances*, CRD 11 21, 1986, LP.

⁵¹² New York Ensemble for Early Music and Frederick Renz, *Istampitta*, Lyrichord LEMS 8016, 1995, CD.

virtuosic style. The later performances reflect other, alternative performance decisions further highlighting the many possible paths not chosen by Morrow or Munrow.

Istampita Ghaetta

Ghaetta, as we have already seen, has been recalled specifically as one of the dances that David Munrow is thought to have played from Michael Morrow's transcription. The dance was certainly featured in more than one Musica Reservata concert performance. In an early Conway Hall programme of 1965 we read:

The istampitta, "Ghaetta", is a 14th-century Italian dance. It is florid and very instrumental in style, and its rather loose formal organization has all the characteristic of notated improvisation.⁵¹³

And for a concert in the early 1970s at the Cambridge Arts Theatre, a programme note reads:

Gaeta is a town north of Naples, and the Gulf of Gaeta contains the island of Ischia. How this dance came to be named after it we do not know. It is one of the strangest and most colourful of the istampittas.⁵¹⁴

The suggestion of improvisation along with the title's invocation of exotic beauty from that famous Italian coastline may have been an important influence on the way this dance was perceived, and in turn presented, by the performers in Musica Reservata. Sothcott also remembers that Michael asked him to play these pieces on the recorder because he was a virtuosic performer on that instrument and that he saw these pieces as inherently virtuosic:

The point is I'd already made something of a reputation for playing sort of brilliant recorder pieces and we quickly found Michael had dished these... 14th and 13th century dance music—estampies and things—which were the Minstrel's virtuoso pieces, just suited me down to the ground. I made a sort of corner of doing this and I was very influenced and Michael encouraged me by

⁵¹³ Michael Morrow, "Programme for Conway Hall," 1965, in *Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata*, King's College, London Archives.

⁵¹⁴ "Programme for Cambridge Arts Theatre," 1972, in *Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata* King's College, London Archives. This concert was shared with 'Principal Edward's Magic Theatre' who presented "Stoneage Sam". The dating of this concert as the early 1970s comes from this latter group who formed in 1972.

listening to folk musicians from the Balkans to try and play them the same way. [...] to throw the thing off with panache.⁵¹⁵

So panache in the performance by Musica Reservata is remembered as being related to the folk music of the Balkans. The dance is also described in Musica Reservata literature as ‘colourful’, ‘strange’ and ‘florid’. It is revealing, therefore, to see it recorded by both Morrow and Munrow simply with a solo instrumental line and percussion (Munrow uses a drone also) as this implies that the floridity was perceived in the execution of the solo line rather than in any accompaniment that may be improvised around it. *Ghaetta* has been much more widely recorded than *Tre Fontane*, so a larger sample of performances can be considered here. Eight recordings have been chosen, six of which are from a similar generation to David Munrow.

Performance <i>Ghaetta</i>	Total Time	Approx tempo	Instrumentation
New York Pro Musica 1967 ⁵¹⁶	5’25	104	Vielle, Rauschpfeife, Recorder (unspecified), triangle and drum
Musica Reservata: 1968 ⁵¹⁷	3’35	103	Sopranino recorder, two drums
Early Music Consort of London 1969 ⁵¹⁸	3’54	112	Sopranino recorder, viol drone, percussion
Ulsamer-Collegium 1971 ⁵¹⁹	5’19	90	Shawm and percussion
Studio der Frühen Musik 1974 ⁵²⁰	6’09	72-79	Variety of plucked and wind instruments.
St George’s Canzona 1978 ⁵²¹	4’31	83	Vielle(s) with bourdon strings.
New York Ensemble for Early Music: 1995 ⁵²²	7’15	84	2 bagpipes, tambourine, frame drum

⁵¹⁵ Sothcott, Harrison, and Sothcott, interview by author.

⁵¹⁶ Noah Greenberg and New York Pro Musica., *Florentine Music*, New York: Decca Gold Label Series DL 7 9428, 1967, LP.

⁵¹⁷ Musica Reservata, Morrow, and Beckett, *Musik für Kirche und Kneipe*.

⁵¹⁸ Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *Ecco La Primavera*.

⁵¹⁹ Ulsamer-Collegium and Konrad Ragossnig, *Tanzmusik Der Renaissance*, Archiv Produktion -2533 111, 1971, LP.

⁵²⁰ Thomas Binkley and Studio der frühen Musik, *Estampie*, EMI "Reflexe" 1C 063 30 122, 1974, LP.

⁵²¹ St George’s Canzona and John Sothcott, *A Tapestry of Music for the Black Prince and His Knights*, Enigma K 53 571, 1978, LP.

Dufay Collective 1993 ⁵²³	6'45	88	2 Rebecs, vielle, traditional Turkish long-necked lute, traditional Moroccan/Indian percussion
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Timothy McGee explains the structure of the Ghaetta dance as simpler than that of Tre Fontane:⁵²⁴

Verse	Endings
ABC	X/Y
DEC	X/Y
FEC	X/Y
GBC	X/Y

Each verse is formed of three sections and always begins with new material and ends with the same section before the open or closed ending (x or y in the above chart).

This gives the dance a more repetitive feeling than *Tre Fontane*.

This time both structure and accompaniment information are shown in the following table:

Performance <i>Ghaetta</i>	Start Note	Accompaniment	Structure
New York Pro Musica 1967	E flat	No regular drone, but E flat drone introduced temporarily. Changes of instrumentation illustrate the structure.	4 verses, each repeated with open or closed endings. Each 'c' section always played with full instrumentation.
Musica Reservata:	A flat	No drone, just	Verses 1, 2 and 4 only. Each

⁵²² New York Ensemble for Early Music and Frederick Renz, *Istampitta II*, Lyrichord LEMS 8022, 1996, CD.

⁵²³ Dufay Collective, *A Dance in the Garden of Mirth: Medieval Instrumental Music*, Colchester: Chandos Chan 9320, 1994, CD.

⁵²⁴ McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*.

1968		percussion.	repeated with open or closed endings.
Early Music Consort of London 1969	G	G & C drones	Verses 1, 2 and 4 only. Each repeated with open or closed endings.
Ulsamer-Collegium 1971	D	-	Verses 1, 3 and 4 only. Each repeated with open or closed endings. Gaps between each verse bridged by percussion
Studio der frühen musik 1974	D	No drone, uses a parallel style which shadows the 'main' notes of the tune.	Verses 1, 2 and 3 only. Sections within verses marked by changes of instrumentation.
St George's Canzona 1978	D	G & D	Verse 1, 2 and 4. Each with open and closed endings.
New York Ensemble for Early Music: 1995	A	Bagpipe drone. D	4 verses each with open and closed endings. Notable increase of ornamentation in verse four.
Dufay Collective 1993	D	G & D drones in V 1 and 2, parallel style in V 3 and 4.	4 verses, each with open and closed endings.

Again, as expected, a wide variety of performances can be seen in this sample but the overall structure of the performances by the Early Music Consort of London and Musica Reservata are similar. The use of drones by the Early Music Consort is a significant departure but similarities can be seen elsewhere within the score.

Firstly, neither Morrow nor Munrow perform raised leading notes as in the second and fourth bars of Wolf's transcription; yet Wolf's rhythmic transcription error, as identified by Blachly in bar 69, is present on both recordings:



Figure 79 Blachly: analysis of the Wolf's *Ghaetta* transcription.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁵ Blachly, "Review: Musik aus der Zeit von Boccaccios Decamerone by Musica Reservata; John Beckett; Michael Morrow; Ecco la Primavera: Florentine Music of the 14th Century by The Early Music Consort," 339.

New York Pro Musica use a performing edition with significant differences to Wolf throughout although this bar 69 variant is present. It is also present in the edition used by St George's Canzona (as would be expected considering their close relationship to Musica Reservata). This variant is adjusted/corrected in the recordings by Studio der frühen Musik, The Dufay Collective, The Ulsamer Collegium and The New York Ensemble for Early Music. In fact, these other performers all seem to use an edition closely aligned to Jan ten Bokum (1976) listed above, although it is possible that the slight variants in melody are due to individual transcriptions.

Once again, the faster tempo on the Munrow's recording makes the exact rhythmic detail of his performance harder to identify but it appears that he, too, also repeats Wolf's variant in line with the Musica Reservata performance. It is noticeable that no performance uses a trill in this bar. Also noticeable is the wide range of accompaniment patterns with Morrow as the most minimal, and Munrow taking a similarly conservative approach.

Summarising Tre fontane and Ghaetta

In his review of *Ecco la Primavera*, Ian Bent noted the trecento repertoire had been thus far somewhat neglected and that Munrow's album served as a much-needed anthology. He singles out *Ghaetta* for special praise:

David Munrow's recorder and crumhorn playing is beyond praise, particularly his marathon sopranino performance of *Ghaetta*. In these dances the instrumentation of the melodies, the drones and the percussion are all sensitively handled.⁵²⁶

But in a later review of *Music from the time of Boccaccio's Decameron* we saw how Bent had seemed surprised that another album of similar repertoire was recorded at around the same time yet, again, went on to praise Munrow's technical prowess as a

⁵²⁶ Ian Bent, "Review: Ecco La Primavera," *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1526 (1970), 398.

wind-player.⁵²⁷ This virtuosic treatment is presumably derived from the Balkan influence that Sothcott refers to and as such it cannot be claimed securely as an idea unique to Musica Reservata since a slightly earlier recording by the post-Greenberg New York Pro Musica takes a similar approach.⁵²⁸ However, considering Sothcott's recollections it is likely that this virtuosic style of playing was considered by the members of Musica Reservata to be their own idea.

What these performances suggest, therefore, is a web of connections concerning performance practice between Musica Reservata, The Early Music Consort of London and the St George's Canzona. With the last group this is verifiable from Sothcott's own admission that many of the ideas explored in Musica Reservata were continued when he formed The St George's Canzona, albeit along more democratic lines.⁵²⁹ What is troubling about the perceived similarities between these three groups is that Musica Reservata is the oldest, yet David Munrow denied having been influenced by them as already confirmed by David Fallows.⁵³⁰

Whilst the evidence is suggestive of Musica Reservata's influence on Munrow—by which I really mean that Morrow's musicological ideas were found to be persuasive by Munrow when planning his own performances—there remains the possibility of a more mundane reason for some of these performance similarities. These dances are performed at considerably fast speeds on the Reservata recordings and so the instrumentalists, Sothcott and Munrow who are both the directors of later performances, would have had to learn them very carefully in order to play them so fast. The muscular

⁵²⁷ 'David Munrow's dazzling shawm technique is evident on both records [...]' Ian D. Bent, "Review: Music from the Time of Boccaccio's Decameron by Musica Reservata; Morrow; Beckett," *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1527 (1970), 513.

⁵²⁸ Noah Greenberg, the founder and director of this ensemble died in 1966. LaNoue Davenport, a long-time performer with the ensemble and close collaborator with Greenberg, directs this 1967 recording. It is possible, therefore, that his direction reflects earlier performance practice ideas of Greenberg.

⁵²⁹ Sothcott, Harrison, and Sothcott, interview by author.

⁵³⁰ "[H]e [Munrow] was absolutely FURIOUS when I wrote a piece in *Early Music* on Trecento performance and implied that his playing was influenced by Michael: in fact he demanded (but didn't get) a printed withdrawal": David Fallows, email to the author, Dec 15, 2012.

memory involved with their necessary instrumental technique could have been persistent in these later recordings making (subconscious?) parallels between their work with Morrow and their independent work noticeable to listeners. Furthermore, by denying a connection Munrow may have actually felt that some of the performance ideas (trills, exact tempo) were originally his own (even if they were first used in the context of *Musica Reservata*) since Morrow neither performed nor conducted these dances.

The business of the Ghaetta score is not preserved in any greater detail than that already quoted in this chapter amongst the surviving papers of Michael Morrow as available to the public. Had strong feelings persisted between Morrow and Munrow one would expect official correspondence on the matter to be found among the papers of one or both of these men. However, correspondence post 1972 between them makes no mention of this situation so it may be assumed for the moment that no breach of intellectual copyright was ever proved.

That said, Munrow is clearly influenced by *Musica Reservata* performances, but since he himself is part of those performances it is not possible to conclude firmly that all of these influences come from Morrow alone rather than the collective collaboration of Munrow and/or other performers in *Musica Reservata*. Influence is present but the level of consciousness of this influence is not clear.

Machaut: Douce Dame Jolie

For one final case study in monophonic music we turn to this lively virelai which opens the side 2 of the first volume in *The Art of Courtly Love*. An LP which is devoted to 'Guillaume de Machaut and his Age'.⁵³¹ This is a work often associated with Munrow, as Anthony Burton explained on a BBC radio documentary programme:

⁵³¹ Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

A crucial question, though, is what kind of medieval music audiences and record buyers expect to hear, and whether today's more scholarly performers can fulfill that expectation. Christopher Page thinks that performances like this one by the Early Music Consort [of London], of a single line Virelai by Machaut, created a particular view of medieval music or even reflected an existing view.⁵³²

Page, as we saw in chapter four, has often suggested that the persuasive viewpoint of histories such as Huizinga can be heard in the colourful and elaborate performances by Munrow and other early music ensembles who take a similar approach. Christopher Page, when responding to Burton on air, however, was cautious not to apportion any blame for these events to Munrow:

I think that many people expect that any sound picture of the Middle Ages is going to be rumbustious and good fun. [...] And they like to think that medieval music is going to come across to them as turbulent, flamboyant, colourful [...] That's really the sense they want to have. [...] If you try and give people a sense that's anything other than this rather rumbustious sense, well, you have to lead them more gently, you have to require them to be more persistent and attentive and they don't always want to be.⁵³³

Pragmatically, Page seems to be suggesting that Munrow's audience may not have been ready for any other sort of approach. This colourful view, he tells us, was the most potent one for the audience of the time and it was therefore necessary at that stage of the Early Music Revival for Munrow to use it to attract audiences.

In order to see how this works in terms of performance practice, we will survey briefly six performances of Machaut's work:

Performers	Approx Tempo	Instrumentation
New York Pro Musica 1967 ⁵³⁴	92	Sopranos (Sheila Schonbrun, Elizabeth Humes), Bass (Anthony Tamburello), crumhorn, recorder, vielle, organ, bells
Early Music Consort of London 1973 ⁵³⁵	98	Tenor (Martyn Hill), chorus, sopranino recorder, cornetts, citole, tabor
St George's Canzona	77	Soprano (Rosemary Harrison), vielle,

⁵³² "After Munrow," Anthony Burton, *Early Memories*, aired 1992, BBC Radio 3. British Library Sound Archive reference: H777/01.

⁵³³ Page speaking on: *ibid.*

⁵³⁴ New York Pro Musica and John White, *Ah Sweet Lady: The Romance of Medieval France*, New York: Decca Gold Label DL 79431, 1967, LP.

⁵³⁵ Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

1977 ⁵³⁶		plucked strings, percussion
Gothic Voices 1987 ⁵³⁷	62	Mezzo soprano (Margaret Philpot)
Grupo Cinco Siglos 1995 ⁵³⁸	86	flute
The Orlando Consort 2008 ⁵³⁹	68	Tenor (Mark Dobell)

The New York Pro Musica recording of 1967 (made under the directorship of John White, a professor of musicology at the University of Indiana) is sprightly, colourful and lively. Choruses are performed by the full ensemble with verses of the poem sung one by each of the soloists against a changing array of highly decorative instrumental accompaniment. The tone of both sopranos and bass are vibrato-rich as the following spectrogram demonstrates:

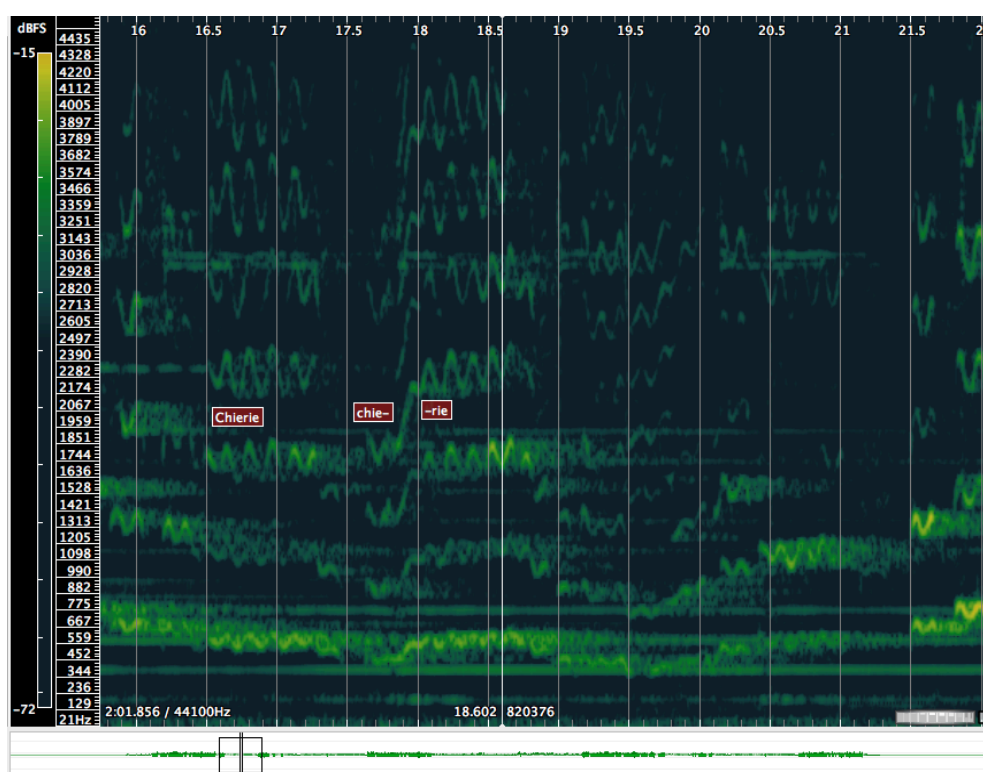


Figure 80 New York Pro Musica: *Douce dame jolie*. Soprano solo.

⁵³⁶ St George's Canzona and John Sothcott, *A Tapestry of Music for King Wenceslas and His Page*, Enigma VAR 1046, 1977, LP.

⁵³⁷ Christopher Page and Gothic Voices, *The Mirror of Narcissus*, London: Hyperion CDA66087, 1987, CD.

⁵³⁸ Grupo Cinco Siglos, *Unos tan dulces sones*, Fonoruz CDF 204, 1995, CD.

⁵³⁹ The Orlando Consort, *Scattered Rhymes*, Harmonia Mundi HMU 807 469, 2008, CD.

Figure 80 shows a fragment of the first soprano soloist singing the repeated word ‘Cherie’ in medieval French pronunciation (it has three syllables). The oscillations are quite regular and noticeable (aurally as well as visually). In this particular verse the instrumental accompaniment includes many recorder trills, a drone and bells. The overall feeling is one of celebratory joy and happiness.

In both mood and speed, David Munrow’s performance is quite close to that of the New York Pro Musica. Indeed, Munrow collected the New York Pro Musica recordings throughout the 1960s and it is therefore probable that he knew this recording. What separates Munrow’s performance from this American ensemble is that he uses a more limited array of accompanying instruments which remains unchanged between each verse. Munrow also creates coherence throughout his performance with a regular percussion part and rhythmic drone. He does not include recorder trills, but sometimes fills in the rising intervals with a flourish.

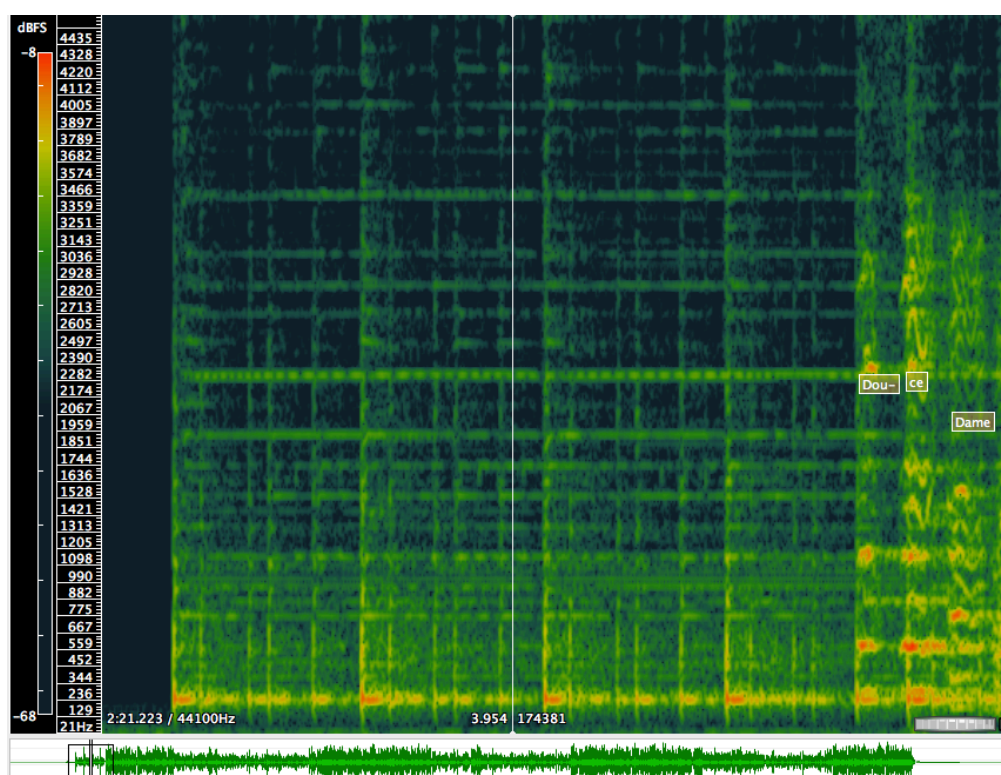


Figure 81 Early Music Consort of London: *Douce dame jolie*. Introduction.

Figure 81 shows the introductory drone and rhythmic percussion that precedes the explosive chorus-entry of Munrow's *Douce dame jolie*. The clear regularity of this introductory passage acts as a springboard for the joyful chorus singing of the verse, yet the words are those of a poem relating courtly love and are not, in themselves, overtly joyful.

Fair and gentle lady, please believe, I beg of you, that you alone rule my heart.
Long have I lived, a humble and loyal servant, in sincerest admiration for you.
But, alas, now all forlorn, I am prey to deep despair, which only your
compassion can dispel. Fair and gentle lady, please believe, I beg of you, that
you alone rule my heart.⁵⁴⁰

This poem alone might outwardly suggest a somber and reflective atmosphere. Indeed, Munrow himself admits that it is the melodic contours, rather than the poem, he finds suggestive of joyfulness:

Occasionally there seems to be a dichotomy between words and music. It is difficult to believe that the melody of Machaut's monophonic virelai *Douce dame jolie* is anything but joyful, exuberant and extrovert, yet the text fluctuates between a confident assertion of love and the conventional despair of a tormented heart. Perhaps this is a case where our attention should be directed not so much to the sense of the text but to the ingenuity of the versification with its short lines of varied lengths and virtuoso treatment of the 'ie' rhyming scheme.⁵⁴¹

This suggests that in *Douce dame jolie* Munrow's approach could be likened to that of Binkley's general philosophy; after informing himself of the relevant historical knowledge, Munrow turns to the musical phrases and structure for inspiration about performance practice. Historical knowledge in this case is an important foundation but not the final arbiter.

Munrow also comments on the pitch of the performance, something which the score can only indicate relatively:

The solo vocal lines themselves usually suggest the use of high male voices, most commonly at a pitch which implies the use of falsetto technique.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴⁰ Translation by Michael Freeman in liner notes to: Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

⁵⁴¹ David Munrow, "The Art of Courtly Love," *Early Music* 1, no. 4 (1973): 197.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

James Bowman (countertenor) is singing in the full chorus sections of *Douce dame jolie*, but it is to the tenor Martin Hill that the solo verses fall.

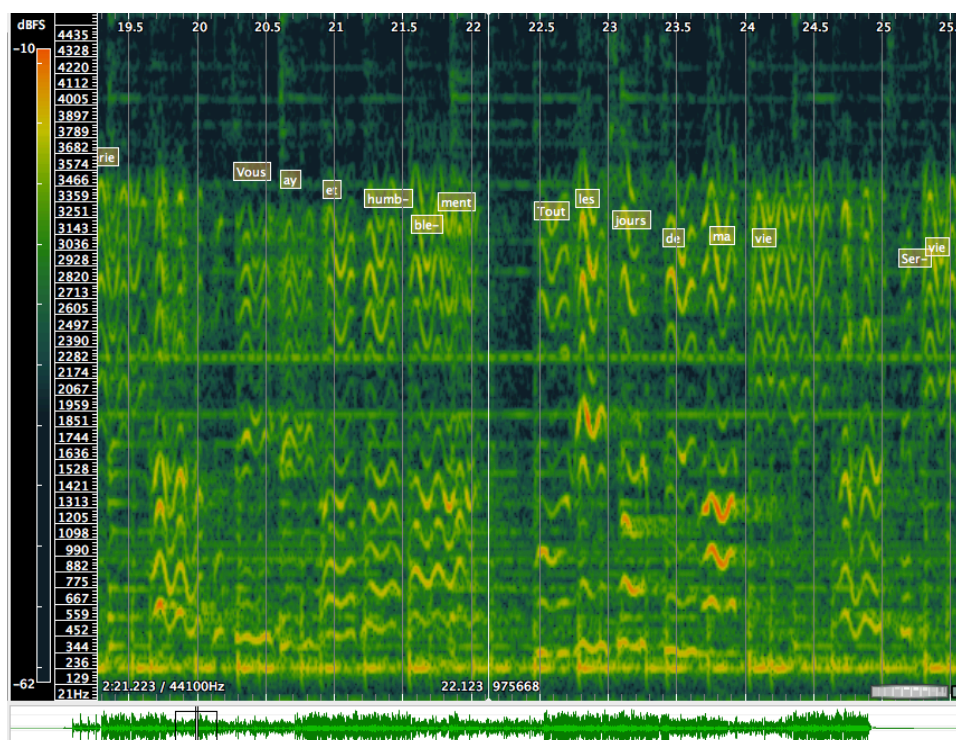


Figure 82 Early Music Consort of London: *Douce dame jolie*. Martyn Hill solo.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Hill's singing typically uses the most vibrato out of any regular vocalist in The EMC. Here, because the speed of the music is quite fast (MM 95) and the individual notes of Machaut's melody are quite short, Hill's voice is somewhat constrained and does not often have opportunity to vibrate for long. This means that although Hill has a Western classical trained vocal sound, his singing here is not overtly operatic or laboured. Hill is also a technically agile singer and this serves to make the song lighter and perkier than it might be if sung by a more heavy operatic voice. Yet, this singing is quite obviously in a more conservative Western vein than the Balkanesque folk-based style of vocal production pioneered by Musica Reservata.

The St George's Canzona perform this virelai with Rosemary Harrison, soprano.⁵⁴³ Their performance is also softer than the 'Reservata holler' and actually closer to an English folk-singer sound. The speed is noticeably slower (MM 77). They use vielle strings, plucked and bowed with lighter percussion to create a reflective atmosphere whilst still keeping a dance-like quality.

Three further recordings, each from a later decade, present this virelai as an unaccompanied monody and it is notable that these recordings were all made after the 1970s. Grupo Cinco Siglos perform the work instrumentally on a transverse flute.⁵⁴⁴ Gothic Voices use a solo mezzo soprano, and The Orlando Consort a solo tenor.⁵⁴⁵ These solo renditions are performed simply, without ornamentation or drones. Both solo voices avoid overtly extrovert performances and present the music modestly and simply leaving the listener with a lasting melancholic impression.

So this sample of performances again situates Munrow's monophony on a colourful, and instrumentally adventurous side of the spectrum. His tempo is upbeat and the colours of instrumentation and chorus/solo balance all give the listener added interest. Yet, again, he does not go as far as Musica Reservata (or here, their satellite group: St George's Canzona) by using folk-derived vocal styles. Rather, he maintains Westernized 'attractive' singing in a style close to the choral tradition.

Part Two: Case Studies of Medieval Polyphonic Music

In chapters four and five, several important observations concerning singing-styles in medieval music performances directed by David Munrow and Michael Morrow were made. Having now identified an important sense of shared cultural space between key ensembles in the 1960s and 1970s, we must now look at those observations in the same context. We will consider music from Munrow's posthumous release *Music of the*

⁵⁴³ St George's Canzona and Sothcott, *A Tapestry of Music for King Wenceslas and His Page*.

⁵⁴⁴ Grupo Cinco Siglos, *Unos tan dulces Sones*.

⁵⁴⁵ Page and Gothic Voices, *The mirror of Narcissus*. And: The Orlando Consort, *Scattered Rhymes*.

Gothic Era, and end with Dufay. These two case studies allow not only for cross-reference between major recording ensembles but also include both high profile boxed sets of medieval music that Munrow recorded, the first of which illustrated his performance practice right at the end of his life.

Anon: On parole de batre

As Emma Dillon has pointed out, this anonymous triple-texted motet is a rare piece of music where a city itself is the topic of each line of the work.⁵⁴⁶ As such it has invited some different approaches, each one attempting to unlock perceived atmospheres and (re)create the street sounds it preserves and parodies.

Munrow's recording of *On parole de batre* comes from one of his last albums, *Music of the Gothic Era*, released posthumously on the Archiv label. This move to Archiv was a single occurrence that had been organized by Jasper Parrott (Munrow's agent) who introduced his client to Prof Dr Andreas Holschneider (Polydor International, Hamburg) with a view to recording for the Archiv label. There is some evidence to suggest that Munrow was unhappy with the financial constraints which sometimes compromised programming and forward scheduling of recordings at EMI. Yet he remained under contract with them, with the EMC, so this recording was made by special arrangement since it was deemed to be a long-standing negotiation that predated the last renewal of the EMI agreement.⁵⁴⁷

A letter in Munrow's collection, dated September 1975, from Holschneider mentions the cancellation of a recording session with the words 'We were all very worried hearing from your attack [...]', which suggests that Munrow was taken unwell suddenly. Holschneider continues by saying that Munrow is not to worry about canceling the recording, and also offers to put him in contact with Prof Mario Fabri

⁵⁴⁶ Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 87.

⁵⁴⁷ Mentioned in a memo: John Willan to John Patrick, April 4, 1975, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

during his ‘planned tour to Austria and Italy in November this year’, suggesting that other potential projects were under discussion with Archiv at this time. Holschneider then thanks David for having ‘saved his life’ as he narrowly missed a bomb explosion in London the previous week because he was out exploring the places in a good food guide that Munrow had given him.⁵⁴⁸ This could be a reassuring gesture to a worried Munrow that his relationship with Archiv was undamaged by his ‘attack’.⁵⁴⁹

This glimpse of social history is a preciously rare insight into Munrow’s state of health in the year before his death and it also sheds light on the importance of the Archiv contract to him. Archiv can be seen as a more self-consciously intellectual record label than EMI or DECCA, and as such it was the source of many performances that influenced a young Munrow, particularly the Trecento recordings of Safford Cape’s Pro Musica Antiqua and Praetorius dances recorded by the Ulsammer Collegium.

We will consider Munrow’s performance of this Parisian-themed work alongside two others:

Performers	Approx tempo	Instrumentation
Various, directed by Thurston Dart 1967 ⁵⁵⁰	125	3 tenors (The singers on this album are: Raymond Bonté, Jacques Husson, Jean-Jacques Lesueur and André Danjou)
Musica Reservata 1968 ⁵⁵¹	150	2 tenors & baritone (Nigel Rogers, Edgar Fleet, Geoffrey Shaw), percussion
Early Music Consort of London 1976 ⁵⁵²	123	2 countertenors & baritone (James Bowman, Charles Brett, Geoffrey Shaw), percussion

⁵⁴⁸ On the 5th September the London Hilton was bombed by the IRA and Holschneider could be referring to this incident in his letter.

⁵⁴⁹ Holschneider to Munrow, September 30, 1975, in Papers of David Munrow: DM1/1/5/3 (London: Royal Academy of Music Special Collections Archive, 1975). Here the assumption is that this was a personal attack of some sort since it would seem unusual for Holschneider not to comment further if Munrow’s incident was also an IRA attack or other form of public catastrophe.

⁵⁵⁰ Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris Im 13. Jahrhundert*, Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967, LP.

⁵⁵¹ Musica Reservata, *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century*, Delysé DS 3201, 1968, LP.

⁵⁵² David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Gothic Era*, Archiv Produktion, Polydor International GmbH DG Archiv 2723 045, 1976, LP.

Dart's recording of this motet begins like that of a stereophonic test record: the strawberry seller sings first as he wanders from left to right. Dart explains this rationale in his LP sleeve notes:

The *tenor* sings a fragment of a Paris street cry ('Fresh strawberries! Ripe and French!'); we have tried to reproduce the effect of someone strolling along the streets towards the market, selling his wares. The *double* sings of the splendours of Paris ('In Paris by night or by day there is good bread and good claret, good meat and good fish, good company, fine ladies' and so on); then the *triple* joins in with a second verse in faster rhythm, pattering and chattering its way to the end; and this miniature street scene ends with the strawberry-seller strolling on into the distance.⁵⁵³

Dart, in effect, creates a staged scene from what would otherwise be just a sonic *tableau vivant*; a brief moment of street life framed by the ambling strawberry-seller who crosses from left to right, then back again. Indeed, an earlier performance of this work on disc took this more static approach with all three voices entering together.⁵⁵⁴ Dart's recording presumably introduced the singers one by one to make the text clear without requiring the performers to shout over one another. Despite these staggered entries, the singing is extremely robust and the technique is clearly from an operatic framework. At times the singers can be so loud that Leech-Wilkinson has described these tenors elsewhere on this disc as 'self-consciously virile'.⁵⁵⁵

Musica Reservata included this motet on their 1967 album *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century* which was one of the first commercial recordings to really explore the Balkan influence on singing. Clearly, Dart's advice from 1960 to make the music sound 'robust' was followed on this track as the singing is loud and penetrating

⁵⁵³ Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris Im 13. Jahrhundert*. English translation available on Fontana SFL 14133.

⁵⁵⁴ Anonymous, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle: [Yvonne Rokseth memorial album]*, Paris: Cire OL 16 L'Oiseau-lyre, 1950) 6 disques. This recording is available online: Accessed December 4, 2013. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1274406/f8.item>.

⁵⁵⁵ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 85.

and the tempo is brisk.⁵⁵⁶ Morrow has also decided to insert a single large drum, which is struck loudly and unrelentingly throughout. The combination of three loud voices (all quite high in their range) with this drum makes for an explosive entry, the energy of which does not abate during the course of the music.

Munrow may well have heard one or both versions of this motet mentioned above before October 1967 when he included it in one of his first BBC broadcasts with the Early Music Consort of London. It was performed with Robert Spencer singing tenor and Munrow, who also wrote the announcer's script, introducing it with a joke about the delights of Paris:

In the motet, the most sophisticated musical form of its age, composers tried to make the different voices as distinct as possible, usually giving them separate texts to be sung simultaneously as in the first example which has three, 'A Paris - On Parole - Frère nouvelle'. Here the tenor, sung by Robert Spencer is apparently a street cry with 'Fresh strawberries, wild blackberries'. It is repeated while the upper parts extol the delights of Paris which do not seem to have changed much over the centuries. 'There is no life so good as being at ease, with good clear wine and capons, to be with good companions, and to have when one needs them fair ladies to solace us as we wish'.⁵⁵⁷

When, in 1976, Munrow came to record this track on *Music of the Gothic Era*, he scored it quite differently. This time, a baritone—Geoffrey Shaw—took the part of the street seller; he stands still in the left hand speaker and after one statement of his song the countertenor—Charles Brett—and a small tabor joins in, and a gentle dialogue is begun. After the first statement of Brett's part a second countertenor—James Bowman—sings his, higher, chattering part. This trio is recorded in a generous acoustic so that it actually sounds somewhat like the burble of street chatter bouncing around the narrow streets of a crowded city. The tempo is brisk but the singing is unhurried and casual in character so that the overall effect is charming rather than realistic. It ends on

⁵⁵⁶ Details of this correspondence between Dart and Morrow can be found in chapter four.

⁵⁵⁷ David Munrow, "Notes for BBC Monday Concert, October 30th, 1967," in *Papers of David Munrow: DM7/1* (London: Royal Academy of Music Special Collections Archive, 1967).

well-tuned final chord which reverberates for a second or two after the singers are silenced.

This latter approach from Munrow is a noticeable departure from his performance in 1967. Of course, one can argue that in 1967 Munrow was constrained by the available budget for a lunchtime recital and could not afford three singers in addition to the instrumentalists used for the rest of the programme; however, there are other examples (Guillaume De Machaut: *Lasse! Comment Oublieray*) also on *Music of the Gothic Era* that suggest Munrow was increasingly interested in an all vocal sound for Medieval motets where text survived in all voices. This, indeed, could have been one of the reasons for Munrow's apparent move away from the smaller-scaled programmes that he regularly performed with his touring band of five musicians and his reluctance to record the proposed *Music for Poets and Peasants* with EMI in deference for the larger budget *Music of the Gothic Era* on Archiv.

Christopher Hogwood once pointed to Munrow's later medieval performances as possibly heralding the way forward for medieval music as it was performed in the immediate post-Munrow years, and certainly indicative of a new direction in Munrow's music-making towards the end of his life:

[CH] - What David left unfinished was a more focused view on vocal music and religious music and that was certainly followed up by Gothic Voices. And I think we would never have had Hildegard and things like that had there not been this move away from the cheer-raising sort of rauschpfeife solo and estampies with heavy drumming from amateur drummers like myself in the background. I mean it was a sort of tribal art being delivered; it was a bit of a campfire scene. And I think the Chris Page's approach to repertoire and scholarship must have sprung partly from the fact that it was a sort of more esoteric repertoire, it needed facts producing for it and therefore the people, at least, in charge of it were very much on their metal as musicologists as well as performers. I don't think David would have suffered in the public eye if the musicology had been all wrong but the performance had been exciting. And I think the next generation definitely, headed by people who had credentials as musicologists or were musicologists coming out and saying 'I think the music I research should also be performed' and people saying 'I think old French and its pronunciation has to be investigated' you can't just make it up any longer you have to do it accurately. They carried much more credibility and because they went into that

sort of detail as musicologists, their reputation was on the line. They wanted the performances to match that type of sound and exactitude.⁵⁵⁸

Hogwood is also suggesting that Munrow's performances although leading the way for a more considered approach to Medieval music, did not go far enough in the eyes of the next generation of scholar/performers. In this programme, after playing a clip of Gothic Voices performing Machaut's *Douce dame jolie*, the presenter Humphrey Burton comments on the stark vocal sound, devoid of instrumental colours and suggests that it reflected the search for 'a new spirituality and purity in music.' Christopher Page himself voiced his own theory:

[CP] - The audience for vocal performances of medieval music in some parts of England is very good. Can be very good. And maybe if people can't have crumhorns and a strange and rumbustuous Middle Ages they'll have, as it were, a rather cathedralish one; and the purity of the voices—trained sometimes in cathedrals or collegiate chapels—is another kind of medieval past that people will accept. It is, as it were, slightly austere and soaring. Maybe soon we'll find the middle ground.⁵⁵⁹

And it is here that Page neatly summarises the two contrasting approaches for us: 'rumbustuous' or 'cathedralish'. Munrow's performance of *On parole de batre* would appear to fall into the latter category, whilst Morrow and Dart's recordings fall into the former.

Dufay: Vergine Bella

Vergine Bella is the penultimate track on *The Art of Courtly Love*, and it is also the last vocal track to feature in the boxed sets of LPs. It is performed as a solo for countertenor voice (James Bowman) accompanied by two viols. It seems appropriate to offer it here as a final case study since Munrow described this work as Dufay's 'greatest song' and highlighted the lack of *formes fixes* which allows the composer to produce 'a through composed song in which the flow of music serenely matches that of the text.'⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ Christopher Hogwood speaking on: Burton, *After Munrow*.

⁵⁵⁹ Christopher page speaking on: *ibid*.

⁵⁶⁰ From liner notes by David Munrow to: Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

Vergine bella is a prayer to the Virgin Mary and is translated by Martin Freeman into English as:

Oh fair Virgin, who, decked in sunlight and crowned with stars, did so please the mighty sun that he hid his light in you. Love prompts me to sing your praises. But without your help and that of him who, out of love, came to dwell in you, I cannot even begin. I pray to you who have always answered the pleas of the faithful. Oh Virgin, if the utter misery of man's lot has ever moved you to pity, heed my prayer. Help me in my hour of need, even though I am but earth and you the queen of heaven.⁵⁶¹

The prayerful quality of this song is brought out in the intimate approach taken by all three ensembles in this study. The singers are recorded quite closely and the strings lull into the background during the vocal line to create a bed of accompaniment rather than to imply lines of an equally balanced polyphonic texture.

Table 1: Dufay Vergine bella

Performers	Approx tempo	Instrumentation	Vocalist
Pro Musica Antiqua 1953 (?) ⁵⁶²	100	Voice and fiddles?	Mezzo-Soprano: Jeanne Deroubaix
Early Music Consort of London 1973 ⁵⁶³	95	Voice and viols	Countertenor: James Bowman
Studio der frühen Musik 1974 ⁵⁶⁴	125	Voice and Vielles?	Mezzo-soprano: Andrea von Ramm

Tempo in the above table can be a slightly misleading factor since none of the performances maintains a constant speed, but rather responds to an implied ebb and flow in the musical line, with notable *ralentandos* on the lead to cadences.

Of the three performances, it is Pro Musica Antiqua and the Early Music Consort of London that sound most like close relatives. Studio der frühen Musik, on the other hand, maintain a slithery, changeable approach to phrasing with characteristically approximate tuning, and rhythmic coordination subjugated in view of the longer-range

⁵⁶¹ Translation by Martin Freeman in: *ibid.*

⁵⁶² Pro Musica Antiqua and Safford Cape, *Series A: The Florentine Group « 8 Madrigals and Caccias from Codex of Antonio Squarcialupi » / Series D: The Netherlanders to Ockeghem « Guillaume Dufay: 8 Sacred Songs »*, III. Research Period - The Early Renaissance, Archiv Produktion APM 14019, 1953, LP.

⁵⁶³ Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *The Art of Courtly Love*.

⁵⁶⁴ Thomas Binkley and Studio der frühen Musik, *Guillaume Dufay - Adieu m'amour*, EMI "Reflexe" 1C 063-30 124, 1974, LP.

reach of each line. Binkley would appear to have a consistently esoteric approach to the medieval vocal repertoire which does not appear to influence Munrow to any noticeable effect. This is in stark contrast to Binkley's Arabicized accompaniments which we heard echoed in Munrow's *Saltarello* performances. Instrumental influences from Binkley can certainly be detected in Munrow's work, but they are not apparent in vocal styles.

Rather than phrasing or tempo, it is vibrato which proves, yet again, to be a defining feature of the Munrow/Bowman performance. Indeed, vibrato serves to define a different approach in all three performances under consideration here. Take for instance the three solo notes set to the syllables of Ver-gi-ne that open the work as performed by Pro Musica Antiqua:

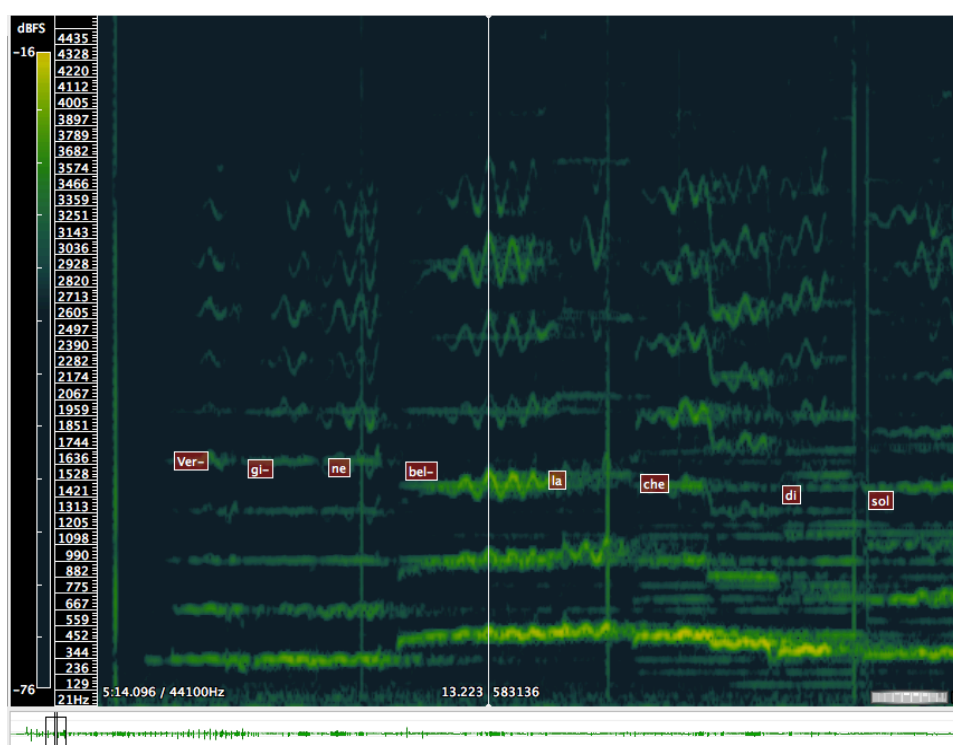


Figure 83 Pro Musica Antiqua: *Vergine Bella*. Opening.

We can see from the spectrogram that the mezzo soprano Jeanne Deroubaix sings the first three notes lightly before opening out into a fairly regular vibrato on the first long note of the next bar.

This is even more pronounced at the end of that first musical phrase on the last syllable of the work ‘vestita’:

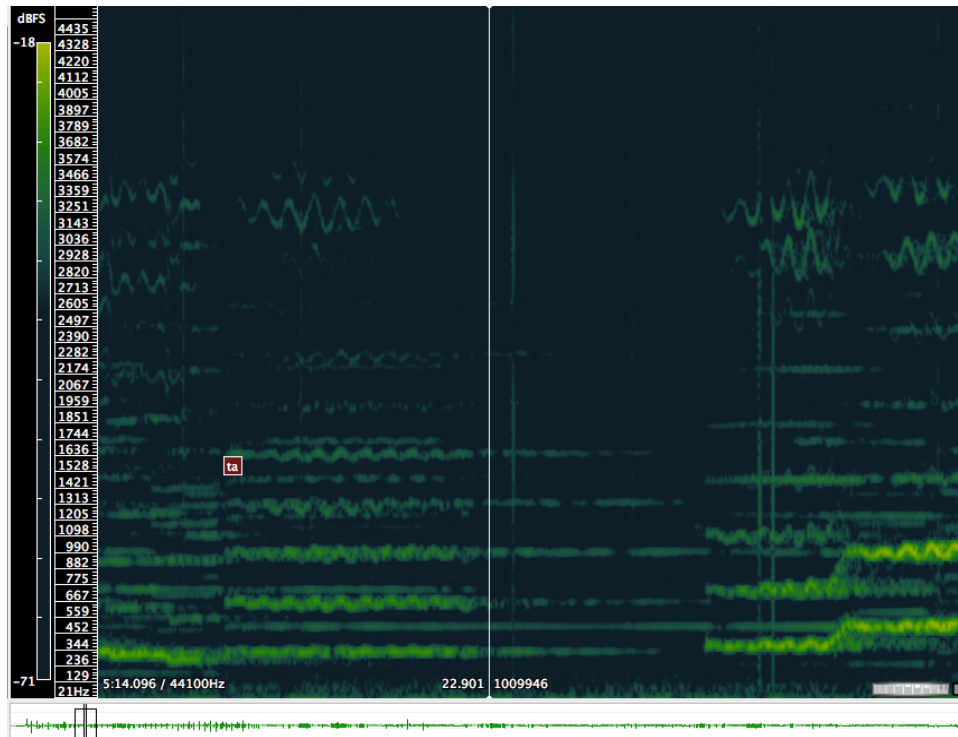


Figure 84 Pro Musica Antiqua: *Vergine Bella*. End of first phrase.

A regular, but more slight, vibrato is also heard in the accompanying strings leading to a mid-century chamber music sound which could be equally applicable to Schubert or other romantic song conceived on a small scale. The voice is not projected aggressively or even in an overtly impassioned way, but it does use considerable diaphragmatic support and, as a consequence, vibrato, particularly on notes at the peak of phrases.

In contrast to this, from the Early Music Consort of London we see Bowman's first group of three notes have a vibrato-led emphasis on the second beat:

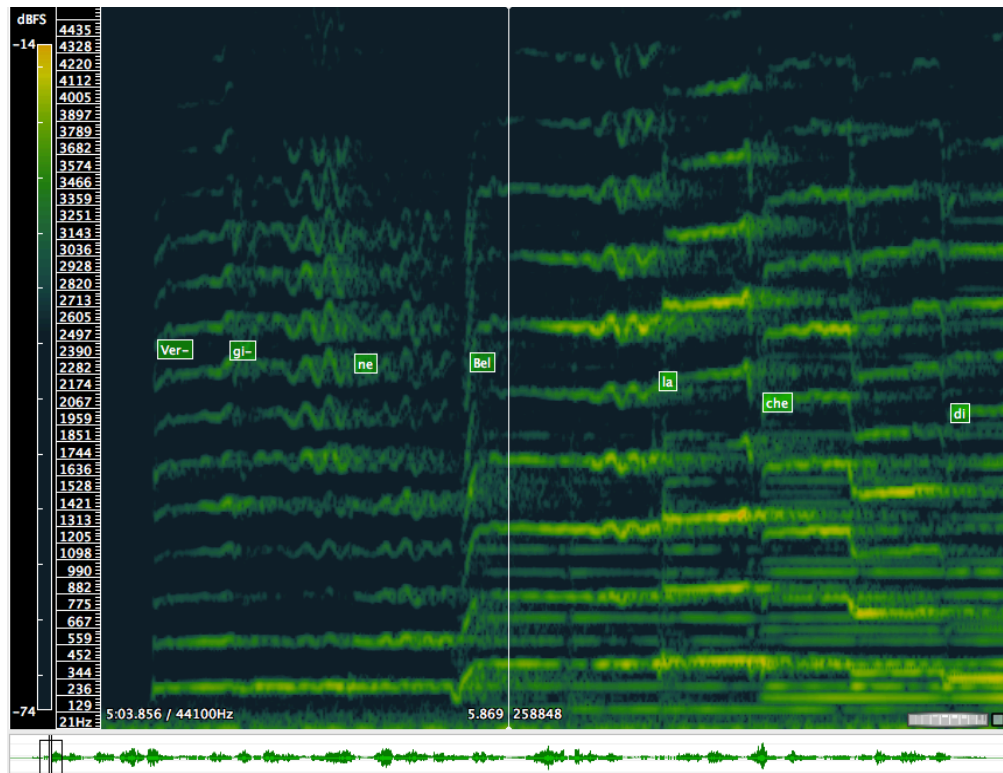


Figure 85 Early Music Consort of London: *Vergine Bella*. First entry.

Bowman employs a typical vibrato pattern on the end of the second syllable, which develops the oscillation towards the end of the note to ‘warm’ the sound. That the vibrato is irregular creates a less obviously operatic or trained sound and also makes the note appear to be more straight-toned than it really is. This development of vibrato on the second syllable emphasizes the way Bowman lingers on that note, tucking the third note in gently to create a springboard for the peak of the first phrase—‘bella’—with a slight vocal slide as the voice leaves the initial consonant. On the first vowel of ‘bella’ we again see the familiar developing vibrato mannerism of Bowman.

This microcosm of activity relegates the whole group of three notes on the word ‘Vergine’ to a feeling of upbeat into the rest of the piece. Each note develops a little more vibrato than the last which signifies a build-up of energy. These arch-shapes of energy which can also be detected to a lesser extent in the Pro Musica Antiqua recording are not seen with the Studio der frühen Musik.

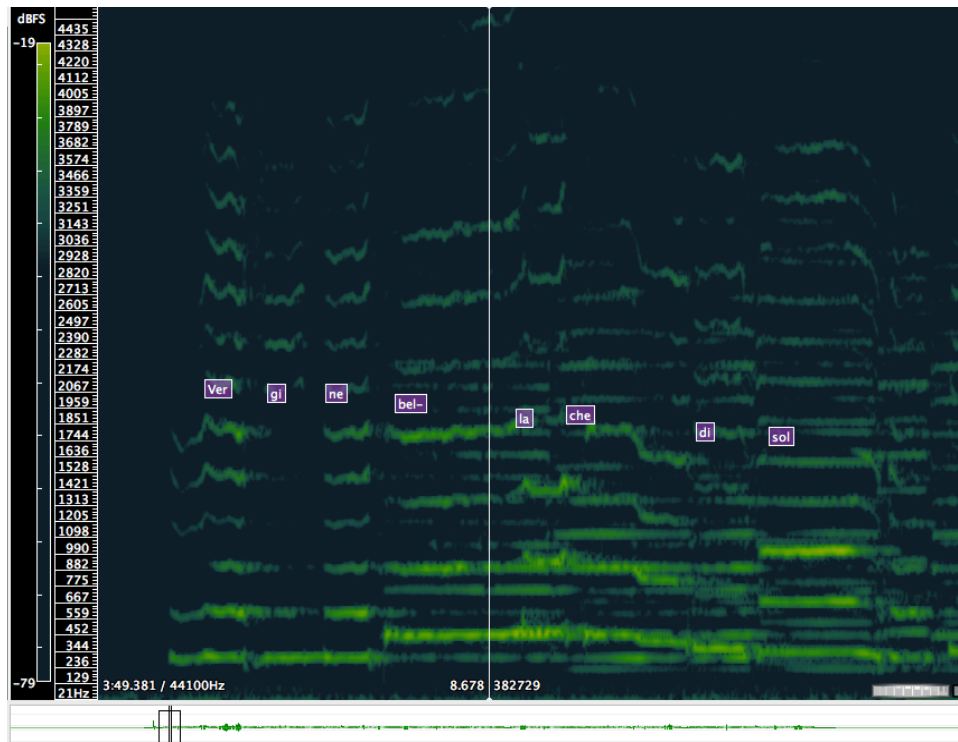


Figure 86 Studio der frühen Musik: *Vergine Bella*. Opening.

The surface of this recording is quite still with fewer expressive surges of volume and intensity. Andrea von Ramm etches the first three notes quite clearly with equal emphasis after which the first phrase simply slithers towards its final note. There is no climax, just a feeling of moving onwards to a predefined destination.

What is remarkable about Binkley's performance is, again, the sense of ensemble. Tempo is frequently adjusted during a phrase so that cadences can be tumbled towards and then placed gently with a *rallentando*, yet all this happens with no loss of ensemble, nor is there a feeling that one person is dictating such changes. It is a telepathic style that appears to be foreign to Munrow whose own performance of *Vergine bella* would appear to gently update Cape's recording with 'popular and attractive' Early Music Consort of London features.

Munrow's notable style features would appear, again, to be the developing vibrato on longer notes (which is arguably a feature of Bowman's voice also) and a keen ear for instrumentation. The viols are possibly anachronistic for Dufay but they

provide a luscious and warm bed of accompaniment that feels both fuller and less obtrusive than in the other two performances. Presumably viols are used here to deputise for vielles? The singing, although falsetto was still reasonably novel for 1974, is phrased in a reasonably traditional manner through an arch shape, but cadences are never laboured in the manner of Cape's ensemble, so that the motet as a whole maintains forward momentum. This is a very atmospheric and thoughtful performance that owes much to the style of renaissance polyphony as sung by leading Oxbridge practitioners in the 1970s.

Summary

These case studies, despite touching upon music separated by a large timespan within the medieval period, continually suggest certain connections between Munrow and the practices of *Musica Reservata*, and also broad themes in performance such as vocal production (vibrato in particular) and extrovert instrumental technique coupled with fast tempi. These studies are poorer for the lack of filmed performances which could have offered a deeper understanding of the ensemble dynamics and, of course, the lack of oral history interviews with the directors, most of whom have now passed away.

What these studies do achieve, however, is the highlighting of consistent themes in Munrow's performance that mark him out as both developing *Musica Reservata* practices in a different direction, rejecting some other performance options practised mainly by non-British ensembles and, possibly most importantly of all, as heralding a more 'cathedralish' approach to the Middle Ages which was to prove popular in the years after his death.

Chapter 7 Discussion and Conclusions

In this concluding chapter of the thesis, four main themes which have emerged from the new research documented in previous chapters are extrapolated and discussed in the context of their contribution to Munrow's performance practice: Revivals, Pioneers, Personalities and Style. The interactions between these themes are also explored before being weighed against the existing literature reviewed in chapter one. Finally, and by way of conclusion, the original aims and research question associated with this thesis are reconsidered in the light of this new research.

Discussion

Revivals

It is both an irony and a truism that the story of opera's creation and development can be told as a history of its revivals, and the same dictum could just as easily be applied to early music. It appears throughout this thesis that the EMC belongs to a period of the early music revival which is quite different to today's more overtly scholarly approach and, at the same time, quite different from the early music that Dart once described as being played with 'kidgloves' in the 1940s and 1950s. Different too were the even earlier performances of the Dolmetsch family or the charismatic performances of Wanda Landowska. Large and operatically influenced singing in use across all styles throughout the mid-century period, such as the example of The Prague Madrigal Singers, simply display the prevailing vocal technique of their time—one voice fits all styles—and this is the very approach which seems to have waned in the post-Munrow period. If we consider this as indicative of the changing face of early music then there is clearly a level of delineation at work within the twentieth-century

early music revival that could be usefully considered as series of smaller stages.⁵⁶⁵

However, since each generation paints a new picture of early music—which is always possible when so little evidence survives—the stages can be thought of as reinventions.

Vincenzo Borghetti compartmentalized such smaller revivals in the last half of the twentieth century by linking them with the broad changes of fashion observable in each decade.⁵⁶⁶ Whilst this provided a useful sketch and a potent *aide-mémoire* for the chronology of the revival, I am mindful that Kailan Rubinoff also found that she could usefully argue for a focused investigation of the single year 1968 since this was of central importance for not only the revival of early music but also a number of other social and political movements of that decade.⁵⁶⁷

Rubinoff's focus on 1968 is slightly misleading since she uses this date as a moniker for 'The 'long 1968' (circa 1965-1975)' as a transitional period where 'HIP concerts flourished and period instruments were widely adopted.'⁵⁶⁸ This period is in taut alignment with the span of Munrow's professional musical activities, drawing attention to his influence on this musical revival. Furthermore, Rubinoff explored the wider sense of revival in operation during the late 1960s seeking connections between HIP and wider social and political protest at that time. She quoted Thomas Kelly to make this point:

to the extent that early music was seen as non-traditional, and participatory (there were, and are, a great many summer workshops where early music is played), it could be seen as part of a cultural trend toward music of the people, music without pretense, music that expresses a general union of popular and learned.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁵ Here, again, I invoke the title of: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁵⁶⁶ Vincenzo Borghetti, "Purezza e trasgressione: il suono del Medioevo dagli anni Cinquanta ad oggi " *Semicerchio* XLIV, no. 1 (2011), 37-54.

⁵⁶⁷ Kailan Rubinoff, "A Revolution in Sheep's Wool Stockings: Early Music and '1968' " in *Music and Protest in 1968*, ed., Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton, *Music Since 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 237-254.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁵⁶⁹ Thomas Kelly, *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3. Quoted in: Rubinoff, *A Revolution in Sheep's Wool Stockings*, 238.

The phrase ‘music of the people’ is evocative of folk music rhetoric. However, following such comments through Rubinoff’s essay we observe how her study is largely centered on baroque repertoire, which makes one mindful of John Potter’s observation of how the revolution in instrumental techniques was unmatched by singing styles.⁵⁷⁰ Much work remains to be done if connections between medieval music and other revolutionary developments and revival of the 1960s are to be explored. This thesis has, however, already highlighted the work of A. L. Lloyd with *Musica Reservata* as one such connection but further studies may usefully explore the relationships between Munrow and folk music, ethnomusicology and jazz. Jasper Parrott invoked such connections when he stated that Munrow’s Peruvian adventure left him with a sense that music ‘was all joined up’.⁵⁷¹ However these connections unfold, there seems to be a general consensus to view the 1960s and early 1970s as a chapter of revivals.

Elizabeth Upton has also suggested a four-stage model for early music revivals: the postwar baroque revival, the ‘original-instruments’ response to that revival, an interest in ‘older, extinct instruments’ and ‘a response to the requirements of unaccompanied, one-per-part vocal music’.⁵⁷² I also note that as I write, 2013 marks an anniversary year for *Early Music* magazine and several leading ensembles founded in 1973, another year which has recently featured heavily in a book-length study about Early Music.⁵⁷³ So from just these examples we see that the choice of delineation is clearly a balancing of key moments and developments, which leaves one to question how wide open the revival in general may be to any kind of compartmentalization one might wish to bring to it? An artist who has a catalytic effect on others, as Munrow did,

⁵⁷⁰ Quoted on page 29 of this thesis.

⁵⁷¹ Quoted on page 95 of this thesis.

⁵⁷² Elizabeth Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities," *Ethnomusicology Review* 17 (2012), accessed September 1, 2013, <http://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/17/piece/591>.

⁵⁷³ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

needs to be seen in relation to both key moments and developments if his role and significance is to be assessed fully. Neither an individual artist nor the early music revival as a whole can be explained fully through synchronic or diachronic means alone; it is a combination of historical trajectories that involve social, historical and musicological influences all in operation against a backdrop of chance encounters which result in fruitful collaborations. In fact, the one artist who appears to stand aside from the concept of chance encounters with mentor-like musicians is Michael Morrow whose ideas appear to be almost entirely *sui generis*, although it is not possible to make such a claim with any security whilst more exhaustive biographical details are lacking. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, identifying instances when performance has led musicology, has pioneered a useful approach to the history of the early music revival.⁵⁷⁴ As far back as 1966 it became obvious that performers were asking that musicologists provide them with more tools to help them realize the music and this was summed up by Noah Greenberg:

The developments in the field of musical performance have been so numerous and have happened so quickly that certain aspects of scholarly work have not kept pace. Whereas performers for decades felt free to ignore the patient and adventurous labors of musical scholars, today it is the performers who are making adventurous demands upon scholarship without whose guidance their undertakings are unduly perilous. Before our performers journey too far, I think the scholarly world should be apprised of their course.⁵⁷⁵

Greenberg was no lone voice in this matter. During the course of this thesis we have also seen other instances of the performers themselves noting changes in performance practice such as Philip Pickett's plea in the 1980s for audiences to take

⁵⁷⁴ Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*. Also of significance to this argument is "Musicology and Performance," in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed., Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: RILM, 2009), 791-803. In which Leech-Wilkinson explores the chicken-and-egg relationship between musicology and performance but in different repertoires (Schubert, Boulez).

⁵⁷⁵ Noah Greenberg, "Early Music Performance Today," in *Aspects of Medieval & Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed., Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 316.

their ‘rosy spectacles off’ when considering recordings of medieval music from the previous decade.⁵⁷⁶

Taking these two remarks by leading performers of medieval music as bookends leads us to understand how Borghetti approached his decade-by-decade division of the revival mentioned above. Greenberg’s comments suggested that a conservative phase of performance ended at some point prior to his time of writing (1966) when performances had simply realized the printed scores in a modern manner without addressing the few points of performance guidance that were available. He then saw his post-1966 phase as a more adventurous one where performers had to go-it-alone when attempting different styles of early music performance because there was simply not enough musicological work undertaken to satisfy their demands. Yet by the early 1990s, Pickett looked back on the 1960s and 1970s and suggested that great musicological advances had been made during the 1980s which increased the accuracy of historical performance practice as compared to Munrow’s overt and joyful performances of the 1970s.

So a threefold period begins to unfold like a triptych with the four groups that have been the mainstay of this study—New York Pro Musica, Studio der frühen Musik, Musica Reservata and The Early Music Consort of London—in the central panel. Flanking them are, on one side, earlier ensembles such as Pro Musica Antiqua and possibly the early work of Noah Greenberg who performed closer to the prevailing styles of his time (vocal tone in particular). On the other side we see the post-Munrow/post-Morrow ensembles such as Gothic Voices (Page) who followed closely the new developments in musicology and pursued a less extroverted instrumental approach eventually coming to a vocal texture not unlike that being used in sacred renaissance music.

⁵⁷⁶ Philip Pickett interviewed on: “After Munrow,” Anthony Burton, *Early Memories*, aired 1992, BBC Radio 3. British Library Sound Archive reference: H777/01.

Perhaps the seeds for this new wave of medievalist performer-scholars were sown in 1973 when, as Nick Wilson noted in his recent study, many of today's leading ensembles specializing in the later periods of early music were founded.⁵⁷⁷ Wilson divides the early music movement roughly into two halves: Authenticity₁ and Authenticity₂. The former can be summarized as medieval/renaissance/baroque (Musica Reservata, The Early Music Consort of London et al) and the latter category largely refers to baroque, Beethoven and beyond, or the 'Class of '73' as Wilson dubs them (The Academy of Ancient Music, The English Concert, The Taverner Consort et al). This is by no means a catchall scenario but a very useful starting point for structuring a survey. The division is arrived at through a rigorous argument: rather than cleave the authenticities in two immediately, Wilson first problematized the field in what can only be described as an Ockeghemesque stroke of numerology: he took the seven ages of man (Shakespeare, *As You Like It*) and plotted the early music revival across it, thus arriving at 1973 as a pivot point. This is a neat device since it also broadly encompassed the previous studies by Rubinoff, Upton and Borghetti. The vigorously objective approach that appeared to gather pace after 1973 may well mark the start of the 'modern' baroque-orchestra sound and may also have been what Pickett, Page and others took as a model for their objective approach to medieval music.

This is, of course, a case for a different thesis, but worth mentioning in passing in order to point up the centrality of the Munrow-phase of the revival. And with just such a broad plan in mind, this thesis explored the central panel of that triptych in terms of the evidence of sound recordings.

⁵⁷⁷ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Pioneers

Having explored aspects of the differences in performance practice by the four central performing groups of the 1960s and 1970s it is fruitful to consider, for a moment, the similarities that have also surfaced during this study.

The overriding similarity seems to be the approach taken by the directors. The pioneering spirit so essential to twentieth-century performances of early music seems to have been driven primarily by musicians with a non-standard musical education. Such unusual routes into music appear to have contributed to their desire for non-standard performance. On one level this is self-fulfilling since a conservatoire student would have focused on standard repertoire in the 1960s and may not have had the opportunity to meet early music. If a performer had already decided to perform early music there was no point, then, in going to a conservatoire. Similarly, if you wanted to be a performer there was no necessity to read music at university. So we have no reason to expect early music people to have had a standard music education when they had no need of it, especially in the repertoires where performance is more technically simplistic.⁵⁷⁸ Whatever the reasoning behind this lack of standardization it certainly appears to have left them with more open minds, and it should follow that as twenty-first century performers often go to conservatoire to learn to be early musicians their performances sound more standardized, and many critics feel that it does. This was the focus of a paper in the 40th anniversary issue of *Early Music* where Bonnie Blackburn commented: ‘The performance ideal of balanced voices and uniform tempo and dynamics is not a medieval or Renaissance principle.’⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁸ I mean this comment to be read solely in the light of ‘getting the notes right’ rather than any notion of style, taste or interpretation.

⁵⁷⁹ A recent, and thoughtful, essay on this topic was featured in the 40th anniversary issue of the *Early Music* journal: Bonnie J. Blackburn, “Tramline music,” *Early Music* 41, No.1 (2013): 52-53. Another recent example can be found in the writings of Bruce Haynes who coins the term ‘click-track baroque’ for modern HIP performances that eschew rubato: Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 60.

The foremost example of this pioneering spirit, however, comes from the world of instrument making and organology of which Arnold Dolmetsch is one of the earliest celebrities. Dolmetsch is no isolated case, however, as similar non-standard backgrounds are seen in Dart (who is representative of a generation whose education was disrupted by the second world war), Greenberg, Morrow and, as I have argued, Munrow himself. For a variety of personal reasons, these artists were all able to operate outside of the chamber-music model and were not dissuaded by the perceived eccentricity of early music. In fact there have been cases where it seems that eccentricity and defamiliarisation were deliberately courted, such as Michael Morrow's entirely plausible comment 'Whatever we know or don't know about 13th century singing and, God knows, there's very little we can say for certain about it, we may be certain that it didn't sound like 20th century singing.'⁵⁸⁰ This is not to say that the *raison d'être* for any one of these four performing groups should be seen as promoting the art of being different for its own sake; rather, that an approach was sought which could navigate the potential rabbit holes in twentieth-century aesthetics and expectations by robustly defending links to potential vestiges of past practices: the twin medievalisms of folk and world music and their assorted echoes of ancient instruments.

Having said that, there are important nuances at play between the ensembles: Greenberg's pioneering spirit can be seen chiefly in both his ability to introduce audiences to such unfamiliar instruments and unfamiliar music and his genius for persuading record companies that his product was worth marketing. For Greenberg, the challenge began by performing music from the medieval to baroque periods and persuading audiences to listen to it. Building on the work of Safford Cape and others Greenberg raised the bar by igniting a public interest in larger personality performances. Binkley's pioneering spirit was less multi-instrumental since much of his work was

⁵⁸⁰ Michael Morrow, "The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music," c.1970, Papers of Michael Morrow (1929-1994) & Musica Reservata. King's College London Archives.

undertaken with a quartet. This quartet's performances are infused with Binkley's desire to explore methods of bridging unknowable parameters in early music—most notably music of the minstrels—by seeking inspiration from the accompaniment and improvisation techniques of musical practices in India, Morocco and Andalusia. This has frequently been dubbed as an extension of the 'Oriental hypothesis', or passed off as overtly Arabicized. With Morrow, folk models also suggested useful templates for performance but they tended to be drawn from European sources—the Balkans in particular—and informed by a concept of congruity between the instrumental and vocal styles rather than a personal lexicon of improvisatory techniques. Morrow's *Musica Reservata* performances were often robust and loud affairs drawing on outdoor styles of folk music from the Balkans. For Munrow, however, there were no such instantly identifiable templates since his was a magpie approach that drew on the many folk connections made by these other ensembles, but which he fused with the familiar and 'attractive' sounds of the English choral tradition as it was beginning to take shape during the reign of David Willcocks over the choir of King's College Cambridge. Notable too were late 1960s recordings of renaissance repertoire by The Clerkes of Oxenford (whose recording of *Spem in alium* Munrow chose as a desert island disc) and the clear tone of The Swingle Singers.⁵⁸¹ A study with a different focus might also detect links between some of Munrow's performances and the growing revival and commercialization of British folk music in the 1970s in audiences, instrument-makers and repertoire.⁵⁸² Closely aligned with notions of performance practice was Munrow's ability to compile and deliver concerts of interest to the public. Performance practice, as such, does not stretch far enough to incorporate Munrow's skill at marketing and enterprise: 'musicking' might have been a better term.

⁵⁸¹ Details of Munrow's selection for the BBC radio programme 'Desert Island Discs' can be seen online: "Desert Island Discs: David Munrow," <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p009n7d0>.

⁵⁸² The links between commercial folk music and the early music revival are discussed in Upton, "Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities."

This leads to an overarching summary that Munrow, rather than pioneering a single particular performance practice, made several notable contributions to a performance practice which, having roots in the work of others, he developed in his own distinctive manner and promoted in a way which chimed with the early 1970s *zeitgeist*.

Personalities

The public, it would seem, did not only consume early music out of historical curiosity, many of them went to concerts because the music was *presented* to them in a format that they found both informative and entertaining. It is through manners of presentation that we can begin to understand the central importance of the four key personalities at play in the medieval music revival of the 1960s and 1970s. It takes a certain type of curiosity to explore the craft of playing old, and at that time obsolete, instruments and a particular intellectual ability to programme the repertoire in performance. It is, however, an entirely different skill to *present* this music to the public through performance, broadcast, talks, lectures and television programmes. The public needed figureheads, interpreters if you like, to affect an introduction between them and the sounds of early music; Thurston Dart, Noah Greenberg and David Munrow are key examples of that type of personality in the English-speaking world; Thomas Binkley more so in continental Europe. Yet, as we have seen, Michael Morrow continually refused to take part in the world of regular broadcasting, touring and lecture recitals and this is perhaps why, more than the other ensembles, Musica Reservata was beset with continual financial difficulties since they could not rely on regular income from repeat programming on tour.

Munrow, in particular, appears to have been a true multi-platform personality. He traversed with apparent ease the medium of public lecture and print journalism

through to television and radio broadcast often with minimal special effects and certainly without the battery of historicized reconstruction footage that accompanies modern music history broadcasts. Indeed, Munrow's work with the BBC was, as we have seen, an anchor in the early days of his career, and throughout the 1970s was the dominant contributory fact in Munrow and the EMC gaining the status of household names, insomuch as that has ever been possible in early music. By appealing to an entry level audience for both early music and classical music, Munrow's name became synonymous with enjoyable, informative broadcasting. This public profile, in turn, offered Munrow a springboard from which he tirelessly publicized and promoted his EMC concerts and recordings. Attention to detail at every stage of the concert process even led to Munrow taking new EMC LP stock on his Australia tour to sell after concerts, a fact that did not escape a note of admiration in EMI internal correspondence.⁵⁸³

Another factor unique to these four ensembles is that their individual members, as well as directors, were also pioneers. Much of the success of the performances lies with the fact that these pioneering directors found pioneering performers who could, and would, put new ideas into practice. This is most pronounced in the case of the lead solo singers of each ensemble. Russell Oberlin (countertenor with the New York Pro Musica), Andrea von Ramm (mezzo soprano with Studio der frühen Musik), Jantina Noorman (mezzo soprano with Musica Reservata) and James Bowman (countertenor with the EMC). That each of these singers performed in alto range with a non-Western-standard vocal technique was no coincidence.

⁵⁸³ John Patrick, memo to worldwide offices, July 12, 1974, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

Styles

The most obvious style-trait explored was the minimal vibrato sound. This, it seems, has been a clarion call of the early music revivalists since *Musica Reservata*'s performances began to turn heads in the 1960s. As chapter five explored, in Munrow's hands this hard-line approach to clarity and tuning softened somewhat as it absorbed influences from folk and choral singing. Chiefly, Munrow's achievement seems to have been that he directed performances notable for a selective use of vibrato towards the ends of sung notes rather than continuously throughout them. This is certainly a trait that is instantly recognizable in the later performances of many other early musicians too and seems to have stemmed from Alfred Deller and Cleo Laine, both favourite singers of Munrow.

Munrow seems to have worked out, quite early on in his recording career, that it is the top line that most defines the sound of a small ensemble. For instance, Martyn Hill regularly used much more vibrato than James Bowman ever did, and Munrow's changing soprano line-up seems to suggest a search for a high sound that was never quite achieved. In this respect, Munrow is in line with the other four ensembles in letting alto soloists dominate vocal styles.

The clear texture produced by a minimal vibrato sound in turn left less negotiation for inexact tuning or directionless phrasing. With most of the early twentieth century mannerisms trimmed from performance it became increasingly important to develop ensemble skills in new ways. The methods of drumming and cadencing (by adding an extra bar) in medieval dances were discussed in chapter six and these, also, seem to have drawn on the Balkan influenced styles that *Musica Reservata* had pioneered.

Folk and world music too provided an almost inexhaustible supply of models that early music ensembles could use. In this regard Munrow was no different to so

many other performers but his approach, as I have already mentioned, was one of blending where the soft, easy sounds of South American pipes could find themselves in the same mix as a folk-influenced English singer and an improvised percussion part. When James Bowman referred to Munrow's South American travels as having 'made him exotic' he invoked a sense of *orientalism* as defined by Edward Said.⁵⁸⁴ Munrow's invocation of the East in his concert talks and notes happened at one of the last points where a connection could be made between everyday life and the past. The comment 'it is still possible to make your living as a shawm player on the streets of Cairo today' must have come during the very last few years that this was true and Munrow, as we have seen, was aware that people were at heart collectors and liked to surround themselves with historical artifacts, be they books or albums of old music.⁵⁸⁵ It is important to reiterate here that Munrow, like Morrow, was interested in Cairo's shawm players not because he thought their tradition was unchanged from medieval times, but rather because he sought to learn more about general shawm technique and repertoire. Modern practice, he hoped, would contain vestiges of older styles, however unknowable those traces might be.

Munrow, would have also been aware of the potency of world music for a small but significant number of War veterans, some just 20 years his senior, anxious to taste more of a lifestyle glimpsed on overseas leave. That there were LPs available (Folkways and Topic Records to name just two) that he could feature on his reel 'What Should It All Sound Like?' described in chapter 5, may have been in part due to the number of Westerners who 'had a good war' including visits to remote regions. When Munrow drew connections between early (folk) instruments and early music in his BBC

⁵⁸⁴ Bowman makes this comment, quoted in full in chapter one, when speaking on: "Mr Munrow, His Study," presented by Jeremy Summerly, aired January 07, 2006, on BBC Radio 4.

⁵⁸⁵ The Cairo comment is made in several places, this exact example quoted is on: David Munrow, "Reed Instruments," in *Ancestral Voices*, produced by Paul Kriwaczek, aired May 1976, on BBC Television.

television series, he was relying on low-level general knowledge of, or general interest in, such cultures.⁵⁸⁶

What Munrow ended up creating was a 1970s medievalism; an understanding of the past based on a composite picture that was assembled from those aspects of scholarly evidence and anthropological speculation that chimed with what the public found palatable.

Conclusions

The central research questions of this thesis asked if it would be possible to identify influences on the performance of medieval music by David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London and also, if it would be possible to isolate particular performance practice traits that were unique to David Munrow and his Consort in medieval music?

Of the many influences discussed in this thesis, it is possible to situate Munrow as an enthusiastic heir to the *Musica Reservata* philosophy with some important crossover also with *Studio der frühen Musik*. However, it would not be reasonable to suggest he was a wholesale copyist of either style. Important research undertaken by Munrow and other organologists and academic musicologists was indeed consumed by Munrow and used, quite accurately, in performance. Yet what Munrow appears to have done, however, is to hold back from pursuing these ideas to their logical, and often coldly objective, conclusions when he thought it would obscure an audience's understanding of the music. What one critic dubbed as 'playing to the gallery' might also be thought of more kindly as an attempt to meet his audience half way.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁶ See: Munrow, "Origins and Flutes," in *Ancestral Voices*.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Playing to the gallery' was a turn of phrase used by Robert Donington on: "David Munrow," Michael Oliver, aired May 15, 1977, on BBC radio.

This point might best be illustrated by two broad examples: first, when Binkley and the Studio der frühen Musik used Andalusian influences to generate potential accompaniment patterns in the monophonic songs of the troubadours and trouvères, Munrow also used such influences and patterns but avoided Binkley's long, meandering improvisatory preludes and interludes, preferring to keep his instrumental sections shorter and more suited to the attention span of a concert audience. He also adapted the songs more drastically when in the recording studio by performing only selected verses so that he could represent a greater variety of music on a single album rather than presenting just a few very long and highly repetitive songs. Secondly, with *Musica Reservata* influences, the notion of vocal and instrumental congruity so cleverly assembled and argued by Michael Morrow often led to performances where singers were required to blend with the harsh, reedy sounds of crumhorns. Munrow was careful frequently to match his singers with softer plucked or warm bowed strings so as to avoid the need for such nasality from the singers. Where Munrow did use reedy sounds was often in solo instrumental passages or in medieval motets when an argument for differentiation of melodic lines could be made.

Combined with a particular skill for careful programming and a flair for showmanship in performance, Munrow's avoidance of the harder line in each case was an attempt to find attractive routes through existing scholarship. After he began to pay greater attention to avoiding anachronistic instrumentation, nothing he did directly contradicted scholarship, but it certainly pushed the more commercially viable findings of such scholarship to the fore.

The use of 'triangulation' comparisons between archival evidence, recorded sound and interviews has proven a fruitful path for exploring Munrow's medieval legacy. Many recordings and broadcasts have come to light and been dated by cross-referencing between archives and these have broadly accorded to the recollections

gathered from interviews and oral histories. Yet, it was noticeable that comments about vibrato did not reveal the full extent of the vibrato used by Munrow and his Consort in performance and this, in turn, has implications for the empirical study of recordings as a musicological tool. Not only did the recorded evidence serve to lend weight or clarification with points raised by interviews, but it also revealed new and interesting details, which justify such analysis as a useful tool. Furthermore this makes a powerful case for the preservation of recordings alongside more traditional archival documentation.

Finally, the central result gained through the empirical analysis of recordings in this thesis has been able to identify a performance practice trait specific to Munrow and his Consort in the field of vocal style and ‘developing vibrato’. The use of lighter, nimble voices with warming vibrato qualities withheld from the beginnings of notes. Furthermore, this practice was found to be most notable on the upper lines of polyphonic textures. In instrumental music this crystalised tuning and created nimble, accurately tuned performances, and in *a cappella* music it helped create a clear texture sympathetic to the British choral tradition.

Postscript: influences and legacy

Important careers were launched under the auspices of David Munrow and the EMC and, as has been regularly attested in the interviews undertaken for this thesis, countless careers have been inspired by their work. Munrow’s popularity suffered somewhat in the years following his death by both marked shifts in the focus of early music towards later repertoire and by a musicological rethinking of approaches in medieval works which favoured a purely vocal line-up in much of the liturgical music and secular motets that Munrow had already recorded with instrumental participation. This led to many EMC albums falling from record catalogues. Whilst Munrow was

always careful to follow existing scholarship as he understood it at the time, that scholarship moved on leaving his recordings prematurely dated, but not forgotten.

As we have seen, Sally Dunkley has used two interviews to highlight the importance of Munrow's vocal textures in renaissance polyphony as an important part of his legacy. The album 'The Art of the Netherlands' used singers who were all to become major voices in the consort-based approach of the 1980s. In particular, several key members of The Hilliard Ensemble participated in that album.

One of the great musical partnerships of baroque music performance in the later 1970s and early 1980s, James Bowman and Christopher Hogwood were also performers who worked regularly with David Munrow and were core members of his Early Music Consort of London right from its first concerts. Besides Munrow, they also worked together with Neville Mariner and The Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields and Munrow even chose one of the Messiah arias (Handel) as sung by Bowman with this orchestra for his [BBC] Desert Island Discs programme. The interplay of ideas between Hogwood and Munrow is one of the unique points about the EMC albums since theirs was a close working relationship that also incorporated lecture recitals and recorder/harpsichord recitals from student days until the end of Munrow's life.⁵⁸⁸ We have seen how Munrow was instantly captivated by James Bowman's falsetto-voice which in turn characterized the lighter, brighter textures of EMC performances. Munrow even used a direct comparison with Bowman's and Jantina Noorman's voices when discussing vibrato.

Perhaps the biggest legacy from Munrow and his EMC is preserved in the smaller-grained narrative of the EMI archives. Munrow's tireless promotion and

⁵⁸⁸ Christopher Hogwood agreed to be interviewed for this project but, regrettably, that interview never took place. He has spoken on a number of BBC programmes about David Munrow and those interviews have been transcribed and used throughout this study. Since this thesis focuses on medieval music Hogwood's performances and views on performance are less evident than they would have been in a study of renaissance or baroque repertoire.

constant record sales helped to put much pre-baroque music into the public consciousness, especially that of the medieval repertoire, in particular the Italian Trecento. Never before had records of early repertoire sold in such numbers, and Munrow used every platform available to him to promote this music both in his own performances and in the performances of others. In doing so he made a significant contribution to a public appetite for early music and his frequent mentions in early music literature over the following decades betrays something of the debt which later ensembles owe Munrow in helping to create the markets that they enjoyed.

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Appendix - Archival Sources

Royal Academy of Music Library. Marylebone, London.

The Royal Academy of Music (RAM) purchased a substantial quantity of papers, books and music from an occasional EMC performer, Iaan Wilson, in 1993 who had previously bought it at auction from Sotheby's. Chris Beckett who subsequently curated an exhibition drawn from the files in York Gate during the academic year 2005/2006 catalogued the collection at the RAM. The full catalogue as prepared by Becket is available online as part of a national database of archive catalogues: Access to Archives (A2A).⁵⁸⁹ The rest of the collection, not covered by this catalogue, comprises 555 books (not all directly music-related) and 1071 unmarked scores. Only scores with markings have been incorporated into the A2A catalogue.

The archivist has grouped the collection into nine main categories:

- DM1 – Correspondence. These letters range from personal mail whilst in Peru (1961) to official EMC correspondence in the mid 1970s, which cover topics such as Munrow's schedule and letters of thanks for performances.
- DM2 – Concerts. Includes an incomplete collection of concert programmes
- DM3 – Music. This mostly comprises folders organized per performer per programme. The folders are often incomplete where manuscripts have been removed to be used in other performances.
- DM4 – Audio Recordings. Sleeve notes, correspondence and music relating to commercial recording contracts. Also folders organized per performer for each recording similar to DM3. Some of these folders contain recording schedules and other relevant correspondence.
- DM5 – Film. Music and recording session schedules for film soundtracks.
- DM6 – Television. Music and notes for three series.
- DM7 – Radio. Radio scripts for a wide selection of programmes (although notably few Pied Pipers) many of these scripts do not survive elsewhere.

⁵⁸⁹ A full catalogue of the collection is available from the website of The National Archives. Accessed September 5, 2010, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a.

- DM 8 – Publications. Mostly galley proofs and correspondence relating to Munrow's OUP publication.⁵⁹⁰
- DM 9 – Miscellaneous Material. Lecture notes, bibliographies and discographies. There is also the draft of a paper on vibrato and copies of articles by other authors.

Although not part of the catalogued Munrow archive, I had access to his books and noted that Munrow made very few markings in these books—mostly limited to pencil underlining—and I photographed a few examples of this in key texts.

The scores from this collection are not kept in order and are mostly published copies of music bought in duplicate for the ensemble and contain few markings. However, there are some handwritten scores and scraps of paper with annotations in Munrow's hand stuffed between the pages of other music scores. The RAM collection as a whole is used extensively throughout this thesis: the concert programmes from DM2 make a valuable contribution to the early biography in chapter 3, the unpublished paper on vibrato in DM9 forms the basis for chapter 5 and the Radio Scripts are discussed below.

One of the key documents in this collection is a set of university teaching notes in DM9.⁵⁹¹ Munrow taught at Leicester University from 1966–1974 and these notes appear to have been his plans for the Music History course that he taught there.

They are arranged by 'lecture titles':

1. Some approaches to music history
2. The age of the troubadours
3. Music and mediaeval drama
4. The mannered school and the Ars Nova
5. Dunstable and the English school
6. The Burgundian school
7. The Flemish school
8. Two great renaissance courts
9. New forms
10. The later 16th C madrigal
11. The English Ayre

⁵⁹⁰ David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

⁵⁹¹ David Munrow, [Academic Notes], DM/9/8, c1966, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Special Collections, London.

12. The later 16thC consorts
13. Italy I – concerto and sonata
14. Italy II – opera and stile rappresentativo
15. Masques and musicals
16. Purcell
17. Lully, Couperin and Rameau
18. Vivaldi and the Scarlattis
19. Bach and Telemann
20. Handel and Italian Opera

Each section is written on a separate side of paper and contains a series of bullet-points (presumably for teaching and discussion) a bibliography and short selection of recordings. Later in the document, there is a list of recommended books for the library to buy. That this list should have been for Leicester University agrees with the presumed dates in the file (on the back of one of the reading lists is the draft of a letter for 1968). David Munrow is remembered as having ‘made sure there were some darn good things in the Leicester University library’ by his student, the soprano Deborah Roberts.⁵⁹²

The reading lists for individual lectures provide an overview of Munrow’s own reading and show that he had an interest in German musicology of the early twentieth century as well as the latest papers in academic publications. In particular, works by Arnold Schering and editions by Friedrich Gennrich.⁵⁹³ There is a particular mention of the series: *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* edited by Leo Schrade which also appears throughout Munrow’s papers as miscellaneous photocopies for use in performance.⁵⁹⁴ As such, these notes are used to trace the sources for Munrow’s performances and concordances can often be found elsewhere in the *Papers of David Munrow* at the RAM where Xeroxed performance scores have survived.

⁵⁹² Nicholas Kenyon, Sally Dunkley, Andrew Van der Beek, and Deborah Roberts, “Celebrating Inspiration: In Memory of David Munrow,” Pre Concert Discussion: *Brighton Early Music Festival*, November 10, 2012.

⁵⁹³ Arnold Schering, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen: dreihundertfünfzig Tonsätze aus neun Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931) and Friedrich Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien* (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921).

⁵⁹⁴ Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 4 vols., (Monaco: Editions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

The short discographies accompanying each lecture show a selection of the early music ensembles that Munrow was listening to during the late 1960s. Safford Cape's *Pro Musica Antiqua Brussels* features several times, as do many other recordings in the Archiv series. Recordings by Russell Oberlin on the Expériences Anonymes label also feature prominently as do the records of the New York Pro Musica and the Deller Consort (notably for their recording of Machaut's Mass). Also, the record: *Estampies, Basses dances, Pavanes* by Ricercare Ensemble d'Instruments Anciens de Zurich (Michel Piguet).⁵⁹⁵ Recordings that are used for comparison purposes in this thesis have been drawn from these discographies where possible.

BBC Information & Archives Service

The BBC Information and Archives service (I&A) is the internal archive available to BBC staff for research. Much of the film or video in this collection can be accessed by the public via the BBC Motion Gallery but since copyright still applies to much of Munrow's output it is not always possible to obtain viewing copies even for academic research purposes.⁵⁹⁶ A search on the Information & Archives database (then Infax, but changed to a new system called Fabric in 2012) undertaken in 2008 listed 203 separate entries for David Munrow including repeats, 155 of which are from his lifetime. Knowing that Munrow made over 500 programmes of his popular series *Pied Piper* alone gives an indication of the paucity of the data. Fortunately several broadcasts made about Munrow are stored in this archive and have been used in this study.

Of the television broadcasts, two programmes are preserved on film reel only and as such are not available for viewing without incurring prohibitive charges for transfer to DVD. These are: *So You Think it all Started with Bach?* Presented by Clement Freud (1970) and a collaboration with the National Trust: *Music From Great*

⁵⁹⁵ Michel Piguet and Ensemble Ricercare de Zurich, *Ballades, Rondeaux & Virelais from the 14th and 15th Centuries*, Harmonia Mundi France HM 592, 1967, LP.

⁵⁹⁶ BBC Motion Gallery can be accessed via <http://www.bbcmotiongallery.com>

*Houses: Montacute House (1973).*⁵⁹⁷ Short excerpts from both of these programmes appear in Levin's 1976 BBC television tribute.⁵⁹⁸ According to the RAM archive there is also a very early programme *Festival Music 1550-1700* (1968) devised and directed by David Munrow and filmed in Tiffin School that does not appear in the Infax database.⁵⁹⁹ The series of programmes that Munrow made for the BBC, and which were broadcast posthumously, were called *Ancestral Voices* and directed by Paul Kriwaczek.⁶⁰⁰ These programmes explored the origins and evolution of instruments and saw Munrow and his colleague Alan Lumsden play an astonishing variety of 'primitive', folk and early instruments as well as many modern ones. Several guest musicians such as James Tyler appeared also. The five episodes were broadcast the same year as *Early Musical Instruments*, a Granada Television production filmed in Ordsall Hall, Salford which demonstrated a range of medieval and renaissance instruments and their repertoire and which involved many of the instrumentalists of the Early Music Consort of London.⁶⁰¹

BBC Written Archives. Caversham, Berkshire (W.A.C.)

The BBC archives hold official correspondence received from David and Gillian Munrow and also their agent, Jasper Parrott. There are also many carbon copies of BBC correspondence sent to these three people but it by no means reflects the true amount of paperwork that passed between the BBC and EMC representatives.

The collection falls into several main sections:

- 1) Microfilm record cards. These refer to four radio scripts:

⁵⁹⁷ For reviews of these programmes see: Keith Spence, "Television," *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1531 (1970), 920. and "Television," *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1570 (1973), 1268.

⁵⁹⁸ "David Munrow," Presented by Bernard Levin, aired June 27, 1976, on BBC Television.

⁵⁹⁹ Munrow's script for this programme: David Murnow, Tiffin School Kingston, July 3 1968, DM 2/1/38, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Library, London.

⁶⁰⁰ David Munrow, "Origins and Flutes," in *Ancestral Voices*, produced by Paul Kriwaczek, aired May 1976, on BBC Television.

⁶⁰¹ David Munrow, "Bowed Instruments," in *Early Musical Instruments*, directed by Peter Plummer, aired October 1976 on Granada Television (UK) Produced for DVD by David Griffith, Viking New Media 2007. Accessed May 12, 2009. www.DavidMunrow.org.

- a) “Munrow, David introduces 1971 series “Pied Piper” file under title in Gram Progs”
- b) R.3. 3.12.70. 8) Early Ensembles – “THE SOUNDS OF MUSIC”
- c) R.3. 18.6.71. “Telemann and Handel”
- d) R3. 27.12.71 “If Music be The Food Of Love” Music of the English stage before 1700.
- 2) A bundle of papers from BBC Midlands where the BBC handled David. Not held in a file but tied by string. Mostly relating to accounts. BBC ref: M31/1491.
- 3) A large file from BBC Registry services. Central Registry (Langham) Rcont 12. Titled “David Munrow (early music consort). Contributors – artist File I 1966-67”
- 4) A similar file titled “BBC Registry services. Central Registry (Langham) Rcont 12. 00918. David Munrow (early music consort). Contributors – artist. File II 1968-72”
- 5) A file titled: “BBC Registry services. Central Registry (Langham) Rcont 15. A.no 328418.6 David Munrow (early music consort)
- 6) File of Contributors – artist File III 1973-82”
- 7) File “BBC Registry services. Music Registry Rcont 15. PP20
- 8) File of David Munrow 1975–1984”
- 9) File: “BBC Registry services. Music Registry PP20. David Munrow 1955–1974”

Within each file the letters and papers occur roughly in reverse date order, suggesting that they were filed one on top of another until the folder was full and a new one started. These contents reveal a surprising amount of detail concerning both Munrow and the EMC’s financial arrangements with the BBC and also the number of rehearsal and recording sessions that various projects required. It is possible, through these documents, to trace the extent to which the BBC fostered Munrow’s talent.

This archive often serves to date the radio scripts found in the RAM collection: DM/7. As such these two archival sources form much of the biographical discussion of Munrow’s relationship with the BBC in chapter 3.

EMI Archives. Hayes, Middlesex

The EMI archives contains two files relating to David Munrow:

1. A4 lever arch file (large). Label: *David Munrow 1968–1975*. Contents in roughly reverse date order. This was clearly a working file; where dates are out of order it is because the documents have been grouped by subject.
2. A4 Box File. Label: *David Munrow 1976 – Recording sheet, photos etc.* Contents separated into two cardboard folders, one of press cuttings and the other of recording sheets that are unordered.

The first file contains a mixture of in-house memos, official correspondence and paperwork relating to specific recording projects. In particular it preserves many of the forms detailing the decisions of the International Repertoire Committee pertaining to cost analysis of Munrow's proposed albums.

Munrow's first contact with EMI was in 1968 when he wrote to R. Kinloch Anderson in the International Artists department:

I am writing to tell you that the Early Music Consort will be giving the first half of the BBC Tuesday Invitation Concert on May 21st at 8.30pm. I hope that you will be interested in this broadcast which is devoted to fourteenth century Italian music.

The Early Music Consort is the only professional group of its kind in England. Ideally suited to touring, it has visited many clubs, festivals and universities since its formation in 1967. Engagements for 1969 include concerts in the Purcell Room, Queen Elizabeth Hall, a programme for the Royal Musical Association Annual Conference and a tour of the United States. [...]⁶⁰²

He included two reviews drawn from the first Wigmore Hall recital earlier that year. Anderson wrote back to thank Munrow on the 16th and, on the 18th Munrow wrote again to EMI, this time to Peter Andey to offer him tickets to the concert and to mention that the EMC had already recorded with Shirley and Dolly Collins for the EMI Harvest label.

Presumably neither of these two letters was followed up because the archive then jumps almost two years when Munrow writes to the producer Christopher Bishop:

⁶⁰² David Munrow to R Kinloch Anderson, May 13, 1968, File David Munrow 1968-1975, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

Here at last are all the details of the two proposed records. I am sorry you had to wait so long and hope that all the information you want is there.

[...]

If both records are passed would it be possible to record 'The Art of the Recorder' in September and the dance music disc 27th-29th January 1971? The latter dates are rather vital so that the recording can come immediately after a concert performance.⁶⁰³

The EMI archives do not detail how this contact was initially made, but in a radio interview Christopher Bishop remembers that he and Munrow met at a BBC recording session which is referred to in later EMI correspondence. The BBC programme was called *Madrigals for Voices and Instruments* and was produced by Basil Lam.⁶⁰⁴ Christopher Bishop conducted his twelve-voice ensemble The London Madrigal Singers who were joined by The Munrow Recorder Quartet. Bishop had initially been reticent to use recorders but Basil Lam assured him that Munrow was a really exciting musician and backed this up by taking Bishop to hear Munrow in a live performance. This was an important early opportunity for Munrow who was only in his second year of freelance employment at the BBC, but still Bishop remembers:

[Munrow] mucked about all the time—he was great fun—and he also mucked-about musically. The first one of the madrigals we did [...] was *Hark All Ye Lovely Saints* by Weelkes where the choir sings the verse and the 'fa la las' at the end, which are really instrumental anyway, were played by David and his group. An in the second verse he really goes to town and enjoys it and decorates it in a way that I'm sure no singer ever would have done.⁶⁰⁵

Bishop goes on to remember how David asked for a lift back to Marylebone station from Broadcasting House after the broadcast and in that short time persuaded him to consider his group for an EMI record. Bishop was a producer for EMI at the time.

⁶⁰³ David Munrow to Christopher Bishop, 27 April 1970, File David Munrow 1968-1975, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

⁶⁰⁴ Correspondence and the BBC contract for this recording can be found here: Contract 01/PC/DGM, January 14, 1970, BBC WAC RCONT12 – David Munrow – Artists File 2 -1968-72.

⁶⁰⁵ Christopher Bishop, "Podcast: David Munrow on the record." *On An Overgrown Path* (blog), 2007, <http://www.overgrownpath.com/2007/12/exclusive-david-munrow-on-record.html>.

The first two proposals that Munrow sent to EMI were for ‘Renaissance Dance Music or Three Renaissance Dance Bands or The Renaissance Sound or other title TBC: The largest collection of renaissance instruments ever assembled for one record’ and also for a record which was never made in the form of its original proposal, *The Art of the Recorder*. Bishop’s first response was to ask Munrow to adjust these proposals to allow for up to 4 minutes more music on each side and he sent both proposals to the International Repertoire Committee who rejected each one in turn on grounds of cost analysis.⁶⁰⁶ Just a month later, the committee reconsidered their decision and decided to make the Big Band record but postpone *Art of the Recorder* ‘for the moment’. The resulting album was eventually called *Two Renaissance Dance Bands*. The archive preserves many letters showing how Munrow was involved in the preparation of the edits, the sleeve notes and also the quality controls (he complained that he thought the pressing of *Two Renaissance Dance Bands* was slightly off-centre which affected the playback pitch). In short, this archive proves that Munrow was involved in every aspect of record production.

The next EMI project to involve Munrow was the recording of the soundtrack for a film about Henry VIII.⁶⁰⁷ After the sessions had taken place J. Whittle (Manager of the Classical Repertoire and Marketing Division of EMI) wrote to Munrow’s agent Jasper Parrott:

We have got I think a very exciting package on our hands in terms of music and visual appearance [...] I imagine this film is going to do David a lot of good. We are all very excited about it.⁶⁰⁸

A few weeks later, Whittle wrote directly to Munrow to congratulate him on the success of a recent concert that he had attended and mentioned ‘the next project is

⁶⁰⁶ The committee met on August 8, 1970.

⁶⁰⁷ David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, EMI CSDA 9001, 1972, LP.

⁶⁰⁸ J.K.R. Whittle to Jasper Parrott, September 9, 1971, MS7/JKRW/EAS, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

urgent – the Spanish LP!’⁶⁰⁹ Within the space of a year Munrow had caught the attention of the EMI music division so much so that in July 1972 EMI hosted a reception for him. The invitation read:

EMI invites [blank space] to meet David Munrow, Director of The Early Music Consort of London at Bianchi’s Italian Restaurant 21a Frith St. London W1 on Wed 5th July at 5pm RSVP to Douglas Pudney.⁶¹⁰

Among the journalists invited were: *Daily Telegraph*, Keith Nurse; *United News Service*, The News Editor; *Guardian*, Edward Greenfield, Alan Smith and Denis Barke; *Evening Standard*, Sydney Edwards and Jeremy Deedes; *Daily Express*, Noel Goodwin; *Daily Mail*, Paul Mayberry; *Observer*, Michael Berkeley; *Gramophone*, Malcolm Waller and the *Press Association*, Michael Day.

In January of 1973 Munrow met with several EMI executives to discuss future recording projects and suggested the following:

- a) Purcell: Come Ye Sons of Art / Blow: Ode on the Death of Henry Purcell first recording on original instruments at old pitch. (If we’re going to do it then let’s make it soon before someone else does: I talked to Chris about it).
- b) A Dufay Mass / selection of motets. Dufay died in 1474 – if we do this, it should be out early in 1974.
- C) Handel: Complete Chamber music with recorder (with very varied continuo) 2 record box. Does this count as a solo disc or a consort one? We should do it before someone else thinks of it.
- D) Praetorius: Terpsichore/Choral works (Follow up to Two Ren. Dance bands).
- E) A Christmas record (For Christmas ’74, ’75) Medieval to Baroque – Songs, jolly carols etc. A good seller?
- F) Music of Breughel’s Time – Flemish music by Josquin, Obrecht, Ockeghem etc...
- G) Cantigas de Santa Maria – Medieval Spanish music (Follow up to Ferdinand e Isabella)
- H) German Peasant Music (I’m not sure I can quite justify the title!)
- I) Machaut Mass / Motets. If you like the Dufay idea, and if it sells, this could become a sort of series. Plenty of good unrecorded material here.
- J) The Art of the Troubadours – 2 record box of 11th, 12th, 13th French music (follow up to the Art of Courtly Love)
- K) The Art of the Recorder – Medieval to Modern
- L) Greensleeves to a Ground (recorder e harpsichord recital)

⁶⁰⁹ J.K.R. Whittle to David Munrow, September 30, 1971, MS7/JKRW/EAS, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

⁶¹⁰ Invitation card: July 5, 1972, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

- M) Music of Chaucer's Time – early English Music
- N) Telemann – complete recorder sonatas⁶¹¹

The astonishing completeness of this list shows an overview of the discography that Munrow envisaged at the start of his first EMI contract; a greater emphasis on the baroque and an urgency for more period instrument recordings since he felt others were already following the same path. Over the following years it became clear that EMI reduced the size of several projects including suggesting a 5-man 'poets and peasants' programme on a cheaper label instead of *Music of Chaucer's Time* at one point to save money.⁶¹² Any perception one infers from the record releases that only towards the end of Munrow's life did he become more interested in larger projects is therefore overturned. This archive demonstrates clearly that Munrow was attempting to record large-scale projects and baroque period-instrument projects as early as 1973 which, incidentally is the same year that Andrew Parrott's Taverner Consort, Choir and Players; Christopher Hogwood's Academy of Ancient Music; and Trevor Pinnock's The English Concert were founded. The only reason that these records did not come to fruition is because they were not approved by EMI cost/benefit analysis at that time. With this in mind we can see that Munrow from his comment 'If we're going to do it then let's make it soon before someone else does: I talked about to Chris about it' is likely to have been expressing concern that Christopher Hogwood would beat him to the forefront of this period instrument Baroque movement. As a result it must have been disheartening when EMI continually stalled such plans.

In 1974 Robert Myers from the American division of EMI (Angel records) heard Munrow play in New York and approached Christopher Bishop to see if he could hear a test pressing (white label) of the new Praetorius record, Bishop responded to say that he

⁶¹¹ David Munrow to Christopher Bishop, January 13, 1973, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

⁶¹² John Willan to Mr Pattrik, April 4, 1975, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

would, of course, send a copy but that he may prefer the Dufay *Se La Face Ay Pale* since it was, in his opinion, a better record. Myers replied:

I am still inclined to believe we will be more inclined towards the Praetorius over the Dufay. It seems there is a sort of vogue right now towards the music of Praetorius as the result of some recordings on DGG and Nonesuch which are presumably successful. (Actually “vogue” is perhaps too strong a word as the interest in this old music seems to be limited at the moment to the college areas, but it does seem to be increasing).

Somehow or other I have a hunch that we are going to have more successes with this artiste and that he will be increasingly important to us.⁶¹³

Eventually, Angel records did release many of Munrow’s records and in particular the boxed set which included the book *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. The success was convincing enough for EMI to offer an extension to Munrow’s contract for a further two years from 1975. The archive records plans for ten records to cover that period:

1. Solo records:
 - a) a general recital entitled “Greensleeves to a Ground”
 - b) Vivaldi op10 with the Academy [of St Martin-in-the-fields / Marriner]
 - c) A box set of 2 records entitled “Handel Complete Chamber Music with Recorder”
2. Consort records
 - a) Monteverdi’s Contemporaries
 - b) Music of the Time of Chaucer
 - c) Machaut Mass to be released by 1977 to coincide with the 600th anniversary of his death
 - d) The art of canon to include Ockeghem’s Missa Prolatonium [sic]
 - e) The art of the Troubadours.⁶¹⁴

Since the EMI contract did not cover solo appearances and pre-standing agreements with other record companies David Munrow recorded *Music of the Gothic Era* with DG Archiv in 1975.

British Library Sound Archive, London

Many publicly released sound recordings as well as BBC programmes are available through the British Library Sound Archive but these programmes cannot be

⁶¹³ Robert Myers to Christopher Bishop, June 27, 1974, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

⁶¹⁴ John Willan internal memo to EMI staff, January 22, 1975, EMI Archives Hayes Middlesex.

borrowed or copied. They are also not available as data files so cannot be measured with signal processing software.

The archive contains many valuable recordings of the four main groups under study here. Much of Michael Morrow's work with Musica Reservata was, for instance, live BBC broadcast and not recorded so that it is preserved in very few other places in the world. A collection of tapes from Jeremy Montagu that was acquired by the Sound Archive preserves many performances by Musica Reservata that are unavailable elsewhere.

With Munrow's output, the *Pied Piper* series is sadly underrepresented, the BBC not having kept many of the broadcasts but many ad-hoc interviews and documentary programmes do survive.

The Open University, Milton Keynes

There are two educational broadcast recordings broadcast in 1972 held by The Open University's archive in Milton Keynes.⁶¹⁵

A201/18 English consort music (audio tape in archive collection)

A201/10 Secular music of the Renaissance (U-matic video in reference and archive collection)

They also have a range of other materials for the A201 course for which these programmes were used.

Private Collections

Many of Munrow's colleagues have private collections of his letters, papers and concert programmes. Fortunately, Munrow usually kept the music scores after performances to be reused on subsequent occasions so the RAM collection houses a significant number of performing scores that bear markings, many in Munrow's hand.

⁶¹⁵ The Open University keeps archives of broadcast material, most of which is searchable on their catalogue. <http://voyager.open.ac.uk>.

However, much material exists outside of this collection in private hands and as part of the oral history interviews, musicians were asked to share any scores or recordings with me or with one of the public archives.

As a result of this, Alison Crum has offered almost 40 reels of sound tape to the British Library sound archive. These tapes contain many recordings of *The Browning Consort of viols* with soloist Emma Kirkby from the late 1970s and are currently in the process of being identified so the Sound Archive can assess their value.

Related Collections

Also at the RAM Library is the Robert Spencer Collection. Spencer (1932–1997) was an English lutenist, guitarist and singer who frequently performed with Munrow's Early Music Consort of London. They also have the performance materials from Michael Morrow's collection but they are, as yet, uncatalogued and as such are not available to the public. Michael Morrow was director of the consort *Musica Reservata*.

Michael Morrow's papers have been donated to King's College London and the papers of the musicologist Denis Stevens are at Goldsmith's College, London.