Early Music and the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, 1958 to 2015

Jacob Sagrans

Schulich School of Music
McGill University, Montreal

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Abstract

This dissertation is the first in-depth exploration of the connections between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge ("King's") and the early music revival since the mid-twentieth century. It is also one of the first detailed considerations of the role of choirs in the revival. The central question I aim to answer is: How has the vocal style of King's influenced the development of the vocal style of the early music revival in Britain? I show how the choir's 109 albums featuring music written before 1750 have helped spread and popularize what I call the "King's sound." This sound is characterized by a high level of blend within choral sections, an even balancing of sections with one another, little vibrato, few changes in tempo and dynamics, and a light, bright, and breathy timbre. It is similar to a broader "English sound" found among other Oxbridge college choirs as well as British vocal ensembles specializing in early music. I argue that King's was an important precursor to these specialist early music ensembles, as the choir began issuing many albums in the 1950s, before a large number of specialist groups formed in the 1970s and 1980s.

King's was also compatible with and helped bolster the valuing of historical authenticity in the early music revival. Because the choir has sung frequently in church services since its foundation in the fifteenth century, listeners can see King's as exemplifying longstanding English sacred traditions. In addition, the King's sound itself seems more historically sensitive for early music than a singing style with hallmarks of nineteenth-century performance practice, such as heavy vibrato and frequent or large changes in tempo and dynamics.

I also argue that the close links between King's and powerful and wealthy British institutions—particularly the University of Cambridge and the Church of England—aided in spreading the King's sound. In addition, the all-male and mostly Caucasian composition of the

choir allows listeners to see it as a remnant of Britain before twentieth-century feminist movements and modern waves of immigration. This reinforces the choir's sense of historical authenticity as well as its appeal given the hegemonic status of whiteness and masculinity. I also suggest that the King's sound itself reflects the relatively homogeneous identity of choir members by way of its exclusion of "other" sounds (and bodies) in favor of choral blend. To conclude, I examine how King's has influenced the early music revival by training performers, by making premiere recordings of Renaissance and Baroque compositions, and by collaborating with instrumental ensembles. I also consider how other ensembles and trends in the revival have influenced King's, particularly the rise of historically informed performance.

Résumé

Traduit par Claudine Jacques

« La musique ancienne et le Chœur du King's College, Cambridge, 1958 à 2015 »

Cette thèse est la première exploration en profondeur des liens existant entre le Chœur du King's College, Cambridge (« King's ») et le mouvement pour le renouveau de la musique ancienne depuis le milieu du XX^{e} siècle. C'est également l'une des premières considérations du rôle des chœurs au sein de ce renouveau. La question centrale à laquelle je tenterai de répondre est la suivante : comment le style vocal du King's a-t-il influencé le développement du style vocal du renouveau de la musique ancienne en Grande-Bretagne ? Je démontre comment les 109 albums du chœur sur lesquels l'on retrouve de la musique composée avant 1750 ont aidé à disséminer et populariser ce que j'appelle le « King's sound » (le « son King's »). Ce son se caractérise par un haut degré de fondu choral (« blend »), un équilibre uniforme des sections chorales entre elles, peu de vibrato, peu de changements de tempo et de dynamiques, ainsi qu'un timbre sonore qui est léger, brillant et aéré. Il est semblable au « English sound » (« son anglais ») que l'on retrouve parmi d'autres chœurs des collèges d'Oxbridge ainsi que des chœurs britanniques se spécialisant dans la musique ancienne. Je démontre que King's fut un précurseur important de ces ensembles spécialisés parce que le chœur ayant commencé à produire des albums dès les années 1950, avant la formation de nombreux groupes spécialisés de musique ancienne dans les années 1970 et 1980.

King's était également compatible avec, et contribua à fortifier, la valorisation de l'authenticité historique au sein du renouveau de la musique ancienne. Puisque le chœur a fréquemment chanté dans des services religieux depuis sa fondation au XV^{e} siècle, les auditeurs peuvent percevoir King's comme illustrant des traditions sacrées anglaises très anciennes. En

outre, le son King's lui-même apparaissait plus historiquement sensible pour la musique ancienne qu'un style vocal qui a des caractéristiques rappelant les pratiques d'interprétation du XIX^{e} siècle, telles qu'un fort vibrato et des changements fréquents ou prononcés de tempi et dynamiques.

Je propose également que les liens étroits entre King's et des institutions britanniques puissantes et riches– particulièrement l'Université de Cambridge et l'Église d'Angleterre – ont contribué à la dissémination du son King's. De plus, la composition entièrement masculine et principalement caucasienne du chœur permet aux auditeurs de le percevoir comme un vestige de la Grande-Bretagne avant les mouvements féministes du XX^{e} siècle et les vagues d'immigrations contemporaines. Ceci renforce le sentiment d'authenticité historique du chœur ainsi que son attrait, étant donné le statut hégémonique de la race blanche et de la masculinité. Je suggère aussi que le son King's lui-même reflète l'identité relativement homogène des membres du chœur par son exclusion des sons alternatifs (et de différent types de personnes) en faveur d'une homogénéité chorale.

En conclusion, j'examine de quelle manière King's a influencé le renouveau de la musique ancienne grâce à la formation d'interprètes, par l'enregistrement d'œuvres de la Renaissance et de la période baroque qui n'a jamais été enregistré auparavant, et par la collaboration avec des ensembles instrumentaux. Je m'intéresse également à la manière dont d'autres ensembles et tendances au cours de ce renouveau ont influencé King's, particulièrement l'essor d'interprétations historiques.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and overview of the dissertation

1.1: Introduction

This dissertation is the first in-depth exploration of the connections between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge ("King's"[1]) and the early music revival since the mid-twentieth century. It is also one of the first detailed considerations of the role of choirs in the revival.[2] The central question I aim to answer is: How has the vocal style of King's influenced the development of the vocal style of the early music revival in Britain? I show how the choir's 109 albums featuring music written before 1750 have helped spread and popularize what I call the "King's sound," which is similar to a broader "English sound" common among British vocal ensembles specializing in early music. King's was an important precursor to these ensembles, as the choir was issuing albums before many of them existed. I also argue that King's was compatible with and helped bolster the valuing of historical authenticity in the early music revival. In addition, I explore how the choir's connections to prestigious, wealthy institutions (e.g., the University of Cambridge) and privileged identities in Britain (e.g., white males) helped it have a prominent position in the revival. Finally, I consider the significance of the choir's training of early music performers and scholars, its collaborations with period instrument ensembles, and its premiere recordings of early compositions, as well as how trends in the revival have impacted King's.

This chapter is an introduction to the dissertation. First, I give an overview of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and its history. Then I give a similar overview of the early music

[1]I usually refer to the Choir of King's College, Cambridge simply as "King's" or "the choir." When referring to the college I say "King's College" (not to be confused with King's College London).

[2]Previous scholarship has focused mostly on instrumentalists and vocal soloists specializing in early music. See the discussion below on pp. 12–14. I use the terms "choir" and "vocal ensemble" interchangeably.

revival. Following this, I have a preliminary discussion of the relationship between the choir and the early music revival as well as a justification for the time period I consider (1958 to 2015). I conclude with summaries of the remaining chapters and end matter.

1.2: Overview of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge

King's is a thirty-person choir of men and boys housed at the Anglican chapel of King's College at the University of Cambridge, England. The choir's primary purpose is to sing music in church services held daily at King's College when classes are in session.[3] Since 1928 the men in the choir have all been students of the university (and are therefore known as "choral scholars") and the choir's music directors have all been fellows (i.e., professors) of the college. The boys are typically drawn from the local community.[4] The choir has a global following and a high reputation. Since the 1950s, King's has released 168 long-playing records (LPs) and compact discs (CDs).[5] The choir's Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols service held every Christmas Eve has been broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to radio listeners worldwide since the early 1930s and has been also been shown on television since 1954.[6] Critically acclaimed composers have written music specifically for the choir, including

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[3]This is from approximately late September to early July, with breaks from early December to mid-January (with the choir returns for a limited number of services around Christmas) and from mid-March to mid-April (with the choir returning for a limited number of services around Easter), corresponding to the three terms at the University of Cambridge: Michelmas, Lent, and Easter. The choir sings in Evensong services on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday afternoons, with the Wednesday Evensong services sung by the King's choral scholars only (not the boy trebles). The choir also sings in Sung Eucharist services on Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning, the latter of which is sometimes replaced by Choral Matins. On Monday, the choir gets a break from singing in services: on this day Evensong is sung by King's Voices, the mixed-voice ensemble at King's College.

[4]There are also organ scholars affiliated with the choir. The King's organ scholars are undergraduate Cambridge students who accompany the choir on organ.

[5]See appendix B for a full discography of the choir. I refer to LPs and CDs collectively as "albums." I do not count records playing at seventy-eight revolutions per minute (rpm) as "albums." All my album-related statistics exclude re-releases and compilations of previously issued recordings.

[6]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "History of the Choir," accessed July 1, 2015, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/about/history.html. See also: Nicholas Nash, "'A Right Prelude to Christmas': A

James MacMillan (b. 1959), Arvo Pärt (b. 1935), Einojuhani Rautavaara (1928–2016), John Rutter (b. 1945), John Tavener (1944–2013), and Judith Weir (b. 1954).

King's traces its origins to the mid-fifteenth century. Shortly after King Henry VI (1421–71) founded and endowed King's College of Our Lady and Saint Nicholas in Cambridge (now known simply as "King's College, Cambridge") in 1441, a choir began singing in religious services at the college. The 1453 College Statutes stipulated that this choir was to consist of sixteen boy choristers under the age of twelve and six adult male lay clerks (professional singers hired to sing in the choir but who were not necessarily otherwise affiliated with King's College). The choir has sung almost continually since then, with brief periods of disbanding under the rule of Edward VI (from 1551 to 1553) and during the Interregnum (from ca. 1642 to 1660).[7]

The choir's reliance on male singers and its regular participation in services have remained consistent since the fifteenth century. Four major changes, however, have occurred since then. The first was during the Protestant Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, when the choir and the chapel at King's College became part of the reformed Church of England. The second change came in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the choir gradually shifted from employing lay clerks to having undergraduate choral scholars sing alto, tenor, and bass parts.[8] The number of singers also increased: by 1930 there were twelve choral

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History of *A Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols*," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 323–43.

[7]See the discussion of the early history of the choir in: Roger Bowers, "Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444–1644," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 259–83; and in King's, "History of the Choir." Since Bowers offers a more in-depth and scholarly exploration of the early history of the choir than the website, I have sided with his dates for when the choir disbanded during the Interregnum, which differ slightly from the dates on the college's website.

[8]For all of the twentieth century, the boy trebles in King's have sung soprano parts only, never alto parts, a practice that is also found in most other Anglican choirs that have both boys and men singing in Britain.

scholars (and no lay clerks) in the choir, bringing the total number of singers to twenty-eight.[9] Another significant change came with the advent of broadcasting and recording technologies, which allowed the choir to be heard by listeners around the world. Finally, advances in modes of transportation in the twentieth century have made it possible for the choir to go on frequent concert tours, starting in 1936 with a tour to Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden.[10]

1.3: Overview of the early music revival

The phrase "the early music revival," along with the synonymous "early music movement," refers to a widespread phenomenon where post-Baroque players, singers, scholars, instrument builders, and listeners have focused increasing attention on performing, studying, and listening to music written in the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods (ca. 800 to 1750 AD).[11] There are three key components of the revival, which I call "interest in early works," "period instruments," and "historically informed performance practice" ("HIP" for short[12]).

"Interest in early works" refers to desire among performers, scholars, and listeners to play, sing, study and hear music from the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods. Some

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[9]For more information about this shift, see Timothy Day, "The Establishment of Choral Scholarships at King's College, Cambridge," *Journal of the Royal College of Organists* 2 (new series) (2008): 64–73. The choir has employed at least twelve choral scholars since 1930, although two additional undergraduate student singers have been added since then, raising the total number of singers to thirty. Note that this figure of thirty excludes probationary trebles, who are boys in their first year with the choir. Probationary trebles attend rehearsals but do not sing in services, performances, recordings, or broadcasts. For more information on the current size and disposition of the choir, see: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "The Choir and Singing," accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/choristers/singing.html; and the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "The Choir Today," accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/about/choir-today.html.

[10]See the files pertaining to this and other choir tours at the Archive Centre of King's College, Cambridge, "Choir Tour Files (1936–1996)" (25 files), call no. KCAR/8/3/9. A sampling of other tours include ones to Belgium and West Germany (1967), Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone (1972), Australia (1980), the United States (1991), and China, Hong Kong, Japan, and Macau (2000).

[11]The time period that corresponds with "early music" is not universally agreed upon; however, since the term is most commonly used to refer to music written in the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods, I also use the term to signify the period from ca. 800 to 1750.

[12]There are also other ways of describing HIP, including "historical performance practice(s)," "historically informed performance practices," and "historical performance." I use these phrases interchangeably.

works that were composed before 1750, particularly ones from the Baroque period, have been performed regularly since their inception: examples include the *Miserere* by Gregorio Allegri (1582–1652), which was performed annually at Holy Week services in the Sistine Chapel for much of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and the oratorio *Messiah* (HWV 56, 1742) by George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), which has been performed frequently since its composition, including in annual performances since the late 1750s at the Three Choirs Festival in England.[13]

Interest in early works also led to a revival of medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque compositions that had not been played in many years, a revival that got firmly underway in the nineteenth century. For instance, in 1829 in Berlin, Felix Mendelssohn (1809–47) famously conducted the *Saint Matthew Passion* (BWV 244) by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) in the first performance of the work in its entirety since the composer's death.[14] Along with Mendelssohn, many leading nineteenth-century musicians were active as performers and editors of early music, incorporated quotations of early works or references to pre-1750 musical styles into their own compositions, arranged medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music, or wrote about early music.[15] Such musicians include François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870), Robert Schumann (1810–56), Richard Wagner (1813–83), Clara

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[13]For an overview of the performance history of Allegri's *Miserere*, see: Ben Byram-Wigfield, *Miserere mei, Deus, Gregorio Allegri: A Quest for the Holy Grail?,* self-published companion booklet for critical and performing editions prepared by the author, 1996, revised in 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005, and 2007, http://ancientgroove.co.uk/essays/AllegriBook.pdf; and Laurenz Lütteken, "Perpetuierung des Einzigartigen: Gregorio Allegris 'Miserere' und das Ritual der päpstlichen Kappelle," in *Barocke Inszenierung: Akten des Internationalen Forschungscolloquiums an der Technischen Universität Berlin, 20.–22. Juni 1996*, ed. Joseph Imorde, Fritz Neumeyer, and Tristan Weddigen (Emsdetten and Zürich: Edition Imorde, 1999), 137–45. For an overview of the performance history of Handel's *Messiah*, see: Donald Burrows, *Handel: Messiah*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991), 47–54; and Dorothea Baumann, *Music and Space: A Systematic and Historical Investigation into the Impact of Architectural Acoustics on Performance Practice Followed by a Study of Handel's Messiah* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 285–319.

[14]See the discussion of Mendelssohn's revival of the *Saint Matthew Passion* in Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 13–14.

[15]Note that in this dissertation, I use the term "musicians" to refer to players, singers, music scholars, and instrument builders alike.

Schumann (1819–96), and Johannes Brahms (1833–97). The nineteenth century also saw the creation of the first published complete modern editions of music by major Renaissance and Baroque composers such as Bach, Handel, and Palestrina, which helped encourage performance and study of early music by providing greater access to scores.[16] Ensembles, societies, institutions, and concert series that focused on early music were also common in the nineteenth century. These included the Madrigal Society of London (est. 1741), Boston's Handel and Haydn Society (est. 1815), Fétis's "Concerts Historiques" in Paris (starting in 1832), the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes in France, which launched the revival of Gregorian chant starting in the 1830s, the Handel Society of London (est. 1843), the Bach-Gesellschaft (est. 1850), the Deutsche Händel-Gesellschaft (est. 1858), and the London Bach Choir (est. 1875).[17]

The Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England also fostered performances, editions, and the study of plainchant and Renaissance sacred polyphony in the nineteenth century. In addition to the chant revival at Solesmes, the Cecilian movement in Germany led to the creation of new editions of chant and Renaissance polyphony, as well as scholarship on early sacred music.[18] Particularly central to this movement was the work of Franz Xaver Haberl (1840–1910), a musicologist and choir director affiliated with the Catholic cathedral in Regensburg (Ratisbon). Haberl oversaw the editing of the first complete modern edition of Palestrina's music, served as editor for several journals affiliated with the Cecilian movement,

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[16]Johann Sebastian Bach, *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, ed. Moritz Hauptmann et al., 46 vols. plus one supplement (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1851–99, 1926); George Frideric Handel, *Georg Friedrich Händels Werke: Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander et al., 93 vols. plus 6 supplements (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1858–94, 1902); Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Pierluigi da Palestrinas Werke*, ed. Franz Xaver Haberl et al., eds. 33 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1862–92, 1907).

[17]For more details on interest in early works in the nineteenth century, refer to Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 13–25.

[18]Siegfried Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian movement," *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 14, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05245.

and also founded a church music school in Regensburg.[19] One of Haberl's students was Lorenzo Perosi (1872–1956), who became music director of the Sistine Chapel in 1898.[20] Possibly influenced by Perosi (and, in turn, the Cecilian movement and Haberl), in 1903 Pope Pius X issued a *motu proprio* (papal decree) advocating for increased use of Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony in the liturgy and also encouraging contemporary composers to write sacred music in a style inspired by Renaissance polyphony.[21] In England, the Oxford Movement of the 1830s and later led some Anglican congregations to modify the liturgy to emphasize the Catholic heritage of the Church of England, establishing new practices that became known as Anglo-Catholicism. One of these modifications was to turn away from more recent music in favor of plainchant and sacred Renaissance polyphony.[22]

In light of the high interest in early music in the nineteenth century, it is perhaps tempting to claim that this is when the early music revival began; indeed, Harry Haskell has made this suggestion, choosing Mendelssohn's performance of the *Saint Matthew Passion* as the starting

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[19]Dieter Haberl, "Haberl, Franz Xaver," *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 14, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12120.

[20]John C.G. Waterhouse, "Perosi, Lorenzo," *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 14, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21357.

[21]For the original Italian text of the 1903 *motu proprio*, see: Pope Pius X, "Motu proprio: Tra le sollecitudini . . . 22 novembre 1903," accessed October 14, 2016, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html. For an English translation, see Erwin Esser Nemmers, *Twenty Centuries of Catholic Church Music* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1949), 197–206. Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (now known as Pope Benedict XVI) discussed Perosi's influence on popes around 1900. See Joseph Ratzinger, "'In the Presence of the Angels I Will Sing Your Praise': The Regensburg Tradition and the Reform of the Liturgy" (translation by Robert A. Skeris of German book chapter by Ratzinger published in 1995), *Adoremus Bulletin*, vol. 2, nos. 6–8 (October–December 1996), online edition, http://www.adoremus.org/10-12-96-Ratzi.html. Interestingly, the *motu proprio* seems to have a particularly strong effect on early twentieth-century English composers, and not exclusively in Catholic contexts. See especially: Lauren Fowler, "The Twentieth-Century English Unaccompanied Mass: A Comparative Analysis of Masses by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Herbert Howells, Bernard Stevens, and Edmund Rubbra" (Doctor of Arts diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1997), 30–42.

[22]Nicholas Temperley, "Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music," *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 14, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46765. See also: Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993).

point for his seminal book on the history of the revival.[23] I, however, believe that the modern early music revival began in earnest only around the turn of the twentieth century, as this was when the two other key components of the revival—period instruments and HIP—began becoming more valued. In the nineteenth century, there was a high level of general interest in early music, but it was often not treated differently from music composed after 1750. Both were usually performed on the same instruments and with the same techniques, with a decidedly Romantic character.[24]

Around 1900, musicians became increasingly concerned with how the instruments and performance techniques used in the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods were different from modern ones. When performing early music, these musicians tried to use instruments and techniques that were similar to what would have been used prior to 1750. Thus, the fascination with period instruments and historically informed performance practice was born and the modern revival of early music began.[25]

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[23]Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 13–25. Others have argued that the early music revival started earlier than the nineteenth century. For instance, Peter Holman, in a keynote presentation at the 2014 Roots of Revival conference, suggested that the revival "arose [in England] out of a need to conserve and revive the cathedral repertory after the [English] Civil War [(1642–51)]; Henry Purcell [(1659–95)] was one of the first collectors and editors of Elizabethan and Jacobean music." See Peter Holman, "The Shock of the Old: Early Music in Britain from Purcell to Sting," keynote address given at the Roots of Revival conference, Horniman Museum and Gardens, London, March 12, 2014, quotation from presentation abstract. At this same conference, Brian Robins drew on work by William Weber to suggest that in England, the idea of early music (then called "antient music" or "ancient music") first arose in the early eighteenth century. See: Brian Robins, "The Myth of the 19th century [*sic*] Early Music Revival," presentation at the Roots of Revival conference, Horniman Museum and Gardens, London, March 12, 2014; and William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 22–74.

[24]However, nineteenth-century early music performances were not always Romantic in character or on non-period instruments. See, for example, the discussion of the use of period instruments (harpsichord and viol, particularly) in England and Germany in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century in a review of the Roots of Revival conference: [Christopher Goodwin (not credited)], "Roots of the Revival, conference at The Horniman Museum, London: March 11th–14th 2014," *Lutezine* 111 (2014): 10 (this portion of the article is specifically referencing Peter Holman's keynote address).

[25]Thomas Forrest Kelly has also suggested that the early music revival started in the early twentieth century thanks to the pioneering work of individuals such as period instrument builder Arnold Dolmetsch: Kelly, *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 95 (see also my discussion of Dolmetsch's work on pp. 10–11). Of course, since 1900 some musicians and ensembles have continued to perform

"Period instruments" can refer to several different things. First, it signifies instruments that were common in the medieval, Renaissance, and/or Baroque periods that subsequently became less popular and were then revived again around the turn of the twentieth century or later, instruments such as the harpsichord, lute, viol, and recorder. "Period instruments" can also refer to instruments that continued to be common after 1750 but were substantially modified in ensuing eras, instruments such as the organ or the violin. In this case, a period instrument would be one with the specifications it had in the medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque period. A "period organ," for instance, might have mechanical tracker action rather than the electro-pneumatic action that emerged in the late nineteenth century.[26] While "period instruments" can be instruments built before 1750 and played by twentieth- or twenty-first-century performers, more typically they are newly built copies of instruments built in the medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque periods (or newly built instruments based on instrument specifications from before 1750).

"Historically informed performance practice" (abbreviated as "HIP") refers to reviving performance styles and techniques that were common in the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods. Because sound-recording technology did not exist until the late nineteenth century, people wishing to perform early music in historically informed ways usually rely on texts written in the eighteenth century or earlier. These include writings aimed at performers, such as: the recorder, viol, and lute treatises by Sylvestro Ganassi dal Fontego (1492 to the mid-sixteenth century) published in the 1530s and 1540s; a 1553 viol treatise by Diego Ortiz (1510–70); *Le nuove musiche* (1601/02) by Giulio Romolo Caccini (1551–1618), whose introduction instructs

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early music without adopting period instruments or historically informed performance practice. For example, many modern orchestras play works by Baroque composers such as J.S. Bach or Handel on modern instruments.

[26]See Barbara Owen et al., "Organ," *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 11, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44010, especially section 5 ("The Organ, 1450–1800"), section 6 ("Some Developments, 1800–1930"), and section 7 ("The Organ Revival, 1930–70").

singers on how to perform monody; a 1723 treatise on singing by Pier Francesco Tosi (1654–1732); a 1752 treatise on transverse flute playing by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773); or a 1753 keyboard treatise written by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–88).[27] Present-day performers and scholars also rely on other types of primary sources to glean information about historical performance practices. These include letters and written exchanges, such as a letter J.S. Bach wrote to the town council of Leipzig in 1730 that has been used to suggest that the composer's choral music was originally sung by a small ensemble, or the early seventeenth-century exchange between Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) and Giovanni Maria Artusi (ca. 1540–1613) where Monteverdi's privileging of a musical expression that closely reflects the affective meaning of the texts in his *seconda prattica* madrigals becomes apparent.[28] In addition, music theory texts, such as *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) by Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90) and *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) by Thomas Morley, as well as surviving music manuscripts and prints from the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods have served as important points of reference for early music scholars and performers alike.[29]

In the early twentieth century, two musicians played particularly large roles in increasing interest in period instruments and HIP. Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940) began building period

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[27]Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535); Ganassi, *Regola rubertina* (Venice, 1542); Ganassi, *Lettione seconda* (Venice, 1543); Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* (Rome, 1553); Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601/02); Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna, 1723); Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752); C.P.E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Berlin, 1753).

[28]See: Johann Sebastian Bach to the town council of Leipzig, August 23, 1730, translated to English in *The Bach Reader*, rev. ed., ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (New York: Norton, 1966), 120–24; and Joshua Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus: A Preliminary Report," *Musical Times* 123 (1982): 747–54. See also the summary of the controversy surrounding the theory that much of Bach's choral works were sung by small ensembles in Stijn Vervliet and Bart van Looy, "Bach's Chorus Revisited: Historically Informed Performance Practice as 'Bounded Creativity,'" *Early Music* 38, no. 2 (2010): 205–14. The Monteverdi-Artusi exchange is discussed at length in Claude V. Palisca, "The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy" (revised version of a book chapter first published in 1968), in *The New Monteverdi Companion*, eds. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 127–58.

[29]Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558); Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597).

instruments in the 1890s and in 1917 founded one the first workshops (in Haslemere, England) devoted mostly to period instruments, particularly clavichords, harpsichords, lutes, and recorders.[30] Paris-based harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (1879–1959) was one of the first modern performers to play Baroque keyboard music on the harpsichord. She gained international attention thanks to her recordings on so-called "revival harpsichords," which the French firms Érard and Pleyel began building at the end of the nineteenth century.[31] In addition to increasing the visibility of period instruments, in 1909 and 1916, respectively, Landowska and Dolmetsch published some of the first books that gave in-depth analyses of eighteenth-century musical treatises for the guidance of modern musicians wishing to perform Baroque music is historically sensitive ways.[32]

In the early twentieth century, the early music revival could be seen as a rejection of a highly emotional Romantic style of performing in favor of a colder, more detached and modernistic objectivity, a reaction that was also evident in the music of composers such as Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) and Paul Hindemith (1895–1961) who embraced seemingly more objective and less emotional idioms following the Great War, such as Neoclassicism and *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity). Historically informed performance and period instruments create a sense of objectivity by focusing attention on compositions written before the rise of emotionally charged Romantic music. In addition, early music (as well as Neoclassical music

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[30]See the discussion of Dolmetsch's work in Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 28–43.

[31]For example, she was the first person to record J.S. Bach's *Goldberg Variations* (BWV 988) on harpsichord. See Wanda Landowska, *Bach: Goldberg Variations, Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, Italian Concerto* (recorded in 1933 and 1935–36 in Paris and Saint-Leu-la-Forêt), re-released as a CD compilation (EMI Classics 5 67200 2, 1999, CD). See also the discussion of revival harpsichords in Howard Schott, "The Harpsichord Revival," *Early Music 2*, no. 2 (1974): 85–95.

[32]Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence* (originally published in 1916), 2nd ed. (London: Novello, 1946); Wanda Landowska, *Musique ancienne* (originally published in 1909), trans. William Aspenwall Bradley as *Music of the Past* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1926). Two of the most frequently cited treatises in both books are the aforementioned keyboard treatise by C.P.E. Bach (*Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*) and the transverse flute treatise by Quantz (*Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*).

and music evincing *Neue Sachlichkeit* trends) provided something "new" to composers, performers, and listeners who wanted to move beyond Romantic music but did not desire or were not ready for decidedly modernist music, such as the atonal works of the Second Viennese School composers. In this sense, the early music revival can be seen as both an anti-modernist phenomenon and a modernist reaction against Romanticism.[33]

Since the early twentieth century there has been a great intensification in interest among scholars and performers in historically informed performance practice and period instruments. The 1960s, for instance, saw the publication of *The Interpretation of Early Music* by British musicologist Robert Donington, which, at 608 pages (more in later editions), remains one of the most exhaustive studies of HIP to be published.[34] In 1973, one of the first journals devoted exclusively to medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music (*Early Music*) released its first issue. Since then, the journal has been an important forum for scholars and performers to present research on early music. Starting in the 1950s and 1960s, the first internationally prominent professional ensembles to play early music on period instruments and with historically informed

[33]There is substantial literature on the modernist and anti-modernist connotations of the early music revival, much of stemming from Richard Taruskin's notion that the quest for historical "authenticity" in the early music revival is a modernist trend that tells us more about the desires of modern musicians and listeners than it does about how music was actually performed in the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque eras. See, especially, Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past," in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 137–210, reprinted in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 90–154. Other contributions to Kenyon's volume and other sections of Taruskin's book also discuss modernism and authenticity in the early music revival. See also Robert Hill, "'Overcoming Romanticism': On the Modernization of Twentieth-Century Performance Practice," in *Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 37–58. Edmond Johnson and Eric Lubarsky have recently done in-depth explorations of the modernist and anti-modernist connotations of Arnold Dolmetsch's work in particular. See Edmond Johnson, "Making Old Music New: Arnold Dolmetsch among the Modernists," presentation at the Roots of Revival conference, Horniman Museum and Gardens, London, March 13, 2014; Edmond Johnson, "Revival and Antiquation: Modernism's Musical Pasts" (PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2011), 134–74; and Eric Lubarsky, "Arnold Dolmetsch as Antimodernist: Elevating the Past and Negating the Modern," presentation at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, November 7, 2014. Lubarsky is currently working on a PhD dissertation on a related topic at the Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester (working title: "Reviving Early Music: Metaphors and Modalities of Life and Living in Historically Informed Performance").

[34]Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963).

performance practice were formed, groups such as New York Pro Musica Antiqua (est. 1952), Concentus Musicus Wien (est. 1953), the Boston Camerata (est. 1954), the Leonhardt Consort (est. 1955), the Studio der frühen Musik (est. 1960), the Early Music Consort of London (est. 1967), and the Clemencic Consort (est. 1968). The number of these professional early music ensembles increased markedly in the 1970s with the foundation of groups such as the English Concert (est. 1972), the Academy of Ancient Music (est. 1973), Boston Baroque (est. 1973, originally known as "Banchetto Musicale"), Musica Antiqua Köln (est. 1973), the English Baroque Soloists (est. 1978), the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra (est. 1979), and Tafelmusik (est. 1979).

Thanks to the rise of professional early music ensembles and an increase in scholarship on HIP and period instruments following the Second World War, by the 1980s it was increasingly expected that early music would be performed on period instruments and with historically informed performance practice, especially when played by professional performers for a recording or in a concert. Playing on modern instruments and in non-historically informed ways became seen as problematic and not appropriately "authentic" for early repertoires; although this also prompted writers beginning around 1980 to question whether historical authenticity was truly possible in performances of early music, with some, particularly Richard Taruskin, suggesting that the quest for "authenticity" ultimately reflects the predilections of modern musicians and listeners far more than the desires of medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque composers and performers.[35] Also by the 1980s, a common HIP style had emerged among

[35]However, for certain composers and repertoires (particularly large-scale works by major eighteenth-century composers like J.S. Bach and Handel) it is still common to hear the music performed by ensembles that play modern instruments (instead of period instruments) and do not use historically informed performance practices. Many authors have explored the importance of "authenticity" in the early music revival in the second half of the twentieth century, including: Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, rev. ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), esp. 37–62; Richard Dreyfus, "Early Music Defended against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *Musical Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (1983): 297–322; Nicholas Kenyon, ed.,

professional instrumental ensembles specializing in early music. Seemingly responding to increasing concerns over authenticity, these ensembles typically minimize expressive elements that are not clearly specified in medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque scores or music treatises, particularly vibrato and variation in tempo and dynamics. In this common post-1980 HIP style, tempi are fast, dynamics are mostly unvarying, and vibrato is largely absent.[36]

In the late twentieth century, musicians in the revival also became concerned with historically informed singing, a subject that had not been especially prevalent in previous scholarship on HIP, which tended to focus more on instrumental music.[37] This focus is understandable, as it is difficult to study the voices of pre-1750 singers: unlike in the case of instruments, no early voices survive.[38] Despite these difficulties, treatises and other documents

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Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Joseph Kerman et al., "The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns, Postmoderns," *Journal of Musicology* 10, no. 1 (1992): 113–30; Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Taruskin, *Text and Act* (although published in 1995, the book is a collection of Taruskin's essays dating back to the early 1980s); Dorottya Fabian, "The Meaning of Authenticity in the Early Music Movement: A Historical Review," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 32, no. 2 (2001): 153–67; John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), esp. 119–62.

[36]To hear an example of this common HIP style, see Tafelmusik, "Handel, Dances from Alcina, Gavotte and Tamburino ~ House of Dreams," official Tafelmusik YouTube channel, uploaded November 1, 2013, https://youtu.be/tNxBIMXovdo. Bruce Haynes and Richard Taruskin have discussed the common post-1980 HIP style in depth, describing it in largely negative terms, using words such as "bland," "click-track Baroque," "straight," and "strait style" (Taruskin saw it as "straight" while Haynes changed this to "strait" because he believed the style to be as constraining as a strait jacket). See Haynes, *End of Early Music*, 59–63, and Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 316–17.

[37]For example, neither Dolmetsch nor Landowska included chapters on singing in their seminal books, and in the first edition of his book, Donington devoted just eighteen pages (out of 608) to vocal performance, almost all of them on solo singing. See: Dolmetsch, *Interpretation of Music* (1977); Landowska, *Musique ancienne*; and Donington, *Interpretation of Early Music* (1963), 104, 109, 164, 450–60, and 521–24. This focus on instrumental music continues to this day. See, for example, Geoffrey Burgess's recent book exploring the history of the early music revival in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century through the lens of German émigré period woodwind builder Friedrich von Huene (b. 1929): Burgess, *Well-Tempered Woodwinds: Friedrich von Huene and the Making of Early Music in a New World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015). See also Nick Wilson's book on the history of the early music revival in the United Kingdom: Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Two books, however, that include more detailed information about performance practice for early vocal music are: Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Performance Practice: Music before* 1600, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989); and Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989).

[38]In a study of scoring for the countertenor voice in Tudor music, Simon Ravens humorously commented on our limited knowledge of historical singing techniques in comparison to historical playing techniques, writing:

from the medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods—such as the aforementioned Tosi treatise and the preface to Caccini's *Nuove musiche*—can give modern singers clues about early styles of singing, both for solo and ensemble singing. Evaluating these primary sources, scholars have considered a wide array of singing-specific concerns, including: the size of vocal ensembles before 1750,[39] performance pitch for early vocal music,[40] historical pronunciation,[41] how to perform music originally written for castrati in light of their present-day absence,[42] the use of vibrato (or not) and different vocal registers (such as "chest voice" and "head voice"),[43] and whether or not adding instruments to performances of medieval vocal music is historically justified.[44]

"In fairness to scholars of early vocal practices, we might point out that recognition of the violin's historical capabilities would not be quite so advanced had every early instrument been decaying for hundreds of years under six feet of soil. Neither would we so fully understand the violin—early or modern—if its mechanisms were hidden in the labyrinthine workings of a much larger instrument. In these respects, studies of early vocal performance practice have been hindered." See Ravens, "'A Sweet Shrill Voice': The Countertenor and Vocal Scoring in Tudor England," *Early Music 26* (1998): 123.

[39]See, especially: Frank A. D'Accone, "The Performance of Sacred Music in Italy during Josquin's Time, c. 1475–1525," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference Held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 601–18; Roger Bowers, "To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390–1559," in *English Choral Practice: 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–47; David Fallows, "Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–74," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval* Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 109–59; Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000); and Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus."

[40]See, especially: Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2002); Andrew Parrott, "Falsetto Beliefs: The 'Countertenor' Cross-Examined," *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (2015): 93–97; Ravens, "'A Sweet Shrill Voice'"; and David Wulstan, "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 93 (1966–1967): 97–112.

[41]See, especially: Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin* (originally published in 1990), rev. ed. (Oxford: self-published, 1992); and Timothy J. McGee, A.G. Rigg, and David N. Klausner, eds., *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

[42]Joke Dame, "Unveiled Voices: Sexual Difference and the Castrato" (originally published in 1994), in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, 2nd ed., ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2006), 139–53.

[43]Parrott, "Falsetto Beliefs"; John Potter, "Reconstructing Lost Voices," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (London: J.M. Dent, 1992), 311–16; Ravens, "'A Sweet Shrill Voice'"; and Richard Wistreich, "Reconstructing Pre-Romantic Singing Technique," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 178–91.

[44]Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For a succinct overview of many of these elements of historically informed vocal performance, see Steven E. Plank, *Choral Performance: A Guide to Historical Practice* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2004).

As in the case of early instrumental music, medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque vocal music was also increasingly performed by professional ensembles specializing in early music in the second half of the twentieth century. A critical mass of these professional early vocal ensembles, many performing in historically informed ways, had emerged by the 1980s, particularly in Britain where they could employ experienced choristers drawn from the country's many choral institutions, especially the chapel choirs at colleges of the University of Cambridge and the University of Oxford. Examples of professional English vocal ensembles specializing in early music include: Pro Cantione Antiqua (est. 1968), the Consort of Musicke (est. 1969), the Tallis Scholars (est. 1973), the Taverner Choir (est. 1973), the Hilliard Ensemble (est. 1974), the Sixteen (est. 1977), Gothic Voices (est. 1981), the Gabrieli Consort (est. 1982), the Orlando Consort (est. 1988), and the Cardinall's Musick (est. 1989).[45]

Alongside the late twentieth-century rise in professional early vocal ensembles and research on historical singing practices there came a common HIP style for singing. This style mirrors the common post-1980 HIP style for instrumental performance: expressive elements that are not obviously specified in medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque scores and treatises are avoided. Like their instrumentalist counterparts, performers who employ the common post-1980 HIP singing style use little vibrato and do not substantially vary tempi or dynamics. This HIP singing style emerged first in ensembles but subsequently expanded to solo singing as well thanks to the efforts of individuals such as Emma Kirkby (b. 1949), Tessa Bonner (1951–2008),

[45]See the discussion of the rise of professional early vocal ensembles in: Richard Taruskin, "The Tallis Scholars: A Glimpse of the New British Choral Sound at Its Best," *Opus* 2, no. 6 (1986): 21–25, 60; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 19–36.

Julianne Baird (b. 1952), Michael Chance (b. 1955), and Charles Daniels (b. 1960) who used this style for both their solo and ensemble performances.[46]

Interestingly, while a large proportion of early choral music (particularly sacred repertoire) was originally sung by all-male choirs, many professional early vocal ensembles employ women to sing soprano and sometimes the alto part, although male countertenors sing alto in many ensembles. This situation is different from professional instrumental ensembles that play with the common HIP style. These ensembles rarely accept obvious instrument substitutions (say, for example, substituting a modern trumpet for a cornetto when performing the 1610 Vespers of Claudio Monteverdi [1567–1643]). It is, however, understandable that professional early vocal ensembles would employ women instead of boys. Boys are rarely as experienced as professional adult female singers, and employing children in professional ensembles has ethical implications. In addition, castrati no longer exist and few countertenors are capable of singing in the soprano range.[47] Having women singing the soprano and alto lines may not be historically accurate, but in many situations it may be the only feasible way of performing the repertoire.[48]

The advent of professional early music ensembles and the rise of the common post-1980 styles for historically informed playing and singing have had wide-reaching effects. Professional early music ensembles have recorded frequently, spreading early music and HIP to many listeners around the world, especially after the rise of the CDs in the 1980s.[49] As a result, the

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[46]To listen to an example of the common post-1980 HIP singing style, see the Tallis Scholars, "The Tallis Scholars sing [Tomás Luis de] Victoria's [1548–1611] First Lamentation for Maundy Thursday," dir. Peter Phillips, official Tallis Scholars YouTube channel, uploaded January 30, 2011, https://youtu.be/f510B8GFZzI.

[47]However, for some early vocal repertoires, particularly sacred music composed prior to 1500 in Continental Europe and Tudor church music, it is likely that the original performance pitches meant it could be sung entirely in tenor, baritone, and bass ranges. See Parrott, "Falsetto Beliefs."

[48]See also the discussion of how to perform parts originally written for high male voices in Dame, "Unveiled Voices," and Ravens, "'A Sweet Shrill Voice.'"

[49]The Tallis Scholars, for instance, released fifty-eight albums between 1977 and 2015 (not counting re-releases and compilation albums). See: Peter Phillips, *What We Really Do: The Tallis Scholars*, 2nd ed. (London:

early music revival has occupied an increasingly prominent position in Western classical music culture. In addition, ensembles performing early music—even ones that do not specialize exclusively in early music or ones that play on modern instruments—have increasingly adopted the common post-1980 HIP instrumental and singing styles.[50] The early music revival and the common HIP styles have become increasingly accepted in mainstream classical music culture.[51]

1.4: King's and the early music revival

The Choir of King's College, Cambridge has performed and recorded a large amount of early music, including seventy-three albums devoted solely to music written prior to 1750 (out of 168 in total).[52] Despite this, the choir's position within the early music revival may not seem immediately clear. In fact, one could argue that King's is not fully part of the revival, as there are no obvious differences between the choir's performance style for early and later repertoires. Because King's sings with little vibrato and few changes in expressive elements such as tempo,

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Musical Times, 2013), appendix 2; and Gimell Records, "The Complete Gimell Catalogue," accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.gimell.com/catalogue.aspx.

[50]This is commonly done at major opera houses when performing Baroque operas so that the regular house orchestra (which plays on modern instruments) can still play. For instance, a 2008 production of Handel's *Ariodante* (HWV 33, 1735) saw a slightly pared-down version of the San Francisco Opera Orchestra playing modern instruments, but with many of the hallmarks of the common post-1980 HIP instrumental style, including limited vibrato and minimal variation in tempo and dynamics. See Handel, *Ariodante*, San Francisco Opera, Patrick Summers (cond.), John Copley (dir.), performed at the War Memorial Opera House, San Francisco, June 15, 18, 21, 24, and 27 and July 1 and 6, 2008. Many pianists have continued to play Baroque keyboard music on pianos (instead of organs, harpsichords, spinets, virginals, or clavichords), but have also adopted a detached articulation with minimal use of the damping and *una corda* pedals, seemingly in emulation of the sound of harpsichords. This style is rooted in the style of playing Canadian pianist Glenn Gould (1932–82) pioneered in the early 1950s. Canonic composers at the heart of the "standard" classical repertoire, particularly J.S. Bach, are still often played on modern instruments, especially in the case of their works for solo instruments (for example, Bach's solo violin, cello, and keyboard works).

[51]By "mainstream classical music culture," I am referring to large-scale international trends since the end of the Second World War (excluding jazz and crossover), trends represented by the world's major symphony orchestras (e.g., the Berliner Philharmoniker, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, etc.), major opera houses (e.g., the Royal Opera House, Teatro alla Scala, the Metropolitan Opera, etc.), major classical record labels with international distribution (e.g., Decca Classics, Deutsche Grammophon, Electric and Musical Industries [EMI] Classics, Harmonia Mundi, Hyperion, etc.), and corporations that broadcast larges amounts of classical music (e.g., the BBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC], National Public Radio [NPR], etc.).

[52]This is only counting albums released prior to January 1, 2016. See the full King's discography in Appendix B.

dynamics, the choir exemplifies the common post-1980 HIP singing style. However, because King's does not vary its style for music composed in different eras, it is unlikely that the choir adopted this style with the goal of being historically informed. The King's approach to singing (which I call the "King's sound") also emerged before the rise of the common HIP singing style around 1980.[53] In addition, King's has only recently (since ca. 2012) fully embraced two of the three key components of the early music revival: HIP and period instruments.[54] Previous scholarship on the early music revival has not given much consideration to King's.[55] Nonetheless, because the choir has performed, recorded, and broadcast large quantities of early music, it is important to consider its relationship to the revival. In this dissertation, I argue that King's has served as a significant point of connection between the early music revival and mainstream classical music culture. By being in this position, King's has helped early music become an increasingly accepted part of mainstream classical music culture. In addition, the way King's sings has served as a model for professional, specialist early vocal ensembles and HIP ensembles.

Although King's performed, recorded, and broadcast early music in the first half of the twentieth century, I focus on the choir's performances, recordings, and broadcasts of

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[53]See my discussion of the King's sound in chapter 2.

[54]See my discussion in chapter 5, section 5.5.

[55]Key scholarship on the early music revival that does not discuss King's in detail (which I define as more than one or two mentions of the choir) includes: Donington, *Interpretation of Early Music* (1963 and 1977 eds.); Haskell, *Early Music Revival*; Haynes, *End of Early Music*; Kelly, *Early Music*; Kenyon, *Authenticity and Early Music*; Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Taruskin, *Text and Act*; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*. Timothy Day has begun to address the choir's involvement with early music. See especially Day's: *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: British Library, 1989), 15–48; "English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 123–32; "Choral Scholarships at King's College"; "'The Most Famous Choir in the World'?: The Choir [of King's College, Cambridge] since 1929," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 347–63; and "Tallis in Performance," *Early Music* 33, no. 4 (2005): 683–92.

Renaissance and Baroque music from 1958 to present.[56] In that year, David Willcocks (1919–2015) became Organist and Director of Music at King's College.[57] Under previous choir director Boris Ord (1897–1961, director from 1929 to 1958), King's released just four LPs and thirteen seventy-eight rpm records. During Willcocks's fifteen-and-a-half years as music director at King's College, he released fifty-six LPs, of which forty (about 73 percent) contained at least one composition written before 1750.[58] The subsequent choir directors, Philip Ledger (1937–2012, director from 1974 to 1982) and Stephen Cleobury (b. 1948, director since 1982), have continued this trend, typically releasing several albums per year.[59] The choir's large output of LPs and CDs make it possible to closely examine the relationship between King's and the early music revival since the mid-twentieth century.

In addition to its recordings, King's is connected to the revival via former choir members who have devoted much of their careers to early music. They include scholars and performers such as Philip Brett (1937–2002), John Butt (b. 1960), Charles Daniels (b. 1960), Roy Goodman (b. 1951), John Potter (b. ca. late 1940s), Richard Wistreich (b. ca. late 1940s), and the founding members of the King's Singers (est. 1965). King's has also collaborated with well-known period instrument ensembles, including the Academy of Ancient Music and the Early Music Consort of London, and has created premiere recordings of music by Renaissance and Baroque composers. The choir's continuous performance tradition and its reliance on men and boys as singers since

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[56]The choir has performed, recorded, and broadcast substantially less music from the Middle Ages and early Renaissance period than from the late Renaissance and Baroque periods. For this reason, I focus on the choir's involvement with sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and early eighteenth-century music.

[57]Prior to 1958, the directors of the choir were called "Organist." In 1957, as Ord's health was deteriorating, Willcocks became "Organist" while Ord was given the new title of "Director of Music." Ord remained a leader of the ensemble, albeit in a limited capacity. In 1958, Willcocks began leading the choir on his own, becoming "Organist and Director of Music," a title that all subsequent King's music directors have held.

[58]Modern arrangements of early works (e.g., certain Christmas carols) are included in all early music-related statistics about the choirs' albums.

[59]An average of 2.86 albums (rounded to the nearest 100th) were released each year between 1958 and 2015. See Appendix A for more statistics about the choir's albums.

its foundation in the fifteenth century could also give listeners a sense that the choir is historically authentic, a sense that is valued in the modern early music revival.[60]

As a prominent English choir, the relationship between King's and the early music revival is especially strong. Many of the first professional vocal ensembles to gain international attention by singing early music were based in England, ensembles such as the Clerkes of Oxenford (est. 1961), the Monteverdi Choir (est. 1964), Pro Cantione Antiqua (est. 1968), the Consort of Musicke (est. 1969), the Tallis Scholars (est. 1973), the Taverner Choir (est. 1973), the Hilliard Ensemble (est. 1974), and the Sixteen (est. 1977).[61] Many of these English early vocal ensembles exhibit a sound similar to King's, which has been called the "English sound."[62] This was likely a consequence of the numerous early music recordings of King's and other Oxbridge college chapel choirs that sing in similar ways, which helped spread and popularize the King's and English sounds, as well as a consequence of the fact that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have served as training grounds for members of specialist English early vocal ensembles.[63]

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[60]See the discussion of the relationship between the gender of King's choir members and historical authenticity in Andrea Spurling, *Report of the Women in Higher Education Research Project: 1988–90* (Cambridge, UK: King's College Research Centre, 1990), 66. See footnote 35 above for a list of sources that explore the importance of "authenticity" in the early music revival.

[61]See the discussions of the English preeminence in early vocal performance in: Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23, no. 1 (1995): 124–48; Christopher Page, "The English *a cappella* Renaissance," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (1993): 452–71; Taruskin, "Tallis Scholars"; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 79–80, 182.

[62]I describe the English sound and its relationship to the King's sound in chapter 2, section 2.4. See also: Timothy Day, "English Cathedral Choirs"; Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings"; Page, "English *a cappella* Renaissance"; Melanie L. Marshall, "*Voce bianca*: Purity and Whiteness in British Early Music Vocality," *Women and Music* 19 (2015): 36–44; and Kirsten Yri, "Remaking the Past: Feminist Spirituality in Anonymous 4 and Sequentia's Vox Feminae," *Women and Music* 12 (2008): 1–21.

[63]See the discussion of the influence of Oxbridge on the early music revival in Britain in Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 26–29, 79–80, 149, 161, 167, and 185–86 and in John Potter, *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 115–17.

In his recent book on the early music revival in Britain, Nick Wilson suggested that the Academy of St Martin in the Fields[64] (est. 1959) and the English Chamber Orchestra (est. 1948 as the Goldsbrough Orchestra), both of which have played and recorded large amounts of Baroque music, but on modern instruments, "were hugely important precursors of the early music movement; for they offered historically aware, stylish, refined, scaled-down performances, in contrast to the large-scale professional concerts also popular at the time."[65] I am tempted to make a similar statement about the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, pointing out that the lack of vibrato and the limited variation in tempo and dynamics in the King's sound could be seen as a precursor to the common post-1980 HIP singing style. However, I am wary of suggesting that ensembles like King's, the Academy of St Martin in the Fields, or the English Chamber Orchestra were merely "precursors," or that professional HIP/period-instrument ensembles somehow "took over" from these earlier ensembles. Despite their limited involvement with period instruments and HIP, these "precursor" ensembles have held and continue to hold prominent positions in mainstream classical music culture, contributing significantly to listeners' familiarity with and appreciation of early music.

I hope that my dissertation will serve as a model for other scholars, encouraging them to broaden their discussions of the early music revival. While it is important to explore the contributions of professional musicians that specialize in performing early music in historically informed ways and on period instruments, many other people and ensembles have left their mark on the revival. These include amateur performers, student ensembles, church choirs, as well as

[64]Originally the ensemble was "the Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields," but the hyphens were dropped in the 1980s. In this dissertation, I use the unhyphenated version.

[65]Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 21.

professional ensembles that play early music on modern instruments—performers and ensembles that are not often seriously considered in literature on the early music revival.[66]

I also hope that my dissertation will encourage others to examine early music recordings in more depth. Much previous scholarship on the revival has given only cursory attention to recordings.[67] When discussions of recordings are present, they are usually subjective and do not rely on computer tools to more objectively analyze and compare recordings. In contrast, I use the computer program Sonic Visualiser to provide detailed analyses of recordings, particularly by measuring brightness (see chapter 2).[68] I also draw on published reviews of recordings to help elucidate the characteristics of the King's sound and to assess how the choir compares to other

[66]See, especially: Haskell, *Early Music Revival*; Haynes, *End of Early Music*; Kenyon, *Authenticity and Early Music*; Sherman, *Inside Early Music*; Taruskin, *Text and Act*; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*. There does, however, seem to be increasing interest in performers that have not previously received much attention in scholarship on the early music revival. For example, Anne Smith has begun to explore the connections between the revival and the *Singbewegung* (a German amateur choral singing movement in the early twentieth centuries). See: Smith, "Musical Aesthetic of the *Singbewegung*," presentation at the Roots of Revival conference, Horniman Museum and Gardens, London, March 14, 2014; and Smith, interviewed by Jed Wentz, "Aan de wortels van de oudemuziekbeweging: Ina Lohr," *Tijdschrift Oude Muziek* 4 (2014): 50–53, translated as "Ina Lohr (1903–1983), a Forgotten Dutch/Swiss Zealot of Early Music," *Semibrevity*, January 6, 2015, http://www.semibrevity.com/2015/01/ina-lohr-1903-1983-a-forgotten-zealot-of-early-music/. In addition, the 2014 conference on the "Roots of [the early music] Revival" at the Horniman Museum and Gardens in London featured presentations on early music in amateur and non-historically informed contexts, including a presentation I gave on the connections between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival (Jacob Sagrans, "The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the Revival of John Taverner's *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i)," presentation at the Roots of Revival conference, Horniman Museum and Gardens, London, March 14, 2014). See the discussion of this conference in: Brian Blood, "Roots of Revival Conference, 12–14 March 2014," *Dolmetsch Foundation Bulletin* 26 (new series) (Autumn 2014): 5–10; John W. Briggs, "The 'Roots of Revival' Conference at the Horniman Museum, 12–14 March 2014," *Early Music Performer* 35 (2014): 28–30; Goodwin, "Roots of Revival"; Brian Robins, "Roots of Revival," *Early Music Today* 22, no. 4 (2014): 31–32; and Dan Tidhar, "Early Early Music," *Early Music* 42, no. 3 (2014): 505–6.

[67]See, for example: Donington, *Interpretation of Early Music*; Haskell, *Early Music Revival*; Haynes, *End of Early Music*; Kelly, Early Music; Kenyon, *Authenticity and Early Music*; Sherman, *Inside Early Music*; Taruskin, *Text and Act*; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*.

[68]Chris Cannam, Christian Landone, and Mark Sandler, "Sonic Visualiser: An Open Source Application for Viewing, Analysing, and Annotating Music Audio Files," *Proceedings of the ACM [Association for Computing Machinery] Multimedia 2010 International Conference* (Florence, Italy, October 25–29, 2010), http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/sv2010.pdf. Software available for download at http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/ (accessed August 14, 2015).

ensembles performing early music. So that the reader can get a sense of the sound of King's and other ensembles, I provide links to online recordings.[69]

1.5: Outline of the remainder of the dissertation

Chapter 2: The King's and English sounds

In this chapter, I define the key characteristics of the sound of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge (the "King's sound") and situate it in relation to the sound of other vocal ensembles, particularly ones that exhibit a similar "English sound."[70] I look in detail at recordings of the motet *Tu es Petrus* (for six voices, published in 1572) by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/26 to 1594). Since many ensembles have recorded Palestrina's motet—including Protestant, Catholic, secular, and English as well as non-English ones—*Tu es Petrus* is an ideal work to examine when trying to determine how the King's sound compares to the sounds of other choirs. I argue that the King's sound is characterized by a light, bright, and breathy timbre, and has limited vibrato, few changes in expressive elements such as tempo and dynamics, a high level of blend within choral sections (soprano, alto, etc.), and an even balancing of the sections with one another. I show that many of these characteristics are also found in choirs that exhibit the English sound, particularly light and bright timbres and limited vibrato.

I also discuss King's recordings of the carol *Once in Royal David's City* by Henry John Gauntlett (1805–76, arranged by Arthur Henry Mann [1850–1929]). While this is not a medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque work, it is perhaps the composition most frequently performed by King's, as it has begun the choir's annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols service on

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[69]Unfortunately, due to copyright restrictions and the difficulty I have had in obtaining permission from record companies to reproduce recordings, I am not able to provide the reader with links to all of the recordings I discuss, nor can I provide MP3 files for the reader to download. When I am unable to provide a link to a specific recording I discuss, I provide a link to a similar recording.

[70]See footnote 62 above.

Christmas Eve every year since 1919. Recordings of this hymn allow one to easily trace the development of the King's sound over the course of the twentieth century, illustrating that the sound has remained fairly consistent since the 1950s. Recordings of *Once in Royal David's City* also illustrate an important point: that the King's sound is applied to all repertoires the choir sings, not just medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music.

Chapter 3: The cultural context of the King's sound and image

In this chapter, I explore the cultural context surrounding the King's sound and what I call the King's image (how the choir is presented to listeners). I suggest that part of the choir's appeal can be traced to its connections to powerful institutions (such as the University of Cambridge and the Church of England), to the way it evokes British religious and national ideals, and to its associations with privileged identities in the United Kingdom (particularly those of white, male, middle-to-upper class, and educated individuals). Because of its long history, King's presents the sense of seemingly timeless Anglican and English choral traditions, which I suggest has appealed to listeners seeking comfort in the stability of these traditions during uncertain times. The "timeless" traditions that King's embodies can also attract listeners who value historical authenticity in performances of early music. I also show how connections to privileged institutions has meant that British classical music reviewers, many of whom are or have been affiliated with Oxbridge colleges like King's, have upheld the value of the King's and English sounds above other approaches to early music performance. The links between King's and prestigious institutions and hegemonic identities in Britain also mean that the choir can appeal to people wishing to become more "cultured" by listening to King's.

Chapter 4: Two case studies of King's early music recordings

This chapter offers close readings of two King's recordings of early works: *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i, for five voices) by John Taverner (ca. 1490–1545) and Allegri's *Miserere*. I analyze the recordings King's has made of these compositions as well as recordings made by other ensembles, using the two compositions as additional and more focused lenses into the King's sound and image and the choir's links to the early music revival since the mid-twentieth century. A 1962 King's album presented the world-premiere recording of *Dum transisset Sabbatum*, launching the modern revival of the composition. Since then, twenty-five additional recordings of the motet have been issued.[71] The 1964 King's *Miserere* recording is one of the choir's best known, and also one of the most critically acclaimed recordings of Allegri's composition.[72] Drawing on reviews that praised the seemingly effortless high notes of treble soloist Roy Goodman and reviews of subsequent recordings of the composition made by other ensembles, I suggest that the King's recording became a standard rendition that other choirs performing the *Miserere* felt a need to either match or surpass in quality.

Chapter 5: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival

This chapter is an in-depth exploration of the connections between King's and the early music revival in the second half of the twentieth century and in the early twenty-first century. I focus on the recorded output of the choir, particularly its many albums that contain early music. I consider the importance of the choir's collaborations with instrumental ensembles and the role it

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[71]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music* (recorded in 1961 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG316, 1962, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5316, 1962, LP [stereo]). See chapter 4, section 4.2 for a list of these subsequent recordings.

[72]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]).

has served as a training ground for individuals who went on to become early music specialists. I also explore the ways in which the burgeoning early music revival, specifically the rise of period instruments and historically informed performance, has affected early music performance at King's College since the 1950s.

Conclusion

In the conclusion, I bring together the various threads discussed over the course of the dissertation. I take the recent (2015) death of former King's choir director David Willcocks as my starting point for considering both the legacy of early music performance at King's College as well as what the future may have in store for early music and historically informed performance, both at King's College and elsewhere. I reiterate the main points of the dissertation: that King's has served as a significant point of connection between the early music revival, historically informed performance, and mainstream classical music culture since the mid-twentieth century by performing and recording large amounts of early music; that the King's sound and the related English sound were important precursors to the sounds of early music specialist and HIP ensembles, particularly in the United Kingdom; and that King's has left a lasting impact on the revival by training performers who went on to specialize in early music.

Appendix A: King's facts and statistics

Appendix A provides key facts and statistics related to the Choir of King's College, Cambridge.

Appendices B–E: Discographies of King's, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of Saint John's College, Cambridge, and the Tallis Scholars

Appendices B–E are discographies that list all commercially issued albums (LPs and CDs) of King's plus New College, Saint John's, and the Tallis Scholars (the other ensembles focused on in some depth in this dissertation) released before January 1, 2016 (not including 78s, re-releases of recordings, or compilations of previously issued recordings). The discographies are also available to download as searchable Excel files from the page for this dissertation on the McGill eScholarship website: http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/ .

Works cited

This section includes lists of all the works cited in the dissertation, organized into three sections: 1) Textual sources (books, articles, theses, paper presentations, and websites); 2) Audiovisual sources (recordings, videos, performances, radio and television broadcasts, images, and webcasts); and 3) Musical scores.

Chapter 2: The King's and English sounds

2.1: Introduction

This chapter is a detailed exploration of how the Choir of King's College, Cambridge sings, or what I call the "King's sound." After enumerating the characteristics of the King's sound, I draw on various choirs' recordings of Palestrina's motet *Tu es Petrus* to consider how the King's sound relates to the sounds of other vocal ensembles. I argue that the King's sound is a particularly high-profile example of a broader "English sound" for choral performance. I also consider how choral personnel, recording and broadcasting technologies, and acoustics have contributed to the character of the King's and English sounds and explore the reasons behind the high prevalence of the English sound among vocal ensembles specializing in early music.

After broadening the discussion to include other choirs, I return to focusing on King's, exploring why the choir's sound has not changed significantly since the advent of recording and broadcasting technologies and also why it does not vary for different types of music. The relatively static nature of the King's sound is likely a consequence of the choir's demanding schedule. In this context, keeping the sound stable makes it easier for the choir to sing many different types of music in regular services and concerts. I also argue that the choir's many recordings and broadcasts have helped make the King's sound widespread and popular, resulting in the choir having little reason to change its sound. To illustrate this point, I discuss recordings of the carol *Once in Royal David's City*, which the choir has performed and recorded frequently since it became the opening processional of the annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols Christmas Eve services at King's College in 1919.

2.2: Choral sound and the King's sound

In this dissertation, I use the term "sound" to refer to all of the audible characteristics of musical ensembles' performances, recordings, and broadcasts as well as the interpretive decisions that go into producing these sounds.[1] Many of the characteristics of sound fall under what is commonly called "timbre" or "tone color." Language to describe timbre is far from precise. For example, timbres are often described with subjective adjectives such as "light," "heavy," "bright," or "dark." Perceptions of timbre seem most closely related to the number of overtones: timbres deemed bright usually have more overtones than timbres deemed dark.[2] It is possible to measure the brightness of musical recordings using software that finds the spectral centroid (the central weight of the sound spectrum) at any one point in time. Sounds with higher spectral centroids (as measured in Hertz [vibrations per second]) are typically perceived as being brighter than sounds with lower spectral centroids.[3] Later in this chapter, I measure spectral centroids in recordings of Palestrina's *Tu es Petrus* to assess the brightness of vocal ensembles in comparison to King's.

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[1]These interpretive decisions could be seen as being more "style" than "sound." In this dissertation, I group style and sound together and call it simply "sound." I do this because the two are closely linked: stylistic decisions result in tangible effects on the sound the performers produce. Also, because my analysis is focused on recordings, not observations of rehearsals or interviews with performers, I can speak with more certainty about sound than style. For instance, I know from listening that King's has a light and bright timbre, but I cannot determine from listening alone exactly what stylistic decisions have been made and what techniques have been employed to produce this sound.

[2]See, for instance: Stephen McAdams, "Musical Timbre Perception," in *The Psychology of Music*, 3rd ed., ed. Diana Deutsch (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2013), 35–67; Stephen McAdams and Bruno L. Giordano, "The Perception of Musical Timbre," in *Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology*, ed. Ian Cross, Susan Hallam, and Michael Thaut (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 72–80; Jean-Claude Risset and David L. Wessel, "Exploration of Timbre by Analysis and Synthesis," in *The Psychology of Music*, ed. Diana Deutsch (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 25–58; and David L. Wessel, "Timbre Space as a Musical Control Structure," *Rapport Ircam* 12 (1978), revised in 1999, available online at http://articles.ircam.fr/textes/Wessel78a/.

[3]See, especially: Stephen McAdams, Philippe Depalle, and Eric Clarke, "Analyzing Musical Sound," in *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, ed. Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 191; and Stephen McAdams et al., "Perceptual Scaling of Synthesized Musical Timbres: Common Dimensions, Specificities, and Latent Subject Classes," *Psychological Research* 58, no. 3 (1995): 177–92.

First, however, it is important to examine the factors that help determine the character of a vocal ensemble's sound and to consider how King's utilizes these factors in creating its own sound. Figure 2.1 below presents a list of these elements of choral sound.[4] Following each are general questions that help one conceptualize how each factor affects the sound of a vocal ensemble. I have also put the answers for these questions in the case of King's plus YouTube links to recordings of the choir that illustrate how each factor is evidenced in the King's sound, as well as links to recordings of other vocal ensembles that show how each factor can be used to produce a sound that contrasts with the King's sound. In selecting recordings I have tried to represent the wide range of repertoire that King's sings, not just early music, as the King's sound is used for all repertoires the choir performs.

Figure 2.1 (part 1 of 7): Factors that help determine the characteristics of a vocal ensemble's sound (and the King's sound more specifically), organized in ascending alphabetical order. "Sections" refers to the different voice parts in a vocal ensemble, where all singers in each section are singing the same music (the soprano section, the alto section, etc.). Dates for recordings are the date of issue (for commercially issued recordings) or the date of recording (for non-commercially issued recordings).

Acoustics
What are the acoustics of the spaces in which the ensemble performs, records, and broadcasts and how do they contribute to the character of the ensemble's sound, particularly the amount of reverb or echo in the sound?

> King's usually performs, records, broadcasts, and gives services in the chapel of King's College, which is a highly reverberant space. In recordings several seconds of reverberation can usually be heard at the end of each composition and in long pauses in the middle of compositions. Recording technology is not used in such a way as to minimize the echo in the chapel. The reverberations wash over the sound, giving it a very smooth and even feeling, and also contribute to the high level of blend in the King's sound (see description of blend below).
>
> - King's 2015: https://youtu.be/IX1zicNRLmY (Allegri's *Miserere*)
>
> - La Chamaille 2013: https://youtu.be/EsIqs586BaE (less reverberant sound than King's) (seventeenth-century French motets)
>
> - Sistine Chapel Choir 2015: https://youtu.be/_oUqsGm9u94 (more reverberant sound than King's) (a motet by Palestrina)

Figure continues on next page

[4]In this chapter, I use the terms "choral" and "choir" to refer to vocal ensembles of any size.

Figure 2.1 (part 2 of 7):

Age(s) of the singers
How old are the singers? Are they all roughly the same age or is there variation in their ages? Do some sections of the choir have younger or older singers than other sections?

The members of King's are young: boys between the ages of eight and thirteen sing the treble part(s), while undergraduate choral scholars (typically between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two) sing the alto, tenor, and bass parts. The relative youth of the choir members contributes to a sound that is light, bright, and has limited vibrato, especially among the boy trebles.

- King's 2013: https://youtu.be/j3u9Pk0QX-I (boy trebles only) (an arrangement of the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot")

- King's 2015: https://youtu.be/DP8zh3-4qrU (choral scholars only) (a motet by G. Gabrieli)

- Orpheus Singers 2005: https://youtu.be/pKpg9tuuN8s (older singers, no children) (a Mass movement by Palestrina)

Articulation
What types of articulation does the ensemble use? Is the articulation varied for different repertoires, and if so how? Does it closely follow articulation markings in scores?

King's favors legato articulation for melismas. For syllabic text setting, King's usually employs a slightly detached articulation, where notes are held for their full lengths (*tenuto* or *portato*), and most notes are evenly emphasized (individual notes are not accented/do not stand out).

- King's 1977: https://youtu.be/5eQC8soWzrQ (an excerpt from J.S. Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* [BWV 248])

- Sistine Chapel Choir 2015: https://youtu.be/_oUqsGm9u94 (melismas are more detached than King's) (a motet by Palestrina)

Balance
Do the different sections of the ensemble typically balance evenly with one another or does a section/do some sections stand out above the others?

All of the sections of King's are usually evenly balanced with one another. No one part stands out significantly above the others (although sometimes the boy trebles are somewhat more audible than the other parts). No one part is substantially less audible than the other parts.

- King's 1962–63: https://youtu.be/aLeMyD6JLyA (excerpts of several sacred compositions by Byrd and Taverner)

- Moscow Chamber Choir 1988: https://youtu.be/LdHG6hY29H0 (basses and altos stand out at beginning) (a sacred work by Rachmaninoff)

Breath
How breathy does the ensemble sound? Does it sound like air is being wasted in the process of singing (breathy) or not (not breathy)?

The boy trebles of King's have a breathy sound (but the choral scholars do not sound particularly breathy).

- King's 1964: https://youtu.be/XND3XXqt76Y (Allegri's *Miserere*)

- King's 2013: https://youtu.be/j3u9Pk0QX-I (boy trebles only) (an arrangement of the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot")

- Tallis Scholars 1986: https://youtu.be/vlB1HR4BgUg (the sound is less breathy than King's) (a Mass by Josquin)

Figure continues on next page

Figure 2.1 (part 3 of 7):

Blend
Do individual voices stand out or do all the singers in the same section sound blended together?

The singers within each section in King's blend highly with one another. Individual voices rarely stand out.

- King's 1964: https://youtu.be/tQl3spI1olU (a motet by Palestrina)

- King's 2012: https://youtu.be/moLylNume9s (excerpts of various Christmas carols and hymns)

- Westminster Cathedral 1982: https://youtu.be/65wGaZ_p6Zw (a less blended sound than King's; individual voices stand out) (Allegri's *Miserere*)

Clarity of text
How easy is it to decipher the texts that the ensemble sings?

It is usually quite easy to decipher the texts that King's sings.

- King's 2011: https://youtu.be/_DEHBfv5N8M (an anthem by Gibbons)

- Ut Re Me 2009: https://youtu.be/MOFLUkEESpo (the text is not easy to decipher, likely in large part because it is an English work sung by non-native speakers) (the same anthem by Gibbons as above)

Dynamics
Does the ensemble vary its dynamic level much over the course of pieces?

King's typically keeps its dynamic level consistent over the course of major sections of works. Large sections within a work may be louder or softer than the other sections, particularly in cases where a section is repeated (the repetition often gets a different dynamic treatment).

- King's 1964: https://youtu.be/ha2vfxSikrs (a Magnificat by Palestrina)

- Sistine Chapel Choir (1925): https://youtu.be/JiauDE4kApM (a recording with substantial variation in dynamics at a local level [changing within individual phrases] throughout the piece) (a motet by Viadana)

Gender of the singers
What gender(s) are the singers? Do some sections have male voices and others have female voices? Do any sections have both male and female voices? Do singers of just one gender comprise the ensemble?

The singers in King's are boys and men. The King's sound is distinguishable from the sounds of choirs that include adult female voices.

- King's 2008–2009: https://youtu.be/Upz7zxVxtig (excerpts of sacred works from various eras [Renaissance, Baroque, and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries])

- Tallis Scholars 1986: https://youtu.be/vlB1HR4BgUg (a choir with women singing soprano and men singing alto, tenor, and bass) (a Mass by Josquin)

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Figure 2.1 (part 4 of 7):

Instrumentation
Does the ensemble typically use period instruments when performing early vocal-instrumental works?

When singing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music for voices and instruments, King's tends to prefer chamber orchestras, but not always period ones. While recordings have been made with period ensembles such as the Academy of Ancient Music and the Brandenburg Consort, King's has also recorded early music with ensembles that play on modern instruments, including the Academy of St Martin in the Fields and the English Chamber Orchestra.[5] For nineteenth- and twentieth-century choral-orchestral works, the choir usually sings with symphony orchestras that play modern instruments. Many recordings, performances, and services feature the main organ of King's College chapel, which does not closely resemble Renaissance or Baroque organs.[6]

- King's 1972: https://youtu.be/J56RFMWharE (King's plus the non-period chamber orchestra the Academy of St Martin in the Fields) (movement of a cantata by J.S. Bach [BWV 147])

- King's 1976: https://youtu.be/BvQnw5ZahEM?t=25s (King's plus the period instrument ensemble the Early Music Consort of London and the main chapel organ) (an excerpt from Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers)

- King's 2015: https://youtu.be/DP8zh3-4qrU (King's [choral scholars only] plus the period instrument ensemble His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts and two chamber organs) (a motet by G. Gabrieli)

Intonation
Does the ensemble typically sing with precise intonation?

King's usually sings with precise intonation. All the singers in a section sing the same pitches, with no singers noticeably sharp or flat in comparison to other singers in the same section. When different sections sing the same note (either in unison or an octave/octaves apart), the notes are not noticeably different. Typically no one section is noticeably sharp or flat in comparison to the other sections.

- King's 2009: https://youtu.be/pliqObTHxUQ (a late nineteenth-century Christmas carol arrangement)

- Tualatin High School 2014: https://youtu.be/ahKovLu4U1Q (singers in the same section are not always singing exactly the same notes, the tenor section is flat in comparison to the other sections) (a different, more modern arrangement of the same Christmas carol as above)

Nasality
Does the ensemble sound nasal, as if the singers are relying heavily on their nasal cavities to resonate the sound?

The King's sound is not nasal. It does not sound as if singers are relying substantially on their nasal cavities to resonate the sound.

- King's 1978: https://youtu.be/eNIE6ZHrrrM (a motet by Palestrina)

- Opera Polifonica 2012: https://youtu.be/kaq_WEPFGHk (the sopranos have a nasal sound) (a different motet by Palestrina)

Figure continues on next page

[5]Although, as I discussed in more detail in chapter 1 (p. 22), Nick Wilson has suggested that these two particular ensembles could be seen as proto-period orchestras given their pared-down nature. See Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 21.

[6]See discussion in John Butt, "The Chapel Organ—A Harmonious Anachronism?," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 287–301.

Figure 2.1 (part 5 of 7):

Performance pitch
Does the ensemble perform pieces at pitch levels that are different from what is notated in original sources? Do the ensemble's performance pitches for Renaissance and Baroque works reflect scholarship on historical performance pitch?

King's often sings early works, particularly *a cappella* Renaissance music, transposed from their original pitch levels (as specified in original scores, assuming A4 = 440 Hz). There does not seem to be a pattern for the transpositions (no one type of transposition is preferred), nor do transpositions for early works seem to be historically informed with any consistency.[7]

- King's 2011: https://youtu.be/_DEHBfv5N8M (untransposed from the pitch specified in original scores [assuming A4 = 440 Hz]) (an anthem by Gibbons)

- Clerkes of Oxenford [no date listed]: https://youtu.be/Z9B9Rf0vRmU (transposed up a minor third from the pitch specified in original scores [assuming A4 = 440 Hz]) (a different anthem by Gibbons)[8]

Phrasing
How does the ensemble shape musical phrases?

King's frequently shapes phrases by giving them subtle dynamic shading, typically crescendoing slightly starting at the beginning of the phrase until reaching a high point and then decrescendoing slightly until the end of the phrase.

- King's 1960: https://youtu.be/j3LC_BHNGhs (excerpts of a Mass by Byrd)

- Liberty High School Chamber Choir 2012: https://youtu.be/EqEHdWdPZWs (less shaping of phrases than King's) (a motet by Byrd)

- Sistine Chapel Choir 1925: https://youtu.be/JiauDE4kApM (more shaping of phrases than King's) (a motet by Viadana)

Pronunciation
What are the default ways in which the ensemble pronounces the languages it sings in?

King's generally uses Italianate pronunciation when singing in Latin and Received Pronunciation (RP) when singing in English.[9] The choir's Latin has some particularly English modifications, such as hard "t"s: [t] instead of [ð], [θ], or [d] in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Vowels in both Latin and English tend to be bright, tall, and open, and sound like they are not produced in the back of the mouth nor resonated in the nasal cavities, which also contributes to the bright, light, and non-nasal sound of the choir.

- King's ca. 2006: https://youtu.be/iXze_TLUTqM (a macaronic Latin/English carol sung by King's illustrating both Italianate Latin and RP)

- Aradia Ensemble 2003: https://youtu.be/_ld2Lpg43d0 (a Mass movement by M.-A. Charpentier, sung with French Latin pronunciation)

- One Voice Children's Choir 2014: https://youtu.be/q-Wdmdfrxzs?t=1m45s (an excerpt from a pop song in English, sung with American English pronunciation)

Figure continues on next page

[7]For instance, Tudor music is not sung with the large upward transpositions (usually a minor third) proposed by David Wulstan that became common among British vocal ensembles specializing in early music, particularly the Clerkes of Oxenford and the Tallis Scholars. See Wulstan, "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 93 (1966–1967): 97–112. See also my discussion of Wulstan's upward-transposition hypothesis in chapter 4, footnotes 14 and 21.

[8]This transposition is likely used in an attempt to be historically informed. See the discussion in footnote 7 above.

[9]RP is a standardized English accent that I discuss in more detail in chapter 3, pp. 82–83.

Figure 2.1 (part 6 of 7):

Rhythmic coordination
Are the singers within sections precise in their rhythmic coordination with one another? Is each section precise in its rhythmic coordination with the other sections?

The singers in King's are quite precise in their rhythmic coordination. Singers within sections are rhythmically coordinated with one another and the sections are rhythmically coordinated with one another.

- King's 1979: https://youtu.be/QGJjXFVkDrg (an early twentieth-century arrangement of a Christmas carol)

- Sistine Chapel 2010: https://youtu.be/96V9zm2R3XI?t=14s (less precise rhythmic coordination between sections) (a motet by Palestrina)

Size of the ensemble
How many singers are there in the ensemble? How many singers are there in each section? Do the sections have roughly the same number of singers or are some sections larger than others?

King's has thirty singers: sixteen are boy trebles and fourteen are undergraduate choral scholars. This number is usually not varied, although occasionally soloists will be drawn from the choir (or from outside of the choir), or only the boy trebles or only the choral scholars will sing particular works. The choir is usually divided into two equal halves corresponding to the two sides of choir stalls in the chapel at King's College (cantoris and decani), although both halves often sing the same music.

- King's 2010: https://youtu.be/RSdGvw03Jmk (choral scholars only, recorded during a live concert) (a spiritual arrangement)

- King's 2010: https://youtu.be/HXjn6srhAlY (the full choir) (a motet by Mozart)

- King's 2013: https://youtu.be/j3u9Pk0QX-I (only the boy trebles) (an arrangement of the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot")

- The Bach Ensemble 1987 (dir. J. Rifkin): https://youtu.be/gEeY2MrI7hk (a vocal ensemble with one voice per part) (a cantata by J.S. Bach [BWV 106])

Technological mediation
Does the ensemble use microphones and speakers to amplify its sound in performances? Are albums made in technologically sophisticated recording studios or are they recorded "in situ" in performance venues?

King's does not use microphones and speakers to amplify its sound in performances. Recordings are also almost always made in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge rather than in a studio.

- King's 1987: https://youtu.be/6DkWAbBNYk4 (recording of a live broadcast of an Evensong service in the chapel of King's College) (works by various composers)

- King's Men[10] 2013: https://youtu.be/o5OVAifGBrI (the only King's album to date that was [partially] recorded in a studio[11]) (arrangements of various contemporary folk and popular songs, sung by the King's choral scholars only)

- Libera 2008: https://youtu.be/km5KXNZOwqs?t=5m13s (a performance with amplification from microphones and speakers) (an arrangement of part of Dvořák's Symphony No. 9)

Figure continues on next page

[10]When the King's choral scholars perform alone in concerts or for recordings of non-sacred music, in recent years (since ca. 2012) they have been referred to as the King's Men.

[11]The King's Men, *After Hours* (recorded in 2013 at St George's Church, Chesterton and at West Road Studio, [Cambridge]), dir. Ruairi Bowen and Rob Stephen (King's College Cambridge KGS0006, 2014, CD). The following portions of the YouTube video cited above were recorded in the studio: 0′00″ to 0′10″, 0′18″ to 0′25″, and 0′57″ to 1′15″.

Figure 2.1 (part 7 of 7):

Temperament
What type of temperament does the ensemble usually employ?

King's does not typically use historically informed temperaments (such as just intonation) for early music.[12] Major thirds tend to be sharp. When performing with instruments, King's typically uses equal temperament.

- King's [no date listed, probably around 2010]: https://youtu.be/4lC7V8hG198 (illustration of high major thirds) (a recording of Allegri's *Miserere*)

- Gesualdo Consort Amsterdam [no date listed, probably around 2010]: https://youtu.be/WDtRD0KrJYA (using just intonation, major thirds are not as high as King's) (a madrigal by Gesualdo)

Tempo
Does the ensemble vary its tempo much within individual pieces? Does it tend to favor faster or slower tempi (in comparison to other ensembles performing the same compositions)?

King's often employs slower tempi than other choirs performing the same works. Moderate *rallentandi* are common at the end of compositions and at the end of major sections of pieces. Tempi tend not to vary significantly within major sections of compositions.

- King's 1972: https://youtu.be/J56RFMWharE (a movement of a cantata by J.S. Bach [BWV 147])

- Amsterdam Baroque [no date listed]: https://youtu.be/bBqFSOI1mGg?t=15m32s (a faster rendition of the same cantata)

- Sistine Chapel Choir 1925: https://youtu.be/JiauDE4kApM (a recording with substantial flux in tempo at a local level [within individual phrases] throughout the piece) (a motet by Viadana)

Vibrato
How much vibrato do the singers in the ensemble use? Do different singers/different sections use more vibrato than others?

King's typically sings with little vibrato, especially the boy trebles and the alto countertenors; however, a moderate amount of vibrato is sometimes present in the singing of the tenors and basses and soloists.

- King's 1987: https://youtu.be/KwoyxglPwjw (a movement of Fauré's *Requiem* [op. 48])

- Combined Italian choruses 2009: https://youtu.be/u5V-xBVqjUc (more vibrato than King's) (an excerpt from Verdi's opera *Nabucco*)

Many of the elements of a vocal ensemble's sound—and of the King's sound more specifically—likely stem from tradition, convenience, or necessity in the context of limited rehearsal time. For instance, an ensemble might use the same pronunciation for all works in the same language because this requires less rehearsal time than when multiple types of pronunciation are chosen. Or a choir may sing with a high level of blend within sections simply

[12]However, in 2014 historical tuning expert Ross Duffin led a rehearsal of the King's choral scholars where he taught them to sing with just intonation. Per Duffin's account, the choral scholars and Stephen Cleobury were receptive to his teachings, so perhaps the choir will explore historical tuning more in the future. See Ross W. Duffin, "Cracking a Centuries-Old Tradition," *EMAg* 20, no. 4 (2014): 45.

because it is the way it has always sung. If the singers are accustomed to singing with a high level of blend, having less blend would require a conscious effort on their and the director's part, an effort that could take up scarce rehearsal time.

Keeping elements of sound consistent across many different repertoires is something that King's and many other vocal ensembles do. This is, in fact, what makes it possible to talk about a "King's sound." If King's or other vocal ensembles approached each piece they sing in an entirely different way, it would not be feasible to make general characterizations of the ensembles' sounds. That said, there are elements of many vocal ensembles' sounds (including elements of the King's sound) that vary from piece to piece. In chapter 4, I consider how the King's sound is present but also varied somewhat on recordings of two specific early works. In this chapter, however, I focus on the characteristics of the King's sound that are found in the choir's recordings and performances of many different types of music. These characteristics form the core, essential elements of the King's sound.

Summarizing figure 2.1, it is clear that the King's sound is light, bright, breathy, evenly balanced, and that there is a high level of blend within sections, minimal variation in dynamics and tempo, minimal vibrato, and mostly legato articulation for melismas. In addition, the recordings of King's in the figure, which range from early sixteenth-century music (Taverner) to an arrangement of a spiritual ("Swing Low, Sweet Chariot"), provide aural evidence of how the sound does not vary much for different types of music. To more fully illustrate the characteristics of the King's sound and to compare it to the sounds of other vocal ensembles, it is helpful to turn to recordings of an individual composition that King's and many other choirs have recorded: the six-voice motet *Tu es Petrus* by Italian composer Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/26 to

1594).[13] Although the remainder of this section is focused on a single composition, I discuss elements of the King's sound that can be found in most of the choir's recordings and performances. Keeping the piece constant makes it easier to see differences between the King's sound and the sounds of other ensembles because we are less likely to be led astray by differences in the ensembles' sounds related to differences in repertoire.

King's has recorded Palestrina's motet twice: once under the direction of David Willcocks (in 1965) and once under Stephen Cleobury (in 1983). Many other choirs have also recorded *Tu es Petrus*, including ones from a variety of regions and associated with different faiths (both Catholic and Protestant), ensembles of varying sizes and compositions (both all-male and mixed-gender choirs), and both amateur and professional ensembles. A list of the recordings of Palestrina's composition that I discuss in this chapter is presented in figure 2.2 below. These recordings provide a representative sampling of different approaches to the motet. They group into five broader categories: 1) King's recordings; 2) recordings made by other all-male English church choirs; 3) recordings made by non-English choirs of men and boys; 4) recordings of mixed-gender ensembles specializing in early music; and 5) recordings of all-male ensembles specializing in early music (the categories are separated by horizontal lines in the figure).[14]

[13]Originally published in Palestrina's *Motettorum quae partim quinis, partim senis, partim octonis vocibus concinator, liber secundus* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1572). A modern edition can be found in *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. 7, *Il libro secondo dei mottetti a 5, 6, ed 8 voci secondo la ristampa del 1573,* ed. Raffaele Casimiri (Rome: Fratelli Scalera, 1940), 162–70. The motet text is a Responsory for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (June 29) set to text from the Gospel of Matthew (16:18–19) in which Jesus tells his disciple Peter that he is the "rock" on which the church shall be built. The motet has two *partes*, with music and text in the following form: aB | cB (capital letters indicate repetition of text and music; the vertical line indicates the division between the *prima* and *secunda partes*). Many recordings of the work include only the *prima pars*.

[14]A comprehensive list of recordings of this motet can be found in Clara Marvin, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 460.

Figure 2.2 (part 1 of 3): A list of the recordings of Palestrina's *Tu es Petrus* discussed in this chapter. Bold text indicates short sigla used to refer to each recording.

The format used for each recording is:

> **Short siglum.** Ensemble name (location of ensemble if not in England)/conductor name (date and place of recording). Album publication info for the first issuing of the recording. Link to the recording on YouTube, Naxos Music Library and Classical Music Library (CML) catalogue numbers, and Amazon.com digital music preview and download link (if available).[15]
>
> *Transposition*,[16] *duration of prima pars*

LPs play at thirty-three and one-third revolutions per minute (rpm), have stereophonic sound, and were produced with analogue recording technology, unless otherwise noted. Asterisks (*) indicate recordings that only include the prima pars of the motet.

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1) KING'S RECORDINGS

King's 1965. The Choir of King's College, Cambridge/David Willcocks (date and place of recording not found). EMI ASD 641, 1965, LP. Naxos: 5099968859251. CML: 5099968859220. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1WJz2Kg.*

Major second down, 3'53"

King's 1983. The Choir of King's College, Cambridge/Stephen Cleobury (recorded in 1983 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). Argo 410 149-1ZH, 1984, LP (digital)/Argo 410 149-4ZH, 1984, cassette (digital)/Argo MCPS 410 149-2, 1984, CD/London 433 914–2, 1984, CD. YouTube: https://youtu.be/X6xh5xLj-UI. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1EI7UQI.*

Major second down, 3'45"

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2) OTHER ALL-MALE ENGLISH CHURCH CHOIRS (MEN AND BOYS)

Guildford 1973. The Choir of Guildford Cathedral/Barry Rose (live service recorded December 25, 1973 at Arundel Cathedral). YouTube: https://youtu.be/68N4Uz_PwmM.*

Major second down, 3'32"

Figure continues on next page

[15]Many libraries, including public libraries, subscribe to Naxos Music Library and Classical Music Library. If you are a member of a subscribing library, you should be able to access these databases and listen to the recordings for free. You may, however, need to navigate to the database from your library's catalogue so that you can enter your credentials. If you search for the catalogue number for each recording using the simple search box in each database, you will be taken to the recording. See: Naxos Records, *Naxos Music Library*, accessed August 21, 2015, https://www.naxosmusiclibrary.com/; Alexander Street Press, *Classical Music Library*, accessed October 17, 2016, http://search.alexanderstreet.com/clmu; Amazon, "Digital Music," accessed August 21, 2015, www.amazon.com/gp/dmusic/redirect/store. Note: only short excerpts of recordings can be listened to for free on Amazon. Many recordings available on Amazon can also be previewed and downloaded in the iTunes Store.

[16]In relation to the pitch level in the edition in Palestrina, *Opere complete* (final = G), assuming A4 = 440 Hz.

Figure 2.2 (part 2 of 3):

Westminster Cathedral 1982. The Choir of Westminster Cathedral/Stephen Cleobury (recorded in 1982 in Westminster Cathedral, London). Argo ZRDL1013, 1983, LP (digital)/Argo KZRDC1013, 1983, cassette (digital)/Argo 410 005-2, 1983, CD. YouTube: https://youtu.be/J0F41kupbFU. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1HZQwXU.*

Major second down, 3'20"

Westminster Abbey 1985. The Choir of Westminster Abbey/Simon Preston (recorded in 1985 in All Saint's Church, Tooting, London). Archiv 415 517-1, 1985, LP (digital). YouTube: https://youtu.be/lIhwYVw6P4E. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1Eae8OO.

Major second down, 3'18"

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3) NON-ENGLISH CHOIRS OF MEN AND BOYS

Regensburg 1986. Regensburger Domspatzen (West Germany)/Georg Ratzinger (recorded in the Pfarrkirche Sankt Albertus Magnus, Regensburg, date of recording not found). Deutsche Harmonia Mundi 16 9564 1, 1986, LP (digital). Amazon: http://amzn.to/1NAnJQM.

Minor second down, 3'37"

Drakensberg 1994. Drakensberg Boys Choir (South Africa)/[conductor unclear] (precise date and place of recording not found). https://youtu.be/HrtIquQdC7U.*

No transposition, 4'06"

Sistine Chapel 2015. Sistine Chapel Choir (Vatican City)/Massimo Palombella (recorded in 2015 in the Sistine Chapel). Deutsche Grammophon 0289 479 5300 5, CD, 2015. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1UfZNqe.

Minor third down, 3'19"

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4) MIXED (MEN AND WOMEN) VOCAL ENSEMBLES SPECIALIZING IN EARLY MUSIC

Voices of Ascension 1999. Voices of Ascension (United States)/Dennis Keene (date and place of recording not found). Delos DE 3210, 1999, CD. Naxos: DE3210. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1Pqno1q.*

No transposition, 2'26"

Tallis Scholars 2005. The Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips (recorded in 2005 in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford). Gimell CDGIM 041, 2005, CD. YouTube: https://youtu.be/zmXiFMHzpgo. Naxos: CDGIM041. CML: CDGIM 041.

Major second down, 3'20"

Opera Polifonica 2006. Opera Polifonica (Italy)/Raffaele Puccianti (recorded in 2006 in the Church of San Leonardo in Arcetri, Florence). Bongiovanni GB 5633-2, 2007, CD (Italy). Naxos: GB5633-2. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1E8vSJU.*

Major second down, 3'31"

Cappella Musicale 2012. Cappella Musicale della Cattedrale di Fiesole (Italy)/Michele Manganelli (recorded ca. 2012 in the Basilica di Sant'Apollinare, Rome). Live concert video. YouTube: https://youtu.be/zmnS3hLgEgE.*

Major second down, 3'40"

Figure continues on next page

Figure 2.2 (part 3 of 3):

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5) ALL-MALE (ADULT MEN ONLY) VOCAL ENSEMBLE SPECIALIZING IN EARLY MUSIC

De Profundis 2011. De Profundis/Mark Dourish (recorded in 2011 in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge). Recording of rehearsal. YouTube: https://youtu.be/zET77UOTH44.

Perfect fifth down, *3'18"*

Despite being produced two decades apart, the two King's recordings of Palestrina's motet are similar. Both exhibit many of the key characteristics of the King's sound enumerated above in figure 2.1. A bright, light, and breathy timbre, a high level of blend within sections, precise intonation, clear text declamation, highly coordinated rhythms, predominately legato articulation for melismas, limited vibrato (especially among the boy trebles), high reverb, and relatively slow and unvarying tempi are particularly apparent in these two King's recordings. Many of these characteristics of the King's sound are also evident in the Guildford Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Tallis Scholars, and De Profundis recordings. This is perhaps unsurprising as these ensembles are similar to King's in their rooting in Anglican and English choral traditions.

There are also some differences between the King's recordings and other ensembles' recordings of *Tu es Petrus.* First, King's sings the motet slower than many of the other ensembles, particularly the ones that specialize in early music. The five early music specialist ensembles take an average of 3 minutes and 15 seconds to sing the *prima pars* of the motet, while the two King's recordings have an average duration of 3 minutes and 49 seconds for this portion of the composition. Other ensembles sing with more vibrato than King's (particularly Opera Polifonica and the Sistine Chapel Choir) and still others vary their tempi more frequently than King's does (especially Cappella Musicale, Guildford Cathedral, and the Sistine Chapel Choir). Many of the other ensembles are not as highly blended within sections as King's is,

particularly the Choir of Westminster Cathedral, where individual voices stand out. The Sistine Chapel Choir is less precise in its rhythmic coordination of parts.

While there are other similarities and differences that could be pointed out among these recordings of *Tu es Petrus*, I will focus the remainder of my analysis on timbre, particularly the light, bright, breathy, and non-nasal character of the King's sound, which is not found in all of the other ensembles' recordings. These timbral characteristics are important in distinguishing the sound of King's from other vocal ensembles, particularly ones from outside Britain. A light, bright, and non-nasal timbre links together most of the recordings of *Tu es Petrus* by British choirs listed in figure 2.2, particularly those of King's, Guildford Cathedral, the Tallis Scholars, and De Profundis. However, in comparison to King's, some other ensembles' recordings of *Tu es Petrus* have darker timbres, particularly the Voices of Ascension and Regensburg recordings. Some of the other choirs also sound heavier and more nasal than King's, particularly the Choir of Westminster Cathedral and Opera Polifonica.

To more precisely and objectively compare the timbres of recordings of *Tu es Petrus*, I have run some of them through the computer program Sonic Visualiser to calculate the mean spectral centroid for the same passage of the motet from each recording.[17] Figure 2.3 below presents this information in a graph. Note that only recordings that were made with digital technologies (from ca. 1980 to present) are included in this figure, as recordings of the motet made with analogue recording technologies have background noise that interfere with mean spectral centroid readings on Sonic Visualiser, rendering comparisons to digital recordings with

[17]For a description of the passage selected, see the caption following figure 2.3. See the discussion on p. 30 above for more background on spectral centroid and Chris Cannam, Christian Landone, and Mark Sandler, "Sonic Visualiser: An Open Source Application for Viewing, Analysing, and Annotating Music Audio Files," *Proceedings of the ACM [Association for Computing Machinery] Multimedia 2010 International Conference* (Florence, Italy, October 25–29, 2010), http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/sv2010.pdf. Software available for download at http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/ (accessed August 14, 2015).

less background noise largely meaningless. To further avoid incorrect data due to background noise, only professionally produced recordings made without an audience present are included in this figure. Some recordings were transposed so that differences in performance pitches between recordings did not contribute to differences in spectral centroid readings (marked with asterisks in the graph).

Figure 2.3 (part 1 of 2): Graph showing the level of brightness in recordings of Palestrina's six-voice motet *Tu es Petrus,* measured as the average linear spectral centroid for a passage of the motet (in Hertz [Hz] [vibrations per second]). Presented in descending order of average spectral centroid, with the recording with the highest average spectral centroid positioned farthest to the left and the recording with the lowest average spectral centroid positioned farthest to the right. Recordings are referred to with the short sigla from figure 2.2. For ease of reference, King's is indicated in bold. From top to bottom, the dotted lines represent the average spectral centroid of all eight recordings on the graph plus one standard deviation, the average spectral centroid of the eight recordings, and the average spectral centroid of the eight recordings minus one standard deviation. More details about the procedures used to analyze spectral centroid follow the graph.

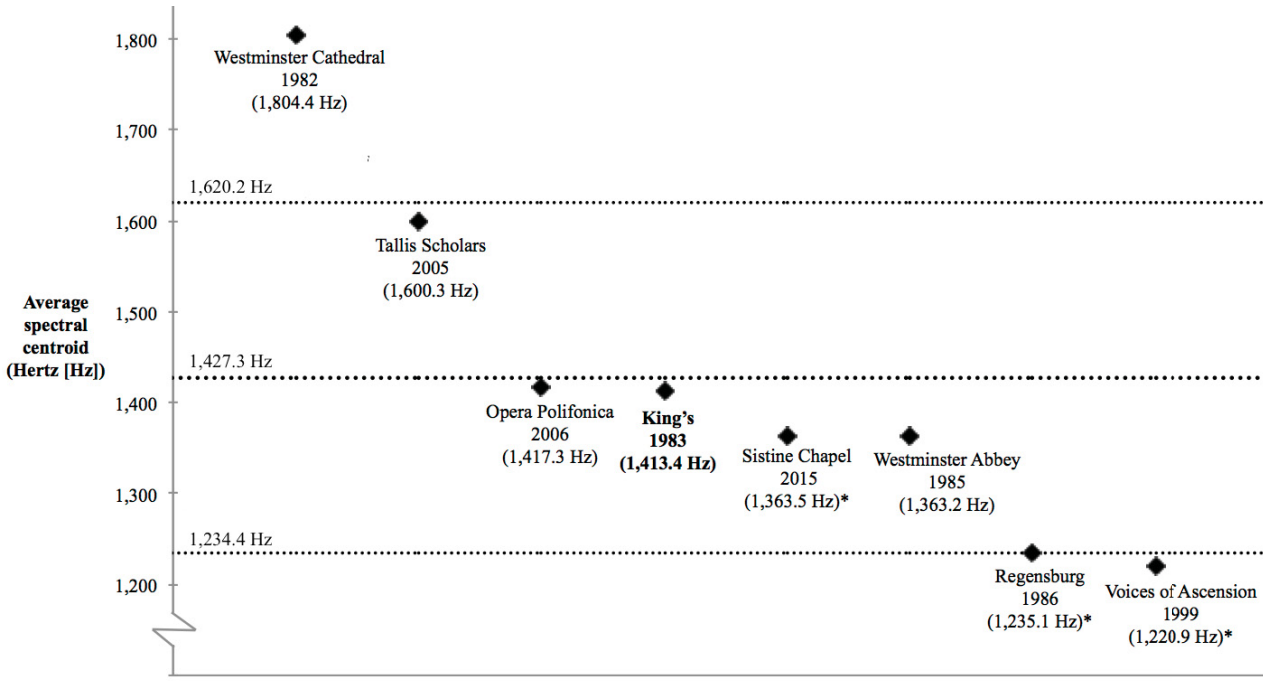

Figure continues on next page

Figure 2.3 (part 2 of 2):

Brightness was measured in Sonic Visualiser (version 2.4.1) using the "Spectral Centroid: Linear Frequency Centroid" plugin (version 2) from the Vamp SDK Example Plugins package, analyzing the mean of the source channels for each recording with a window size of 1024 and a window increment of 512. For all recordings, the following excerpt with no rests was analyzed: from just after the downbeat of measure 7 (the initial entry of the tenor, sextus, and bassus parts with the text "Tu es Petrus") to just after the downbeat of measure 32 (the cadence on C at the end of the final repeat of the text "Ecclesiam meam") (measure numbers refer to the edition of *Tu es Petrus* in Palestrina, *Opere complete*, vol. 7, 162–70). The mean of the linear spectral centroids for this portion of each recording was calculated in Excel, rounding to the nearest tenth of a Hertz.

Some recordings were ripped from CDs as M4A files (using iTunes 12.2.2.25 set at 128 kbps [mono]/256 kbps [stereo], 44,100 Hz, VBR, optimized for MMX/SSE2) and then converted to MP3s (in Audacity 2.1.1, at 128 kbps with constant bit rate in joint stereo mode). Some recordings were purchased as MP3s from iTunes (with no additional modifications to the recordings made, unless it required transposition).

Recordings that did not have F finals (assuming A4 = 440 Hz) were transposed using Audacity 2.1.1 to make them have F finals (and then exported as MP3s using the procedures outlined in the previous paragraph; this means some recordings were converted to the MP3 format twice). Transpositions were necessary so that recordings employing higher performance pitches did not get higher mean spectral centroid readings solely on account of the higher performance pitches. Asterisks (*) indicate the recordings that were transposed prior to analysis. No recording was transposed by more than a major second.

Because transposition can affect the overtone profiles of recordings, King's 1983 was also transposed to match the pitches of the three recordings of *Tu es Petrus* with finals other than F prior to transposition (not shown on this graph). Spectral centroid analysis was run on these recordings following the procedures outlined in the first two paragraphs on this page. When untransposed, Voices of Ascension 1999 had an average spectral centroid of 1,334.9 Hz, while King's 1983 had an average spectral centroid of 1,506.9 Hz when transposed to match the pitch level of Voices of Ascension. Untransposed, Regensburg 1986 had an average spectral centroid of 1,295.3 Hz while King's had an average spectral centroid of 1,441.4 Hz when transposed to match the pitch level of Regensburg. When untransposed, Sistine Chapel 2015 had an average spectral centroid of 1,329 Hz while King's 1983 had an average spectral centroid of 1,318.3 Hz. In the case of the first two comparisons, King's retained a higher average spectral centroid than the other two ensembles, however the Sistine Chapel recording had a somewhat higher average spectral centroid than King's. This is a reversal of the ordering of average spectral centroids seen when Sistine Chapel 2015 was transposed to match the pitch of King's 1983. Because of this inconsistency, comparing the average spectral centroids of King's 1983 and Sistine Chapel 2015 may not be as meaningful as comparing the average spectral centroids of King's to the average spectral centroids of the other six ensembles. However, to my ears the Sistine Chapel recording sounds less bright than the King's recordings, and I suspect that the discrepancy in the average spectral centroid readings might be due to the fact that the Sistine Chapel recording has somewhat more background noise than most of the other recordings.

All analyses were performed using Mac OSX El Capitan (version 10.11.3).

Interestingly, this graph suggests that the 1983 King's recording of *Tu es Petrus* is neither exceptionally bright nor exceptionally dark. While four recordings have darker timbres, the recordings of the Choir of Westminster Cathedral, the Tallis Scholars, and Opera Polifonica are brighter. The brightness of the Tallis Scholars is perhaps expected, as the ensemble sings with a sound sharing many similarities with the King's sound. Specifically, both King's and the Tallis

Scholars have light and non-nasal sounds with little vibrato and minimal variation in tempo and dynamics. However, the brightness of the Choir of Westminster Cathedral and Opera Polifonica recordings is more surprising, as neither of these ensembles sound very much like King's. The boys singing treble in the Choir of Westminster Cathedral, for instance, have a nasal and non-breathy sound. Opera Polifonica also has a more nasal and heavier sound than King's, particularly among its sopranos. The Choir of Westminster Abbey recording has a similar level of brightness as the 1983 King's recording, although the sound is slightly heavier and more nasal than King's. The Sistine Chapel Choir recording is not substantially less bright than King's,[18] yet the choir also sounds more nasal than King's and uses more vibrato. Clearly, it is possible to sing with a bright sound while also sounding different from King's.

Drawing conclusions from this Sonic Visualiser analysis of average spectral centroids in various ensembles' recordings of Palestrina's *Tu es Petrus*, I will suggest that the King's sound is bright, but what makes the choir stand out is this brightness in combination with a light, non-nasal, and breathy sound with minimal vibrato, especially among the boys singing trebles. These characteristics are also found in the sounds of other vocal ensembles, especially British ones like the Tallis Scholars, the Choir of Guildford Cathedral, and De Profundis. In the following section, I consider in more depth the similarities between the King's sound and the sounds of other British vocal ensembles.

[18]In fact, the Sistine Chapel 2015 recording may actually be slightly brighter than King's 1983. See the graph in figure 2.3 above and the fourth paragraph in the caption following the graph.

2.3: The English sound

Many authors have made generalizations about choral traditions in the United Kingdom, suggesting that there is a distinctly English sound for choral performance.[19] Characterizations of this English sound go at least as far back as the early 1950s, when George Dyson, the director of the Royal College of Music in London, wrote that the "essence [of the cathedral choir] is the boy's voice. Its men are at their best when they blend with that clean white tone."[20] Around the same time, George Malcolm, the music director at Westminster Cathedral, took a more critical stance on the English sound, writing that "most [English] choir-boys are systematically trained to produce an artificial and quite unnatural sound, popularly known as 'Cathedral Tone'" and that:

> This type of voice-production which for many years past has been cultivated in the "best" English church choirs is familiar to all, and instantly recognizable. . . . This type of tone is produced by the exclusion—or at least the under-employment—of those resonating-agents whose function is to amplify the human voice, to colour it, and to give clarity and definition to its vowel-sound. The process is assisted by the use of a very light breath-pressure, and the result is the familiar coo-ing sound still heard in so many of our churches.[21]

Writing in 1986 about the emergence of professional British vocal ensembles specializing in early music, Richard Taruskin said that these ensembles are "a perpetuation of the collegiate men-and-boys choir tradition of Oxford and Cambridge" and that:

> The new English choirs, which can draw, it seems, on a limitless supply of countertenor talent trained in the Oxbridge choral foundations, glory in the falsetto sound. Their standard of vocal production derives from the characteristic falsetto qualities of straight white tone and easeful support. . . . [A] very fresh-voiced, airy tenor sound . . . characterizes the new English choirs, one that matches the falsettists above them extraordinarily well (as the "girls" [*sic*] match the falsettists beneath them). . . . One

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[19]"British" and "English" tend to be conflated when discussing this sound, likely because the best-known choirs that exhibit the sound are based in England, although some are based in other parts of the United Kingdom. In using the phrase "the English sound," I include all British ensembles that exhibit this sound.

[20]George Dyson, "Of Organs and Organists," *Musical Times* 93, no. 1317 (1952): 492. I discuss the idea of the English sound being "white" in depth in chapter 3, section 3.4.

[21]George Malcolm, "Boys' Voices," in *Tribute to Benjamin Britten on His Fiftieth Birthday*, ed. Anthony Gishford (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 100.

> reason the sound of the new English choirs is so uniform is that they all draw upon a common pool of voices.[22]

Dyson, Malcolm, and Taruskin's quotations suggest that there is a common English sound that can be heard among many choirs, particularly Anglican church choirs, British vocal ensembles specializing in early music, and ensembles drawing on singers trained in the collegiate chapel choirs of the University of Cambridge and the University of Oxford.[23] Building on these three authors' comments, the observations of others,[24] as well as my own listening experience, I define the English sound as being characterized by a high level of blend, precise intonation, light, bright, and not particularly nasal timbres, limited vibrato, clarity of text, and limited changes in expressive elements such as tempo and dynamics. These are similar to many of the key elements of the King's sound outlined in figure 2.1 above. Figure 2.4 below provides a listing of some prominent English ensembles that exhibit this English sound.

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[22]Richard Taruskin, "The Tallis Scholars: A Glimpse of the New British Choral Sound at Its Best," *Opus* 2, no. 6 (1986): 21–22.

[23]Church choirs have been the primary places of training for British people wishing to become professional ensemble singers. Most voice programs at British universities and conservatories focus on opera/solo singing. However, until around 1970, many British church choirs excluded female singers, so professional female singers often had to get their training elsewhere. Perhaps this explains why some of the early British vocal ensembles specializing in early music were all male (for example, the Clerkes of Oxenford [established in 1961, but becoming mixed gender in 1966], the Hilliard Ensemble [established in 1974], and the King's Singers [established 1965]).

[24]See, especially: Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23, no. 1 (1995): 124–48; Christopher Page, "The English *a cappella* Renaissance," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (1993): 452–71; Peter Phillips, "The Golden Age Regained," *Early Music* 8, no. 1 (1980): 3–16 (part 1) and *Early Music* 8, no. 2 (1980): 180–98 (part 2).

Figure 2.4 (part 1 of 3): A selective listing of English vocal ensembles that exhibit the English sound, divided by ensemble type (organized in alphabetical order within each type). Years and names in parentheses after the names of the ensembles are the years in which the ensembles were founded (and ceased to operate, if applicable) and the names of the founding directors of the ensembles (if known). Each ensemble's name is followed by a link to a YouTube recording that gives a representative sample of the ensemble's sound. When possible, I have given links to recording of compositions by William Byrd or by another Tudor composer (which I define as a composer living in England between 1500 and the mid-seventeenth century). When known, the date of recording is provided. Asterisks (*) indicate ensembles for which no YouTube video of a Tudor composition could be found. The classifications of ensembles by size (one voice per part or more) are based on the typical configuration in which the ensembles sing (occasionally the configurations vary for most ensembles).

Ensembles that do not specialize in early music

Anglican cathedral or chapel choirs of men and boys (more than one voice per part)

Canterbury Cathedral Choir (seventh century–present): https://youtu.be/mZTPy2RN_cY?t=1m43s (a motet by Tallis) (1986)

Hereford Cathedral Choir (thirteenth-century–present): https://youtu.be/8DTxfwHAAL8 (a motet by Byrd)

King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of (ca. 1444–present): https://youtu.be/bTzzXjjhYAY (a Mass movement by Byrd) (ca. 1982)

New College, Oxford, the Choir of (1379–present): https://youtu.be/BoO8SH4uYLQ (a motet by Byrd) (1983)

St Paul's Cathedral, London, The Choir of (ca. late twelfth century): https://youtu.be/qSB5PvqWSxQ (a motet by Tallis) (2004)

Westminster Abbey, London, the Choir of ([formed by the mid-thirteenth century]–present): https://youtu.be/-IBurHyDNAM (a motet by Byrd) (2012)

Anglican chapel choirs of men and women (more than one voice per part)[25]

Clare College, Cambridge, the Choir of (1326–present): https://youtu.be/391OMnLaR58 (a Psalm-setting by Monteverdi)*

Merton College, Oxford, the Choir of (late thirteenth century–present): https://youtu.be/yFC-KTqjs8E (a motet by Byrd) (2015)

Trinity College, Cambridge, the Choir of (fourteenth century–present): https://youtu.be/WCiimeZv3QY (a motet by Byrd) (2009)

Professional, mixed-gender ensembles (more than one voice per part)

BBC Singers, the (1924–present, Stanford Robinson): https://youtu.be/1R39CjmFHvw (a motet by William Cornysh) (2013)

Polyphony (1986–present, Stephen Layton): https://youtu.be/0NjWWkk3Qa4 (excerpts of songs by Whitacre)* (2015)

Tenebrae (2001–present, Barbara Pollack and Nigel Short): https://youtu.be/8I__V5jwkLw (a motet by Byrd) (2010)

Voces8 (2005–present [no single founder]): https://youtu.be/RF9MiGJSqd4 (a motet by G. Gabrieli)* (2013)

Figure continues on next page

[25] All of these choirs were initially all male.

Figure 2.4 (part 2 of 3):

Ensembles that focus substantially on early music

Professional,[26] all-male ensembles (one voice per part)

- Binchois Consort, the (1995–present, Andrew Kirkman): https://youtu.be/C4-nAq-Ba5k (a motet by William Cornysh) (ca. 2014)
- Gesualdo Six, the (2014–present, Owain Park): https://youtu.be/ldmLPCtV6vs (an anthem by Tomkins) (2014)
- Hilliard Ensemble (1974–2014, Paul Elliott, Errol Girdlestone, Paul Hillier, and David James): https://youtu.be/aNAFv2kdL3A (a Mass movement by Byrd)
- King's Singers (1965–present, Simon Carrington, Alastair Hume, Brian Kay): https://youtu.be/5V5uaqKDFHU (an anthem by Byrd) (2004)
- Orlando Consort, the (1988–present, Charles Daniels, Donald Greig, Robert Harre-Jones, and Angus Smith): https://youtu.be/WhkHROmWIEQ (a motet by Josquin)*
- Pro Cantione Antiqua (1968–ca. 1992, Mark Brown, Paul Esswood, and James Griffett): https://youtu.be/y-xg5AxYlTk (an anthem by Tallis)

Professional, all-female ensemble (one voice per part)

- Musica Secreta (1990–present, Deborah Roberts and John Toll): https://youtu.be/YBKUFjsCO_I (a Psalm setting by Rore)* (2013)

Professional, mixed-gender ensembles (one voice per part)

- Chapelle du Roi (1994–present, Alastair Dixon): https://youtu.be/WafG4bzPxuo (a motet by Tallis) (2011)
- Consort of Musicke (1969–present, Anthony Rooley): https://youtu.be/96pp4F5ZMY4 (a madrigal by Monteverdi)* (1986)
- The Clerks (1992–present, Edward Wickham):[27] https://youtu.be/nx__0mdgxPs (a Mass movement by Obrecht)* (ca. 1998)
- Ensemble Plus Ultra (2001–present, Michael Noone): https://youtu.be/YI6XN8nG_FQ (a motet by Byrd) (2008)
- Gothic Voices (1980–present, Christopher Page): https://youtu.be/9vedgS24uZk (a chanson by Machaut)* (2006)

Figure continues on next page

[26]By "professional," I mean non-student ensembles where most members are paid and make their livings as performers.

[27]Originally called the Clerks' Group.

Figure 2.4 (part 3 of 3)

Professional, mixed-gender ensembles (more than one voice per part)

- Alamire (2005–present, David Skinner): https://youtu.be/RNu2ix51Wn8 (a motet by Taverner) (2010)
- Brabant Ensemble (1998–present, Stephen Rice): https://youtu.be/G82d-pFtP4s (various sacred works by Jacquet of Mantua)* (2015)
- Cardinall's Musick (1989–present, Andrew Carwood): https://youtu.be/o2SLHO9SeF0 (a motet by Byrd) (ca. 1999)
- Clerkes of Oxenford, the (1961–ca. 1989, David Wulstan)[28]: https://youtu.be/Z9B9Rf0vRmU (an anthem by Gibbons)
- Gabrieli Consort (1982–present, Paul McCreesh): https://youtu.be/yZe16Mpsmg8 (a motet by Lobo)*
- Magnificat (1991–present, Philip Cave): https://youtu.be/1VY1_ya18Cw (sacred music by various Tudor composers) (2013)
- Monteverdi Choir (1964–present, John Eliot Gardiner): https://youtu.be/Ey-MVaoGuCE (a motet by Palestrina)*
- Tallis Scholars, the (1973–present, Peter Phillips): https://youtu.be/uo9OnbLLnfE (a motet by Byrd)
- Taverner Choir, the (1973–present, Andrew Parrott): https://youtu.be/cH_bD3XzXX0 (a motet by Tallis [some portions are sung with one voice per part])
- Sixteen, the (1977–present, Harry Christophers): https://youtu.be/Z2ckGcpx6xI (a motet by Byrd)
- Stile Antico (2001–present [no single founder]): https://youtu.be/O2QqhXpsD5E (a motet by Byrd) (2013)

In addition to being long, this list is also diverse, including professional ensembles and church choirs with several different types of personnel and musical emphases: men and boys, men and women, ensembles specializing in early music (or not), ensembles with one singer per part, and ensembles with more than one singer per part. Of course, the ensembles listed above do not all sound identical. For instance, women singers in ensembles with the English sound tend to have a slightly heavier and less breathy timbre than boy trebles in choirs with the English sound. In addition, ensembles with only one singer per part also have different sounds than groups with more than one singer in each section, as it is easier to pick out the unique characteristics of individual voices, especially in comparison to larger choirs that sing with the English sound and

[28]Initially all male, the Clerkes of Oxenford became a mixed-gender ensemble in 1966.

therefore have a high level of blend among the singers in each section. Furthermore, vocal ensembles that specialize in early music and sing with the English sound tend to vary elements of their performances more frequently than King's and other church choirs, particularly when it would be historically sensitive to do so. For example, some specialist early vocal ensembles with the English sound adopt historically informed pronunciation that varies depending on when and where the music and text they are singing was written.[29] Despite these differences, however, the sounds of the ensembles listed in figure 2.4 above share many similarities. They can all be seen as exhibiting variants of the English sound.

The English sound seems to have been conditioned by distinctly British traditions. Taruskin's singling out of the use of countertenors in British choirs points to a particularly significant one of these traditions.[30] In choirs of men and boys in other countries—such as Germany, France, and Spain—it is more common to have prepubescent boys or boys whose voices have just begun to change singing the alto line. This is the practice, for instance, with the Wiener Sängerknaben (Vienna Boys' Choir), the Thomanerchor (St Thomas Choir) of Leipzig, the Escolania de Montserrat (Catalonia), and the Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois (Little Singers of Paris). The reliance on countertenors in England means that ensembles with the

[29]See, for instance, the Sixteen's 2005 recording of Benjamin Britten's *A Ceremony of Carols* (op. 28). Although the music was composed in the 1940s, the texts were written in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, so the Sixteen employs Middle English pronunciation and early modern English pronunciation. See the Sixteen, *A Ceremony of Carols: Benjamin Britten. A Boy Was Born, A Shepherd's Carol, Sweet Was the Song* (date and place of recording not listed), dir. Harry Christophers (CORO COR16034, 2005, CD). Contrast this with a Sixteen recording that employs modern English pronunciation, such as the Sixteen, *Poetry in Music: Britten, Howells, Ramsey, Rubbra, Tippet, and Tomkins* (date and place of recording not listed), dir. Harry Christophers (CORO COR16134, 2015, CD). Excerpts from both recordings can be previewed on the Sixteen's website: http://thesixteenshop.com/ (accessed March 27, 2016).

[30]Taruskin, "Tallis Scholars," 21–22.

English sound tend to have altos with a lighter and brighter sound than altos in choirs that do not employ countertenors.[31]

A good point of comparison here is the alto solo from the Agnus Dei of J.S. Bach's *Mass in B Minor* (BWV 232, ca. 1747–49). In a 1985 recording, Panajotis Iconomou (b. 1971), a boy alto from the Tölzer Knabenchor in West Germany, sings with a heavy and dark sound, especially in his low range.[32] In contrast, Michael Chance (b. 1955), a countertenor who trained as a choral scholar at King's College, has a light and bright sound when he sings the Agnus Dei in another 1985 recording of the Mass, a timbre that is particularly evident in his low range where it sounds like he stays in falsetto rather than switching to chest voice.[33]

Another comparison can be made between how various ensembles treat an especially exciting alto passage in Palestrina's *Tu es Petrus* (see example 2.1 below). The alto part has one of the more interesting lines during this passage, as it has several jumps of a fourth while most of the other parts move by step. In addition, the alto moves at a different rhythm from the other parts in measure 22. However, since it is not the highest sounding part, and because the tenor is singing quite high during this passage, the light timbre of the altos on the recordings with the English sound (King's 1965, King's 1983, Westminster Abbey 1985, Tallis Scholars 2005, De Profundis 2011)[34] means that this line is buried and not very audible. In contrast, recordings that do not exhibit the English sound bring out this passage, as the altos have a heavier sound. See,

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[31]It is possible for countertenors to sing with a heavy and dark sound, as anyone familiar with recordings of some countertenor soloists (such as Alfred Deller or James Bowman) can tell you. However, the tendency of countertenors singing in English ensembles has been to employ light and bright timbres.

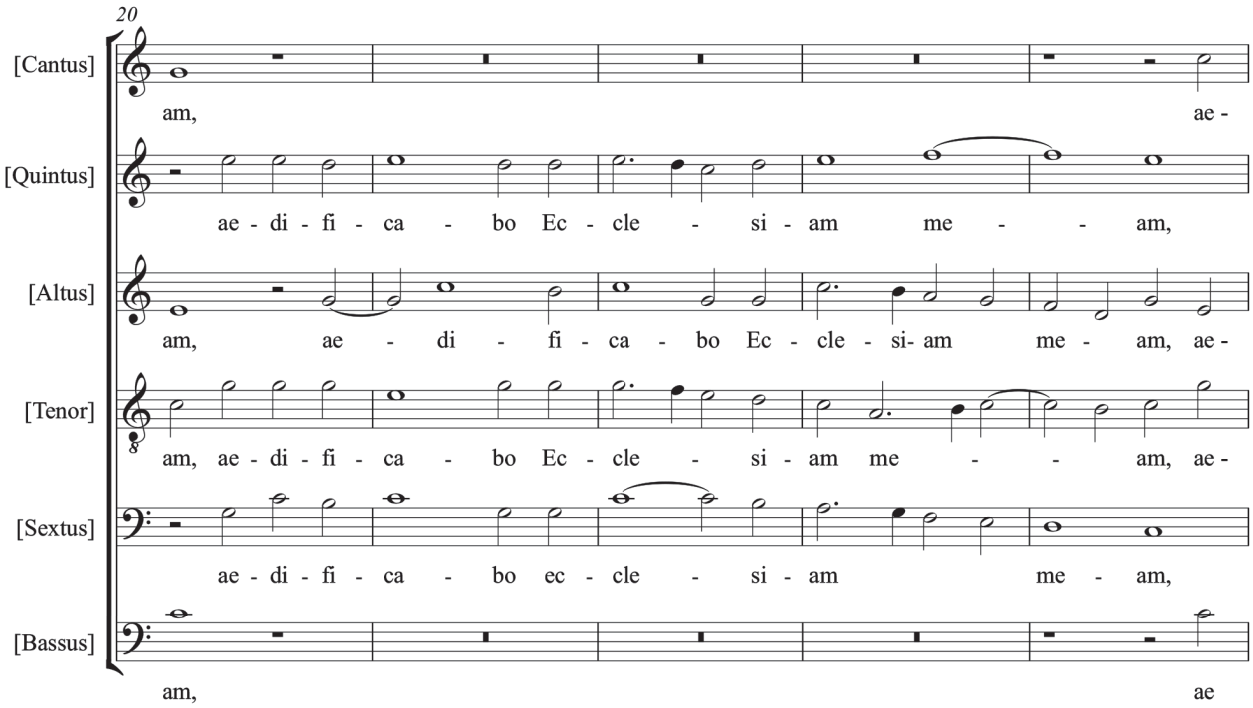
[32]The Taverner Consort and Players, *J.S. Bach: Mass in B Minor* (recorded in 1984 in St John's, Smith Square, London), dir. Andrew Parrott (EMI CDS 7 47293 8, 1985, 2 CDs). Iconomou's solo can be listened to or purchased online at the following sites: YouTube, https://youtu.be/WIfw4Vofin8; Naxos Music Library, catalogue no. 0724356133754; Classical Music Library, catalogue no. GBAYC8401202; and Amazon, http://amzn.to/1Op9BNi (all sites accessed June 15, 2016)

[33]The English Baroque Soloists and the Monteverdi Choir, *J.S. Bach: Mass in B Minor* (recorded in 1985 at All Saints' Church, Tooting, London), dir. John Eliot Gardiner (Archiv 415 514-2, 1985, 2 CDs). Chance's solo can be listened to or purchased online at the following sites: YouTube, http://bit.ly/1U9Ua8o (published November 30, 2013); and Amazon, http://amzn.to/1PNPqEY (all sites accessed June 15, 2016).

[34]See figure 2.2 above for an explanation of these choral sigla and for links to each recording.

especially: Westminster Cathedral 1982, Regensburg 1986, Opera Polifonica 2006, and Sistine Chapel 2015.

Example 2.1: A passage with an exciting alto line in Palestrina's motet *Tu es Petrus*, presented with original note values and pitches. Adapted from *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, ed. Casimiri, vol. 7, p. 163, mm. 20–24.



It is not only countertenors in vocal ensembles with the English sound, however, that sing with a light and bright timbre. Perhaps, as Taruskin has suggested, the other parts in these choirs felt a need to match the timbre of their alto countertenors.[35] The light and bright character of the English sound also seems related to the high prevalence of English church choirs that employ boys on the treble line, as boys often have lighter, less fully developed voices than adult women who sing soprano.[36] As validation of this idea that singers in choirs exhibiting the English sound

[35]Taruskin, "Tallis Scholars," 21–22.

[36]At the turn of the twentieth century there were an estimated 10,000 liturgical choirs of men and boys in the United Kingdom. Today, only around forty remain, however this number is still greater than the number of men and boys' choirs in many other countries. See Colin R. Brownlee, "Types of Choirs in the Archive," *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/choirs-in-the-archive and

emulated the sound of English boy trebles, one need look only as far as vocal ensembles where women sing soprano and/or alto lines. Many mixed choirs with the English sound have female singers who have adopted a bright timbre similar to boy trebles in choirs with the English sound.[37] For instance, the Tallis Scholars—one of the first critically acclaimed mixed-gender choirs with the English sound—initially received praise for how its female singers sounded like boys.[38]

The rich tradition of choral singing in Britain, particularly in sacred contexts, also fostered a collective and communal approach to singing that manifests itself in the high level of blend in the English sound. In countries where solo singing is more valued—for instance, in Italy, where opera reigns and many choral singers perform in the same way as they would sing as soloists—blend is not as evident in choral performances, and vibrato is also more prevalent.[39] Timothy Day has argued that the English sound reflects quintessential British values, claiming that the sound's limited vibrato and limited fluctuations in tempo and dynamics reflect a "characteristically English predilection for understatement and for self-control" as well as

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The Boy Choir and Soloist Directory, accessed July 28, 2015, https://www.boysoloist.com/genre.asp?VID=187&gen=187&sort=country. However, there are all-male choirs with boy trebles that have dark and heavy timbres, particularly non-English choirs such as the Thomanerchor, the Escolania de Montserrat, and the Sistine Chapel Choir. It is not just the singing of boys, then, that contributes to the character of the English sound, but rather the singing of boys who have been trained in a particular way, a way that is ultimately based on the aesthetic predilections of English choral conductors.

[37]This is not to say that women singers and boy trebles sound identical in ensembles with the English sound. The sound of women in these ensembles is typically bright and non-nasal, but heavier and less breathy than the sound of boy trebles.

[38]See: Peter Phillips, *What We Really Do: The Tallis Scholars,* 2nd ed. (London: Musical Times, 2013), 257; Roger Fiske, review of the Tallis Scholars' 1980 *Allegri Miserere* recording (Classics for Pleasure CFP40339, 1980, LP), *Gramophone*, October 1980, 523; and John Milsom, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 1984 *Allegri: Miserere* recording (HMV EL270095-1, 1984, LP [digital]/HMV EL270095-4, 1984, cassette [digital]), *Gramophone*, December 1984, 790. Other ensembles where women sopranos/altos have a bright sound similar to English boy trebles include the Choir of Clare College, Cambridge, the Gabrieli Consort and Players, Magnificat, the Sixteen, and the Taverner Choir.

[39]See the discussion of collectivism in the English approach to choral singing in an interview with Italian conductor Rinaldo Alessandrini in Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 142. Solo early music singing in Britain presents a contrasting case, where singers such as Tessa Bonner, Michael Chance, Charles Daniels, and Emma Kirkby, have taken the English sound and used it for their performances as soloists (in other words, the approach to choral singing was used for solo performances, not vice versa).

Anglican values of "reserve" or "reticence."[40] In chapter 3, I explore in more depth how the King's and English sounds and images reflect Anglican and English values such as "reserve" and "reticence." Here it will suffice to note that these values point to the institutions and cultural context that enabled the sounds to develop.

2.4: Developing and popularizing the King's and English sounds

In his quotation I presented in the previous section, Richard Taruskin closely aligned the English sound with choral practice at Cambridge and Oxford colleges.[41] Other writers have made similar connections between Oxbridge and the English sound, noting that many prominent professional British singers were trained in college chapel choirs at Oxbridge.[42] These connections are part of the broader cultural context surrounding choral singing in the United Kingdom, a context that I explore in more depth in chapter 3. In this section I focus on how choral personnel, recording, broadcasting, and acoustics have contributed to the character and rise of the King's and English sounds.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, King's was one of the earliest English choirs to begin employing undergraduate students (called "choral scholars") to sing alto, tenor, and bass lines.[43] Prior to then, King's, and most other church choirs in Britain, employed older, professional singers (called "lay clerks") to sing these parts. In 1881 the first undergraduate singer joined King's and by 1928 choral scholars had completely replaced the lay clerks in

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[40]Timothy Day, "English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 126–27.

[41]Taruskin, "Tallis Scholars," 21–22.

[42]See, especially: Day, "English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century,"123–32; Melanie L. Marshall, "*Voce bianca*: Purity and Whiteness in British Early Music Vocality," *Women and Music* 19 (2015): 36–44; Page, "English 'a cappella' Renaissance"; and Phillips, "Golden Age Regained," part 2; Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 28, 79, 161, 185.

[43]Timothy Day, "The Establishment of Choral Scholarships at King's College, Cambridge," *Journal of the Royal College of Organists* 2 (new series) (2008): 64–73. For a discussion of the broader context surrounding the rise of choral scholars in Britain (not just in the case of King's), see Phillips, "Golden Age Regained" (part 1), 4–7.

King's.[44] Day argued that this change in personnel contributed to the development of the King's sound, as "choral scholars were undoubtedly inexperienced, their voices much less mature than nearly all of the lay clerks, some of whose voices in fact being [*sic*] over-ripe. . . . Very few of them [the choral scholars] had aspirations to become even lay clerks. . . . [so] they were more responsive to calls for co-operative endeavour."[45]

Because they were younger and not necessarily interested in becoming professional singers, one might presume that the first King's choral scholars had voices of a lighter and less vibrato-rich character than their lay clerk predecessors and that their inclination toward "co-operative endeavour," to borrow Day's words, led to the high level of blend associated with the King's sound. Indeed, recordings and reviews from the 1920s and the 1930s suggest that key elements of the King's sound—such as a high level of blend—were in place during and shortly after the shift to choral scholars occurred.[46] But given the nearly complete lack of recordings of the choir with lay clerks, it is possible that the King's sound solidified before the choir started employing choral scholars.[47] In fact, there are recordings from the first two decades of the

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[44]See the discussion in Nicholas Marston, "'As England knows it': 'Daddy' Mann and the King's College Choir, 1876–1929," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 303–4. The first choral scholarship was awarded to Percy A. Thomas on March 21, 1881.

[45]Day, "Choral Scholarships at King's College," 67.

[46]The first recordings of the choir were made in 1927. They are of two compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach (*Auf, auf! mein Herz, mit Freuden* [BWV 441] and *Gott lebet noch* [BWV 461]) and one by Johannes Brahms ("Es ist das Heil kommen her" from *Two Motets*, op. 29). In 1927 the alto, tenor, and bass parts in King's were sung by nine choral scholars and two lay clerks: the recordings from this year are the only ones made of King's when it still included lay clerks. The Bach recordings were released on a seventy-eight rpm record in 1931 (HMV B3707)—the Brahms recording was never commercially issued. Digitizations of all three recordings can be listened to in person at the British Library. The call numbers are: 1CDR0025679 BD6 C2 NSA (for BWV 441); 1CS0059509 1 HMV (for BWV 461); and 1CDR0025679 BD7 NSA (for the Brahms). See the clippings of reviews in the "Foreign Tour 1936" file held at the Archive Centre of King's College, Cambridge, call no. KCAR/8/3/9/1, especially Sten Broman, "Cambridge-kören i domkyrkan," *Sydsvenska Dagbladet,* March 27, 1936 and Jeffrey Pulver, "Society for Musical Research," *Musical Opinion* 56 (September 1933), 1019. Both reviewers praised the choir's precise intonation, with Broman noting that: "both the sopranos and the altos sang . . . with a polished, clear, and open sound" (my translation from: "Både sopraner och altar sjöngo . . . med finslipade, klara och öppna toner").

[47]Peter Phillips has also pointed to the problems with drawing relationships between the young age of singers in English choirs and the characteristics of the English sound, characterizing it as a "chicken and egg" type problem. With a limited numbers of recordings of choirs made before choral scholars became widespread in Britain,

twentieth century of English choirs with lay clerks singing with sounds similar to the English sound, especially with light and bright timbres, which suggests that characteristics of the King's sound could predate the rise of choral scholars.[48]

Despite the problems with claiming that young singers have contributed to the character of the King's and English sounds, it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of choral scholars in King's and in other English choirs. Presently, many of the choirs that exhibit the English sound, particularly the Oxbridge college chapel choirs, employ choral scholars and a smaller number of them have lay clerks than did one hundred or more years ago. Young singers have played significant roles in fostering the King's and English sounds since the early twentieth century: their less developed and less vibrato-heavy voices and their inclination to "co-operative endeavour" has made them well suited for producing these sounds. In addition, King's holds a special position as one of the pioneers of the choral-scholar model and as one of the first choirs to release many recordings and broadcasts featuring exclusively young singers. It is to these recordings and broadcasts that I turn now, exploring how they helped spread the King's and English sounds.

Recordings and broadcasts have been important means of popularizing the King's and English sounds since the early twentieth century. British choirs are well represented in the output of record labels and broadcasting companies. Colin Brownlee's *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, for instance, includes around 6,000 recordings of British choirs released starting as early

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it is unclear which came first: choral scholars or the English sound. See Phillips, "Golden Age Regained" (part 1), 4–7.

[48]See Colin R. Brownlee, "A Century of Recorded English Church Music: 1902–2002," video of PowerPoint presentation (2011), *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/. Watch from 2′14″ to 9′17″ to hear Brownlee's analysis of excerpts of recordings released between 1902 and 1919. It should be noted, however, that these are acoustical recordings with poorer sound quality and more distortion than the electrical recordings that emerged in the 1920s, which, in combination with the small number of recordings of British choirs released before the 1920s, makes it difficult to make generalizations about the sound of British choirs in the early twentieth century.

as 1902.[49] Many of these recordings were released by major labels with worldwide distribution, including Decca Records and Electric and Musical Industries Limited (EMI), or they were released by subsidiaries of major labels. The BBC has also devoted significant attention to church music, broadcasting liturgical choirs regularly since its foundation in the 1920s.[50] More recently, the internet has helped spread the King's and English sounds to listeners all around the world. King's regularly broadcasts its services online,[51] and recordings of choirs with the English sound are readily available to download from Amazon, iTunes, and other websites.

King's is one of the most frequently recorded and broadcasted British choirs. Between 1954 and 2015 it released 168 LPs and CDs, more albums, it seems, than any other individual choir in the world.[52] The choir has regularly been on popular radio broadcasts, most notably of the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols service, which has been broadcast annually by the BBC since 1931 and is now broadcast on many radio stations around the world, including on over 900 stations in the United States alone.[53]

The many recordings and broadcasts of King's and other British choirs are likely largely responsible both for the widespread nature of the King's and English sounds and for the

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[49]Colin R. Brownlee, "Recordings," *Archive of Recorded Church Music*, http://www.recordedchurchmusic.org/recordings (accessed April 13, 2016). The discography is not numbered, so this figure of 6,000 albums is an estimate based on the fact that the discography is around 200 pages long with about thirty albums listed on each page.

[50]The BBC was founded in 1922 as the British Broadcasting Company. In 1927 the name was changed to the British Broadcasting Corporation. For a detailed examination of the BBC's early broadcasts of church music, see Rebecca Ruth Frost, "English Cathedral Music and the BBC, 1922 to 1939" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2011).

[51]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "Webcasts," accessed September 23, 2014, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/listen/webcasts.html.

[52]See the list of these albums in Appendix B. Here I count only the first issue of an album (not re-releases). I do not count compilations of previously released material. Brownlee's discographies on his *Archive of Recorded Church Music* website include approximately 350 entries for King's (these include some duplicates, re-releases, recordings of broadcasts, and videos), more entries than for any other choir. The next highest number of entries appears to be for the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, which has approximately 215 entries. I say "appear" and "approximately" because there is no easy way to sort the discographies by number of entries per ensemble and count the precise number of entries.

[53]See American Public Media, "About Us," accessed May 5, 2015, http://americanpublicmedia.publicradio.org/about/.

predominately unchanging character of these sounds since the early twentieth century. People who heard and enjoyed the English sound on a particular recording likely sought out other recordings and broadcasts of that ensemble, expecting to hear a similar sound. Changing a choir's sound to something other than the English sound could have led to a loss in sales among listeners who valued the King's and English sounds.

The King's and English sounds seem especially appropriate for one specific recording format: the CD. As Donald Greig has noted:

> The two histories of the efflorescence of English *a cappella* groups and the ascendance of the CD as *the* [Greig's emphasis] recording format go virtually hand in hand. The CD will be seen within a history of industrial design as the quintessential product of the 1980s—clean, shiny, a beautiful object in itself which creates a perfect, pure sound. It is the ultimate fetish object which allows the listener the ideal state of disavowal of the body of the performer. The particular ideology of sound of the 80s was one of purity and cleanliness, of static-free, interference-reduced, pristine brilliance. It is precisely this ideology which the English *a cappella* groups represent.[54]

Earlier in this article, Greig drew on reviews of choirs to suggest that a sense of "cleanliness" or "purity" manifests itself in the lack of vibrato and high level of blend in the English sound.[55] Vincenzo Borghetti, Melanie Marshall, and Kirsten Yri have made similar claims.[56] Because the CD is closely aligned with the aesthetics of the King's and English sounds, it has been an ideal format for presenting recordings of English vocal ensembles. And since the CD has been the predominant format for recordings of classical music since it became commercially available in the early 1980s, King's and ensembles exhibiting the English sound have had little reason to change their approach to singing in the past thirty years, lest a new approach not be deemed effective when presented on CDs.

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[54]Greig, "Sight-Readings," 143.

[55]Ibid., 141 and 143.

[56]Vincenzo Borghetti, "Purezza e trasgressione: il suono del Medioevo dagli anni Cinquanta ad oggi," *Semicerchio* 44 (2011): 48–49; Marshall, "*Voce Bianca*," 36–44; Kirsten Yri, "Remaking the Past: Feminist Spirituality in Anonymous 4 and Sequentia's Vox Feminae," *Women and Music* 12 (2008): 3, 10–12.

Finally in this section, I will briefly consider how the acoustical properties of performance spaces may have shaped the King's and English sounds. This is important to examine, as directors of King's have claimed that the highly reverberant nature of the college's chapel is partly responsible for the characteristics of the King's sound. They have suggested that the chapel's acoustics demand a "clear" and "pure" sound that is blended, balanced, and precisely in tune, and if the choir does sing in these ways, the reverberant acoustic will serve only to amplify an undesirable sound.[57]

The chapel at King's College is a unique space: the interior is long (289 feet) and is also tall (eighty feet).[58] Although long and tall, the chapel is narrow: only forty-two feet wide.[59] Unlike many Anglican places of worship, the King's College chapel lacks a transept. In addition, there is a large amount of exposed stone covering almost the entirety of the walls and the ceiling. During services the choir typically sings from the cantoris and decani choir stalls that run parallel to the length of the chapel, which means that the sound does not have far to go (a maximum of forty-two feet) before reaching the opposite walls and reflecting off of them. Because the space is tall and voluminous, the resulting reverberations last for a long time, but because it is narrow, the sound does not decay much before it reflects off of the walls, so the reverb is also slow to decay (the reverb sounds louder for longer). In contrast, in larger cathedrals of more typical

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[57]See, for instance, David Willcocks, Philip Ledger, and Stephen Cleobury's thoughts on the chapel's acoustics in: Robert Chesterman, dir. "The Boast of King's," 1982 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio broadcast, digitized recording held at the British Library, call no. 1CDR0025706 B21 NSA; Jill Evans, producer, "King's College Choir," TV program broadcast on BBC 1, December 15, 1992, transcript held at the Archive Centre of King's College, Cambridge, call no. KCAR/8/3/20; Philip Ledger, interviewed by David Munrow, [no title], BBC radio broadcast, December 25, 1974, digitized recording held at the British Library, call no. C1398/1872 C9; and David Willcocks, Robert Tear, John Potter, and Timothy Day, "Saul Seminar: 'The Most Famous Choir in the World': Tradition and Two Individual Talents," seminar held November 8, 2005 at the British Library, CD recording of seminar held at the British Library, call no. 1CDR0022894 D1-2 NSA.

[58]John Ochsendorf and Matthew Dejong, "The Structure and Construction of the Chapel," in *King's College Chapel: 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 63; Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, ed. John Willis Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886), vol. 1, 485.

[59]Ibid.

dimensions (i.e., not very long and narrow, for instance St Paul's Cathedral in London), sound travels farther before reflecting off the walls, so it is weaker by the time it hits the walls and the resulting reverb is also weaker and decays more rapidly.

The acoustics of the chapel at King's College pose a problem, though, for if they contributed to the character of the King's sound, why would English choirs that sing in different spaces sound similar to King's? In other words, why would the King's and English sounds be similar if the King's chapel has unique acoustical properties that helped determine the characteristics of the King's sound? And why would the sounds of non-English choirs that perform in similarly reverberant acoustics (such as the Sistine Chapel Choir) not be similar to the sound of King's? Because it is hard to come up with convincing answers to these questions, acoustics probably did not play a substantial role in the development of the King's and English sounds. Claims about the relationships between acoustics and these sounds are ultimately reflections of the aesthetic predilections of choir directors. Someone with different tastes may feel that a different sound is better suited for the King's chapel.

That said, the reverberant character of many English chapels and cathedrals is still worth considering, as a high level of reverb is common in most recordings, broadcasts, and performances of King's and other choirs exhibiting the English sound. In recordings of these ensembles, little is done to minimize reverb: they are usually not recorded in studios, but in the reverberant chapels or cathedrals in which the choirs regularly give services or perform.[60]

[60]See the discussion of recording spaces in: Simon Eadon, "Recording at King's," *Gramophone*, July 1998, 108–9; and Donald Greig, "Performing For (and Against) the Microphone," in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, and John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16–29. Compare, for instance, the several seconds of reverb at the end of this video of King's recorded in the college's chapel (https://youtu.be/A9v7vYuZSAU?t=3m30s) to a studio recording of an R&B song featuring a choir (https://youtu.be/GIQn8pab8Vc?t=3m57s), which has less reverb. However, it should be noted that King's often records in its antechapel, which is smaller and somewhat less reverberant than the main body of the chapel, so the amount of reverb on recordings is often somewhat less than the amount of reverb experienced

Aurally, a sense of being in reverberant spaces is conveyed to people listening to vocal ensembles with the English sound, whether in person or via recordings or broadcasts. While the acoustics of English houses of worship may not have been responsible for the King's and English sounds developing their particular characteristics, the sense of being in a reverberant space is nonetheless an important component of the sound of King's and other English choirs.

2.5: The stability of the King's and English sounds

I have already mentioned that the King's sound does not vary for different repertoires and has not changed significantly since the mid-twentieth century. In this section, I explore this stability in more depth by turning to recordings of a work that the choir frequently sings: the Christmas carol *Once in Royal David's City*. The text and melody of this composition were written in the mid-nineteenth century.[61] The melody was subsequently harmonized by King's choir director Arthur Henry Mann, with descants added by subsequent King's directors David Willcocks, Philip Ledger, and Stephen Cleobury. Since 1919, this carol has opened the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services held annually on Christmas Eve at King's College. The choir's first recording of *Once in Royal David's City* was made in 1954 and since then King's has recorded it frequently. This makes the carol an ideal work for examining the trajectory of the King's sound since the mid-twentieth century. Figure 2.5 below gives a selective listing of easily accessible recordings of *Once in Royal David's City* that help illustrate the stability of the King's sound over the past sixty years.

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during live services. See chapter 4, footnote 88 for a more detailed discussion of the effects of recording in smaller subsets of large and reverberant spaces.

[61]The text was written by Cecil Frances Humphreys Alexander (1818–95) and first published in her *Hymns for Little Children* (London: Joseph Masters, 1848). Henry John Gauntlett (1805–76) wrote the tune "Irby" in 1849 and set Alexander's text to it. The melody and text combined were first published in Gauntlett's *Christmas Carols or Lays and Legends of the Nativity* (London: C. Lonsdale, 1850).

Figure 2.5: Selective listing of King's recordings of *Once in Royal David's City*. Recordings marked with asterisks (*) were made during live services and therefore have the congregation singing along with the choir for at least one verse of the carol.

1) 1954 Ord – From a televised broadcast of the 1954 Festival service. Boris Ord (conductor), Hugh McLean (organist), Rodney Williams (treble soloist). No descant.*

A Festival of Lessons and Carols. Argo RG 39, [1955], LP (mono). Re-release: Argo ECS 659, 1972, LP (mono).

YouTube: https://youtu.be/Rr6yZ-deibU?t=13s.

Duration of the first verse for all voices (verse 2): 0′52″

2) 1971 Willcocks – Recorded in 1971, place of recording not listed. David Willcocks (conductor), Ian Hare (organist), [treble soloist not listed]. Descant by Willcocks.

Christmas Carols from King's College. EMI CDM 7 63179 2, 1985, CD (track not issued prior to this compilation CD).

Naxos: 0724356624153. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1Pz1Uj7.[62]

Duration of the first verse for all voices (verse 2): 0′49″

3) 1978 Ledger – Recorded in 1978 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge. Philip Ledger (conductor), Thomas Trotter (organist), Jason McCaldin (treble soloist). Descant by Ledger.

A Festival of Lessons and Carols from King's. EMI ASD 3778, 1979, LP. Re-release: EMI Classics CDM 66242 2, 1987, CD.

Naxos: 0724356624252. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1WUOKlW.

Duration of the first verse for all voices (verse 2): 0′52″

4) 1994 Cleobury – Recorded in 1994 in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (France). Stephen Cleobury (conductor), David Goode (organist), Guy Johnston (treble soloist). Descant by Cleobury.

Carols from King's. Brilliant Classics 9186, 1994, CD.

Naxos: BC9186. Amazon: http://amzn.to/1UdGeKD.

Duration of the first verse for all voices (verse 2): 0′41″

5) 2013 Cleobury – From a televised broadcast of the 2013 Festival service. Stephen Cleobury (conductor), [treble soloist and organist not credited]. Descant by Cleobury.*

Carols from King's. King's College, Cambridge KGS0008, 2014, DVD.

YouTube: https://youtu.be/PtiCLJvyePw. Naxos: KGS0007.

Duration of the first verse for all voices (verse 2): 0′42″

The choir's light, bright, and non-nasal sound with minimal vibrato and its high level of blend and balance is evident on all of the King's recordings of *Once in Royal David's City* listed above. There are differences in some other elements, though, especially tempo, with Cleobury's recordings being faster than those of his predecessors, as well as a difference in vibrato, with the

[62]See footnote 15 above for a description of my references to Naxos, Amazon, and the Classical Music Library.

tenors and basses in the 1954 and 1971 recordings singing with more vibrato than the tenors and basses in the three later recordings. Despite these differences, the similarities between the choir's sound in all five recordings is impressive. In fact, the choir's sound in the 2013 recording shares more similarities with the sound of the choir in 1954 than it does with the sound of some other choirs who have recorded this carol, even in the twenty-first century.[63] In addition to *Once in Royal David's City*, one can find the King's sound on recordings of other non-early works, such as a 1975 LP of choral music by Franz Schubert and Johannes Brahms or a 1992 CD of a post-tonal work by Peter Maxwell Davies (b. 1934).[64] The King's sound permeates all recordings the choir has released.

The unvarying nature of the King's sound across different repertoires and its stability since the mid-twentieth century are likely consequences of the choir performing, broadcasting, and recording a large volume of music from many different time periods, regions, and genres. In this context, King's quickly amassed a large body of albums exhibiting the choir's characteristic sound.[65] This corpus of recordings solidified the King's sound for listeners. In turn, listeners came to expect to find the King's sound on subsequent albums. The choir's frequent services (daily during term), concerts (around fifteen per year), and broadcasts also helped solidify the King's sound. If the choir were to have changed its sound significantly after gaining worldwide

[63]See, for instance: the Georgia Boy Choir (US), video excerpt of December 19, 2009 concert at Peachtree Road United Methodist Church, Atlanta, https://youtu.be/MFOKwgGC7hU (the alto part is sung by boys, not countertenors, which results in a heavier alto sound, plus the Georgia trebles have a darker timbre than the King's trebles); and the Roden Girl Singers (Netherlands), video excerpt of December 23, 2013 concert, https://youtu.be/MbKEfEW0ouE (an all-female ensemble with a more nasal timbre than King's).

[64]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Choral Music of Schubert and Brahms* (recorded in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, date of recording not listed), Philip Ledger, dir. and piano (EMI ASD 3091, 1975, LP); The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Maxwell Davies: Solstice of Light* [composed 1979] (recorded in 1991 in the chapel of King's College Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (Argo 436 1192, 1992, CD).

[65]For instance, in the decade after releasing its first LP (1954–1963), King's issued twenty-three LPs. See the discography in Appendix B.

popularity, it would have risked losing listeners, lest a different sound not prove as appealing to listeners.[66]

It is also probable that the choir's demanding schedule has contributed to the unvarying nature of the King's sound. Choir members must learn large amounts of music for daily services. This music is diverse—from many different time periods, places and genres—and the singers are young and inexperienced (in comparison to older, professional singers). In light of these constraints, it would be unrealistic to expect choir members to adopt vastly different approaches to different types of music, or attempts to do this might not be as consistently well executed as a uniform sound applied to all types of music. Similar constraints apply to many other church choirs in the United Kingdom, which likely explains why the English sound has also remained largely the same since the mid-twentieth century and does not vary substantially for different repertoires.

[66]Interestingly, music directors at King's College feel that the King's sound has changed since the mid-twentieth century. For instance, in a 1974 interview with Jeremy Noble, David Willcocks claimed that he changed the choir's sound "subconsciously," as a result of having King's collaborate more frequently with orchestras than was the case under previous directors, which required a "bigger, brighter," "more penetrating," and rhythmically "pungent" approach in order "to ride over a full orchestra." See David Willcocks, interviewed by Jeremy Noble, *Talking about Music 170: David Willcocks* (BBC Transcription Service disc 134648, 1974, LP) (held at the British Library, call no. 1LP0200732 S2 BD2 BBC TRANSC). In an interview published in 2001, Stephen Cleobury said: "If you actually listen to recordings of the choir under Boris Ord and under David Willcocks and under Philip Ledger, you will find differences. . . . [Yet] I think it would be true to say that one could detect a King's sound, even through my time as well. . . . Any change I have brought is probably a result of evolution and of being myself, instead of looking over my shoulder. And I think it has changed. We've gone for a more open sound. In an older generation, boys were encouraged to use more or less exclusively head voice. . . . One is trying to exploit, develop, coax, employ, and find a greater variety of vocal color than was the case previously." See Jeffrey Sandborg, *English Ways: Conversations with English Choral Conductors* (Chapel Hill, NC: Hinshaw, 2001), 84. Listening to a wide range of recordings of the King's, Willcocks and Cleobury's claims fall somewhat flat. For example, the differences between the sound of the choir under Willcocks and Ord seem minute in comparison to the differences between the present-day King's sound and the sound of the Sistine Chapel Choir. Willcocks and Cleobury also seem to have been suggesting not that they fundamentally altered the King's sound, but rather that they retained the essential characteristics of the sound while slightly modifying isolated elements of the sound to suit their own personal styles.

2.6: The King's and English sounds and early music; Conclusion

Although the King's and English sounds are used for both early and later repertoires, they are particularly important to consider in the context of the early music revival. King's has released an impressive 109 LPs and CDs containing early music and has performed Renaissance and Baroque music in frequent services, concerts, and broadcasts.[67] As a result of the high involvement of King's and other English church choirs with early music—especially Tudor church music[68]—the English sound has become common for performances of early choral music. And, as shown in figure 2.4 above, many professional vocal ensembles that specialize in early music performance adopted the English sound. This was likely because King's and other English church choirs were performing and recording early music with the English sound before these professional vocal ensembles emerged *en masse* around 1980, and also because many professional ensemble singers and choral directors in England trained as trebles, choral scholars, and organ scholars in church choirs that exhibit the English sound.[69] Thus, in the late twentieth century, the King's and English sounds became important backbones of the performance practice of specialist early vocal ensembles in Britain.

The connections between the King's and English sounds and the early music revival are explored in more depth in chapter 5. In the following two chapters, I delve deeper into the King's sound, considering first how the cultural context surrounding the choir is reflected in its sound and image (chapter 3) and then moving on to a case study of how the King's and English sounds are at play in recordings of two specific early works: Allegri's *Miserere* and Taverner's *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (chapter 4).

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[67]See the full King's discography in Appendix B.

[68]See Timothy Day, *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: British Library, 1989), 15–49, 298–99.

[69]See, especially: Page, "English 'a cappella' Renaissance," 457; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 28, 79, 161, 185.

Chapter 3: The cultural context of the King's sound and image

3.1: Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I defined the King's and English sounds, suggesting that King's played an important role in disseminating and popularizing these sounds, particularly by way of its many recordings and broadcasts of early music. In this chapter, I delve deeper into the reasons behind the rise of the King's sound, suggesting that part of its prominence is due to its associations with powerful institutions, religious and national values, and privileged identities in the United Kingdom. I also make similar claims about how King's is presented to listeners, particularly in video portrayals of choir members, calling this type of extra-musical presentation the choir's "image." Because the King's sound and image both highlight the choir's links to hegemonic institutions and identities in Britain, I suggest that listeners have been drawn to King's because it makes them feel "cultured" or "sophisticated" by association. In other words, the prestige of the choir has helped increase listeners' cultural capital, to borrow the term of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.[1]

I start by considering institutions and religious and national ideals. Building on Timothy Day's scholarship, I show how King's exhibits a sense of English religious traditions and

[1]The phrase "cultural capital" refers to social or cultural assets that can give someone higher social standing by making her or him seem more "cultured" or "sophisticated." There are three types of cultural capital, all of which are involved, I believe, in the appeal of King's. First, there is "objectified cultural capital," which refers to how objects can impart cultural capital on their owners. In the case of King's, these objects would be recordings. There is also "institutionalized cultural capital," which refers to how institutions transmit cultural capital to people affiliated with them. In the case of King's, these institutions would be King's College and the University of Cambridge, Eton College, and the institutional mechanisms—education, media, etc.—that have taught listeners to view the type of music-making (i.e., Western art music performance) that goes on at King's College as "sophisticated" and "high class." Finally, there is "embodied cultural capital," which refers directly to the level of cultural capital an individual possesses. Given the prestige of the choir, listeners of King's would have high levels of embodied cultural capital by mere association with the ensemble. See: Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education*, ed. Richard Brown (London: Tavistock, 1973), 71–112; and Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," in *Soziale Ungleichheit*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel (Göttingen: Schwartz 1983), 183–98, trans. Richard Noe as "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58.

values.[2] Turning to Heather Wiebe's work, I suggest that King's appeals to listeners because the choir conveys the sense of an esteemed, exclusive English sacred choral tradition while being inclusive of listeners.[3] I then argue that the connections between King's and three highly regarded and wealthy academic institutions—King's College, the University of Cambridge, and Eton College—have helped the choir transmit high levels of cultural capital to its listeners. Academic connections have also helped propel the King's and English sounds in tangible ways, particularly in cases where prominent musicians who trained at or were affiliated with the universities of Cambridge and Oxford have written reviews of recordings where they upheld these sounds.[4]

Next I turn to identity, focusing on the choir's all-male and mostly white composition. Drawing on work by Melanie Marshall that links characteristics of the English sound to the white identity of choristers, I suggest that these characteristics have enabled the King's sound to appeal to predominately white audiences in Britain.[5] I then consider how the all-male nature of King's relates to its sound and image, arguing that although it may not be audible, the choir's exclusion of female participants is an important part of its image, particularly when performing early music, as it helps the choir convey a sense of historical authenticity. In addition, I build on work by Martin Ashley and others to suggest that the boy trebles of King's present an especially

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[2]Timothy Day, "English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 123–32.

[3]Heather Wiebe, *Britten's Unquiet Pasts: Sound and Memory in Postwar Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 52.

[4]See, especially, Christopher Page, "The English *a cappella* Renaissance," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (1993): 458–59.

[5]Melanie L. Marshall, "*Voce bianca*: Purity and Whiteness in British Early Music Vocality," *Women and Music* 19 (2015): 36–44.

appealing sense of masculinity to listeners, one that blends stereotypical images of boyhood with the idea that the trebles are "angelic" singers with "pure" and "ethereal" voices.[6]

Because the King's sound and image remain essentially the same for music composed in all time periods, I do not focus exclusively on early music in this chapter. Rather, I pick the examples that most clearly illustrate the connections between King's and privileged institutions and identities in the United Kingdom, some of which involve early music and others of which involve later music.[7]

3.2: The Church of England and British sacred traditions and values

In a chapter on "English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century," Timothy Day linked characteristics of the English sound to Anglican traditions, suggesting that the "reserve, reticence, and avoidance of flamboyance" found in the sound "had [also] been fundamental qualities in the spiritual and devotional life of the Tractarians."[8] The last word of this quotation refers to members of the Oxford Movement, an influential nineteenth-century movement that sought to have the Church of England adopt more of the rituals of the Roman Catholic Church, such as the use of incense and increased devotion to the Virgin Mary. This movement contributed substantially to what are presently known as "High Church" Anglicanism and

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[6]Martin Ashley, *How High Should Boys Sing?: Gender, Authenticity and Credibility in the Young Male Voice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[7]However, since King's has released a particularly large number of recordings of early music, associations between the King's sound and privileged British institutions and identities are likely frequently made in the case of early music. In addition, because the Church of England and Oxbridge have histories dating back to the Renaissance and Middle Ages, respectively, choirs associated with these institutions can be seen as being part of their rich histories. This could help bolster the popularity of these choirs' performances and recordings of early music, which some people likely view as historically informed simply on the basis of the ensembles' affiliations with institutions with long histories. For more on this final point, see my discussion on pp. 72–73 below.

[8]Day, "English Cathedral Choirs," 127. Christopher Page has made similar claims about the supposedly Protestant character of the English sound. See Christopher Page, "The English *a cappella* Renaissance," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (1993): 454.

"Anglo-Catholicism."[9] Currently, many prominent congregations within the Church of England are aligned with the ideals of High Church Anglicanism or Anglo-Catholicism, such as St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral, and most of the college chapels at Oxford and Cambridge, including King's.

Day has linked the "reserve" and "reticence" of the English sound to a similar quality found in the spoken elements of Anglican services, writing: "it is a manner of singing that has its counterpart in the way of reading lessons and prayers long familiar in cathedral services . . . with a measured calm, without any theatrical extravagance."[10] This observation is most accurate when it comes to speech: High Church Anglican and Anglo-Catholic services and places of worship are not exactly "restrained" with their elaborate vestments, architecture, and artwork. In addition, while King's and choirs with the English sound may sing in a restrained manner, this does not mean that they sing only simple or nondramatic music. Many have performed and recorded substantial amounts of complex Renaissance and Baroque polyphony.

The fact that the Choir of King's College, Cambridge has been in continuous operation since the fifteenth century could also lead listeners to believe that the King's sound is an authentic or authoritative exemplar of longstanding choral practices within the Church of England. This idea seems to have merit, as the choir has operated in an Anglican setting since the English Reformation and has been all male in composition and has had sixteen boy choristers for its entire history. Yet, as I showed in the preceding two chapters, the choir has also experienced significant changes over the past 500 years, particularly the switch from lay clerks to choral

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[9]These two terms are not exactly identical: Anglo-Catholicism implies a greater identification with the Roman Catholic Church than High Church Anglicanism. High Church Anglicanism also started before the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century; however, both present-day High Church Anglicanism and Anglo-Catholicism are indebted to the Oxford Movement. See Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993).

[10]Day, "English Cathedral Choirs," 126.

scholars that occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[11] In the absence of recordings of the choir prior to the 1920s, it ultimately cannot be said how similar the King's sound of today is to the choir's sound in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. If listeners view King's as historically authoritative or authentic because of its long affiliation with the Church of England, this view ultimately says less about the sound of the choir and more about the image King's fosters in taking part in longstanding English sacred traditions.

The importance of these traditions is apparent in non-musical aspects of how King's and other choirs with the English sound are presented to listeners. This is especially the case with the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services at King's College. In a 1954 article, for instance, John Sheppard suggested that part of the appeal of the Festival is its ability to convey a comforting sense of English and Anglican tradition to listeners:

> Christmas has always been a Festival at King's since the days of the Boy Bishop [i.e., since the Middle Ages]. . . . During the [Second World] war, as we have learned from many sources, the music and the prayers [of the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services at King's College] gave hope and comfort to listeners throughout the English-speaking world, and elsewhere too. In Belgium, Holland, [and] Czechoslovakia there were many secret wartime listeners. In several German prisoner-of-war camps carol services with Lessons were held. At the Opera House of Caserta in Italy an Anglo-American choir of troops sang carols, and the Lessons were read in a series starting with a private, ending with a general. In a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp the curtain rose on a scene representing a room at the BBC. An announcer said "We are taking you to King's"; then it rose again on two rows of prisoners, dressed in white costumes, meant to look like surplices, and singing carols to the accompaniment of camp-made instruments. "It sounded," said my informant, "something like [Boris] Ord" [the music director of King's at the time].[12]

[11]See my discussion in chapter 2, pp. 56–58.
[12]John Sheppard, "Carols from King's College Chapel," *Radio Times*, December 17, 1954, 5.

Unfortunately, Sheppard did not cite his "informant," so it is unclear how true his claims are.[13] If true, his article would suggest that by the time of the Second World War, King's and the Festival had become such an important part of many people's Christmas festivities that even soldiers in the dire surroundings of prisoner-of-war camps felt compelled not just to listen to the service, but to act it out themselves. Listening to a service that has been a significant part of English Christmas traditions likely gave wartime listeners hope that these traditions would continue during and after the war.

Additional evidence from the time of the Second World War supports the idea that an important component of the King's image is the ways the choir conveys a sense of English sacred traditions to listeners. For instance, the singing of King's was featured in "Christmas under Fire," a 1941 British propaganda film that encouraged the United States to join the war effort.[14] Towards the end of the film, the narrator says that, even during the Blitz, "on Christmas Eve, England does what England has done for a thousand years, she worships the Prince of Peace."[15] Immediately following this statement comes footage showing King's singing the Christmas carol *Adestes, fideles* (O come, all ye faithful) during a Festival service. After the first verse, the choir continues singing, but the camera cuts to the platform of a London Tube station in the midst of an air raid during the Blitz. The platform is packed with people who seem to be in surprisingly good spirits in light of the circumstances: they are chatting with one another, reading, knitting, decorating Christmas trees, and (later) sleeping soundly. The message seems to

[13]However, Sheppard's claims are possibly true given that the BBC had begun doing international broadcasts of the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols at King's College by the start of the Second World War (beginning with an abbreviated version of the service broadcast on the Empire Service in 1932).

[14]Harry Watt, dir., "Christmas under Fire" (1941), Crown Film Unit, Ministry of Information (UK), available on the British Film Institute's official YouTube channel, accessed September 14, 2015, https://youtu.be/aGK5EsGzKIg. See also the discussion of the film in Nicholas John Cull, *Selling the War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American "Neutrality" in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 108.

[15]Starting at 7′30″ in the YouTube video.

be that distinctly English religious and national traditions—represented here by the singing of King's in the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols service—give British citizens a sense of comfort that allows them to remain optimistic and hopeful, even when facing the violence and uncertainty of war.

Sheppard's article and "Christmas Under Fire" both suggest that by the time of the Second World War, King's, and especially its Festival service, came to be viewed as representing quintessential and seemingly timeless aspects of English sacred life that made the choir hold a special resonance with British people during the war. Yet the Festival itself is far from a "timeless" tradition: the first one at King's College was held in 1918.[16] Perhaps listeners during and after the Second World War were also drawn to the service because its inception at the end of the Great War meant it had given British people a similar sense of solace and hope by evoking national religious traditions in the aftermath of that war.[17]

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[16]Sheppard, "Carols from King's," 5. For more information on the history of the Festival service at King's College, see Nicholas Nash, "'A Right Prelude to Christmas': A History of *A Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols*," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 323–43. Sheppard's insinuation that the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols dates back to the Middle Ages is ungrounded, although it does reflect a sense of "inventing tradition" or "medievalism" common since the nineteenth century, where people have turned to the Middle Ages for inspiration when creating or engaging with contemporary art, music, and literature, often with the purpose (and effect) of evoking the aura of seemingly longstanding, "timeless" traditions. Medievalism is especially common in sacred contexts, as the Middle Ages are often seen as a more fundamentally spiritual time than preceding or following eras. For more on medievalism in general and in musical contexts, see: Jennifer Bain, "Hildegard on 34th Street: Chant in the Marketplace," *Echo* 6, no. 1 (2004), http://www.echo.ucla.edu/Volume6-issue1/bain/bain1.html; Jennifer Bain, Stephen Meyer, Michael Richardson, Jacob Sagrans, and Kirsten Yri, "Music and Medievalism: New Critical Approaches," presentations and panel discussion at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, November 5, 2016; Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Katherine Bergeron, "The Virtual Sacred: Finding God at Tower Records," *New Republic*, February 27, 1995, 29–34; Umberto Eco, "Dreaming of the Middle Ages" (1984), in *Travels in Hyperreality*, ed. William Weaver (New York: Harcourt, 1986), 61–72; Annette Kreutziger-Herr, "Medievalism," *Grove Music Online*, published July 1, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/2261008; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Kirsten Yri, "Medieval Uncloistered: Uses of Medieval Music in Late Twentieth Century Culture (PhD diss., Stony Brook University, 2004). Tellingly, the first example of "inventing traditions" that Hobsbawm cites in his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* is the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols at King's College (see p. 1).

[17]It is perhaps no coincidence that Eric Milner-White (1884–1968), the Dean of King's College, Cambridge from 1912 to 1941 who was a key figure in the launch of the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols at King's College,

Heather Wiebe has pointed to additional elements of the Festival service that enabled it to become popular shortly after its inception:

> Reinforcing this aura of stability [surrounding King's and the Festival service] was King's College's emphasis on power and authority, achieved in large part through its very setting—not only an imposing monument of the pre-Reformation Church, but one associated with the elite tradition of Cambridge and royal patronage. The particular strength of King's was that it made this tradition seem both imposing and inclusive. The choir's singing, the ritual, and the setting were all on an exalted level, but the Festival also invited participation and engagement: through the use of familiar Bramley and Stainer hymns for congregational singing, and through broadcasting itself, which brought it into the homes and Christmas rituals of a broad spectrum of people in Britain and abroad.[18]

On one hand, the choir's links to prestigious religious and academic institutions gives King's a sense of exclusivity that helps it appeal to listeners seeking music that will help them increase their cultural capital. Yet, as Wiebe has suggested, King's is also inclusive, encouraging congregant/listener engagement through well-known sacred music, particularly in Festival services.

The connections between King's and the Church of England also create a sense that the choir is taking part in valued national traditions. In discussing the social significance of the Church of England in the first half of the twentieth century, James Obelkevich has observed:

> [It] continued to see itself as a national church, and undertook to speak as one—even though attendance figures were more suggestive of a denomination. With its ancient churches and cathedrals, it was part of the nation's history and heritage; with its ritual, more elaborate than ever, it played a leading role in the nation's ceremonial "show"; it was coming to stand less for religion of any narrow or dogmatic sort than for a certain kind of Englishness.[19]

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had served as a chaplain on the Western Front for nearly all of the Great War (from August 5, 1914 to January 5, 1918). The first Festival service occurred in December 1918, less than two months after the end of the war. See the discussion in Nash, "'Right Prelude to Christmas,'" 328–37.

[18]Wiebe, *Britten's Unquiet Pasts*, 52.

[19]James Obelkevich, "Religion," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950*, vol. 3, *Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. F.M.L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 350–51.

In addition, Obelkevich noted how the Church of England is associated with the "social elite" and upper class individuals, as "most bishops had private means and came from public school and Oxbridge backgrounds."[20] The upper class dimensions of the King's sound and image will be discussed in more detail in the following section (3.3), where I consider how King's reflects the academic prestige of its surroundings.

As a final point for this section, I will note that King's is almost exclusively a liturgical choir. In addition to singing in Evensong, Mattins, and Eucharist services, the choir's radio broadcasts and webcasts are typically entire services, either broadcast live from the chapel at King's College, or broadcast at a later date, and the choir's albums often present music as if it were being sung in a service. For example, the choir has released albums with titles that suggest that the listener should imagine that she or he is experiencing a live service at King's College, titles such as *Evensong and Vespers at King's* and *A Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols from King's*.[21] In chapter 4, I examine in detail how one particular album, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (1964), gives listeners a sense of being in a service at King's College; indeed, this album has the heading "Order of Service" above the list of tracks on the sleeve, includes spoken and intoned elements of the Anglican liturgy, and the banding of the record is such that it is difficult to pass over the spoken or intoned items. King's has also issued virtually no recordings

[20]Obelkevich, "Religion," 350. In Britain "public schools" are independent institutions that charge tuition (free, government-sponsored schools are "grammar schools").

[21]Examples of these albums can be found in the discography in Appendix B. They include six albums of Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services: 1) Argo RG 39, 1954, LP (mono, dir. Boris Ord); 2) Argo RG 190, 1958, LP (mono, dir. Ord); 3) Argo ZRG 5450, 1963, LP (dir. David Willcocks); 4) EMI ASD 3778, 1979, LP (dir. Philip Ledger); 5) EMI 7243 5 7369329, 1999, CD (dir. Stephen Cleobury); and 6) EMI 5099968608224, 2009, CD (dir. Cleobury). In addition, there are five albums that include the word "Evensong" in their titles: 1) Argo RG 99, 1957, LP (mono, dir. Ord); 2) Argo ZRG 5365, 1964, LP (dir. Willcocks); 3) EMI ASD 3764, 1980, LP (dir. Ledger); 4) EMI CDC 7 54412 2, 1992, CD (dir. Cleobury); and 5) Columns 0144, 1996, CD (dir. Cleobury).

of secular music.[22] While not services, the choir's concerts feature sacred music almost exclusively, and are usually given in places of worship. It is nearly impossible for someone listening to King's services, broadcasts, recordings, or concerts to not link the choir to religious practices.

3.3: Academic prestige

Because King's is affiliated with King's College within the University of Cambridge, the high prestige of the two institutions is a significant part of the choir's image. As suggested in ratings that rank the University of Cambridge as one of the best universities in both the United Kingdom and worldwide, Cambridge has an impressive reputation, both domestically and internationally.[23] Cambridge graduates have included fourteen British prime ministers, and ninety-one individuals affiliated with the university are Nobel laureates.[24]

King's College shares the prestige of the entire university, and perhaps is even more esteemed since it is one of only two Cambridge colleges to be founded by British royalty (the other being Queens' College) and it is also one of the oldest of the university's thirty-one

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[22]I say "virtually" because the independent ensembles made up of King's choral scholars (the King's Men and its predecessor Collegium Regale) have performed and recorded some secular works, particularly pop music. One of these recordings is discussed on p. 90 below.

[23]From 2011 to 2015, for instance, the *Times Higher Education* World University Rankings (World Reputation Rankings) placed Cambridge in the top five universities worldwide and from 2012 to 2015 the QS World University Rankings placed Cambridge in the top three. See: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/ (accessed September 18, 2015); and http://www.topuniversities.com/universities/university-cambridge#wur (accessed September 25, 2015). Cambridge has been ranked the best university in the United Kingdom in *The Complete University Guide* (for 2008 and 2012–2016) as well as in *The Guardian* (2015, 2016). See: "University League Tables," *The Complete University Guide*, accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk/league-tables/rankings; "University League Tables 2015," *Guardian*, accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/education/ng-interactive/2014/jun/02/university-league-tables-2015-the-complete-list; and "University League Tables 2016," *Guardian*, accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/education/ng-interactive/2015/may/25/university-league-tables-2016.

[24]"Prime Ministers," accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.blanchflower.org/alumni/pm.html; University of Cambridge, "Nobel Prize Winners," accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/research-at-cambridge/nobel-prize-winners.

colleges.[25] In addition, King's College has had many influential alumni and faculty members, such as prime minister Robert Walpole (1676–1745), novelist E.M. Forster (1879–1970), economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), mathematician Alan Turing (1912–54), Nobel laureate chemist Frederick Sanger (1918–2013), and authors Salman Rushdie (b. 1947) and Zadie Smith (b. 1970).

The University of Cambridge and King's College are exclusive and wealthy institutions, which also contributes to the sense of prestige surrounding them. From 2011 to 2014 only about 21 percent of applicants to undergraduate programs across the university were accepted, with about 20 percent of undergraduate applicants being accepted to King's College.[26] In 2012, the University of Cambridge's endowment of £1.65 billion made it the wealthiest institution of higher education in the United Kingdom.[27]

This prestige of the University of Cambridge and King's College has allowed music scholars and critics affiliated with the two institutions to exert a powerful influence on the reception of the King's and English sounds. As Christopher Page has observed:

> During the 1970s a forum of scholar-critics gradually became established in England. These scholars continue to review recordings in a highly influential way and every professional early music ensemble knows that its work will eventually be referred to their public judgement. The influence of this critical forum has been exerted, above all, in the pages of *Early music*, a journal which was founded in London in 1973 to build a bridge between performers and scholars and which has been uniquely successful in doing so. . . . The reviews published in *Gramophone*, a British publication with a vast and international readership, have also been influential; in the field of medieval and Renaissance music its regular reviewers are much the same as those in *Early music*. All have doctorates in musicology from either Cambridge or Oxford; [and] two are currently [1993] associated with King's College, Cambridge (where the wellsprings of the English *a cappella* renaissance [i.e., the English sound] are to be found). . . . Through a series of reviews reaching back more than a decade, British scholar-critics have encouraged an approach to

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[25]Founded in 1441, King's was the eighth Cambridge college to be established.

[26]University of Cambridge, "Undergraduate Study: Application Statistics," accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.undergraduate.study.cam.ac.uk/apply/statistics.

[27]Sebastian Salek, "Clear Water between Oxford and Cambridge in Money Stakes," *Reuters*, August 16, 2013, http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/08/16/uk-britain-universities-idUKBRE97F0CA20130816.

> early-music performance that reflects the priorities of their academic training. This approach gives primacy to facts, to evidence and to sources, so that the line between knowledge and speculation remains clear.[28]

In other words, "scholar-critics" affiliated with Cambridge and Oxford contributed to the rise of the King's and English sounds because these sounds seemed to reflect their views that both music scholarship and performance should be based on firm facts. As I have discussed in depth in chapter 2, choirs with the English sound tend to be more literalistic in their performances of early music, not adding in changes in tempo or dynamics or other expressive elements that are not clearly specified in the score, which could appeal to early music scholars trained to make judgments on the basis of limited primary evidence. Oxbridge-affiliated "scholar-critics" have also likely upheld the King's and English sounds simply because they are familiar with these sounds thanks to the fact that the English sound is predominant among Oxbridge college choirs.

In addition to being affiliated with King's College and the University of Cambridge, the Choir of King's College, Cambridge has a strong connection to another prestigious British academic institution: Eton College. An independent school ("public school"[29]) for boys aged thirteen to eighteen, Eton, like King's College, was founded in the mid-fifteenth century by King Henry VI. Eton's long history and its royal connections give the institution a strong sense of academic prestige. This sense is also bolstered by Eton's exclusivity (about four boys apply for each available spot) and high cost of attendance (£36,036 for the 2015–2016 academic year).[30] Eton, like King's College and the University of Cambridge, also has an impressive list of alumni,

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[28]Page, "English *a cappella* Renaissance," 458–59. One of the two King's-affiliated reviewers Page was referring to is musicologist Iain Fenlon. I am unsure of who the other scholar is that he had in mind. See also Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's summary and critique of Page's article in his book *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 127–30. In this book, Leech-Wilkinson also discusses British scholars' reviews of early vocal ensembles (pp. 97–98, 127, and 147–49).

[29]See footnote 20 above.

[30]Graeme Paton, "Demand for Places at Eton College Rises to Record High," *Telegraph*, November 9, 2013, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/10434351/Demand-for-places-at-Eton-College-rises-to-record-high.html; Eton College, "School Fees – 2015/2016," accessed September 18, 2015, http://www.etoncollege.com/CurrentFees.aspx.

including nineteen British prime ministers, as well as Prince Harry (b. 1982) and Prince William (b. 1984).[31]

Up until 1861, only men who had been educated at Eton were allowed to become students of King's College. Although women and men educated at other secondary institutions now attend King's College, the choir still demonstrates its historical link to Eton through the dress of its boy trebles, who have worn Eton suits (the outfits traditionally worn at Eton) since the late nineteenth century when walking to and from chapel and when singing in services.[32] In addition, the Eton suits that the King's trebles wear project a sense of formality, wealth, and tradition (and, by extension, prestige and exclusivity) by way of their sleek black fabric, black ties, large collars, and top hats.[33] The choral scholars and organ scholars wear a variant of this Eton suit.[34] Figure 3.1 below shows the typical dress of the choir. Note that during services, choir members put robes (cassocks and surplices) over these outfits and do not wear the hats.

[31]Paton, "Demand for Places at Eton." Although Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926) could not study at Eton because of her gender, she received private tuition from Henry Marten (1872–1948), the vice-provost of the college.

[32]The Eton suit worn by each King's treble consists of black shoes, a black top hat, gray striped pants, and a white, long-sleeved tunic shirt with an added white collar holding a thick black tie (a regular tie, not a bowtie). This is covered first with a black vest, then with a black jacket, and then with a black academic robe that does not close fully in the front (there is a gap of about six inches).

[33]The suits are also expensive. According to the website of a supplier in Eton, a full suit costs £237.70. See Billings and Edmonds, "Schoolwear," accessed September 25, 2015, http://www.billingsandedmonds.co.uk/schoolwear/c128.

[34]The choral scholars' outfit is essentially the same, except the top hats are replaced with mortarboards (in theory, although they are rarely worn) and sometimes they wear bowties.

Figure 3.1: A 2012 photograph illustrating the dress of members of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, taken by Gerald Place. Copyright King's College, Cambridge. Image cropped and resized by author. Taken from King's College Choir Association, "Annual Choir Photographs," accessed June 9, 2016, http://www.kccaonline.org/choir_archive_annual_photos.html. The original photograph is held at the Archive Centre of King's College, Cambridge, call no. King's/KC/KCPH/2/1/2012. Reprinted with the permission of King's College, Cambridge.

A sense of academic and socioeconomic prestige is also evident in one particular aspect of the King's and English sounds: their use of Received Pronunciation (RP). RP is a standardized English accent that had emerged by the mid-nineteenth century.[35] By the early twentieth century, RP was associated with upper class people who had been educated at exclusive institutions, particularly universities and public schools. In fact, in the first edition of his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1917), British phonetician Daniel Jones referred to RP as "Public School Pronunciation," saying that:

> [It is] most usually heard in everyday speech in the families of Southern English persons whose men-folk have been educated at the great public boarding schools. This pronunciation is also used by a considerable proportion of those who do not come from the South of England, but who have been educated at these schools. The pronunciation

[35]Lynda Mugglestone, *Talking Proper: The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 258–94; Clive Upton, "Received Pronunciation," in *Varieties of English: The British Isles*, ed. Bernd Kortmann and Clive Upton (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 237–52. The latter source offers an especially good overview of the pronunciation patterns of RP while the former gives a historical overview of the accent. The term "Received Pronunciation" was first used by Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760–1844) in 1818 in his "English Phonology; or, an Essay towards an Analysis and Description of the Component Sounds of the English Language," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 1 (1818): 259.

> may also be heard . . . from persons of education in the South of England who have not been educated at these schools. It is probably accurate to say that a majority of those members of London society who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing very greatly from it.[36]

Shortly after Jones was writing, an institution that played a large role in spreading RP throughout Britain was founded: the British Broadcasting Corporation. Since its launch in 1922, the BBC has favored RP for its broadcasts.[37] In spite of these broadcasts, by the second half of the twentieth century a small minority of people in the UK spoke with RP: about 3 percent in linguist Peter Trudgill's estimation.[38] Perhaps because it is not a common accent, RP has retained many of its associations with prestigious, exclusive educational institutions and upper class individuals, which is suggested by two phrases commonly used to refer to the accent today: "Oxford English" and "the Queen's English." By using RP, King's draws listeners' attention to the connections between the choir and British academic institutions where one might expect to encounter the accent.

3.4: Whiteness

In a 2015 article in *Women and Music*, Melanie Marshall noted that "early music singers in Britain come from a narrow demographic; most came through a small number of conservative institutions—Anglican cathedral choirs and Cambridge or Oxford University."[39] She suggested that this helps explain why "most early music performers in Britain are white or can be read as white," as "white, middle-class men were most likely to have accrued the educational, social, and

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[36]Daniel Jones, *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, 1st ed. (London: J.M. Dent, 1917), 8. In subsequent editions Jones referred to the accent as Received Pronunciation.

[37]Mugglestone, *Talking Proper*, 271–80.

[38]Peter Trudgill, "The Sociolinguistics of Modern RP," accessed September 22, 2015, http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/trudgill.htm.

[39]Marshall, "*Voce Bianca*," 37.

material privileges that enabled entry to Oxbridge."[40] This observation readily applies to King's, where most choir members have been or could pass as white.[41]

Whiteness is a visible part of the choir's group identity as well as the image it projects to listeners. Following Marshall's arguments, whiteness could also be seen as an important component of the King's and English sounds. The phrase "*voce bianca*" that Marshall used in the title of her article means "white voice" in Italian, and it refers to children's voices—Italian speakers say "voci bianche" (white voices) to mean "trebles"—but it has also come to describe a technique of signing that relies on head resonance.[42] The *voce bianca* is often associated with the seemingly disembodied, light timbre with minimal vibrato found among choirs with the English sound, especially among boys singing treble in these choirs.[43] In addition to the connections between the "whiteness" of the *voce bianca*, the characteristics of the English sound, and the predominately white identity of singers in choirs with this sound, Marshall has given further weight to the idea that the English sound is a "white" sound by considering how it is valued as an especially "pure" sound. This seems to parallel a historical privileging of white identity and

[40]Marshall, "*Voce bianca*," 37–38.

[41]Browsing through the annual choir photographs posted on the website of the King's College Choir Association, it is difficult to find more than a few choir members in any given year who appear not to be white. See King's College Choir Association, "Annual Choir Photographs," accessed June 9, 2016. http://www.kccaonline.org/choir_archive_annual_photos.html. Of course, it is possible that someone who "passes" as white could identify as being non-white, or someone who might appear to be non-white could identify as being white. However, because there is no source of statistics indicating how members of the choir identify themselves, examining photos is the closest one can get to a sense of their identities.

[42]Marshall, "*Voce bianca*," 42; Kirsten Yri, "Remaking the Past: Feminist Spirituality in Anonymous 4 and Sequentia's Vox Feminae," *Women and Music* 12 (2008): 9. Marshall singled out Emma Kirkby and female singers of the Tallis Scholars (especially Deborah Roberts and Tessa Bonner) as prominent examples of the "white voice." See also Timothy Day's discussion of the "white voice" in "English Cathedral Choirs," 123 and 125, which references several *fin de siècle* and early to mid-twentieth-century writings discussing the "white" sound of English singers.

[43]Marshall, "*Voce bianca*," 39, 42; Yri, "Remaking the Past," 9, 11. See also: Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23, no. 1 (1995): 141 and 143; and Vincenzo Borghetti, "Purezza e trasgressione: il suono del Medioevo dagli anni Cinquanta ad oggi," *Semicerchio* 44 (2011): 46–49.

white "purity" in the United Kingdom.[44] In her words, the high level of blend characteristic of the English sound creates an "illusory . . . purified unity" where differences between individual voices are minimized.[45]

The rejection of "other" sounds in favor of blend in the English and King's sounds seems to reflect a white British eschewal of anything deemed foreign, an eschewal that became common, as Marshall and Vincenzo Borghetti have noted, after the rise of conservative political ideologies in the 1980s under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.[46] Conservative monetary policies exacerbated a recession and high unemployment rates, which in turn contributed to xenophobic attitudes and racial tensions that led to riots in 1981.[47] Thatcher and the Tories appealed to these attitudes the following year by backing the violent suppression of the Argentinian invasion of the Falkland Islands, upholding one of the last remnants of the overseas territories of the British Empire and upholding a sense of white British imperial superiority.[48]

A sense of excluding foreign influences can also be seen in British vocal ensembles specializing in early music from the 1980s and later. Before then, more British ensembles had explored approaches that were different from the English sound, with a particularly well-known example being Musica Reservata (est. 1960), where singer Jantina Noorman (b. 1919) fostered a

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[44]Marshall, "*Voce bianca*," esp. 36–37, 42–43. As evidence of the valuing of white purity in Britain, Marshall discussed policies and practices that discouraged the formation of interracial families, including white British women being prohibited from marrying African American soldiers who had come to Britain during the Second World War and white British women being pressured to give up non-white children they had adopted. See the discussion of these practices in Hazel Carby, "Becoming Modern Racialized Subjects," *Cultural Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009): 624–57. Other scholars have considered the "pure" nature of the English sound, but without discussing whiteness in detail, including: Borghetti, "Purezza," 48; Day, "English Cathedral Choirs," 123–25, 129; Greig, "Sight-Readings," 125, 141, and 143; Page, "English *a cappella* Renaissance," 454; and Yri, "Remaking the Past," 4 (Yri did discuss whiteness in passing [on p. 9]).

[45]Marshall, "*Voce bianca*," 37.

[46]Ibid., 43; Borghetti, "Purezza," 48.

[47]Will Hutton, "Thatcher's Half-Revolution," *Wilson Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1987): 123–24, 27.

[48]Ibid., 128–29.

highly nasal tone inspired by Eastern European folk traditions.[49] By the 1980s these "foreign" sounds had largely died out in favor of the "pure" English sound, which Marshall has claimed "may have appealed both as part of the conservative turn and as an escapist reaction to the instability, violence, and xenophobia of the times."[50]

By noting how the English sound conveys a sense of whiteness through its performance by white singers who eschew "other," "foreign" sounds in favor of choral blend, it becomes possible to see whiteness as a significant characteristic of both the English sound and the King's sound. By saying this, I do not mean to imply that King's or other choirs are actively racist or that racial minorities should feel uncomfortable or unwelcome singing in them. Rather, I posit that the white identity of choir members and the "white" associations of the King's sound and image contributed to the choir's appeal among largely white audiences in the United Kingdom.[51] In addition, the "white" character of the King's sound and image was likely appealing to some non-white British listeners who wanted to increase their cultural capital by associating themselves with privileged white culture. The "white" sound and image of King's has also provided British listeners with an alluring escape to a time when Britain was supposedly populated with just white people, before large waves of immigration following the Second World War ushered in a tense era of racially motivated conflict and violence.[52]

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[49]See, especially the following works by Edward Breen: "Morrow, Munrow and Medieval Music: Understanding Their Influences and Practice," *Early Music Performer* 29 (2011): 1–7; "The Performance Practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London: Medieval Music in the 1960s and 1970s" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2014), esp. 139–61; and "Travel in Space, Travel in Time: Michael Morrow's Approach to Performing Medieval Music in the 1960s," in *Studies in Medievalism XXV: Medievalism and Modernity*, ed. Karl Fugelso, Joshua Davies, and Sarah Salih (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2016), esp. 93–108.

[50]Marshall, "*Voce bianca*," 43.

[51]According to a recent report, 86 percent of people in Britain are white. See Rashi Sunak and Saratha Rajeswaran, "A Portrait of Modern Britain," *Policy Exchange*, published May 6, 2014, p. 6 (available online at http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/a%20portrait%20of%20modern%20britain.pdf).

[52]While immigration to the United Kingdom intensified after the Second World War, particularly from British colonies and former colonies such as Jamaica and India, there were significant numbers of non-white people in Britain before the war. For instance, in the eighteenth century there were around 14,000 black people in Britain. See Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, "Ignatius Sancho: A Renaissance Black Man in Eighteenth-Century England," *The*

3.5: Gender

Perhaps one of the more readily noticeable things about the Choir of King's College, Cambridge is its all-male composition, which goes against the increasingly common trend of gender integration in Britain. Since 1988, for instance, women have been able to enroll at all of the Cambridge and Oxford colleges that previously admitted only men.[53] And currently, the majority (nearly 80 percent) of the official Oxford and Cambridge college chapel choirs include both male and female singers.[54] At King's College, in contrast, there have never been female singers in the choir and there has never even been a female music director or organ scholar. Because the all-male composition of King's now marks it as anomalous in comparison to other British choirs, it is important to consider how gender impacts the reception of the King's sound and image.

It is unlikely that everyone can discern from listening alone that King's is an all-male ensemble. Two studies published in the year 2000 show that in between 28 and 50 percent of

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Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 21 (1998), 106.

[53]This date is late in comparison other institutions of higher education, both in Britain and abroad. For instance, the first institution of higher education in the United States to admit women alongside men was Oberlin College in 1833 and the first British one was University College London in 1878. It should be noted, however, that the process of admitting women to previously all-male Oxbridge colleges began in 1972 with King's College and two other Cambridge colleges (Churchill and Clare), and there were several all-female Oxbridge colleges before then, beginning with Girton College, Cambridge (founded in 1869).

[54]Twenty of the twenty-four official Cambridge college chapel choirs (about 83 percent) are co-educational. Three colleges (Jesus College, King's College, and St. John's College) have all-male choirs, while one college (Murray Edwards College) has an all-female choir. See University of Cambridge, "Choral Award," accessed September 21, 2015, http://www.study.cam.ac.uk/undergraduate/apply/musicawards/choral.html. Ten of the thirteen official Oxford college chapel choirs (about 77 percent) are co-educational. The remaining three colleges (Christ Church College, Magdalen College, and New College) have all-male choirs. See University of Oxford, "Choral Awards," accessed September 21, 2015, http://www.music.ox.ac.uk/apply/undergraduate/choral-and-organ-awards/choral-awards/. Single-gender Oxbridge choirs appear not to contravene current British laws (such as the Equality Act of 2010) requiring equal access regardless of gender in cases where government funding is provided, as the collegiate chapels and choirs themselves typically do not receive government funding. Many of the previously all-male choirs that became coeducational did so around the time their affiliated colleges became coeducational. King's does have a mixed-gender choir called King's Voices that offers choral scholarships to both men and women and occasionally sings in services, although this choir was founded in 1997, twenty-five years after women started enrolling in the college, and it does not have the international following of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, nor does it sing as frequently in services or produce recordings and broadcasts as often as the Choir of King's College, Cambridge. See "King's Voices," accessed October 21, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/chapel/kings-voices.html.

cases, listeners cannot accurately identify the gender of children singing on choral recordings.[55] This suggests that if King's started admitting girls to sing treble, listeners might not notice a change in the sound of the choir. However, in these studies the subjects were not told anything about the composition of the choirs they were listening to. Most listeners of King's, in contrast, already know that only men and boys sing in the choir, which likely results in them searching for elements of the King's sound that confirm what they already know: that the choir excludes female singers. In other words, confirmation bias could affect the listener's perception of choirs in real-world listening situations.

While the gender of the singers may not be an audible part of the King's sound, it is nonetheless important for people who want to believe that the choir and its sound are historically authentic. As a 1990 report on the status of women at the King's College put it:

> [King's] has an unbroken tradition and hard-won reputation for excellence in the authentic performance of early church music—authentic to the extent of being a men-and-boys choir based on the highly specialized training of boy trebles. . . . The performance of early church music could be continued with a mixed choir from a general musical background, as happens in other colleges, but the emphasis on authenticity necessitates a men-and-boys choir. . . . [To quote the (then) dean of King's College chapel John Drury:] "The authenticity movement in modern music is decidedly in favour of boy choristers."[56]

The use of boy trebles and adult male singers for the entire 500 plus years of the choir's existence provides an image of historical continuity and authenticity; however, it is difficult to apply this image to the King's sound itself. In light of the absence of recordings of the choir made prior to the 1920s, it cannot be said with certainty how similar today's King's sound is to the sound of the choir at any point before then. Given the absence of surviving "period" voices,

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[55]David M. Howard, Christopher Barlow, John Szymanski, and Graham F. Welch, "Vocal Production and Listener Perception of Trained English Cathedral Girl and Boy Choristers," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 147 (2000): 81–86; Randall S. Moore and Janice N. Killian, "Perceived Gender Differences and Preferences of Solo and Group Treble Singers by American and English Children and Adults," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 147 (2000): 138–44.

[56]Andrea Spurling, *Report of the Women in Higher Education Research Project: 1988–90* (Cambridge, UK: King's College Research Centre, 1990), 66.

perhaps the all-male personnel of King's is the nearest thing that can stand in for a historically "authentic" reproduction of the sound of an all-male church choir in the Renaissance and Baroque periods.[57] If King's became a coeducational choir, it would be harder for listeners to accept its sound as historically informed given that they know the choir was an all-male ensemble when early music was being written. In sum, the all-male composition of the choir creates an image of historical authenticity, but not necessarily a historically informed sound.

Moving beyond the sound of the choir, the all-male nature of King's is also an important part of the choir's image. Media portrayals of choir members highlight a stereotypical sense of masculinity, or what sociologist R.W. Connell has called "hegemonic masculinity."[58] The choir seems to want listeners to know that its trebles and choral scholars look and act like stereotypically masculine boys and men. They wear formal menswear, have short hair, are athletic, interested in science and technology, and evince a jokey, "boys will be boys" sense of humor and masculine camaraderie. A good example of this type of portrayal is found in a video released in 2013 as part of a recruitment campaign for boys to sing treble.[59] The video shows the trebles of King's engaging in a variety of activities, many of which are associated with boys and men in Western societies, such as: playing rugby, roughhousing, tinkering with a power drill, conducting a science experiment, playing foosball (table soccer), using electronics (cameras), playing soccer, and soldering wires.[60] The background music, a recording of the trebles singing

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[57]Even though instruments survive that were built prior to 1750, a similar pitfall occurs when asserting that period instruments have historically authentic sounds. In the absence of recordings, one ultimately cannot know what medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque instruments sounded like when they were newly built and played by musicians living in those periods. Yet, based solely on instrument choice, listeners generally view a musician playing early music on a period instrument as more historically informed than one who uses a modern instrument.

[58]R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 77–78.

[59]King's College, Cambridge, "Give Your Child a Voice," accessed September 21, 2015, http://www.becomeachorister.org/. The video is: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot: Give Your Child a Voice," published December 15, 2013, https://youtu.be/j3u9Pk0QX-I.

[60]The video does, however, shows boys engaging in some more gender-neutral activities, such as drawing, reading, playing the piano, and petting a dog. It also briefly shows the boys interacting with girls at school.

an arrangement of the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," further conveys a sense of hegemonic masculinity thanks to the song's association with rugby in Britain.[61]

The choral scholars are also presented in stereotypically masculine ways. This is particularly apparent in the marketing of the King's Men, the close-harmony (barbershop) ensemble of King's choral scholars that performs popular music in addition to classical works.[62] In the ensemble's 2014 pop music album *After Hours* many of the songs highlight stereotypical heterosexual male identity.[63] For example, the opening track, "I Get Around," a song made famous by the Beach Boys (in 1964), disparages "go[ing] steady" (i.e., practicing monogamy and delaying having sex) in favor of "get[ing] around," and asserts male power ("the bad guys know us and they leave us alone" and "we've never missed yet with the girls") and male-coded interests (cars and driving).[64]

There is also a popular YouTube video that shows the King's choral scholars fooling around and exhibiting a stereotypical sense of male camaraderie and one-upmanship.[65] Interestingly, this video also seems to have been a humorous response to concerns over the fairness of the choir's exclusion of female members. Published on the choir's official YouTube channel as an April Fools' Day prank in 2014, the video opens with the college chaplain, Richard Lloyd Morgan, telling the viewer that, due to new regulations surrounding webcasts of services, the choir will have to stop using boy trebles. The viewer likely expects that Morgan will say that

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[61]"The Story behind 'Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,' and How it Became a Rugby Anthem," *EveryHit.com*, accessed September 21, 2015, http://www.everyhit.com/stories/swing_low_sweet_chariot.html.

[62]Although the King's Men is a separate ensemble, the fact that it is comprised entirely of current King's choral scholars, performs often at King's College, and releases its recordings on the King's College in-house record label suggest that listeners closely associate the King's Men with the Choir of King's College, Cambridge.

[63]The King's Men, *After Hours* (recorded in 2013 in St. George's Church, Chesterton and West Road Studio, [Cambridge]), dir. Ruairi Bowen and Rob Stephen (King's College Cambridge KGS0006, 2014, CD).

[64]Curiously, it seems the King's Men changed the lyric "none of the guys go steady" to "now the guys go steady," although the diction is not very clear in this spot so a listener familiar with the original lyrics could easily be mistaken.

[65]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "King's College Choir Announces Major Change," published March 31, 2014, http://youtu.be/ukDAfF0-8q8.

women will start singing in the choir in the trebles' place, but instead he goes on to say that, after consulting with the chemistry department, a different solution involving helium gas was found. The video then cuts to a quartet of choral scholars singing a verse of Allegri's *Miserere* in the King's College chapel, with countertenor Patrick Dunachie proving his ability to reach a stratospherically high C6 after inhaling helium from a large, yellow balloon hidden (until the high passage) behind his robes (see the screenshot of this video in figure 3.2 below).

Figure 3.2: A screenshot showing King's choral scholars singing one of the four-voice verses from Allegri's *Miserere*, with countertenor Patrick Dunachie preparing to take a breath from a large helium-filled balloon to help him sing as high as C6. Screenshot taken from: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "King's College Choir Announces Major Change," published March 31, 2014, http://youtu.be/ukDAfF0-8q8 (1 minute and 35 seconds in duration, screenshot taken at 0 minutes and 55 seconds). Screenshot cropped and resized by author.

Since being posted, the video has become one of the choir's most popular: with nearly 1.8 million views,[66] it has been seen more frequently than all of the other videos combined on the choir's official YouTube channel.[67] Its playing with the anxieties surrounding the choir's

[66]As of June 13, 2016.

[67]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, official YouTube channel, accessed June 13, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/user/ChoirOfKingsCollege. The second-most-viewed video has been seen about 325,000

exclusion of girls and women seems to have appealed to many viewers, suggesting that fans value the choir's decision to retain its all-male composition.[68] Taken together, the treble recruitment video, the April Fools' video, and the 2014 King's Men album suggest that the choir wishes to highlight its all-male composition and a sense of hegemonic masculinity in its image, which in turn resonates with listeners.

Returning to the boy trebles in King's, I will conclude this section by discussing how the boys are in fact presented in ways that move beyond stereotypical notions of masculinity but that nonetheless reinforce the all-male image of the choir. Particularly, the trebles convey unique gender connotations when they are associated with angels. As seen in the 2013 recruitment video, the trebles exude a stereotypical masculine sensibility in their day-to-day routine outside of chapel through activities such as team sports, science experiments, and roughhousing. Yet it has also been suggested that when the trebles enter chapel and sing, they cease to be "normal" boys, becoming angels instead. For instance, in a 2014 podcast of an Evensong service, the housemaster of King's College School,[69] Jill Etheridge, described the boys' Sunday routine,

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times. The views of all the other videos on the choir's channel combined add up to about 775,000 which is less than half the number of views of 2014 April Fools' Day video alone.

[68]It is also possible that the choir was expressing openness to the idea of including female singers, suggesting in this video that it would be absurd to continue excluding women in certain contexts; however, the video still can be seen as having a rather sexist message ("exclude women/girls at all costs"). The way in which the choral scholars play with gender norms (by having men singing very high) in a homosocial environment and in a rather contrived, theatrical manner could be seen as an example of a "camp" sensibility and therefore hold a special appeal for queer listeners. See Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp," *Partisan Review* 31 (1964): 515–30. The conventionally masculine physical attractiveness of many of the choral scholars likely also appeals to some queer listeners in addition to straight ones. A similarly humorous and campy mixing of hegemonic masculinity and anxieties surrounding the choir's exclusion of women (and the fact that males sing high parts in their place) can be found in the biography of alto King's choral scholar Feargal Mostyn-Williams in a program for a 2013 concert of the King's Men: "An aspiring opera singer, Feargal trained for a year at Waitrose [a British grocery store chain] (and the Royal College of Music) before coming to King's. Despite being by far the manliest member of the group, standing at a solid 6ft 6 inches, Feargal prides himself on being in touch with his feminine side by singing like a 12 year old girl. When not singing with The King's Men he can be found searching for his masculinity at the top of climbing walls." See the King's Men, program for "Concerts at King's: Singing on the River, a Glorious Evening of Summer Music from Byrd to the Beatles," King's College, Cambridge, June 23, 2013.

[69]This is the independent preparatory school affiliated with King's College where all the trebles in the choir (plus other children) are students. See King's College School (Cambridge), official website, accessed October 21, 2016, http://www.kcs.cambs.sch.uk/.

saying that as soon as they enter the chapel they "become angels so far as the outer world is concerned."[70] Roy Goodman (b. 1951), who sang the treble solo for the choir's well-known 1964 recording of Allegri's *Miserere*, has expressed a similar idea: "In school life at King's I suppose we had as much rough and tumble as most children, but the 'angelic' button was always at the ready."[71] Considering, more broadly, the appeal of English boy trebles, Scott Farrell, music director at Rochester Cathedral, has said: "these angelic little boys . . . look so cute . . . [but] what . . . [is in the] pocket of their cassock, some slimy chewing gum or something, who knows? But, covered up in their cassock and their surplice and with their ruff they look like these angelic little creatures."[72]

Because singing, and especially singing high, is connected with angels in Christianity, it is not surprising that Etheridge, Goodman, and Farrell view the boys who sing treble in King's and in other English sacred choirs as having an angelic character.[73] There is also evidence of this association outside of King's, including in popular music culture: for example, Libera, an English classical crossover boys' choir that sings music with sacred themes, used to be called

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[70]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, podcast of Evensong service, May 11, 2014, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/webcasts.html.

[71]Roy Goodman, liner notes to re-release of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG 365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG 5365, 1964, LP [stereo]) (re-released as Decca Eloquence 480 2075, 2011, CD), p. 5. In these same liner notes, Goodman told a now well-known story about his solo in the *Miserere* recording, a story showing how he was a "typical" boy in addition to a superb singer: "On the day that we made the present recording, I had only just finished playing a rugby match an hour or so before the session. I had no time for a proper shower and still had muddy knees under my long trousers" (p. 4).

[72]Christopher Gabbitas, presenter and interviewer, "About the Boys," prod. Emma Kingsley, broadcast on BBC Radio 4, December 31, 2013.

[73]For more details on the association between singing and angels in Christianity, see Michel Poizat, *L'Opéra, ou Le Cri de l'ange : Essai sur la jouissance de l'amateur d'opéra* (originally published in 1986), trans. Arthur Denner as *The Angel's Cry: Beyond the Pleasure Principle in Opera* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 113–31. As Poizat put it, "angels traditionally dwell 'in heaven on high,'" resulting in "a slippage by which the voice 'on high' becomes the 'high voice'" (p. 114). Citing an unpublished 1978 lecture given by Christian Gaumy, Poizat suggested that the association between angels and singing high dates at least as far back as the Mozarabic church in medieval Spain. Donald Greig has suggested that this association dates back to the time of Pope Gregory I (ca. 540–604): Greig, "Sight-Readings," 141. See also Kirsten Yri and Martin Ashley's analysis of Poizat's writing and the links between angels and singing in Christianity: Yri, "Remaking the Past," 8; Ashley, *How High Should Boys Sing?*, 111, 115–17.

"Angel Voices."[74] As Donald Greig and Kirsten Yri have suggested, child singers, particularly ones trained to produce the English sound, convey an especially strong angelic sense while singing. Since angels are situated beyond the human realm, they lack corporeality, a lack that Greig and Yri have argued is paralleled in the seemingly disembodied character of the English sound, particularly in its limited vibrato, its high level of blend (denying differences between individual voices/bodies), and its apparent reliance on "head" resonance instead of a deeper "chest" resonance.[75] In addition, angels are disembodied because they lack markings of sexual difference, much like prepubescent boys who sing in a high range and with a sound potentially indistinguishable from girls.[76]

Etheridge and Goodman's comments suggest that the links between child singers, the English sound, and angels are important parts of how King's—and particularly its boy trebles—is presented to listeners. Martin Ashley has lent further support to this idea in his analysis of gender ideologies and popular boys' choirs:

> "Cute" is the key concept that links boy with angel and drives a wedge between the real world in which boys struggle to present to a potentially hostile world an authentic masculinity and the sentimentalized images that sell to the "granny" audience and other adults in need of escape from this same, hostile, grown-up world."[77]

While noting the marketing appeal of the image of boy trebles as angelic, Ashley also was pointing to the incongruity between this image and boys' need to assert stereotypical masculine traits to a "potentially hostile world." Etheridge and Goodman's comments highlight this very incongruity, suggesting that the boy trebles in King's overcome it by mediating the gap between

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[74]Likely not coincidentally, "Angel Voices" is also the name of a 1988 BBC television movie about a sacred boys' choir singing against the backdrop of Beatlemania in the 1960s in the English seaside resort town of Blackpool. See Stephen Wakelam, "Angel Voices," dir. Michael Darlow (BBC TV movie, 1988).

[75]Greig, "Sight-Readings," 141; Yri, "Remaking the Past," 8–9.

[76]While prepubescent girl singers also lack the secondary sex characteristics of adults, this lack is not as audible in their voices as it is in the voices of prepubescent boys. Because girls' voices do not typically change as dramatically as boys' voices during puberty, the difference between the voices of girls and women is subtler than the difference between the voices of boys and men.

[77]Ashley, *How High Should Boys Sing?*, 116.

their asexual angelic sound and their "normal," boyish behavior. To use their words, as the boys cross the threshold into the chapel, they press "the 'angelic' button," and "become angels" in much the same way an actor "becomes" a different person when she or he is on stage, but when the boys exit chapel and return to the "real world," they adopt behaviors in line with hegemonic masculinity, as these behaviors are necessary survival mechanisms in a sexist and homophobic society.[78]

The dual presentation of the King's trebles as both "angelic" and stereotypically masculine, then, is not contradictory. Both are important aspects of the gendered image of the choir, although they serve different purposes. The angelic image of the trebles likely creates a certain sentimental appeal that helps sell recordings. It also points to the importance of angels in Christianity, drawing listeners' attention the choir's engagement with sacred choral traditions, which listeners who sought out King's instead of secular ensembles presumably value. On the other hand, the idea of the trebles behaving like "normal," masculine boys gives musically apt boys and their families the message that if they were to join the choir, they would not become effeminate or face sexist or homophobic rejection from their peers for singing.[79] Showing the

[78]In essence, the boys select a new type of gender performance when they enter the chapel. For more information on gender performativity, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (originally published in 1990), 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), especially the prefaces to both the 1990 and the 1999 editions (the 1990 preface is reproduced in the second edition). While King's choir member may choose particular gender presentations so that others do not perceive them as effeminate or queer, in doing so they also reinforce sexist and homophobic attitudes.

[79]Although in this context, if a boy were to be openly queer or act in stereotypically feminine ways, it is likely that he would face sexism and homophobia from his fellow choristers in addition to his peers at school. Such discrimination would likely be especially pronounced for a singer at King's College who came out as a transgender girl or trans woman, as having a non-binary gender identity, or as intersex given that the choir seems to have never included anyone other than cisgender boys and men. A large body of choral pedagogy literature suggests that fears over being perceived as effeminate or queer have contributed to boys' limited participation in choirs. See, for instance: Adam Harrison Warner Adler, "A Case Study of Boys' Experiences of Singing in School" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2002); Martin Ashley, *Teaching Singing to Boys and Teenagers: The Young Male Voice and the Problem of Masculinity* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2008); Scott D. Harrison, "Engaging Boys, Overcoming Stereotypes: Another Look at the Missing Males in Vocal Programs," *Choral Journal* 45, no. 2 (2004): 24–29; Penelope Watson, "Stereotype Threat and Adolescent Males in Choirs: A Reflection of Gender Beliefs?" (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 2011); and Jana Grace Williams, "Male Participation and Male Recruitment Issues in Middle and High School Chorus" (DMA thesis, Boston University, 2011). See also Bridget Sweet's more critical

trebles behaving in seemingly boyish ways outside of chapel could also provide a nostalgic appeal for adults, allowing them to reminisce over stereotypical images of childhood while also heightening the seemingly exceptional character of the boys' voices (how do they sing like that if they are just "normal" boys?).

In sum, the all-male identity of King's is an important part of the choir's image. By evoking hegemonic masculinity in portrayals of the choral scholars and trebles, the choir can attract a large number of listeners from Western societies where hegemonic masculinity is valued above other types of gender expression. In addition, the all-male composition draws the listener's attention to a sense of the choir's historical authenticity (since the choir has always excluded female singers), and the image of the King's trebles as angels can be sentimentally and spiritually moving for listeners.

3.6: Conclusion

This chapter was an exploration of how the sound and image of King's reflect the choir's links to prestigious and exclusive academic and religious institutions as well as the all-male, and mostly white identities of choir members. I suggested that these connections to esteemed British institutions and privileged identities have helped the choir appeal to listeners who are connected to Oxbridge or share these identities and also to people who wish to increase their cultural capital by listening to the choir. Given that for much of its history, the choir, King's College, and the University of Cambridge have not been readily accessible to the majority of people in Britain, it is perhaps unsurprising that King's developed a unique sound and image, one that many choirs lack the connections, financial resources, and the particular personnel to emulate. In this sense,

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take on such male-centered choral research in her article "*Choral Journal* and the Adolescent Female Changing Voice," *Choral Journal* 59, no. 9 (2016): 53–64.

King's and its sound and image—and by extension, the English sound and image—can be seen as being elitist and exclusionary.

As suggested in the 2014 April Fools' video where having choral scholars use helium to sing in the soprano range was preferable to employing female singers,[80] King's itself is aware of its elite and exclusive image and is even willing to joke about how ridiculous it is to hold onto outdated sexist practices in the twenty-first century. Nonetheless, the choir is still resistant to becoming more inclusive. I believe that this is a result of King's striving to create a sense of stable British and Anglican identities through its services, performances, and recordings. By not adopting major twentieth- and twenty-first-century trends—such as including women and girls and being racially diverse—King's is sticking to traditions that date in some cases to the Renaissance era. This allows modern listeners to view the choir as representing seemingly timeless English and Anglican traditions, which appeals both to those seeking out the comfort these traditions provide in uncertain times and also to listeners who are attuned to the high valuing of historical "authenticity" in the early music revival.[81]

In sum, the elite and exclusionary aspects of the choir are problematic, but the choir's connections to privileged institutions and hegemonic identities have played important roles in shaping the character of the King's sound and image. If the choir were to admit girls and women or to start employing a style of singing typically associated with non-white people (such as the African American gospel style), the King's sound and image would change and listeners would be less able to view the choir as exhibiting "timeless" traditions and a historically "authentic" performance style. If a sense of authenticity could not be ascribed to the choir's performances,

[80]See the discussion above on pp. 90–92.

[81]Although, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, the sense of timelessness of the traditions the Choir of King's College, Cambridge conveys does not mean that the choir's way of singing actually is historically authentic. See discussion above, pp. 87–89.

broadcasts, and recordings of early music, it is unlikely that the choir would be so closely connected to the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century early music revival. In short, although the cultural context surrounding King's informs more than just the way the choir sings early music, without this particular context a dissertation on the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival would likely look quite different, with King's being more on the periphery of the revival.

Chapter 4: Two case studies of King's early music recordings

4.1: Introduction

In the preceding two chapters, I enumerated the characteristics of the King's and English sounds and the King's image, suggesting that King's appeals to listeners in part because its sound and image reflect its links to prestigious institutions and privileged identities in Britain. In this chapter, I build on the previous two, applying my analysis of the King's and English sounds and the King's image to two specific early works that hold important places in the choir's recorded output. The first, the five-voice Latin Responsory *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i) by John Taverner (ca. 1490–1545), shows King's making the first recording of a composition that many other choirs subsequently recorded.[1] The second, *Miserere mei, Deus* by Gregorio Allegri (1582–1652), shows how King's inserted itself into the history of a work that has been performed frequently since it was composed in the seventeenth century.[2]

I first discuss each composition individually, focusing on the King's recordings of each one and comparing them to recordings of the two works made by other ensembles. I also analyze reviews of the King's recordings of *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere* and compare them to reviews of other ensembles' recordings. These reviews suggest that King's created a "classic" or "standard" recordings of Taverner's and Allegri's compositions that other ensembles recording the two compositions have had to either match or surpass to earn critical praise.

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[1]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music* (recorded in 1961 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG316, 1962, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5316, 1962, LP [stereo]). The "(i)" comes from the first modern edition of the work, where it was used to distinguish it from another five-voice setting of the same text by Taverner, which is designated as "*Dum transisset Sabbatum* (ii)." See John Taverner, *John Taverner. c. 1495–1545. Part II. Tudor Church Music*, vol. 3, ed. P.C. Buck et al. (London: Oxford University Press, 1924). Since I only discuss *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i), I refer to the composition simply as "*Dum transisset*."

[2]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]).

After considering each composition individually, I discuss the two in tandem, looking at similarities between *Dum transisset*, the *Miserere,* and the King's recordings of them that point to broader aspects of the choir's appeal. I suggest that listeners were attracted to the King's recordings because the two compositions are obviously liturgical (both include plainchant sections), which drew attention to the longstanding sacred traditions that King's takes part in. Listeners likely found this sense of tradition comforting during a decade (the 1960s) that saw significant social changes in the United Kingdom.[3] The relationship between King's and deep-seated English sacred choral traditions also gave a sense of historical authority to the King's recordings of these compositions, which likely helped them appeal to listeners at a time when "authenticity" was becoming increasingly valued in the early music revival.[4]

While *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere* offer just two examples of the ways in which King's has engaged with early music since the mid-twentieth century, I conclude by suggesting that the elements that made the choir's recordings of these works successful can be found in many of the other King's recordings of early music. Because King's has sung since the fifteenth century, most recordings, broadcasts, concerts, and services of the choir that feature Renaissance and Baroque music can convey a sense of historical authenticity to listeners. This has helped King's play an important role in the modern revival of early choral music, a role that I explore in more detail in chapter 5.

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[3]These changes include: the loss of many of Britain's overseas territories, an influx of immigrants to the United Kingdom, rising student dissent, and the breakdown of longstanding discriminatory practices, such as the limited access of women to higher education and the illegality of homosexuality.

[4]See especially: Dorottya Fabian, "The Meaning of Authenticity in the Early Music Movement: A Historical Review," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 32, no. 2 (2001): 153–67; Nicholas Kenyon, ed. *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Joseph Kerman et al., "The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns, Postmodern," *Journal of Musicology* 10, no. 1 (1992): 113–30; and Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). See also chapter 1, footnote 35 for more information on "authenticity" in the early music revival.

4.2: Reviving Taverner's *Dum transisset*

In a 1974 BBC radio broadcast, Jeremy Noble interviewed David Willcocks, asking him to reflect on his fifteen-and-a-half-year tenure as Director of Music at King's College, Cambridge shortly after he left the position to become director of the Royal College of Music.[5] This broadcast featured just one of the many recordings of early music that Willcocks had made with King's: his 1962 recording of the five-voice Responsory *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i) by Tudor composer John Taverner.[6] Noble picked this recording because, in his words, it exemplifies the "beautiful, sweet, linear singing" that is associated with King's. The recording also illustrates a point Willcocks made earlier in the interview where he claimed that he expanded the choir's repertoire back in time to include composers such as Taverner, whose works had not been sung much at King's College before Willcocks's tenure.

While neither Willcocks nor Noble mentioned it, the King's recording of *Dum transisset* is also significant because it was the first commercially issued recording of Taverner's motet. It is therefore an obvious example of the revivalist tendencies of the early music movement, where ensembles have sought to perform and record compositions that had rarely or never been recorded and had never or rarely been performed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[7] In hindsight, one can see that King's launched the modern revival of Taverner's composition. Following the lead of King's, since 1962 twenty-four other ensembles have recorded *Dum*

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[5]David Willcocks, interviewed by Jeremy Noble, *Talking about Music 170: David Willcocks*, BBC Transcription side no. 134648, 1974 (week 5), LP (held at the British Library, call no. 1LP0200732).

[6]Forty of the fifty-six albums Willcocks made with King's contain at least one track of early music. See Appendix B for a full list of these albums. The broadcast also included an excerpt of a King's recording of a non-early work: part of the Credo from Haydn's "Nelson" Mass, taken from the following album: the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the London Symphony Orchestra, *Franz Josef Haydn: The Nelson Mass* (recorded in 1962 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG 325, 1962, LP [mono]/London OS 25731, 1962, LP [stereo]).

[7]See my discussion of these revivalist tendencies in chapter 1, esp. pp. 5–6.

transisset, releasing a total of twenty-seven recordings. A list of these recordings is given in figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1 (part 1 of 3): A list of all commercially issued recordings of John Taverner's *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i), in ascending chronological order by date of issue. Daggers (†) indicate recordings made by ensembles affiliated with churches, chapels, or cathedrals within the Anglican Communion (including Episcopal congregations). Daggers in parentheses indicate ensembles where many members were trained in Anglican choral contexts. Asterisks (*) indicate subsequent recordings of the composition made by ensembles that had previously recorded it. Re-releases of each *Dum transisset* recording are indicated in italics on indented lines following the original recording. Sources used in compiling: ArkivMusic; Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 319–22; Timothy Day, *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: British Library, 1989); and iTunes.[8]

THE FIRST KING'S RECORDING

† **The Choir of King's College, Cambridge**/David Willcocks. Argo RG 316, 1962, LP (mono)/Argo ZRG 5316, 1962, LP (stereo).

Argo SPA 590, 1981, LP/Argo SPA KCSP 590, 1981, cassette
Argo 411 IZM, 1984, LP/Argo 411 724-4, 1984, cassette
Double Decca 452 170-2 DF2, 1997, 2 CDs
Newton Classics 880 202-0, 2010, 2 CDs (Netherlands)
Alto ALC1183, 2012, CD (USA)
Decca 4788918, 2015, 29 CDs[9]

SUBSEQUENT RECORDINGS

1) **Ensemble Vocal Roger Blanchard**/Roger Blanchard (France). Club française du disque CFD 2388, 1967, LP (France).

2) **(†) The Tallis Scholars**/Peter Phillips. Fanfare FR 2197, 1977, LP.
   Everest SDBR 3421, 1978, LP (USA)
   United Artists UACL 10005, 1978, LP (USA)

3) ***† The Choir of King's College, Cambridge**/Philip Ledger. HMV ASD 3450, 1978, LP/HMV TC-ASD 3450, 1978, cassette.
   EMI 65103, 1995, CD

Figure continues on next page

[8]Format of entries: Ensemble/director. Label and label number, year of issue, recording format (CD, LP etc.). All ensembles and labels are English unless specified otherwise in parentheses after the ensemble and label information. Identical albums issued in different formats and/or regions around the same time are separated by slashes. All LPs play at thirty-three and one-third revolutions per minute (rpm), unless otherwise noted. All records employ stereophonic sound and were recorded with analogue recording technology, unless otherwise noted. All CDs are standard format, not super audio CDs, Pure Audio Blu-ray, etc. All years are the years in which the recordings were released. This list excludes recordings not available in physical format, such as recordings released online as MP3s only. I could not examine all the recordings on this list; therefore, some entries have missing information noted in italics in brackets. Only recordings released prior to January 1, 2016 are included in this list.

[9]Re-release of the entire original *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music* album included as one of the twenty-nine CDs in this set. This is the only re-release of the entire 1962 King's Taverner album.

Figure 4.1 (part 2 of 3):

4) **The Choir of the London Oratory**/John Hoban. Abbey LPB 804, 1979, LP.

5) **The Corydon Singers**/Matthew Best. Cabaletta CDN 5001, 1981, cassette.

6) † **The Choir of Winchester Cathedral**/Martin Neary. Academy Sound and Vision ASV ALH 943, 1983, LP/Academy Sound and Vision ASV ZC ALH 943, 1983, cassette/Musical Heritage Society MHS 7014Y, 1984, LP (USA)/Musical Heritage Society MHS 9014Z, 1984, cassette (USA).
   Gaudeamus GAU 119, 1990, CD

7) ***(†) The Tallis Scholars**/Peter Philips. Gimell 1585-04, 1984, LP/Gimell 1585T-04, 1984, cassette/Gimell GIM004, 1984, CD.
   Gimell GIM995, 1995, CD

8) † **The Choir of Jesus College, Cambridge**/Geraint Bowen. Alpha ACA 546, 1985, LP.

9) † **The Choir of Keble College, Oxford**/Jeremy Filsell. Wealden WS 277, [ca. 1985], LP/Wealden WS 277C, [ca. 1985], cassette.

10) † **The Choir of Hereford Cathedral**/Roy Massey. Priory PRCD 247, 1988, CD/Priory PRC 247, 1988, cassette.
   Priory PRCD907, 1999, CD
   Priory PRCD5022, 2006, CD

11) **(†) The Cambridge Singers**/John Rutter. American Gramophone Records AGCD588, 1988, CD and cassette (USA).

12) **(†) The Sixteen**/Harry Christophers. Hyperion CDA 66325, 1990, CD.
   Helios CDH 55054, 2000, CD
   Hyperion CDS44401, 2009, 10 CDs

13) † **The Choir of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford**/Stephen Darlington. Nimbus NI 5360, 1993, CD.

14) † **The Choir of Truro Cathedral**/David Briggs. Priory PRCD429, 1993, CD.

15) † **The Choir of Wellington Cathedral of St Paul**/Philip Walsh (New Zealand). Herald HAVP191, 1995, CD.

16) †* **The Choir of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford**/Stephen Darlington. Avie AV2123, 2007, CD.

17) † **Saint Thomas Choir of Men and Boys** (NYC)/John Scott (USA). Pro Organo 7209, 2007, CD (USA).

18) † **The Choir of the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace**/Carl Jackson. The Sound Corporation [label no. not found], 2009, CD.

19) **The Rutgers Collegium Musicum**/Timothy J. Smith (USA). Direct-to-Tape DTR2022, 2009, CD (USA).

20) **Cantoris**/[director name not found]. Sheer Joy Music VP 1009, 2010, CD.

21) **Sam Houston State University Chorale**/Allen Hightower (USA). Mark Records 8781-MCD, 2010, CD (USA).

Figure continues on next page

Figure 4.1 (part 3 of 3):

22) † **The Choir of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh**/Duncan Ferguson (Scotland). Delphian DCD34023, 2009, CD (Scotland).

23) † **Worcester Cathedral Choir**/Donald Hunt. Griffin Records GCCD 4053, 2010, CD.

24) **(†) Alamire**/David Skinner. Obsidian Records CD707, 2011, CD.

25) **(†) Stile Antico**/[no conductor]. Harmonia Mundi HMU80 7555, 2012, CD (USA).

26) **The Tudor Choir**/Doug Fullington (USA). Scribe Records SRCD2, 2012, CD (USA).

27) † **Singers of St Laurence**/Neil McEwan (Australia). ABC Classics 4765106, 2014, CD (Australia).

28) ***(†) The Tallis Scholars**/Peter Phillips. Gimell CDGIM 046, 2015, CD.

As can be seen in figure 4.1, King's not only released the first recording of *Dum transisset*, but this recording has been re-released on six subsequent albums, which is more re-releases than any other recording of Taverner's composition. In fact, of the twenty-seven recordings of the composition made by choirs other than King's, only five (about 18 percent) saw any reissues. In light of the higher number of re-releases of the King's recording, it seems that there was something special about the King's recording that made it appeal to listeners.

I posit that King's helped instigate the modern revival of *Dum transisset* because its 1962 recording exhibits a particularly compelling and memorable example of the King's sound. The choir's light, bright, and breathy timbre, its minimal vibrato, and its legato articulation for melismas make this recording feel alluringly smooth, restrained, and effortless. By comparing the King's recording to three other ensembles' recordings of *Dum transisset*, I suggest that the King's sound on the 1962 recording helped Taverner's motet become a popular choral composition in the early music revival. Figure 4.2 below lists the four recordings of Taverner's motet that I discuss in this chapter.

Figure 4.2: Recordings of Taverner's *Dum transisset* discussed in this chapter.[10]

1) The Choir of King's College, Cambridge/David Willcocks (recorded in 1961 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). Argo RG 316, 1962, LP (mono)/ZRG 5316, 1962, LP (stereo).
2) The Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips (recorded in All Hallows' Church, Hampstead, London, date of recording not listed). Fanfare FR2197, 1977, LP.
3) The Choir of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh/Duncan Ferguson (Scotland) (recorded in 2009 in St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh). Delphian DCD34023, 2009, CD (Scotland).
4) The Tudor Choir/Doug Fullington (USA) (date and place of recording not found). Scribe Records SRCD2, 2012, CD (USA).

These four recordings provide a representative snapshot of the twenty-nine commercially issued recordings of *Dum transisset*. The Tallis Scholars, a mixed-gender British choir, sings Taverner's composition with the English sound on its 1977 album with the English sound. The Choir of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh and the Tudor Choir, on the other hand, sing the motet with contrasting sounds.

Taverner's *Dum transisset* is a five-voice setting of a Responsory traditionally sung during Easter Week and on the first through fifth Sundays after Easter.[11] The text is adapted from Mark 16:1–2 and tells of Mary Magdalene, Mary (the mother of James), and Mary Salome the disciple (the so-called "Three Marys"), coming to Jesus' tomb the third day after his crucifixion to anoint his body. Figure 4.3 below presents the text and the form of the motet.

[10]See footnote 8 above for an explanation of the citation format for the recordings listed in this figure.

[11]The five voices are, from highest to lowest: treble, mean, countertenor, tenor, and bass. See the discussion of the text in John Taverner, *John Taverner: III. Ritual Music and Secular Songs*, ed. Hugh Benham, *Early English Church Music*, vol. 30 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1984), 189–90.

Figure 4.3: Text of Taverner's *Dum transisset*. Bold text indicates musical form (the initial letter). Italics indicate text sung as plainchant. An English translation follows the Latin. The text is taken from John Taverner, *John Taverner: III. Ritual Music and Secular Songs*, ed. Hugh Benham, *Early English Church Music*, vol. 30 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1984), 215–16, 118 (© 1984 The British Academy. Reproduced by permission of Stainer & Bell Ltd, London, England, www.stainer.co.uk). Hereafter, this edition is referred to as "EECM."

A. Respond: *Dum transisset* sabbatum: Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes ungerent Jesum (after Mark 16:1). Alleluya. Alleluya.

B. Verse: *Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum: orto jam sole* (after Mark 16:2).

A′. Partial respond 1: Ut venientes ungerent Jesum (after Mark 16:1). Alleluya. Alleluya.

B′. Half-doxology: *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.*

A′′. Partial respond 2: Alleluya. Alleluya.

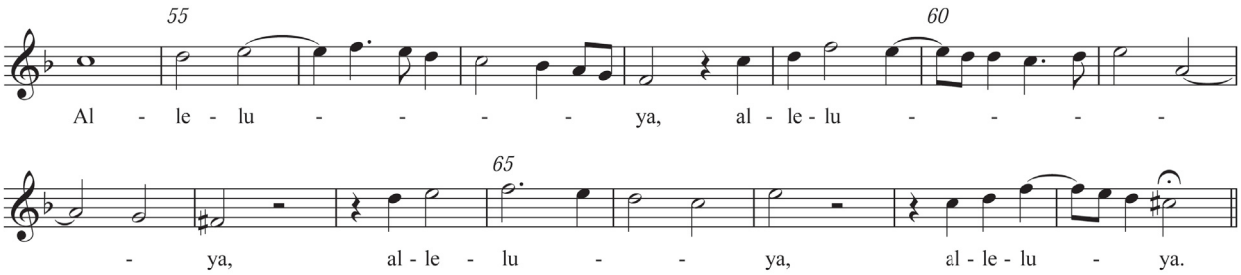
When the Sabbath had passed, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome acquired spices so that they could anoint Jesus. Alleluia. Alleluia. *And early in the morning after sunrise on the Sabbath they came to the tomb*, so that they could anoint Jesus. Alleluia. Alleluia. *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*. Alleluia. Alleluia.

(Translation by Jacob Sagrans, assisted by Julie Cumming)

The Responsory has a half-doxology and the word "Alleluya" added to Mark's text. While the half-doxology is set as plainchant, the "Alleluya" text is set for all five voices, providing a striking move from reduced to full texture at the start of the "Alleluya" passages.[12] These passages also include a dramatic treble line that quickly explores the extremes of its range, at one point dropping unexpectedly by a fifth, evading the expected F5 goal of a stepwise ascent (see measure 61 in example 4.1 below). Taverner's setting of this word evokes the joy and awe that the Three Marys will feel when they learn of Jesus's resurrection, emotions that contrast with their sorrow as they approach the tomb. Because the "Alleluya" passages are arguably the climactic points of the composition, both on textual and musical levels, my analysis of the four recordings of *Dum transisset* focuses on this passage.

[12]In the initial respond and the first partial respond, Taverner moves from music for three voices to all five voices at the start of the "Alleluya" text. At the start of the second partial respond, the music moves from plainchant to five-voice polyphony.

Example 4.1: The treble line in the "Alleluya" passage of Taverner's *Dum transisset*. Adapted from EECM vol. 30, pp. 116–17. Note values are half of the original values. © 1984 The British Academy. Reproduced by permission of Stainer & Bell Ltd, London, England, www.stainer.co.uk.



The 1962 King's recording of *Dum transisset* exhibits many of the hallmarks of the King's sound: most of the singers have a light and bright timbre and the boy trebles sing with little vibrato and sound breathy.[13] Occasionally the tenors and basses sing with a small amount of vibrato, mostly on long notes. Articulation for melismas is mostly legato and this is especially apparently in the melismatic "Alleluya" passages. The different sections of the choir (treble, mean, etc.) are usually evenly balanced with one another, although at times the trebles are louder than the other parts. It sounds as if this may be the result of the trebles being placed closer to the microphones than the choral scholars. Individual voices stand out occasionally, although overall there is a high level of blend within each section. King's sings the piece a half step higher than indicated in the *Early English Church Music* edition, which means the singers are in a high tessitura, contributing to the brightness of the sound.[14]

[13]The 1962 King's recording can be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue no.: 00028945217024). It can be previewed and purchased online from the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/1LKWPUr) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1MkBj7d).

[14]I am assuming here, for the sake of simplicity and ease of comparison, that an "at pitch" performance of *Dum transisset* would adopt the modern standard of A4 = 440 Hz. However, such an assumption does not reflect the realities of performance in the sixteenth century, when transposition was likely. For more information on performance pitch in Tudor music, see: Roger Bowers, "To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390–1559," in *English Choral Practice: 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10–15; Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2002), 88–92; Arthur Mendel, "Pitch in Western Music since 1500: A Re-Examination," *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978): 63–66; Andrew Parrott, "Falsetto Beliefs: The 'Countertenor' Cross-Examined." *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (2015): 93–97; David Wulstan, "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal

The 1962 King's Taverner album was reviewed twice in *Gramophone*, first by Jeremy Noble shortly after the LP was released and then by David Fallows for a 1984 re-release.[15] Noble prefaced his review by pointing out how "scandalous" it is "that until now there has not been a single LP record devoted to the greatest English composer of the reign of Henry VIII." However, he criticized the record for lacking balance (perhaps because the trebles sound somewhat louder than the choral scholars) and also criticized it for being "monotonous" and low in musical tension.[16] Writing twenty-three years after Noble, Fallows came to a different conclusion: he noted the "landmark" status of the 1962 album and singled out *Dum transisset* as a track where "everything falls effortlessly into place and the result is the kind of performance that is unlikely to be supplanted."[17] In saying this, Fallows also implied that Willcocks's recording had not been surpassed by any of the seven additional recordings of *Dum transisset* released by 1985.[18]

The 1977 Tallis Scholars recording of Taverner's motet exhibits four overarching differences from the 1962 King's recording.[19] First, the ensemble has women singing the treble

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Music." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 93 (1966–67): 97–112; David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent, 1985), 192–249; and David Wulstan, "Vocal Colour in English Sixteenth-Century Polyphony," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 2 (1979): 19–60.

[15]Jeremy Noble, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music* album (Argo RG316, 1962, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5316, 1962, LP [stereo]), *Gramophone*, October 1962, 203. David Fallows, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's *John Taverner: Mass "The Western Wind," Dum transisset sabbatum, Christe Jesu pastor bone, Mater Christi* compilation album (Argo 411 724-1, 1984, LP), *Gramophone*, March 1985, 1108. I have found one other review discussing the 1962 *Dum transisset* recording as re-released on a 2010 compilation album: William J. Gatens, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's *Byrd and Taverner: Masses and Motets* compilation album (Newton Classics 880 202-0, 2010, 2 CDs), *American Record Guide*, March 2011, 107–8. This review is brief and does not contain particularly strong opinions on the choir; therefore, I do not analyze it.

[16]Noble, review of King's 1962 *Taverner: Tudor Church Music* album.

[17]Fallows, review of King's 1984 Taverner compilation album.

[18]For a list of recordings of *Dum transisset* made prior to 1985, see figure 4.1 above.

[19]The Tallis Scholars. *English Sacred Music of the 16th Century* (recorded in All Hallows Church, Hampstead, London, date of recording not listed), dir. Peter Phillips (Fanfare FR2197, 1977, LP). Unfortunately, it is not possible to stream this recording online or download it as an MP3. However, the Tallis Scholars did make another recording of *Dum transisset* in 1984 where the sound is similar to the 1977 recording (one notable difference: the motet is transposed up by a major second from the pitch notated EECM [assuming A4 = 440 Hz], not a minor third as in the 1977 recording). This recording is: The Tallis Scholars, *John Taverner: Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas* (recorded in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford, date of recording not listed), dir. Peter Phillips (Gimell Records 1585-04, 1984, LP [digital]/Gimell Records 1585T-04, 1984, cassette [digital]/Gimell Records GIM004,

and mean parts and men on the lower three parts. Second, the Tallis Scholars is about two-thirds of the size of King's, with nineteen singers (as opposed to thirty in King's).[20] Third, the Tallis Scholars does not repeat any music; rather, the ensemble stops singing after the end of the first "Alleluya" section. Finally, the Tallis Scholars sing the piece a minor third higher than indicated in EECM (a major second higher than King's).[21]

These differences affect the sound in a variety of ways. First, the Tallis Scholars exhibits a somewhat higher level of blend within sections and the sections are more evenly balanced with one another than is the case with King's. The recording process likely contributed to this blend and balance, as the microphones seem to be placed farther away from the singers, which allows the sound to blend together more in the reverberant space before reaching the microphones. The Scholars' timbre is bright and light, although the sopranos do not sound as breathy as the King's trebles. The high performance pitch also contributes to the brightness of the sound. Vibrato is very minimal. Finally, like King's, the Tallis Scholars employs mostly legato articulation for melismas.

1984, CD). The 1984 Tallis Scholars recording can be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue no.: CDGIM004) and in the Alexander Street Press Classical Music Library (catalogue no.: CDGIM 004). It can also be previewed and downloaded as an MP3 from the following websites: Gimell Records (http://bit.ly/1HDh96k) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1Py7Tqt). I have chosen to write about the 1977 Tallis Scholars *Dum transisset* recording in spite of its inaccessibility, as it is one of the earliest recordings of the Tallis Scholars, and also because it employs a minor third upward transposition, which contributes substantially to the brightness of the sound, even more so than the upward transposition of a major second in the 1984 recording.

[20]The names of the singers and the parts they sing are listed on the back of the Tallis Scholars's album sleeve.

[21]Assuming A4 = 440 Hz. See footnote 14 above. This high upward transposition reflects the scholarship of David Wulstan, who was a fellow and lecturer at Magdalen College, Oxford from 1964 to 1978, where he taught Tallis Scholars founder Peter Phillips, along with other early members of the ensemble, such as Sally Dunkley. Wulstan's theory that sixteenth-century English polyphony was originally sung about a minor third higher than indicated in scores (assuming A4 = 440 Hz) was well known and had become a popular performance practice among choirs in Oxford by the late 1970s, thanks both to Wulstan's scholarship and his prominent Oxford-based choir the Clerkes of Oxenford (est. 1961), which usually employed high performance pitches. Wulstan's scholarship, however, has been recently criticized by Andrew Parrott, who has argued that pitch in Tudor England varied more than Wulstan suggested: see Parrot, "Falsetto Beliefs," 93–97.

In his review of the 1977 Tallis Scholars album for *Gramophone*, David Fallows noted that the "singers have bright voices and a clarity of technique that gives superb poise to the most complex polyphony" and argued that "the Tallis Scholars duplicate pieces already in the catalogue [i.e, works that had previously been recorded by other ensembles, such as Taverner's *Dum transisset*] only where they are at the very best."[22] This suggests that Fallows felt the Tallis Scholars' recording of *Dum transisset* rivaled the quality of the 1962 King's recording.

The 2009 recording of *Dum transisset* made by the Choir of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh (hereafter called "St Mary's") is quite different from the 1962 King's and 1977 Tallis Scholars recordings.[23] Unlike the other two ensembles, St Mary's has both boys and girls singing the treble line and both men and women singing the mean (alto) line, the choir sings the composition untransposed[24] and with faster tempi, and the recording has an exceptionally high amount of reverb (about four seconds worth). The choir's timbre is bright like the timbres of King's and the Tallis Scholars, but it is heavier and the trebles do not sound as breathy as the ones in King's. St Mary's is also not as blended or balanced as the other two choirs: individual voices stand out more frequently, and the upper parts are more audible than the lower ones. Like the other two choirs, however, St Mary's sings with little vibrato, and melismas get legato articulation.

In a 2011 review in *Choral Journal*, David Rentz summarized the main differences between the St Mary's recording of *Dum transisset* and recordings of the work made by choirs with the English sound. He suggested that the choir "distinguishes itself by its unique sound and

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[22]David Fallows, review of the Tallis Scholars' *English Sacred Music of the 16th Century* album (Fanfare FR2197, 1977, LP), *Gramophone*, December 1978, 1155–56.

[23]MP3s of the St Mary's recording of *Dum transisset* can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/265Wqpb) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1M4kNdi). The recording can also be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue no.: DCD34023).

[24]Relative to the EECM edition, assuming A4 = 440 Hz.

the energized interpretations of Duncan Ferguson, its director," and that the trebles, while including both girl and boy singers, "maintain the purity of a traditional boys-only section, but have more flexibility and power than some other cathedral choirs." Rentz also noted how the reverberant acoustics of the cathedral affected the "unity and balance of the choir," making "the lower voices . . . [sound] always slightly muddied, while the sopranos and altos ring clear, giving them a prominence at times beyond what is warranted." Finally, he felt that "climactic moments occasionally verge on the out-of-control."[25]

The Tudor Choir from the United States exhibits some elements of the English sound in its 2012 recording of Taverner's *Dum transisset*, including limited vibrato, a high level of blend within sections, legato articulation for melismas, few changes in tempo and dynamics, and a bright timbre, especially among the women who sing the upper two parts (treble and mean).[26] In a review of the album on which the Tudor Choir's *Dum transisset* recording appears, Jerome Weber noted:

> If these performances sound very much like the typical recordings most often made by English vocal ensembles, it may be due to the Tudor Choir's close association with Peter Phillips, who works with the choir together with his own Tallis Scholars annually, as well as inviting such guest conductors as Stephen Cleobury, Paul Hillier, and Andrew Parrott.[27]

Indeed, via Cleobury the Tudor Choir has a direct link to King's. However, while the sound is bright, the women in the Tudor Choir are nasal and none of the parts are particularly light or

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[25]David Rentz, review of the Choir of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh's *John Taverner: Sacred Choral Music* album (Delphian 34023, CD, 2009), *Choral Journal* 51, no. 8 (2011): 64.

[26]The Tudor Choir, *O splendor gloriae: Sacred Music of Tudor England* (date and place of recording not found), dir. Doug Fullington (Scribe Records SRCD2, 2012, CD). MP3s of the Tudor Choir's recording of *Dum transisset* can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/1OsMhyf) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1M9vYQm).

[27]Jerome F. Weber, review of the Tudor Choir's *O splendor gloriae* album (Scribe Records SRCD2, 2012, CD), *Fanfare*, July/August 2013, 556.

breathy. Perhaps these differences could explain why Karen Cook commented on the "rich" sound of the ensemble in her review.[28]

Key characteristics of the four recordings of *Dum transisset* discussed in depth in this chapter are summarized in figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 (part 1 of 2): Table comparing characteristics of the four recordings of *Dum transisset* discussed in depth in this chapter. Shading indicates the degree of similarity across rows: dark shading = high similarity; light shading = moderate similarity. A key to the abbreviations follows the table.

	King's (1962)	**Tallis Scholars (1977)**	**St. Mary's (2009)**	**Tudor Choir (2012)**
Total number of singers: number of singers per part[29]	**30:** 16 on Tr; 14 on other 4 parts.	**19:** 4 Tr; 4 M; 4 Ct; 3 T; 4 B.	**24:** 10 Tr; 4 M; 4 Ct; 3 T; 3 B.	**19** (see footnote[30])
Gender of singers	**All-male:** Tr boys; M, Ct, T, B men.	**Mixed:** Tr & M women; Ct, T, B men.	**Mixed:** Tr (6 girls, 4 boys); M (2 women, 2 men); Ct, T, B men.	**Mixed:** Tr & M women; Ct, T, B men.
Seconds of reverb following the final chord[31]	3	2	4	2
Transposition[32]	m2 up	m3 up	None	m2 up
Timbre	Bright, light, breathy (especially Tr, M)	Bright and light	Bright but not light	Bright but not light, Tr & M are nasal

Figure continues on next page

[28]Karen Cook, review of the Tudor Choir's *O splendor gloriae* album (Scribe Records SRCD2, 2012, CD), *Early Music America* 19, no. 4 (2013): 52.

[29]In cases where the names of singers are not listed on sleeve or liner notes the numbers are drawn from secondary sources, such as the ensembles' websites. This row, therefore, should be taken as the approximate number of singers on each part, not the exact number.

[30]I was unable to determine how many singers were on each part. Each of the five parts has more than one singer.

[31]A simplified indication of the amount of reverb on the recording, with longer durations corresponding to a greater amount of reverb. Measured from the cutoff of the final chord until reverberations are no longer audible, rounded to the nearest quarter second. Measured using spectrograms in Sonic Visualiser. See Chris Cannam, Christian Landone, and Mark Sandler, "Sonic Visualiser: An Open Source Application for Viewing, Analysing, and Annotating Music Audio Files," *Proceedings of the ACM Multimedia 2010 International Conference* (Florence, Italy, October 25–29, 2010), http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/sv2010.pdf, software available for download at http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/ (accessed August 14, 2015).

[32]In relation to the EECM edition, assuming A4 = 440 Hz.

Figure 4.4 (part 2 of 2):

	King's (1962)	Tallis Scholars (1977)	St. Mary's (2009)	Tudor Choir (2012)
Articulation for melismas	Mostly legato	Mostly legato	Mostly legato	Mostly legato
Blend and balance	High blend usually but individual voices stand out occasionally; Tr slightly louder than other parts.	High level of blend within sections; sections are evenly balanced with one another.	Not very blended within sections (individual voices often stand out); Tr significantly louder than other parts.	High level of blend within sections; Tr & B somewhat louder than middle parts.
Vibrato	Slight amount of vibrato, mostly in B and T on long notes.	Very little vibrato	Very little vibrato	Very little vibrato
Alleluya 1 characteristics[33]	51.25", 72.5 minims per min, mf, big rit at end	45", 82.75 minims per min, mf, moderate rit at end	36", 103.25 minims per min, mf, minimal rit at end	47.5", 78.5 minims per min, mf, minimal rit at end
Alleluya 2 characteristics	53", 70.25 minims per min, mp, big rit at end	N/A[34]	37", 100.5 minims per min, mp, minimal rit at end	48.75", 76.5 minims per min, mp, minimal rit at end
Alleluya 3 characteristics	53.5", 69.5 minims per min, mf, big rit at end	N/A	36", 103.25 minims per min, f, minimal rit at end	47", 79.25 minims per min, mf, minimal rit at end

Key:

Voice parts
- Tr = treble
- M = mean
- Ct = countertenor
- T = tenor
- B = bass
- pt/pts = part/parts

Intervals
- m2 = minor second/half step
- m3 = minor third

Dynamics
- mp = *mezzo piano*
- mf = *mezzo forte*

Other
- rit = ritard
- min = minute

[33]The format for this and the two following rows showing characteristics of the "Alleluya" sections is: duration of the section (in seconds), average tempo for the section, average dynamic level for the section, and characteristic of the ritard at the end of the section. Durations and tempi for the "Alleluya" sections exclude the final chord of each section, as the ensembles add fermatas to these chords. Durations were measured using spectrograms in Sonic Visualiser and rounded to the nearest quarter second. Average tempi were calculated by dividing the number of minims in each "Alleluya" section (sixty-two, excluding the final chord) by the duration of each section (in seconds) and multiplying the result by sixty. Average tempi were rounded to the nearest quarter value. Note values are original values. In EECM note values were halved, so what I call minims here appear as quarter notes in EECM. In the EECM edition of *Dum transisset* the "Alleluya" section is mm. 54–69.

[34]Not applicable because the Tallis Scholars ends its recording at the end of the first "Alleluya" section.

Figure 4.4 shows some additional differences between how the four ensembles treat the "Alleluya" passages in *Dum transisset*. The choirs use different tempi, with a large difference between the slowest ensemble (King's) and the fastest one (St Mary's): St Mary's sings each "Alleluya" section about 30 percent faster than King's. The fast tempi of the St Mary's recording convey a sense of energy and vitality that seems especially appropriate for the joyous "Alleluya" sections. This sense of energy is further reinforced by the lack of ritards at the end of these sections in the St Mary's recording.

One other important similarity between the King's and St Mary's recordings is that both choirs vary dynamics for the three "Alleluya" sections. Specifically, both are relatively loud (*mezzo forte* or *forte*) for the first and final "Alleluya" sections, but softer for the second section (*mezzo piano*). The Tudor Choir also takes this approach to dynamics for the three "Alleluya" sections. This dynamic treatment adds a sense of contrast to the "Alleluya" passages and also makes the final one seem particularly climactic, although a similar effect could have been achieved in other ways: for instance, by increasing the dynamic level of each repetition of the "Alleluya" section.

In conclusion, the four recordings of John Taverner's *Dum transisset* that I have discussed in depth—King's (1962), the Tallis Scholars (1977), St Mary's (2009), and the Tudor Choir (2012)—exhibit many similarities, such as legato articulation for melismas, limited vibrato, and bright timbres. Yet there are also differences in the choir's tempi, performance pitches, timbres, the amount of reverb on the recordings, and the size and composition of the ensembles. Despite these differences, the three British choirs are linked to the main institution responsible for fostering choral traditions in the United Kingdom from the sixteenth century to the present day: the Anglican Church (or the Episcopal Church, as it is called in Scotland, in the

case of St Mary's). The Tallis Scholars, while not affiliated with a cathedral or chapel, is nonetheless linked to English sacred choral traditions, as many of the ensemble's singers received their musical education in Anglican contexts, particularly the college choirs at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Given the importance of this Anglican context, it would be overly simplistic to attribute the similarities between these recordings to the influence of the King's premiere recording alone. Nonetheless, King's occupies an important position as the instigator of the modern revival of Taverner's *Dum transisset*. Choirs that have recorded this work since 1962 are invariably indebted to King's for reviving it.

4.3: Allegri's *Miserere*

Unlike *Dum transisset*, Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere mei, Deus* was performed and recorded before King's released its first recording of the composition in 1964. In fact, the *Miserere* has been performed regularly since its inception in the 1630s.[35] Before discussing the King's recording, it is important to explore the trajectory of Allegri's composition between the 1630s and the 1960s, which is crucial for understanding the work itself because what is now commonly referred to as "Allegri's *Miserere*" includes many ornaments and modifications accruing after Allegri's death.

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[35]This dating is drawn from several sources that also discuss the performance history of the composition. See: Julius Amann, *Allegris Miserere und die Aufführungspraxis in der Sixtina nach Reiseberichten und Musikhandschriften* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1935), 27; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "William Mahrt's Notion of Gregorian Chant as a Polyphonic *Fundamentum*: Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* (1638) and Historiography," in *Chant and Culture: Proceedings of the Conference of the Gregorian Institute of Canada*, *University of British Columbia, August 6–9, 2013*, ed. Armin Karim and Barbara Swanson (Lions Bay, BC, Canada: Institute of Medieval Music, 2014), 161–89; Laurenz Lütteken, "Perpetuierung des Einzigartigen: Gregorio Allegris 'Miserere' und das Ritual der päpstlichen Kappelle," in *Barocke Inszenierung: Akten des Internationalen Forschungscolloquiums an der Technischen Universität Berlin, 20.–22. Juni 1996*, ed. Joseph Imorde, Fritz Neumeyer, and Tristan Weddigen (Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 1999), 139; Graham O'Reilly, "A Unique Singers' Manuscript from the 19th Century: Domenico Mustafa's Version of the *Miserere* of Tommaso Bai and Gregorio Allegri" (2010), http://www.york.ac.uk/music/conferences/nema/oreilly/; and Ben Byram-Wigfield, *Miserere mei, Deus, Gregorio Allegri: A Quest for the Holy Grail?,* self-published companion booklet for editions of the *Miserere* prepared by Byram-Wigfield, 1996, revised 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2007, available online at http://ancientgroove.co.uk/essays/AllegriBook.pdf, 8.

In an exhaustive study, Ben Byram-Wigfield traced the history of Allegri's *Miserere* from the time of its composition to the present day.[36] Evaluating manuscript and print sources, he has showed that the *Miserere* was originally a simple, largely unornamented *falsobordone* setting of verses 3–21 of Psalm 51 (Vulgate Psalm 50), the fourth of the Penitential Psalms sung at Tenebrae services during Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel. Allegri set the text to the following musical cycle: 1) a verse for five voices; 2) a verse in plainchant; 3) a verse for four voices; 4) a verse in plainchant.[37] This cycle repeats four times (it is heard five times in total), however the final verse (the twentieth) breaks the pattern, with the first half of the verse using the music from the first half of the five-voices verses and the second half presenting new music set for all nine voices combined.

Byram-Wigfield created an edition of Allegri's *Miserere* based on the two earliest manuscripts of the work, which were compiled around 1661.[38] While these sources date from after Allegri's death, they come closer to reflecting the original version than the editions commonly used in present-day performances. When comparing Byram-Wigfield's edition to a twentieth-century edition of the *Miserere* (specifically, Ivor Atkins's 1951 score), the differences are readily apparent. For instance, in Byram-Wigfield's edition, the second half of the four-voice verses looks rather plain and simple, while Atkins's edition has many more ornaments for this passage, and perhaps most strikingly, the first soprano line has a much higher tessitura and dramatically jumps up to C6 in the third measure (see example 4.2 below).

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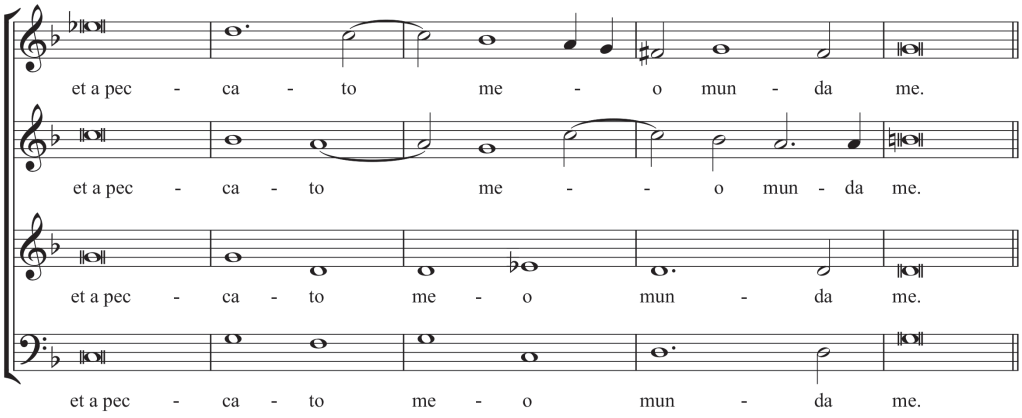
[36]Byram-Wigfield, *Miserere*.

[37]Each musical verse sets an individual verse of the psalm text, except for the first two which each set half of the third verse of the psalm.

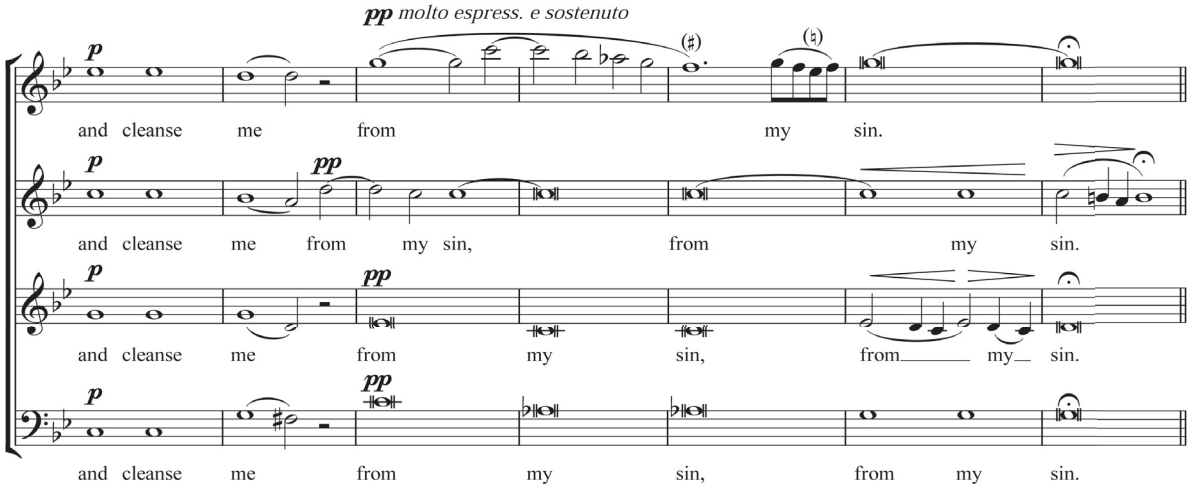
[38]Byram-Wigfield, *Miserere*, 8. The manuscripts are Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MSs 205 and 206. MS 205 is dated 1661 and presumably MS 206 comes from around the same time.

Example 4.2: The second half of the third verse (the first four-voice verse) of Allegri's *Miserere*. 4.2a is an unornamented version adapted from Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere mei, Deus*, ed. Byram-Wigfield, 2013, http://www.ancientgroove.co.uk/pdfs/Allegri_ORIGINAL.pdf, 2 (© 2013 Ben Byram-Wigfield, printed with the editor's permission);[39] 4.2b is an ornamented version taken from Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere mei, Deus*, ed. Ivor Atkins (London: Novello, 1951), 3–4 (© Novello & Co. Limited, printed by permission of Novello & Co. Limited).

4.2a



4.2b



As described in firsthand accounts by individuals such as Charles Burney and Felix Mendelssohn, the virtuosic singers of the Sistine Chapel Choir added ornaments to Allegri's music over the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.[40] A score of the

[39]I have doubled Byram-Wigfield's note values and altered the key signature and accidentals to better reflect seventeenth-century sources. The original signature lacked Byram-Wigfield's signed E-flat, even though most Es are individually notated as flat.

[40]Felix Mendelssohn to Carl Friedrich Zelter, June 16, 1831, in Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Reisebriefe . . . aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1862), 171–88, English translation in Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, ed. and trans. G. Selden-Goth (New York: Pantheon, 1945), 133–

work that includes both the high C6 and the embellishments commonly performed today was first published in 1880, nearly two hundred and fifty years after Allegri's death. This score is found in William Smith Rockstro's entry for "Miserere" in the first edition of George Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.[41] Although Rockstro did not present a performing edition of the work, most performances and recordings of the *Miserere* since the mid-twentieth century have followed editions that are similar to what Rockstro included in his article.[42]

King's College, Cambridge was the first choir to record Allegri's *Miserere* in Rockstro's late Romantic configuration. Recordings and editions of the *Miserere* pre-dating the 1964 King's recording usually employ fewer ornaments than Rockstro indicated and lack the C6 in the first soprano part in the four-voice verses (Atkins's 1951 edition is a notable exception). This is the case, for instance, in Frank Damrosch's 1899 edition.[43] It will prove instructive here to briefly consider two pre-1964 recordings of less-ornamented versions of the composition, as doing so gives a sense of the recorded history of the *Miserere* prior to the King's recording, which in turn will help show how King's differentiated itself from ensembles that had previously recorded Allegri's work.

51; Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1771), 275–76. Laurenz Lütteken has suggested that, in light of the virtuosic castrati in the Sistine Chapel Choir, the operatic predilections of Allegri's patron Pope Urban VIII, and the high level of spectacle in the Tenebrae services in which the *Miserere* was originally sung, the work probably started to become ornamented in performances shortly after its composition. Unfortunately, it is hard to know the extent to which the work was ornamented in the seventeenth century, as there are relatively few sources of the *Miserere* from then, probably because copying it was forbidden and considered an offense worthy of excommunication. See Lütteken, "Perpetuierung des Einzigartigen," 139, 142. Unauthorized transcriptions of the work from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often have a significant number of ornaments. See the discussion of these transcriptions in Byram-Wigfield, *Miserere*, 8–15.

[41]William Smith Rockstro, "Miserere," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450–1880)*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1880), vol. 2, pp. 335–38.

[42]The singers on these recordings were most definitely not reading the music from Rockstro's *Grove* article, as he did not include the text for all the verses. Atkins's edition from 1951 appears to be the first published score of the *Miserere* to include the ornaments in Rockstro's article and all the verses of text. The text, however, is in English, adapted from the text in Burney's 1771 edition of the *Miserere*, which in turn was adapted from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. See Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere mei*, Deus, ed. Charles Burney, in *La musica che si canta annualmente nelle funzioni della Settimana Santa, nella Cappella Pontificia* (London, 1771), 35–42.

[43]Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere mei, Deus*, ed. Frank Damrosch (New York: Schirmer, 1899).

In 1953, a recording of the Harvard Glee Club singing an arrangement of the *Miserere* for four-part men's chorus was released.[44] Because the arrangement is for men's voices, the Glee Club does not go nearly as high as the C6s found in Rockstro's and Atkins's editions (the highest note sung by the first tenors is F4). There are also few ornaments in the Glee Club performance. The choir sings in Latin, but omits the plainchant sections and performs only four verses in total.[45] Conductor G. Wallace Woodworth varies the tempo and dynamics substantially. For instance, there are gradual and large ritards at the ends of verses and there are large fluctuations in dynamics (e.g., near the end of the second verse the choir suddenly shifts from *forte* to *piano*). The Harvard men also sing with a moderate level of vibrato and a fairly high level of blend within voice sections, although occasionally individual voices stand out.

Between 1959 and 1962, the Italian branch of RCA issued forty LPs in a series called *Storia della musica italiana*, which, as the name suggests, traces the history of classical music through recordings of well-known Italian works composed from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.[46] The second volume of the series includes a recording of the Coro Vallicelliano from Rome singing Allegri's *Miserere*.[47] Under the direction of conductor Antonio Sartori, the men and women of the choir sing the Latin text with highly flexible tempi and dynamics and with a high amount of vibrato. There are also some notable instances of portamento, particularly in the four-voice verses. The singers within each part do not blend

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[44]The Harvard Glee Club and the Radcliffe Choral Society, *Chansons and Motets* (date and place of recording not listed), dir. G. Wallace Woodworth (Cambridge Long Playing Record CRS 202, 1953, LP [mono]). Unfortunately, this recording was not re-released as a CD, nor is it available for online streaming or easy to purchase. The arrangement used on this recording is: Gregorio Allegri, *Miserere mei, Deus*, ed. Archibald T. Davison, in *Harvard University Glee Club Collection of Part Songs for Mens* [sic] *Voices*, vol. 1 (Boston: Schirmer, 1922), 37–42.

[45]This is following Davison's edition, which does not have plainchant and only includes four verses.

[46]Various artists, *Storia della musica italiana*, ed. Cesare Valabrega, 4 vols. (RCA Italiana, 1959–62, 40 LPs).

[47]Various artists, *Storia della musica italiana . . . vol. II: Il seicento* (dates and places of recording not listed), ed. Cesare Valabrega (RCA Italiana MLD 40001, 1962, 10 LPs), disc 6, side 2. Unfortunately this recording was not re-released as a CD, nor is it available for online streaming or easy to purchase.

especially highly with one another: individual voices stand out. Most verses end with large and gradual decrescendi and ritards. Like the Harvard Glee Club, the Coro Vallicelliano omits the plainchant verses. There is little reverb on the recording, suggesting that it was produced in a dry acoustic (perhaps a studio) or that the singers were positioned close to the microphones so the recording did not pick up much reverb from the room. The choir does not sing the four-voice verses with many additional ornaments: these verses are more similar to the "original" version of the work presented in example 4.2a above than they are to the Atkins score (and, importantly, the choir does not sing any C6s).

The King's *Miserere* recording came out in 1964, just two years after the Coro Vallicelliano recording, yet the two sound as if they are separated by decades. King's uses an edition similar to Atkins's with many ornaments and the high C6s for the first soprano soloist in the four-voice verses (sung here by treble Roy Goodman).[48] The choir sings with limited vibrato, employs subtle changes in tempo and dynamics, and exhibits a high level of blend, qualities that are not particularly apparent in the Coro Vallicelliano and Harvard Glee Club recordings. In sum, the choir sings the composition with the King's sound. In addition, King's sings the text in an English translation, which appears to be a first in the recorded history of Allegri's *Miserere*.[49]

The 1964 King's recording holds a unique place in the recorded history of Allegri's composition, as it has been re-issued eighteen times, more than any other recording of the

[48]The label on the *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* record says that the *Miserere* was edited by David Willcocks. This edition is similar to Atkins's edition: there are some minor differences in rhythm and text underlay.

[49]MP3s of the 1964 King's *Miserere* recording can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/21oP1Oh; http://amzn.to/1ttyzS4; and http://amzn.to/1WP4zwt), and iTunes (http://apple.co/1NrLkBR). The recording can also be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue no.: 00028946637326).

composition, and more than any other King's recording.[50] A list of these re-releases is presented in figure 4.5 below.

Figure 4.5: List of re-releases of the 1964 King's recording of Allegri's *Miserere*.[51] Sources used in compiling: ArkivMusic, iTunes, and WorldCat. Asterisks indicate re-releases of the entire *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* album on which the 1964 *Miserere* recording was initially released.

ORIGINAL RECORDING:

The Choir of King's College, Cambridge/David Willcocks. Argo RG365, 1964, LP (mono)/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP (stereo).

RE-RELEASES:

1) Argo EAF111, 1964, 45-rpm record (single) (mono)/Argo ZFA111, 1964, 45-rpm record (single) (stereo)
2) Decca SPA155, 1971, LP
3) Argo SPA245, 1972, LP/Argo SPA4041, 1972, LP (Canada)
4) Argo D148D4, 1979, LP
5) Castle Collector Series CCSLP 132, 1986, LP
6) Decca 425 853-2, 1986, CD
7) RCA Victor Red Seal BD 86618, 1986, CD (USA)/RCA Victor Red Seal BL86618, 1987, LP (USA)
8) Decca 421 147-2, 1988, CD
9) Decca 430 092-2, 1990, CD
10) Angel CDS 555 220-2, 1994, CD
11) Decca 452 949-2, 1997, CD
12) London 452 949, 1998, CD
13) Decca 466 075-2, 1999, 2 CDs
14) Decca 466 373-2, 1999, CD
15) Decca 475 748-6, 2006, CD
16) Decca 430 092-2, 2008, CD
17) Decca 480 207-5, 2011, CD*
18) Decca 4788918, 2015, 29 CDs*[52]

Perhaps because of its many re-issues, the 1964 King's *Miserere* recording has frequently been mentioned in reviews of other ensembles' recordings of the work. Reviewers often compare these ensembles to King's. In order to earn praise, choirs have to either match or surpass the quality of the King's recording. For example, in a 2011 retrospective review of several albums, Jeremy Pound proclaimed that King's "set the early benchmark" for recordings of the

[50]The Tallis Scholars have the second highest number of re-releases of a recording of Allegri's *Miserere*, having reissued its 1980 recording four times. These are listed in Peter Phillips, *What We Really Do: The Tallis Scholars*, 2nd ed. (London: Musical Times, 2013), Appendix 2, no. 7, and "compilations of pre-existing material" nos. 1 and 12. There is an additional re-release Phillips omits: Gimell Records GIMSE 401, 2005, CD. See also the listing in Appendix E.

[51]See footnote 8 above for a description of the format of the entries in this figure.

[52]The re-released *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* album is just one of the twenty-nine CDs in this set.

Miserere.[53] Jerome Weber, also writing in 2011, noted that the 1964 recording "[came] to be regarded as the way the piece should be done."[54] These reviews suggest that the 1964 King's recording became a "standard" or "classic" rendition of the *Miserere*. This in turn suggests that there is something special about the King's recording that made it appealing to listeners. To consider this appeal in more depth, in the remainder of this section I compare the 1964 King's recording to five later recordings of Allegri's composition. A list of these recordings is presented in figure 4.6 below.

Figure 4.6: Recordings of Allegri's *Miserere* discussed in the remainder of this chapter.[55]

REFERENCE RECORDING

The Choir of King's College, Cambridge/David Willcocks (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). Argo RG365, 1964, LP (mono)/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP (stereo).

COMPARISION RECORDINGS

1) The Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips (recorded in 1980 in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford). EMI 1890351, 1980, LP.
2) The Choir of Westminster Cathedral/Stephen Cleobury (recorded in 1982 in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Cathedral, London). Argo ZRDL1013, 1983, LP (digital)/Argo KZRDC1013, 1983, cassette (digital)/Argo 410 005-2, 1983, CD.
3) The Choir of King's College, Cambridge/Stephen Cleobury (date and place of recording not listed). HMV EL270095-1, 1984, LP (digital)/HMV EL270095-4, 1984, cassette (digital)/EMI CDC 7 47065 2, 1984, CD.
4) A Sei Voci (France)/Bernard Fabre-Garrus (recorded in 1993 in the basement of the Prieuré de Vivoin). Astrée Auvidis E 8524, CD, 1994 (France).
5) The Sistine Chapel Choir (Vatican City)/Massimo Palombella (recorded in 2015 in the Sistine Chapel). Deutsche Grammophon 0289 479 5300 5, CD, 2015 (Germany).

[53]Jeremy Pound, "Building a Library. Miserere: Gregorio Allegri," *BBC Music Magazine*, March 2011, 60–61.

[54]Jerome F. Weber, review of re-release of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 1964 *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* album (Decca Eloquence 480 2075, 2011, CD), *Fanfare*, November/December 2011, 628.

[55]See footnote 8 above for an explanation of the citation format for the recordings listed in this figure.

Many choirs have issued recordings of Allegri's *Miserere* since 1964. In fact, ArkivMusic lists eighty-four recordings of this work issued after 1990 alone.[56] The five recordings I have chosen to compare with the 1964 King's recording provide representative snapshots of recordings of the composition made since 1964. The 1980 Tallis Scholars recording is an obvious choice because it has become a "standard" much like the 1964 King's recording: indeed, Pound called it the "best" recording of the *Miserere*, and a recent list of the "50 greatest of recordings of all time" in *BBC Music Magazine* ranked this recording as the twenty-sixth best recording of *any* classical work (not just Allegri's *Miserere*) while no King's albums were included in the list.[57] Examining the 1984 King's recording of the *Miserere* makes it possible to compare two King's recordings made under different music directors (David Willcocks and Stephen Cleobury). Since Cleobury conducted both the 1984 King's recording and the 1983 Choir of Westminster Cathedral recording, comparing these two can elucidate how two different choirs have performed the composition under the same conductor. Finally, discussing the A Sei Voci and Sistine Chapel recordings gives snapshots of the sounds of non-English ensembles.

On a surface level, the 1964 King's recording and the five subsequent ones have many similarities. All have only one singer on each part during the four-voice verses, resulting in softer dynamics for these verses, and they maintain mostly consistent tempi, employ limited vibrato, and have predominately legato articulation for melismas. All five recordings also employ modern performance pitch (A4 = 440 Hz). The main difference between them is found in the timbres or "sounds" of the ensembles. A table outlining key characteristics of these recordings is presented in figure 4.7 below.

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[56]ArkivMusic, accessed November 27, 2015, http://www.arkivmusic.com. This figure may include some duplicates and re-releases.

[57]Pound, "Miserere," 60; John Allison, et al., "50 Greatest Recordings of All Time," *BBC Music Magazine*, January 2012, 31.

Figure 4.7 (part 1 of 2): Table comparing characteristics of the six recordings of Allegri's *Miserere* focused on in the remainder of this chapter. A key explaining the abbreviations follows the table.

	King's (1964)	**Tallis Scholars (1980)**	**Westminster Cathedral (1983)**	**King's (1984)**	**A Sei Voci (1994)**	**Sistine Chapel (2015)**
Editor of score (as specified in sleeve/liner notes)	David Willcocks (similar to Rockstro & Atkins eds.)	Peter Phillips (similar to Rockstro & Atkins eds.)	George Guest (similar to Rockstro & Atkins eds.)	Not specified (similar to Rockstro & Atkins eds.)	George Guest (similar to Rockstro & Atkins ed.)	Marcos Pavan, Walter Marzilli, & Massimo Palombella (similar to Byram-Wigfield ed. based on MSs 205 & 206)[58]
Number of singers (singers' gender)[59]	**30** (16 boys, 14 men)*	**17** (6 women, 11 men)	**30** (21 boys, 9 men)*	**30** (16 boys, 14 men)*	**9** (2 women, 7 men)	**50** (30 boys, 20 men)*
Treatment of five-voice verses[60]	**Multiple singers per part:** 14 boys on S1, S2; 12 men on A, T, B.	**Multiple singers per part:** 4 women on S1, S2; 9 men on A, T, B.	**Multiple singers per part:** 19 boys on S1, S2; 7 men on A, T, B.	**Multiple singers per part:** 14 boys on S1, S2; 12 men on A, T, B.	**One singer per part:** 1 woman on S1; 4 men on S2, A, T, B.	**Multiple singers per part:** 30 boys on S; 16 men on A, T1, T2, B.[61]

Figure continues on next page

[58]See my discussion of this edition on pp. 116–17.

[59]These are the number of singers for the entirety of each recording of the *Miserere* (four-voice verses, five-voice verses, and plainchant combined). Asterisks indicate recordings where the names of all of the singers are not listed on the sleeve or liner notes. In these cases, the number of singers is drawn from secondary sources, usually the ensembles' websites. Therefore, the numbers of singers for entries with asterisks should be taken as only the approximate number of singers on the recording.

[60]This row and the following one are based on my observations from listening. I have assumed that the singers for the four-voice verses and the singers for the five-voice verses do not overlap, as in the final verse all nine parts sing together, with distinct music for every part. On most recordings, it seems that that plainchant is sung by a subset of the men who sing the five-voice verses.

[61]Because the music sung in the Sistine Chapel Choir recording seems most similar to Byram-Wigfield's edition, I have adopted his part names for this recording only. Byram-Wigfield has the five-voice verses set for soprano, alto, first tenor, second tenor, and bass parts and the four-voice verses set for first soprano, second soprano, alto, and bass.

Figure 4.7 (part 2 of 2):

	King's (1964)	**Tallis Scholars (1980)**	**Westminster Cathedral (1983)**	**King's (1984)**	**A Sei Voci (1994)**	**Sistine Chapel (2015)**
Treatment of four-voice verses	**One singer per part:** 2 boys on S1, S2; 2 men on A, B.	**One singer per part:** 2 women on S1, S2; 2 men on A, B.	**One singer per part:** 2 boys on S1, S2; 2 men on A, B.	**One singer per part:** 2 boys on S1, S2; 2 men on A, B.	**One singer per part:** 1 woman on S1; 3 men on S2, A, B.	**One singer per part:** 4 men on S1, S2, A, B.
Singers of 4-v. verses sound more distant than singers of 5-v. verses and plainchant?	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes[62]
Sound	King's/ English sound (light, bright, breathy, non-nasal, blended, balanced, limited vibrato, limited changes in dynamics and tempo, lots of reverb).	English sound (light, bright, non-nasal, blended, balanced, limited vibrato, limited changes in dynamics and tempo, lots of reverb).	Bright, nasal, heavy, not highly blended or balanced, limited vibrato, limited changes in dynamics and tempo, not very much reverb.	King's/English sound (light, bright, breathy, non-nasal, blended, balanced, limited vibrato, limited changes in dynamics and tempo).	Bright, limited vibrato, blended, balanced, dramatic dynamic swells, limited changes in tempo, not very much reverb.	Bright, heavy, nasal, not very breathy, boys and basses more audible than other parts, blended, some dramatic dynamic swells, limited changes in tempo, limited vibrato in 5-v. verses, moderate vibrato in 4-v. verses, lots of reverb.

Key:

S1 = first soprano
S2 = second soprano
S = soprano
A = alto
T1 = first tenor
T2 = second tenor
T = tenor
B = bass
5-v. verses = five-voice verses
4-v. verses = four-voice verses
ed. = edition
eds. = editions

[62]In fact, the liner notes for this album note that the singers for the four-voice verses were singing from the Sala Regina adjacent to the Sistine Chapel, the latter of which held the singers for the five-voice verses and plainchant. See the Sistine Chapel Choir, *Cantate Domino* (recorded in 2015 in the Sistine Chapel), dir. Massimo Palombella (Deutsche Grammophon 0289 479 5300 5, 2015, CD).

Reviews of the King's *Miserere* recording suggest that listeners were particularly drawn to the high passages in the work as well as the King's sound on the recording. Writing in *Gramophone* in 1964, Geoffrey Cuming stated: "the sensational thing about it [the *Miserere*] nowadays is a recurring phrase descending from C to G above the treble stave, which the boys . . . bring off with the utmost aplomb. Fabulous is the only word for it."[63] The following year, also in *Gramophone*, Roger Fiske praised King's for singing the *Miserere* "with wonderful purity of tone," and added that "the high Cs of the soloist are exquisite and unforgettable," and that he had "never before heard such high notes from a boy."[64] Focusing on the solo sung by a boy treble and the clarity or "purity" of the recording is notable, as Cuming and Fiske were pointing to characteristics of the English sound.[65]

The English sound of the 1964 King's recording became a point of contrast in reviews of the 1983 Choir of Westminster Cathedral recording, by which point it seems the King's recording had already become a classic rendition of the *Miserere*.[66] Denis Arnold, for instance, suggested that the Westminster singers did not match the standards of their Cantabrigian predecessors. In his words, the choir "sounds much more brilliant than the college choirs which

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[63]Geoffrey Cuming, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 1964 *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* album (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]), *Gramophone*, February 1964, 379.

[64]Roger Fiske, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 1964 *Allegri: Miserere* single (Argo EAF111, 1964, 45 rpm record [mono]/Argo ZFA111, 1964, 45 rpm [stereo]), *Gramophone*, November 1965, 259.

[65]See my discussion of the English sound in chapter 2, section 2.3.

[66]In addition to published reviews, YouTube comments suggest that listeners view the 1964 King's recording as the classic or standard recording of the work. Some representative comments include: "I own several versions [recordings] of the Allegri Miserere, but this is the one I come back to most often" (Jacqueline Slade, 2009); "This recording is still the best version ever captured in human existence" (Anthony Keller, 2010); "I have listened to many versions [recordings of the *Miserere*] myself, and this is the most beautiful, what a glorious voice [in reference to Goodman's voice]" (Justme, 2010); "Absolutly [*sic*], you're all right. Roy Goodman, exposed top Cs, remains unsurpassed in the haunting effect he achived [*sic*]." (treblechoir99, 2010); "In my very humble opinion, this '63 recording is the definitive version [of recordings of the *Miserere*]" (johnybes, 2011); "Me and my dad almost cried when we heard his [Goodman's] voice. it [*sic*] is like pure crystal." (2012); and "there will never be anything to match Goodman's unbelievably perfect and beautiful voice" (Peter Byrne, 2013). See "Choir of King's College Miserere Part I(recording 1963)," treblechoir99 YouTube channel, published March 22, 2009, https://youtu.be/XND3XXqt76Y and "Choir of King's College Miserere Part 2(recording 1963)," treblechoir99 YouTube channel, published March 22, 2009, https://youtu.be/_pNk4AiaPn8.

usually record such music," and "the boys . . . have a distinctive cutting edge and the vowel sounds are less polite . . . which imparts a greater emotional thrust," but they "cannot quite manage that ethereal quality which King's managed during the Willcocks era . . . , the ornaments are not performed so neatly, nor are the high notes so bell-like."[67] Likewise, Nicholas Anderson, borrowing Arnold's phrase, liked that Westminster Cathedral sounds "less polite" as it "enhances the atmosphere of overt emotional experience" and "sounds so natural," but also argued that "the greater homogeneity of sound characteristic of the English choral tradition and of Oxford and Cambridge particularly, [*sic*] copes better with the higher reaches of the tessitura."[68]

Arnold and Anderson's points are especially apparent when comparing Saul Quirke, the treble soloist on the Westminster Cathedral recording, to Roy Goodman on the King's recording. Quirke has a more nasal sound and more dynamic power than Goodman. He also stands out more than Goodman does from the other singers in the four-voice verses. And, to use Anderson's word, Quirke's sound is less "homogenous": his pitch wavers slightly on held notes, and he swoops somewhat on skips up to high notes, characteristics absent in Goodman's performance. There is a high sense of drama in the four-voice verses of the Westminster Cathedral recording, a sense that faster tempi also help convey. The sound, however, lacks the blend of the King's and English sounds. The timbre of the boy trebles is bright, but it is not light and breathy like the King's trebles; instead, the boys are heavy and nasal sounding.[69]

Shortly before the 1983 Westminster Cathedral recording, the Tallis Scholars recording of Allegri's *Miserere* was released, a recording that comes closest to rivaling the "standard" or

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[67]Denis Arnold, review of the Choir of Westminster Cathedral's *Allegri: Miserere* album (Argo ZRDL1013, 1983, LP [digital]/Argo KZRDC1013, 1983, cassette [digital]), *Gramophone*, April 1983, 1178.

[68]Nicholas Anderson, review of the Choir of Westminster Cathedral's *Allegri: Miserere* album (Argo 410 005-2, 1983, CD), *Gramophone*, July 1983, 177.

[69]MP3s of the 1983 Westminster Cathedral *Miserere* recording can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/1MOSq0g; and http://amzn.to/1PNXgkJ) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1N2viA8).

"classic" status of the 1964 King's recording.[70] The sound of the Tallis Scholars is distinguishable from King's on account of the inclusion of female voices and the reliance on adult voices only; yet as an English choral ensemble consisting predominately of singers who had been trained in Oxbridge chapel choirs similar to King's, the Tallis Scholars produces a vibrato-free sound with minimal variation in tempo and dynamics and a high level of blend. In other words, the Tallis Scholars sing with the English sound.

Reviewers picked up on the similarities between the sound of the Tallis Scholars on its 1980 *Miserere* recording and the sound of Oxbridge college choirs like King's, giving the English sound of the ensemble and the sound of the first soprano soloist as much emphasis as was seen in the reviews of the King's recording. Roger Fiske, for instance, called the Tallis Scholars "an excellent choir which includes girls [*sic*] trained . . . to sing like boys, only better" and he also wrote that the high C6s of soprano soloist Alison Stamp are "a wonder of purity."[71] John Milsom praised "the spectral and wonderfully boyish singing of Alison Stamp" while Pound called Stamp "pure-voiced."[72] That "purity" (a quality associated with the English sound[73]) and the "boyish" sound of the women singers are prominent points of praise in these reviews suggests that the reviewers were trying to assert the value of the Tallis Scholars' recording by emphasizing characteristics it shares with the classic 1964 King's recording of Allegri's *Miserere*.

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[70]The Tallis Scholars, *Allegri Miserere* (recorded in 1980 in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford), dir. Peter Phillips (EMI 1890351, 1980, LP). MP3s of this *Miserere* recording can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Gimell Records (http://bit.ly/1k4ZWx9; http://bit.ly/1k50xyO; http://bit.ly/1Gtf2qx; and http://bit.ly/1WdU1SC) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1WdM3Oq; http://apple.co/207fOzY; and http://apple.co/1Nw4MgT). The recording can also be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue no.: CDGIM339) and in the Alexander Street Press Classical Music Library (catalogue no.: CDGIM 339).

[71]Roger Fiske, review of the Tallis Scholars' *Allegri Miserere* album (Classics for Pleasure CFP40339, 1980, LP), *Gramophone*, October 1980, 523.

[72]John Milsom, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 1984 *Allegri: Miserere* album (HMV EL270095-1, 1984, LP [digital]/HMV EL270095-4, 1984, cassette [digital]), *Gramophone*, December 1984, 790; Pound, "Miserere," 60.

[73]See my discussion in chapter 2, p. 60.

While the Tallis Scholars' recording of the *Miserere* is similar to the King's recording in that both exhibit the English sound, as a whole the Tallis Scholars is cleaner in execution, with even less vibrato and fewer changes in dynamics and tempo than King's. The smaller size of the ensemble—seventeen singers in comparison to around thirty in King's—and its composition of exclusively adult singers, many of whom were professional musicians, are the factors that are most responsible for the differences in sound between the Tallis Scholars and King's.[74] These differences are likely the reasons why some reviewers deemed the Tallis Scholars' *Miserere* recording better than the 1964 King's recording.[75]

Moving on to the 1984 King's recording of Allegri's *Miserere*, it is clear that this one is similar to the choir's 1964 rendition.[76] The parts are evenly balanced with one another and there is a high level of blend within sections. The choristers sing with limited vibrato and few changes in tempo and dynamics. The boy trebles especially exhibit the light, bright, and breathy quality of the King's sound. The main difference between the 1964 and 1984 recordings is that the later one is sung in Latin and the enunciation is not as clear as it is in the earlier recording sung in English.

In comparison to the 1983 Westminster Cathedral recording, the 1984 King's recording has less vibrato and a less nasal sound. Timothy Beasley-Murray, the treble soloist for the four-voice verses, lacks the upward swoops (or slight glissandi) of Westminster Cathedral soloist Saul Quirke. One significant similarity between the two recordings, however, is that Stephen Cleobury conducted both. Before coming to King's in the fall of 1982, Cleobury had served as

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[74]The Tallis Scholars included both professional paid singers and unpaid amateurs in 1980. In 1982 they became a fully professional ensemble. See the discussion in Peter Phillips, *What We* Really Do, 2nd ed., 34–37.

[75]See footnote 57 above.

[76]MP3s of the 1984 King's *Miserere* recording can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/1OS0dR2) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1OS18AX). The recording can also be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue nos: 5099991873354; 5099964044354; and 0724357587754) and in the Alexander Street Press Classical Music Library (catalogue no: GBAYD8300335).

Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral.[77] Given that the two recordings were made under the same conductor within about two years of each other,[78] it is perhaps surprising that they are so different: indeed, the 1984 King's *Miserere* recording sounds more similar to the 1964 recording than it does to the 1983 Westminster Cathedral recording. In an interview published in 2001, Cleobury suggested that he changed his approach to choral direction when he began working at King's College: "I felt myself aware of the weight of the King's tradition . . . [and] I felt that I had to try to preserve and emulate that."[79] It is especially likely that Cleobury would have been thinking about "the King's tradition" when conducting Allegri's *Miserere* given that the 1964 King's rendition became a "standard" recording of the composition. Cleobury, then, mindful of the characteristics of the traditional King's sound and the popularity of the 1964 King's recording of the *Miserere*, decided to take a different approach from the one he had used at Westminster Cathedral.

A Sei Voci's 1994 recording of the *Miserere* stands somewhat apart from the other recordings discussed in this chapter, as the ensemble is French, not English.[80] Like the Tallis Scholars, A Sei Voci is a mixed-gender professional vocal ensemble that specializes in early music. The ensemble is also smaller than the English church choirs I have examined in this

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[77]Cleobury held this position from 1979 to 1982. The Westminster Cathedral *Miserere* recording was made in July of 1982, two months before Cleobury left for King's. The album was commercially released in 1983, which is why I refer to it with the year 1983.

[78]The King's album was released by the end of 1984, but it is unclear when it was recorded. At most, then, twenty-nine months separated Cleobury's recording sessions with the Westminster Cathedral Choir and with King's, probably less (John Milsom's review of the album came in the December 1984 issue of *Gramophone*, which means the album was probably recorded at least several months before then).

[79]Jeffrey Sandborg, ed. and interviewer, *English Ways: Conversations with English Choral Conductors* (Chapel Hill: Hinshaw Music, 2001), 84.

[80]A Sei Voci, *Gregorio Allegri: Miserere/Messe, Motets* (recorded in 1993 in the basement of the Prieuré de Vivoin), dir. Bernard Fabre-Garrus (Astrée Auvidis E 8524, CD, 1994). Note that there are two recordings of Allegri's *Miserere* on this album: track 12 is a recording of the work with the ornaments from the Rockstro/Atkins editions (with Latin text) while track 1 is a version of the work with different ornaments. When I reference the A Sei Voci recording of Allegri's *Miserere*, I am referring to track 12. MP3s of the 1994 A Sei Voci *Miserere* recording can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/2fkipal) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1R9mJ5y). The recording can also be streamed online in the Naxos Music Library (catalogue no.: E8909) and in the Alexander Street Press Classical Music Library (catalogue no: FRZ139300230).

chapter, with only nine singers. Despite these differences, A Sei Voci adopts some elements of the English sound. For instance, the ensemble sings the *Miserere* with little vibrato, with a bright timbre, with high levels of blend within sections, and with an even balancing of the sections. But there are also elements that are not particularly at home with the English sound, such as dramatic dynamic swells. Interestingly, in a review of this recording, Iain Fenlon, a musicology professor and colleague of Cleobury's at King's College criticized A Sei Voci for not going far enough away from English sound, characterizing the ensemble's sound as "at times somewhat flat and white but at its best with an appropriate Italianate edge."[81] Perhaps, as Fenlon suggested, this recording provides some of both the English sound and a more Italian sound, but in doing so lacks a full commitment to either one and thus fails to be as stimulating or convincing as other recordings of the work (although the dynamic swells do add a nice sense of excitement to the recording).

A final interesting recording of Allegri's *Miserere* to examine is the one made by the Sistine Chapel Choir in 2015.[82] This recording is different from most of the other *Miserere* recordings considered in this chapter in that the choir does not exhibit the English sound. The sections are not balanced evenly with one another, there is a fair amount of vibrato during the four-voice verses, the boys have a nasal, heavy, and not particularly breathy tone, and there is a

[81]Iain Fenlon, review of A Sei Voci's *Allegri: Miserere* album (Astrée Auvidis E8524, 1994, CD), *Gramophone*, September 1995, 86. For a discussion of the connections between the King's sound, the English sound, and the "white" sound, see chapter 3, section 3.4. I suspect that by using the phrase "Italianate edge," Fenlon was indicating a greater use of vibrato and more frequent changes in tempo and dynamics than typically found in recordings of choirs that exhibit the English sound. In an email to me, however, Fenlon said he did not recall exactly what he meant to convey by using this phrase. A Sei Voci varies its dynamics, but does not noticeably vary its tempo, and vibrato is mostly absent from this recording.

[82]Sistine Chapel Choir, *Cantate Domino* (2015). An MP3 version of this album can be previewed and purchased online at the following sites: Amazon (http://amzn.to/2fplRNx) and iTunes (http://apple.co/1NgeC84).

fair amount of dynamic shaping of phrases.[83] The choir also sings from an edition based on the earliest surviving sources of the work.[84] As a result, the first soprano soloist in the four-voice verses, Gianluca Alonzi, reaches a top note of just E-flat 5 rather than C6 (note also that Alonzi is an adult countertenor, not a boy treble). Despite these differences, it is important to include the Sistine Chapel Choir in any discussion of recordings of Allegri's *Miserere*, as the composition was originally written for this ensemble and to be sung in the Sistine Chapel. In addition, the 2015 Sistine Chapel album is the first commercial recording to be made in the Sistine Chapel (outside of recordings of live concerts or services) and it presents one of the first recordings of the *Miserere* following an edition based on the earliest surviving sources of the work.[85] Because it is sung by the choir for which the *Miserere* was written, in the place where it was originally performed, and from an edition based on the earliest surviving sources, the 2015 Sistine Chapel recording of the work can give the listener a strong sense of historical authenticity, a sense that choir director Massimo Palombella also conveyed in his liner notes to the album.[86]

Although the Sistine Chapel *Miserere* recording seems historically authoritative, the large amount of reverb on the recording can interfere with the listening experience. As reviewer David Vernier wrote:

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[83]However, there is a high level of blend within sections, with individual voices not standing out. This seems to be the result of the exceptionally reverberant acoustic in which the album was recorded, combined with microphones placed far away from the singers.

[84]This edition is similar to the Byram-Wigfield edition discussed earlier in this chapter (see pp. 116–17). For additional discussion of the sources and the edition used in this particular recording, refer to the liner notes of the album.

[85]See the liner notes to the Sistine Chapel Choir, *Cantate Domino* (2015). See also: "Sistine Chapel Choir – Cantate Domino (English Trailer)," official Deutsche Grammophon YouTube channel, published September 8, 2015, https://youtu.be/fc5YRYtclsM; David Vernier, review of the Sistine Chapel Choir's *Cantate Domino* album (Deutsche Grammophon 0289 479 5300 5, 2015, CD), *ClassicsToday.com*, accessed November 27, 2015, http://www.classicstoday.com/review/sacred-song-from-the-sistine-chapel/.

[86]Specifically he wrote: "A huge wealth of Renaissance music composed for papal liturgical celebrations has been performed in the Sistine Chapel—repertoire composed for its specific and unique acoustic. It is this extraordinary combination of the three greatest musical treasures of Renaissance Rome—the Choir, the Chapel and the works written for services to be held there—which this album seeks to capture" (English translation by Susannah Howe). Palombella also mentioned in his notes that the album presents the *Miserere* "in its original version, as preserved in the Sistine Codex of 1661."

> To be kind, it's not an ideal place to make a recording. For the same reasons that cause random speaking voices to effortlessly rise into incredible cacophony, so does the chapel's exceptionally live acoustic compromise blend, balance, and detail of polyphonic lines even with refined, meticulously focused ensemble singers such as these. If you want a realistic experience hearing a very fine choir singing in the Sistine Chapel, performing works that would have been sung there centuries ago, this recording will serve you well. But you'll find better recorded versions of many of the individual selections elsewhere (except for the Allegri, which is unique to this disc).[87]

While King's and many other ensembles with the English sound sing in reverberant spaces, the amount of reverb on their recordings of the *Miserere* is not as high as the amount in the Sistine Chapel recording. Perhaps this could indicate that the microphones were placed farther away from the singers in the Sistine Chapel recording than was in the case in other recordings.[88]

Given the potentially distracting level of reverb on the 2015 Sistine Chapel Choir recording, it seems unlikely that it will uproot the status of the 1964 King's recording as the rendition of Allegri's *Miserere* that other ensembles must match or surpass in order to earn praise from critics. However, since it is a relatively recent recording, it is difficult to know how it will influence other choirs' performances and recordings of the *Miserere*. Perhaps other choirs will want to have a similarly high level of reverb in their recordings of the work, especially after reviewer Edward Breen praised this recording (and its non-English sound) to the largely British readership of *Gramophone*, writing: "Mannered singing may be out of favour amongst many

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[87]Vernier, review of Sistine Chapel 2015 *Cantate Domino* album.

[88]In addition, some of the recordings of the *Miserere* made by English choirs were recorded in smaller subsets of the large and reverberant spaces in which the ensembles usually perform, limiting the amount of reverb. For instance, the liner notes for the Choir of Westminster Cathedral's 1983 recording specifies that it was made in the cathedral's Lady Chapel. King's often records in the antechapel, which comprises about one-third of the chapel of King's College, Cambridge and is divided from the rest of the chapel by the organ and a rood screen, making it less reverberant than the main body of the chapel. See, for instance, the description of the recording setup in the antechapel on p. 13 of the liner notes to the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* (recorded in 2015 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (King's College Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD). A YouTube video promoting the choir's 2013 recording of the cantata *Saint Nicolas* (op. 42, premiered 1948) by Benjamin Britten shows the choir in recording sessions in the antechapel. See the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "Benjamin Britten: Saint Nicolas," promotional video for the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Swaston Village College Choir, and the Britten Sinfonia, *Britten: Saint Nicolas* album (recorded in 2013 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (King's College Cambridge KGS0002, 2013, CD), official YouTube channel of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, published October 28, 2013, https://youtu.be/34uo7bO3rQ4.

professional ensembles but here it is executed with such conviction it creates one of the most expressive and atmospheric recordings of this repertoire in recent years."[89] The reverb undoubtedly contributes to the unique atmosphere of this recording, giving the listener the sense that he or she is in the Sistine Chapel, which some could find appealing, especially for a work such as Allegri's *Miserere* that has historically played an important role in services in the chapel.

To sum up this section, unlike the 1962 King's recording of Taverner's *Dum transisset*, the choir's 1964 rendition of Allegri's *Miserere* was not the first recording of the work. It did not spark a revival of the composition, as the *Miserere* has been performed regularly since its inception in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, judging by the many re-releases, the King's recording was popular. It also became a "standard" or "classic" rendition of the work that choirs recording it since 1964 have had to match or surpass in quality in order to appease reviewers and listeners. Given its popularity and its important position in the recorded history of Allegri's composition, the 1964 King's recording deserves a prominent place in discussions of both the history of King's and the history of the *Miserere*. In the following section, I explore in more depth why the King's recordings of Allegri's *Miserere* and Taverner's *Dum transisset* became classics. Looking at similarities between the two compositions, the King's recordings of them, and the packaging of the recordings, I suggest that they appealed to listeners because they convey a strong sense of connection to English sacred traditions.[90]

[89]Edward Breen, review of the Sistine Chapel Choir's *Cantate Domino* album (Deutsche Grammophon 0289 479 5300 5, 2015, CD), *Gramophone*, December 2015, 89.

[90]Although interestingly, as I discuss in more detail in the following section, neither of the two works were originally composed to be performed in Anglican services.

4.4: Similarities between the King's recordings of *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere*

The 1962 recording of Taverner's *Dum transisset* and the 1964 recording of Allegri's *Miserere* provide two specific examples of the strong links between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival. While the *Dum transisset* recording shows King's reviving a relatively unknown work that then became popular, with the *Miserere* recording the choir irrevocably inserted itself into the trajectory of a well-known work's reception, creating a classic recording. Despite the differences in the performance and recording histories of the two compositions, the fact that the King's recordings of the *Miserere* and *Dum transisset* became classics suggests that they could hold similar appeal to listeners.

While Taverner and Allegri's compositions come from different time periods, different places, and different religious traditions, there are some important similarities between the two. Both are liturgical compositions sung in services during the Easter season and their texts present important aspects of both the Anglican and Roman Catholic faiths: confession and repentance (the *Miserere*) and the resurrection of Jesus (*Dum transisset*). Taverner and Allegri also both set the texts in alternatim, switching back and forth between plainchant and polyphony. Both compositions emphasize the upper range of the topmost parts, particularly in the high C6s and elaborate ornamentation in the first soprano part in the four-voice verses of the *Miserere* and in the treble part's dramatic leap of a fifth down from the top of its range in the "Alleluya" passages in *Dum transisset*. Both compositions are also repetitive: in *Dum transisset* the listener hears the "Alleluya" section three times, and in the *Miserere* the listener hears the five-voice verses and the four-voices verses five times each.

Many of these similarities stem from the fact that the *Miserere* and *Dum transisset* are obvious liturgical compositions given their employment of plainchant and Latin and English

sacred text. The packaging of the albums on which the King's recordings of these works originally appeared suggests that their liturgical connotations were important selling points. *Dum transisset* comes on an LP titled *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music*. The title along with the cover image (a seventeenth-century engraving of the chapel of King's College), highlight the sacred and historical content of the album (see figure 4.8 below). The image draws the listener's attention to longstanding sacred choral traditions at King's College, suggesting that the album contains authoritative recordings of Taverner's works performed as they have been sung at King's College since the sixteenth century. This would have provided listeners in the 1960s with an appealing sense of historical authenticity, which was becoming increasingly valued in the early music revival.[91]

Figure 4.8: The seventeenth-century engraving included on the cover of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music* (recorded in 1961 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG316, 1962, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5316, 1962, LP [stereo]). From David Loggan, "Collegii Regalis apud Cantabrigiensis Sacellum," engraving (390 by 558 mm) from his *Cantabrigia illustrata* (Cambridge, 1690), held by the British Museum, registration number 1977,U.1194A, facsimile available online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=320749&objectId=1672164&partId=1 (accessed December 4, 2015). ©Trustees of the British Museum.

[91]See my discussion of "authenticity" in the early music revival in chapter 1, pp. 13–14.

In addition to the cover image, Philip Brett's sleeve notes for the 1962 King's Taverner album also encourage the listener to situate the music within longstanding Anglican traditions (despite the fact that Taverner was mostly active before the Reformation in England). After emphasizing Taverner's supposed Protestant inclinations, the notes suggest that the composer was the inheritor of "the richest period in the history of English church music": "the century and a half before the Reformation." Taverner's music is also singled out as being "closer to the age of Tallis and Byrd," suggesting that the composer was an important predecessor to Anglican church music. The sleeve notes emphasize the Englishness of the music on the LP, with half of the paragraphs starting with a sentence that includes the word "England" or "English." In addition, the notes provide detailed descriptions of the liturgical functions and textual sources of the works, which also conveys a sense of the album being closely connected to English sacred traditions. Finally, the notes discuss the performing that were created to record the works on this album, editions that "eliminate . . . doubtful accidentals" in accordance with the views of musicologist Frank Llewellyn Harrison and that were prepared "from the original sources." In hinting that the works on this recording are presented in an "authentic" way thanks to the use of editions based on primary sources and lacking in questionable accidentals, the notes draw the listener's attention to a similar sense of historical authenticity in the Church of England, where services still follow the essential prescriptions first outlined in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*.[92]

Like with the 1962 Taverner album, the packaging of *Evensong for Ash Wednesday*, the album on which the 1964 King's recording of Allegri's *Miserere* originally appeared, explicitly situates the music in a liturgical context. The album title signals to the listener that she or he should imagine the music being sung during this important service at the King's College chapel.

[92]Philip Brett, sleeve notes to King's, *Taverner: Tudor Church Music* (1962).

The cover image reinforces the meaning of the title, showing an English Bible open to the Gospel of Luke and placed on the lectern of the King's College chapel, an ornate sixteenth-century brass stand topped with a small statue of the college's founder King Henry VI.[93] This image presents powerful symbols of both Anglican worship (such as the King James Bible[94]) and English heritage (Henry VI and the educational legacy he left in Cambridge).

The back of the LP sleeve makes the liturgical contents of the album even clearer. First, the names of the college's chaplain and religious dean are listed above the name of music director David Willcocks. Above the list of works on the album the listener finds the heading "Order of Service." The album presents the music as if it were being sung in an actual Evensong service and includes intoned service items, such as the Apostles' Creed, and spoken items, such as a reading of the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32). By including the *Miserere* sung in English as part of a recorded Anglican service where all other items are in English and by English composers,[95] King's and Argo, the record company that issued the album, claimed Allegri's piece as an English and Anglican work (rather than an Italian and Catholic one), with few differences from the compositions by Byrd or Purcell on the album.

It is also important to note that *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* is banded (divided into tracks) in such a way that the *Miserere* does not start at the beginning of a new track; rather, it is grouped into the same band as prayers read by the dean of the chapel, with the singing directly following the prayers. A listener cannot hear the *Miserere* on this album without also hearing at least some of the prayers. In addition, the booming echo of the dean's voice highlights the vast

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[93]Unfortunately, I could not find a photograph of the lectern that is in the public domain, nor was I able to receive permission to include an image of the album cover in this dissertation.

[94]Apart from the chapter headings, the text in the cover image is too small to read; however, the readings on the recording follow the King James Version (KJV).

[95]The other compositions on the album are by: William Byrd (ca. 1540–1623), Matthew Camidge (1764–1844), Thomas Caustun (ca. 1520–25 to 1569), Joseph Pring (1776–1842), and Henry Purcell (1658 or 1659 to 1695).

acoustic of the space, and the "amen" after each prayer draws listeners' attention to the presence of a congregation (or, as is more likely the case here, a mock congregation, likely the choir itself), which makes it easy to imagine oneself in the chapel at King's College during an actual Evensong service.

The 1962 Taverner and 1964 *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* albums invite listeners to situate *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere* within the Anglican liturgy and let the historical and cultural connotations of the faith inform the way they listen. The fact that the two works are sung by an internationally renowned Anglican choir such as King's further solidifies these religious associations. Building on work by Heather Wiebe on the cultural resonance of the annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services at King's College in the first half of the twentieth century, I will posit here that the liturgical connotations of the King's recordings of *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere* helped them appeal to listeners seeking out national and religious traditions to comfort them in the decades following the Second World War.[96]

Wiebe has suggested that the Festival services at King's College "fostered an image of continuity and tradition" that was especially important in creating a sense of English identity in response to the uncertainties during and directly following the two World Wars.[97] King's was well positioned to cultivate an image of stability and tradition given, in Wiebe's words, its "emphasis on power and authority, achieved in large part through its very setting [the King's College chapel]—[which is] not only an imposing monument of the pre-Reformation Church, but one associated with the elite tradition of Cambridge and royal patronage."[98] The King's recordings of the *Miserere* and *Dum transisset* likely impacted listeners in similar ways as the

[96]Heather Wiebe, *Britten's Unquiet Pasts: Sound and Memory in Postwar Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 50–56. The Second World War would have been a not-so-distant memory for many English listeners when the Allegri and Taverner recordings were released (the early 1960s).

[97]Ibid., 51.

[98]Ibid., 52. See also my discussion of Wiebe's book (including this quotation) in chapter 3, p. 76.

Festival services. The way these two recordings drew attention to English and Anglican traditions could provide solace to British listeners, giving them a sense that these time-honored traditions would continue in an uncertain postwar era marked by increasingly turbulent social changes in the United Kingdom.[99]

Ironically, the King's recordings of *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere* convey a sense of English and Anglican traditions even though both works were written for Catholic worship and one was written in Rome. Yet, as discussed above, Taverner and Allegri's compositions were thoroughly anglicized on the King's recordings, both in a national and in a religious sense. All of Taverner's sacred music has Latin text. In addition, Taverner died in 1545, four years before the first publication *Book of Common Prayer*. Yet Brett's sleeve notes to the 1962 King's album portray the composer as a proto-Protestant figure, even going as far as to draw on John Foxe's questionable claims that Taverner possessed heretical books (from a Catholic perspective) and "repented . . . very muche that he had made songes to popishe ditties in the time of blindnes."[100] Allegri's *Miserere* is brought into the Anglican faith in an even more overt way on *Evensong for Ash Wednesday*. In addition to having English text and being presented as part of a recorded

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[99]See footnote 3 above.

[100]John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day, 1563, subsequent editions published in 1570, 1576, and 1583), 1570 edition, book 8, p. 1213 (plus marginalia on this page) (similar statements also appear in the 1576 and 1583 editions). Roger Bowers has suggested that there are "few grounds . . . for granting any credence to the well-known statement by . . . Foxe (written more than a generation after the composer's death) that at some point in his career Taverner became sufficiently influenced by Protestant doctrine to 'repent him very much that he had made songs to popish ditties in the time of his blindness.'" See Roger Bowers, "Taverner, John," *Grove Music Online*, updated November 9, 2009, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27571. Hugh Benham, on the other hand, has suggested that there may be some truth to Foxe's claims about Taverner: "The phrase 'in the time of his blindness' implies a subsequent seeing of the light through acceptance of Protestant beliefs, the expression 'popish ditties' probably signifying all texts associated with Catholic services and devotions. The marginal note is easy to dismiss as the prejudice of a partisan writer [*Actes and Monuments* is a work on Protestant history and martyrology], and subsequent events do not require us to believe either that Taverner converted to Lutheranism in 1528 or that he abandoned his work as a musician at this time. But there may be a substratum of truth. Foxe, like Taverner, knew both Boston and Oxford, and he may have encountered the composer or others who knew him. The comment may, for example, have originated from something said in jest or as a result of temporary frustration. And while Taverner did continue as a musician after 1528 there is nothing to prove that he was musically active to the end of his life." See Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His Life and Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 11–12.

version of an Evensong service, the *Miserere* comes in an album where all of the other musical works and spoken texts were devised expressly for Anglican worship. Only Allegri's name on the album sleeve alerts the listener to the fact that the *Miserere* was written for worship in an Italian and Catholic context.[101] In essence, with these two recordings, King's took Catholic compositions and firmly assimilated them into Anglican worship.

The King's recordings of *Dum transisset* and Allegri's *Miserere*, however, did not just resonate with Anglican and English listeners. The King's sound on the recordings helped them attract listeners in both Britain and other countries as the early music revival became increasingly mainstream around 1980, when many specialist early vocal ensembles adopted the hallmarks of the English sound, particularly limited vibrato, limited changes in dynamics and tempo, and a high level of blend.[102] In light of the similarities between the King's sound and this common, late twentieth-century style for early choral performance, listeners can imagine that the King's recordings of *Dum transisset* and the *Miserere* are historically authentic. Such imagining would be harder to do in the case of recordings of Allegri's and Taverner's works made by ensembles with sounds that contrast with this late twentieth-century early music revival choral sound, such as the Coro Vallicelliano's recording of the *Miserere* with its moderate to high level of vibrato and frequent dynamic swells.

Finally, I will suggest that some of the appeal of the 1962 *Dum transisset* and 1964 *Miserere* recordings could be attributed to how they highlight the King's sound in particularly compelling and memorable ways. Both works demand challenging high singing from the trebles on the uppermost lines (during the four-voice verses of the *Miserere* and in the "Alleluya" sections of *Dum transisset*), which the King's trebles sing with an inimitable sense of ease,

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[101]There are no liner notes or sleeve notes analyzing the compositions or their historical context.
[102]See my discussion in chapter 1, pp. 16–17, and in chapter 2, section 2.4.

control, and conviction. The boys sing with little vibrato, audible breathing, or strain, and convey a sense of effortlessness, all characteristics perfectly in line with what Donald Greig, drawing on Roland Barthes, has called the "denial of the body itself" or the repression of the "'grain of the voice'" that many listeners seem to value in the English sound.[103]

4.5: Conclusion

In this chapter, I considered the significant positions of one particular sixteenth-century composition and one particular seventeenth-century composition in the recorded output of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge. I explored how the choir's recordings of these two pieces exhibit the King's sound, how reviewers received them, how they could have inspired other ensembles to record the *Miserere* and Taverner's *Dum transisset*, and how the two recordings evoked culturally valued institutions and forms of identity associated with King's (particularly the Anglican church and English identity), further contributing to the recordings' appeal. Although I only focused on two compositions, a similar in-depth analysis could be applied to many of the choir's recordings of other early works. Such an analysis would suggest that in many of these recordings, listeners are drawn to the King's sound as well as to a sense of stable English and Anglican traditions and a sense of historical authority that the choir conveys. In the following chapter, I extend this discussion of recordings to the choir's entire output of early music albums, characterizing broad-level connections between King's and the early music revival in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries. I also move beyond recordings, looking at the links between King's and people and other ensembles that have played important roles in the early music revival.

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[103]Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23, no. 1 (1995): 141; Roland Barthes, "Le grain de la voix," *Musique en jeu* 9 (1972): 57–63, trans. Stephen Heath as "The Grain of the Voice," in *Image, Music, Text*, by Barthes (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 179–89.

Chapter 5: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival

5.1: Introduction

So far in this dissertation, I have given an overview of the history of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the history of the early music revival (chapter 1), enumerated the characteristics of the King's sound and English sound (chapter 2), explored the cultural context surrounding King's (chapter 3), and examined recordings of two specific early music works in detail (chapter 4). In this chapter, I consider in depth the relationship between King's and the early music revival in Britain from the mid-twentieth century to the present day.

I start by discussing the choir's entire output of albums, comparing it to the output of two other prominent all-male Oxbridge choirs (the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge and the Choir of New College, Oxford) as well as to the albums of the Tallis Scholars, a professional British vocal ensemble that specializes in early music. This analysis shows that King's has released a large number of albums of early music and also that the choir was recording before specialist early music ensembles like the Tallis Scholars existed. I also discuss the fact that many King's albums have been issued on major record labels or their subsidiaries, thereby reaching a more mainstream audience than the early music recordings of other ensembles. In addition, I suggest that King's has left an important mark on the early music revival by making premiere recordings, particularly of music written in Tudor England. Then I look at the connections between King's and people and ensembles that have had prominent positions in the early music revival in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century. I consider how King's has served as a training ground for early music performers, and discuss how the choir collaborated with pared-down, proto-period instrument ensembles in the 1960s and 1970s. I also examine the

collaborations between King's and some of the first internationally prominent period instrument ensembles.

Following this, I explore how the early music activities of King's relate to the rise of historically informed performance practice (HIP) in the second half of the twentieth century.[1] First I discuss how the choir's performances of early music could be seen as being historically informed or "authentic." Then I consider King's in the context of the early music revival since the 1980s, suggesting that a critical mass of British vocal ensembles specializing in early music and HIP that had emerged by that decade pushed King's to the periphery of the revival. While King's continued recording and performing large amounts of early music, because it did not claim to be a HIP ensemble the choir was not seen as being a leader in the revival. The rise of HIP and specialist early music ensembles around 1980 may explain why previous scholarship on the early music revival has not giving substantial attention to non-specialist groups like King's.[2] I conclude by considering how in recent years King's has been issuing innovative historically informed recordings and seems poised to play a leading role in the early music revival in the future.

[1]For more information on historically informed performance practice and its history, see my discussion in chapter 1, pp. 9–18.

[2]See, for instance: Geoffrey Burgess, *Well-Tempered Woodwinds: Friedrich von Huene and the Making of Early Music in a New World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015); Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988); Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

5.2: The corpus of King's albums

Between the release of its first LP in 1954 and the end of 2015, King's issued 168 albums.[3] This is a large number, especially in comparison to the sacred choirs that come the closest to rivaling this output—the Choir of New College, Oxford, and the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge—which have issued 112 and ninety-three albums, respectively.[4] It is not, however, just the number of King's albums that is impressive, but also the proportion devoted to early music. Almost half of them (seventy-four) contain early music exclusively, while an additional thirty-five include music written both before and after 1750. Close to two-thirds of the choir's albums, then, contain at least one track of early music, a proportion greater than St John's and similar to that of New College (see figure 5.1 below).[5]

[3]This figure excludes re-releases, compilations of previously issued recordings, and seventy-eight rpm records.

[4]Ibid. See the lists of these choir's albums in Appendix C and Appendix D.

[5]To get this proportion for each ensemble in figure 5.1 below, add together the "emo" and "iem" albums in each pie. The proportion of the New College albums that are either "emo" or "iem" is slightly higher than the same proportion for King's (72 percent vs. 65 percent), however King's has a greater number of "emo" and "iem" albums than New College (109 vs. 81, respectively).

Figure 5.1: Albums of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Tallis Scholars, categorized by album type.[6]

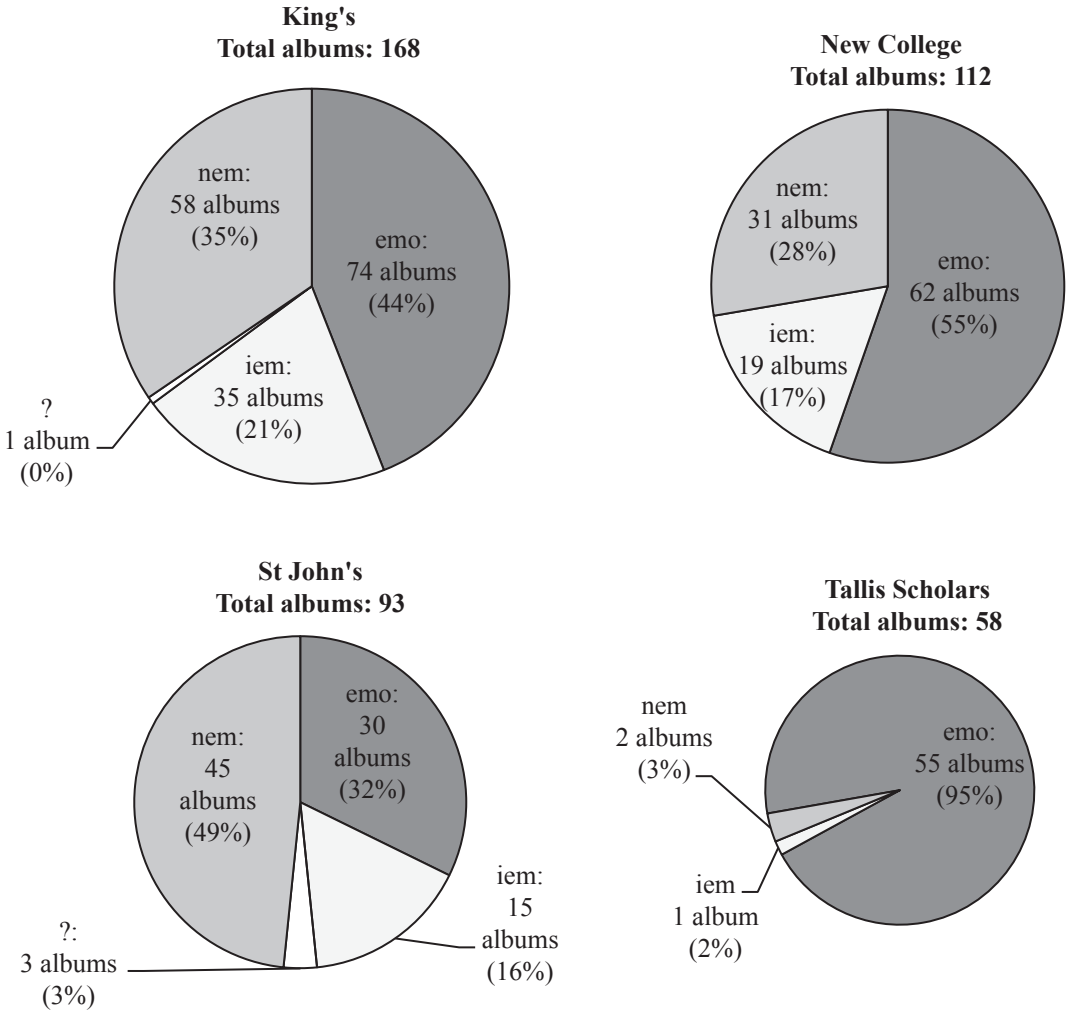
Key:

iem = albums that "include early music" (at least one track was composed before 1750)

nem = albums that have "no early music" (all tracks were composed after 1750)

? = albums where I could not determine whether or not they contained early music

emo = albums that contain "early music only" (all tracks are pieces that were composed before 1750)[7]



[6]Only LPs and CDs issued before January 1, 2016 are included in this figure. Compilations of previously recorded material and re-issues of previously released albums are not included. An itemized list of the albums issued by each ensemble can be found in the discographies in Appendix B (King's), Appendix C (New College), Appendix D (St John's), and Appendix E (Tallis Scholars). The first number in each pie slice is the number of albums in each category. The second number (in parentheses) is the percentage that the albums in each category represent of the total number of albums, rounded to the nearest full percent (with no rounding error). Each pie is sized approximately in proportion to the total number of albums of each ensemble.

[7]In the case of the Choir of New College, Oxford, "emo" albums include some that are devoted to the music of William Boyce (1711–79) and Jean-Joseph de Mondonville (1711–72), composers who spanned the Baroque and Classical periods.

King's has recorded more albums with early music than any of the other ensembles included in figure 5.1 above: 109 albums in comparison to eighty-one for New College, forty-five for St John's, and fifty-six for the Tallis Scholars. However, in comparison to a specialist early music ensemble like the Tallis Scholars, the proportion of King's albums devoted to early music is small. Indeed, 95 percent of the Tallis Scholars albums are devoted exclusively to early music while only 44 percent of the King's albums are. Although the proportion is smaller, King's has contributed a larger body of albums to the revival than the Tallis Scholars and other specialist early vocal ensembles.

The large number of King's early music albums needs to be broken down and analyzed more closely, however, as it is not solely the large number that illustrates the connections between King's and the revival. In addition, many of the choir's albums were released prior to the rise of specialist early vocal ensembles and HIP singing around 1980. Because these recordings reached listeners before those of specialist ensembles, audiences could first become accustomed to hearing early music sung by King's. Many of the King's early music albums were also issued by major record labels or their subsidiaries, thereby likely reaching a larger and more mainstream listenership than specialist early vocal ensembles releasing albums on smaller labels.[8] In figure 5.2 below, the pre-1980 and post-1980 numbers of albums devoted to early music of King's, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Tallis Scholars are compared, as well as the proportion of each ensemble's albums issued by major labels or their subsidiaries.

[8]I define major labels as record companies that have issued at least 1,000 albums, as listed on *Discogs*, accessed February 24, 2016, https://www.discogs.com/. I count subsidiary companies of major labels as major labels. For example, I count Argo as a major label because it was a subsidiary of the major label Decca.

Figure 5.2 (part 1 of 2): Comparison of the number of albums devoted exclusively to early music ("early music only" albums [emo]) of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Tallis Scholars.[9]

5.2a: Albums issued prior to 1980 (the first year in the parentheses following the ensemble's name indicates when it issued its first album)

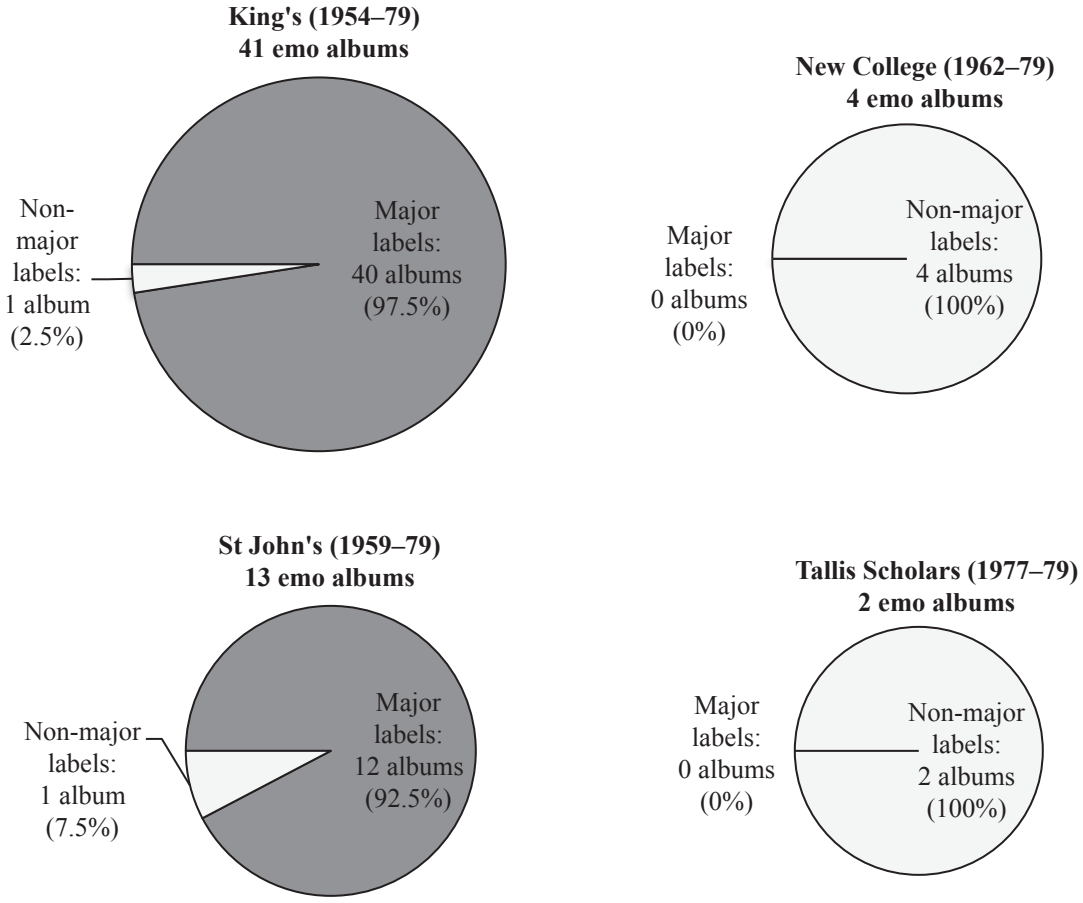
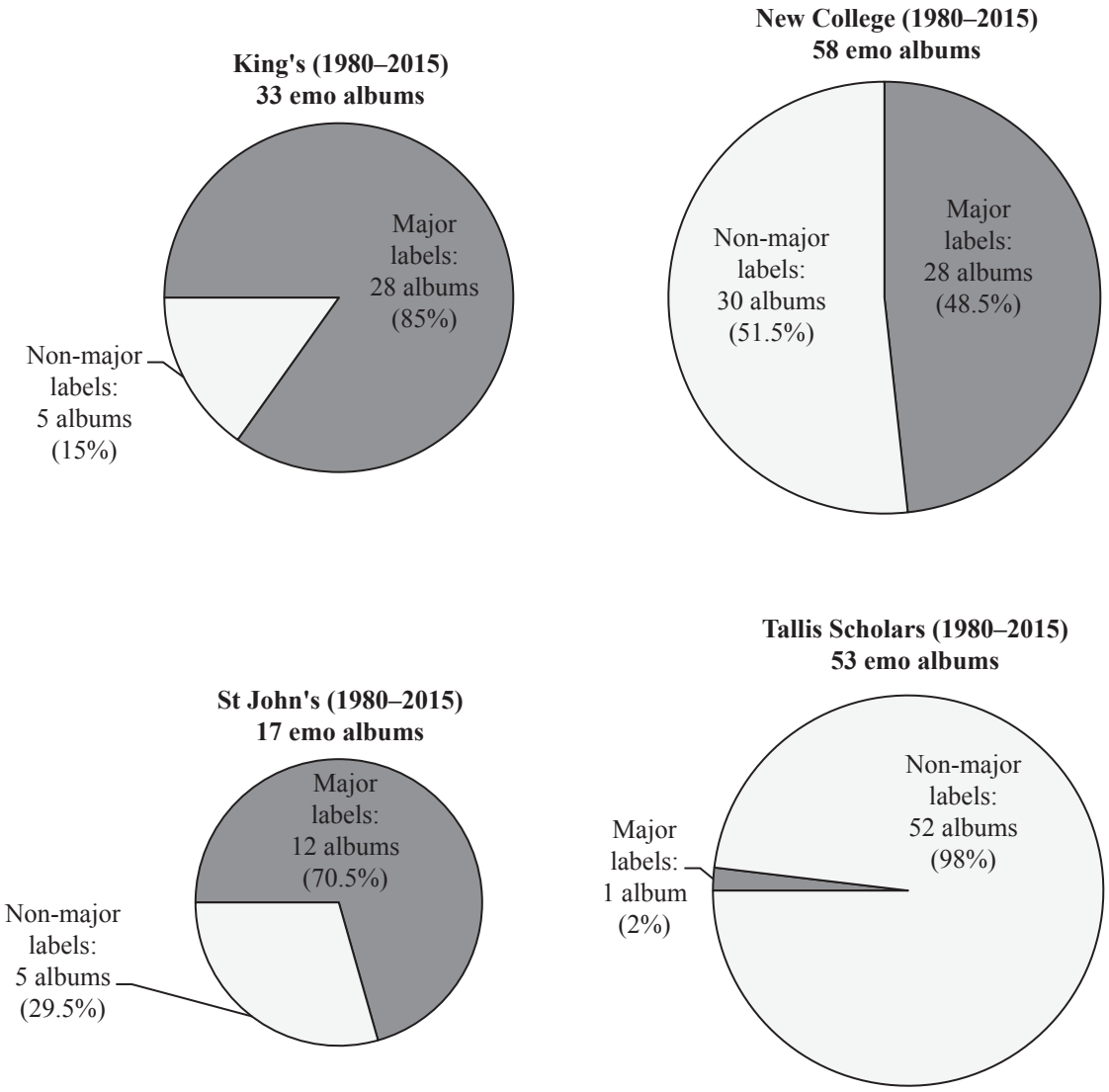


Figure continues on next page

[9]Only LPs and CDs issued before January 1, 2016 are included in this figure. Compilations of previously recorded material and re-issues of previously released albums are not included. The percentages indicate the proportion of the albums in each cell that were issued on major record labels or their subsidiaries, rounded to the nearest half percent. Each pie is sized approximately in proportion to the total number of "emo" albums for each ensemble.

Figure 5.2 (part 2 of 2):

5.2b: Albums issued 1980 to 2015



In the 1980s and later, a recording from an ensemble like the Tallis Scholars that specializes in early music might have been a more obvious choice for a listener desiring to hear early choral music than a recording from a non-specialist ensemble such as King's. When a large number of ensembles specializing in early music and HIP emerged in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, the King's recordings of early music were less able to compete with the recordings of

professional early music performers. Indeed, the number of King's albums devoted to early music released from 1980 to 2015 is smaller than the similar number for the Tallis Scholars. Yet the number of King's albums devoted to early music released from 1980 to 2015 (thirty-three albums) is not substantially smaller than the number of albums the choir released before 1980 (forty-one albums). Because King's had released many early music albums before 1980, with less competition from specialist ensembles, listeners likely became accustomed to the King's sound and continued to desire to hear the choir's recordings of early music during and after the rise of historically informed performance and professional early vocal ensembles. The numerous vocal ensembles in Britain that specialize in early music and sing in ways similar to the King's also suggests that by the 1980s the King's and English sounds had become privileged for early vocal performance thanks in part to the choir's many recordings of Renaissance and Baroque music released in eras when other choirs were recording less early music.[10]

In addition, it is important to note that many of the King's early music albums were released on major record labels or their subsidiaries, as major labels typically distribute their albums to a larger number of listeners than small record labels.[11] 92 percent of the King's albums devoted to early music only ("emo" albums) were released on major record labels, usually Decca, EMI, or one of their subsidiaries (particularly Argo).[12] In contrast, the similar proportions for New College, St John's, and the Tallis Scholars are 80 percent, 45 percent, and 2 percent,

[10]See chapter 2 for a detailed consideration of the King's and English sounds. British specialist early vocal ensembles are discussed in more depth in section 5.5 of this chapter.

[11]For instance, a King's album released by the major label Decca has received silver certification from the British Phonographic Industry (BPI), meaning over 60,000 copies have been sold in the United Kingdom. In contrast, no albums of the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, or the Tallis Scholars have received BPI certification. See British Phonographic Industry, "Certified Awards," accessed March 1, 2016, http://www.bpi.co.uk/certified-awards.aspx. The silver certified album is the following compilation of previously issued recordings: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Essential Carols: The Very Best of King's College Choir, Cambridge* (dates and places of recording not listed), dir. David Willcocks (Decca B0005302-02 DX2, 2005, 2 CDs).

[12]The percentages in this paragraph are based on all of the "emo" albums each ensemble has issued, including both those issued before 1980 and between 1980 and 2015.

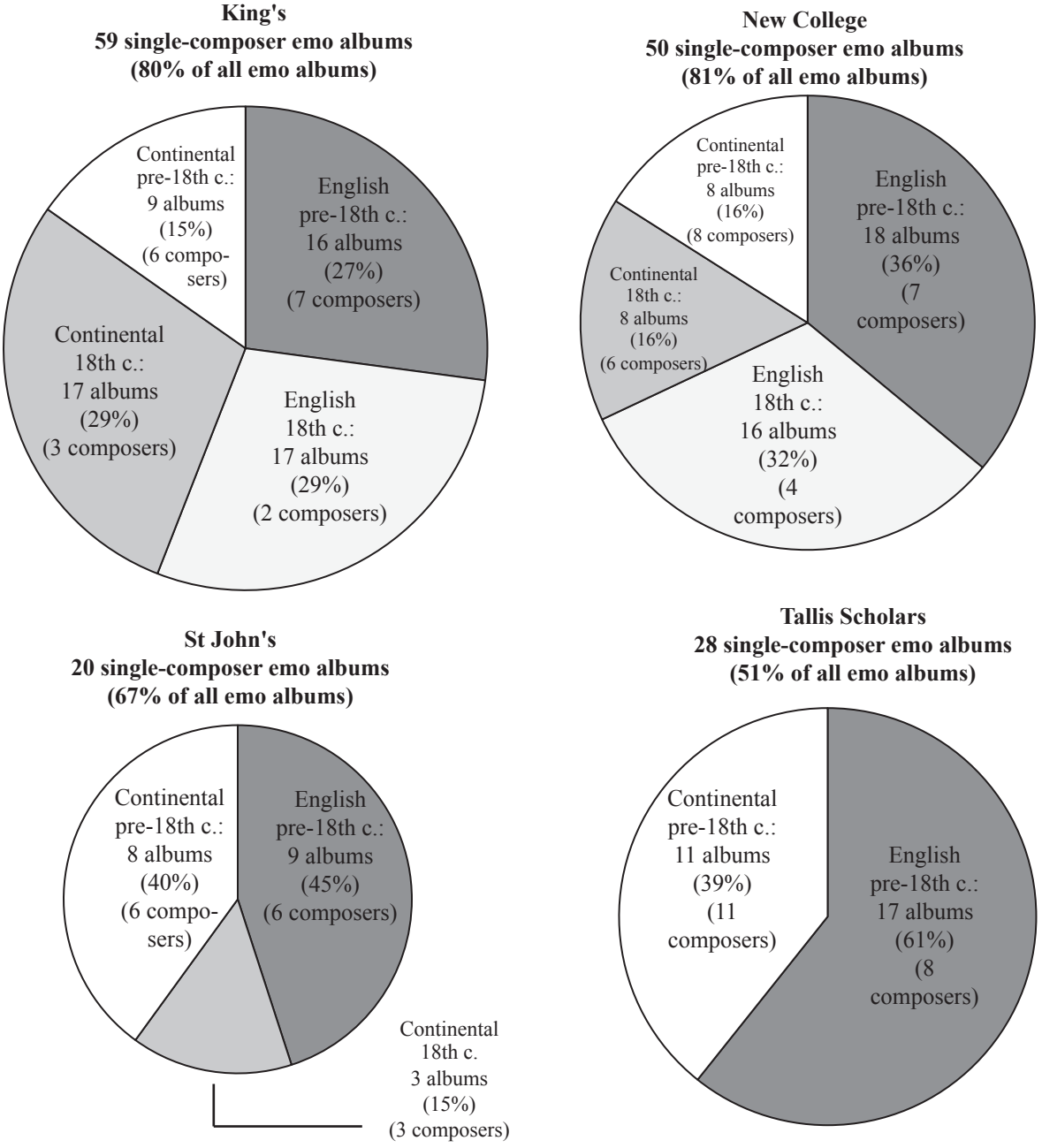
respectively. Thus, King's has not only recorded more "emo" albums than other ensembles and issued many of them prior to the rise of specialist early music ensembles and HIP around 1980, but King's has also issued a greater proportion of them on major record labels and has therefore likely reached a larger number of listeners.

So far in this analysis of the King's corpus of albums I have focused on the choir's aggregated output of early music recordings. However, it is also important to consider the various subtypes of early music the choir has recorded and how they compare to the recordings of other choirs. The best way of doing this is to look at albums devoted to music by individual composers living prior to 1750. Although King's and other choirs have early music albums containing compositions by several composers, albums presenting the music of individual composers are more common and they provide for more fruitful comparisons among ensembles, as it is easier to classify the music.

Figure 5.3 below shows how many of the single-composer "early music only" albums of King's, New College, St John's, and the Tallis Scholars are devoted to pre-eighteenth-century English music, English music from the first half of the eighteenth century, pre-eighteenth-century music from continental Europe, and music from the first half of the eighteenth century written in continental Europe.[13] Note that the Tallis Scholars has not devoted any albums to the works of individual eighteenth-century composers.

[13]Classification by region is based on where the compositions were (or likely were) composed, not the nationality of the composers. So, for example, works by Peter Philips (1560 or 1561 to 1628), would be classified as continental, as although the composer was born in England, he spent much of his career in the Spanish Netherlands.

Figure 5.3: Breakdown of the single-composer albums containing only early music ("emo") of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Tallis Scholars.[14]



[14]Compilations of previously recorded material and re-issues of previously released albums are not included. Seventy-eight rpm records are not included. Albums that name individual composers in their titles but include music that was not written by the named composers are not included. Percentages indicated within pie slices indicate what percent of the pie the slices represent. All percentages are rounded to the nearest full percent, with no rounding error. Composers who lived in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are grouped into the eighteenth century if they lived the majority of their adult life during that century (or if it is known that the music on the album was composed in the eighteenth century). Pies are sized proportionally to the size of each ensemble's output of "emo" albums.

There are several important things to note from figure 5.3. First, King's has released more single-composer "early music only" albums than New College, St John's, or the Tallis Scholars. Like New College and the Tallis Scholars, the majority (56 percent) of the King's single-composer "emo" albums are devoted works written in England (the first two pie slices going clockwise from twelve o'clock). Unlike the other three ensembles, however, a slight majority (58 percent) of the King's single-composer "emo" albums are devoted to music written in the first half of the eighteenth century (the two bottom pie slices). This likely reflects how King's has collaborated frequently with instrumental ensembles to make recordings of early music, as most of the early instrumental-choral music commonly performed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries comes from the late Baroque era.[15] New College has also collaborated frequently with instrumental ensembles, which helps explain why the eighteenth-century music proportions of the pies for New College and King's are similar (48 percent and 58 percent, respectively, in comparison to 15 percent for St John's and 0 percent for the Tallis Scholars).

While King's has released many albums devoted to the works of individual early composers, the albums represent a small number of composers. Just five eighteenth-century composers are represented, with the vast majority (88 percent) of the eighteenth-century albums presenting works by either J.S. Bach or Handel. In contrast, New College has issued single-composer "emo" albums featuring compositions by ten different eighteenth-century composers, with less than half of the single-composer albums of music from this era being devoted to J.S. Bach or Handel. Lists of the eighteenth-century composers represented in the single-composer albums of King's, New College, and St John's are presented in figure 5.4 below.

[15]These collaborations are discussed in more detail in section 5.4 of this chapter.

Figure 5.4: Eighteenth-century composers represented in the single-composer "early music only" albums of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of New College, Oxford, and the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge. Following each composer's name is the number of albums devoted to music by that composer recorded by each choir. English composers are indicated in bold text. Composers only recorded by one of the three choirs are indicated with asterisks (*).[16]

	King's (Total albums: 34)	**New College (Total albums: 24)**	**St John's (Total albums: 2)**
1	J.S. Bach (14)	J.S. Bach (3)	A. Scarlatti (1)*
2	**Croft (1)**	**Boyce (4)**	Vivaldi (1)
3	**Handel (16)**	**Croft (1)**	
4	D. Scarlatti (1)*	de Lalande (1)*	
5	Vivaldi (2)	Desmarest (1)*	
6		**M. Greene (1)***	
7		**Handel (10)**	
8		Lübeck (1)*	
9		Mondonville (1)*	
10		Pergolesi (1)*	
	5 composers (1 unique)	*10 composers (6 unique)*	*2 composers (1 unique)*

A similar lack of diversity is also apparent in the pre-eighteenth-century single-composer "early music only" albums of King's. Particularly in comparison to the Tallis Scholars, King's has recorded fewer pre-eighteenth-century composers and has also focused mostly on canonic composers while the Tallis Scholars has recorded albums devoted to compositions by less commonly performed individuals such as John Browne (fl. ca. 1480–1505) and Antoine Brumel (fl. ca. 1460–1512/13). And, while the Tallis Scholars has paid substantial attention to fifteenth-century music, King's has made no single-composer "emo" albums for any composer of this era, not even Renaissance heavyweight Josquin des Prez (ca. 1450–55 to 1521). Instead, King's has prioritized well-known sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English composers, devoting the majority of its single-composer, pre-eighteenth-century "early music only" albums to them.

[16]Seventy-eight rpm records are not included. Albums that name individual composers in their titles but include music that was not written by the named composers are not included. Composers who lived in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are grouped into the eighteenth century if they lived the majority of their adult life during the eighteenth century (or if it is known that the music on the album was composed in the eighteenth century). The Tallis Scholars is excluded from this figure because the ensemble has not recorded eighteenth-century music.

Figure 5.5: Pre-eighteenth-century composers represented in the single-composer "early music only" albums of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Tallis Scholars. Following each composer's name is the number of albums devoted to music by that composer recorded by each ensemble. English composers are indicated in bold text. Composers only recorded by one of the four ensembles are indicated with asterisks (*). Seventy-eight rpm records are not included. Albums that name individual composers in their titles but include music that was not written by the named composers are not included (the Tallis Scholars commonly does this).

	King's (Total albums: 25)	**New College (Total albums: 26)**	**St John's (Total albums: 17)**	**Tallis Scholars (Total albums: 28)**
1	**Blow (1)***	**Byrd (4)**	Allegri (1)*	**J. Browne (1)***
2	**Byrd (3)**	Charpentier (1)	**Byrd (1)**	Brumel (1)*
3	Charpentier (1)	F. Couperin ("le grand") (1)*	**Gibbons (2)**	**Byrd (3)**
4	G. Gabrieli (2)*	de Monte (1)*	Lassus (1)	Cardoso (1)*
5	**Gibbons (3)**	du Caurroy (1)*	Massenzio (1)*	Clemens non papa (1)*
6	Lassus (1)	**Gibbons (1)**	Monteverdi (1)	**W. Cornysh (1)***
7	Monteverdi (1)	Josquin (1)	Palestrina (2)	Gesualdo (1)*
8	Palestrina (3)	Lassus (1)	**Purcell (3)**	Guerrero (1)*
9	**Purcell (3)**	**M. Locke (1)***	**Sheppard (1)**	Isaac (1)*
10	**Tallis (4)**	Monteverdi (1)	**Tallis (1)**	Josquin (2)
11	**Taverner (1)**	Palestrina (1)	**Tomkins (1)**	Lassus (1)
12	**Tye (1)**	**Purcell (9)**	Victoria (2)	D. Lôbo (1)*
13	Wert (1)*	**Tallis (1)**		Obrecht (1)*
14		**Tomkins (1)**		**Sheppard (1)**
15		**Tye (1)**		**Tallis (6)**
16				**Taverner (2)**
17				**Tomkins (1)**
18				Victoria (1)
19				R. White (1)*
	13 composers (3 unique)	*15 composers (4 unique)*	*12 composers (2 unique)*	*19 composers (11 unique)*

In sum, although the King's corpus of single-composer "early music only" albums is larger than the similar corpora for New College, St John's, and the Tallis Scholars, King's has been comparatively conservative in the types of early music it has recorded, recording fewer composers and focusing on more canonic ones. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that King's has made more recordings of early music than other ensembles and that many of these albums were issued on major record labels (or their subsidiaries) prior to the rise of HIP and specialist early vocal ensembles around 1980. King's, therefore, had a prime opportunity to shape the course of

the revival of early choral music in Britain in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. In the fourth and fifth sections of this chapter I will look in more depth at how King's has been connected to the early music revival, both before and after 1980. First, however, there is one additional aspect of the King's early music albums to explore that I have passed over in my broad overview of these albums in this section: the choir's premiere recordings of Renaissance and Baroque works.

5.3: Premiere recordings of early music

One way of assessing the relationship between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival is to consider how the choir has engaged with an important trend in the revival where ensembles record medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque works that have not previously been recorded. Premiere recordings of early works attest to a broader revivalist impulse where early music performers have sought to play and sing works that had not been heard in a long time, adding an appealing sense of novelty and discovery to the revival. King's has made premiere recordings of many early works, particularly sacred music composed in Tudor England. Some of the compositions King's premiered were subsequently recorded by a sizeable number of other ensembles, suggesting that King's played an important part in launching the modern revival of these pieces. I have already examined one of these premiere recordings in detail in the preceding chapter: the 1962 King's recording of John Taverner's motet *Dum transisset Sabbatum*, a work that has subsequently been recorded twenty-eight times).[17] In this chapter, I look more broadly at the choir's entire output of premiere recordings, particularly its premieres of Tudor sacred music.

Following Timothy Day's 1989 book *A Discography of Tudor Church Music*, I define Tudor sacred music as compositions with English or Latin sacred texts written in England

[17]See chapter 4, section 4.2.

between 1485 (the start of the Tudor dynasty) and 1656.[18] A large amount of sacred music by English composers survives from this period in manuscript sources such as the Eton Choirbook (copied 1490–1502), the Gyffard Partbooks (copied 1553–58), and the Baldwin Partbooks (copied ca. 1575–81), and also in music prints.[19] This music is well represented in the recordings of King's and other English sacred choirs, as well as in the recorded output of British vocal ensembles specializing in early music. Many of these recordings are meticulously documented in Day's discography. Although it does not include recordings released after 1988, Day's book remains one of the most comprehensive discographies focused on a specific repertoire of early choral music. It allows one to assess how King's was involved with Tudor sacred music prior to 1989. In addition, because Day itemized his discography by composition, it is possible to determine how many and which Tudor works King's made premiere recordings of and which and how many other ensembles subsequently recorded the compositions King's had premiered. It is also possible to compare the number of King's premieres to the numbers for other ensembles.

Day's discography shows that before 1989, King's issued premiere recordings of thirty-nine sacred Tudor compositions. This is a greater number of premiere recordings of this repertoire than other prominent sacred choirs have made. For instance, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the sacred choir that came closest to rivaling King's in Day's discography, made twenty-three premiere recordings of Tudor church music before 1989. The Choir of St

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[18]Timothy Day, *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: The British Library, 1989), 7. The Tudor dynasty ended in 1603, however Day extends the date range so that he can include composers who were born in the sixteenth century and who lived significantly into the seventeenth-century, composers such as Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656). In his comprehensive book on Tudor Music, David Wulstan defines the Tudor period as 1485 to 1625 "or so." See David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent, 1985), preface.

[19]See Charles Hamm and Jerry Call, "Sources, MS, §IX, 19: 16th-century sources of sacred music from the British Isles," *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 25, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg28; Christ Church Library, "Mus. 979-83" [the Baldwin Partbooks], accessed April 25, 2016, http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+979--83.

John's College, Cambridge made just eleven premiere recordings before 1989. The compositions that each choir premiered are listed in figure 5.6 below.

Figure 5.6 (part 1 of 2): Premiere recordings of Tudor sacred works made by the Choir of King's College, Cambridge (5.4a), the Choir of New College, Oxford (5.4b), and the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge (5.4c) prior to 1989. Organized by composer's last name, in alphabetical order. Asterisks (*) indicate recordings that appeared on albums issued by non-major labels. For full citations of the recordings, search for the compositions in Timothy Day, *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: British Library, 1989).

5.6a: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge

1) Anonymous: Remember, O thou man
2) Anonymous: Sweet was the song the virgin sang
3) Batten: Deliver us, O Lord our God
4) Batten: O praise the Lord (4vv, 1641)
5) Byrd: Deus venerunt gentes*
6) Byrd: Domine, tu iurasti*
7) Byrd: Lift up your heads (contrafactum of *Attollite portas*)
8) Byrd: O quam gloriosum est regnum
9) Byrd: Preces and Responses
10) Byrd: Senex puerum portabat . . . regebat (5vv)
11) Byrd: Vigilate*
12) Caustun: Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (Service for Children – SATB)
13) Dering: Factum est silentium
14) Gibbons: Drop, drop, slow tears
15) Gibbons: First Preces and Psalm for Evensong on Whitsunday
16) Gibbons: Glorious and powerful God
17) Gibbons: O Lord, in thy wrath rebuke me not
18) Gibbons: Second Preces and Psalm (Ps 145, v. 1)
19) Gibbons: Te Deum and Jubilate (Second Service)
20) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 1
21) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 44
22) Hacomplaynt: Salve regina*
23) Johnson: Dum transisset Sabbatum (4vv)
24) Philips: Ave verum corpus Christi
25) Smith: Preces and Responses (5vv)
26) Stone: The Lord's Prayer
27) Tallis: Derelinquant impius
28) Tallis: In manus tuas
29) Tallis: Sancte Deus, sancte fortis
30) Tallis: Te Deum (5vv)
31) Tallis: Te lucis ante terminum (ii)
32) Tallis: Videte miraculum
33) Taverner: Christe Iesu, pastor bone
34) Taverner: Dum transisset sabbatum (i, 5vv)
35) Taverner: Mass "Western Wind"
36) Taverner: Mater Christi sanctissima
37) Tomkins: Preces and Responses
38) Tye: Mass "Western Wind"
39) Weelkes: O Lord, arise

Figure continues on next page

Figure 5.6 (part 2 of 2):

5.6b: The Choir of New College, Oxford

1) Bull: Almighty God, who by the leading of a star*
2) Byrd: Circumdederunt me*
3) Byrd: Cunctis diebus*
4) Byrd: Fac cum servo tum (5vv)*
5) Byrd: Hear my prayer (Second Preces)*
6) Byrd: Iustorum animae
7) Byrd: Laudibus in sanctis
8) Byrd: Memento, Domine*
9) Byrd: O clap your hands*
10) Byrd: O God, whom our offences have justly displeased
11) Byrd: Save me, O God*
12) Byrd: Tribulatio proxima*
13) Byrd: Tristitia et anxietas*
14) Byrd: When Israel came out of Egypt*
15) Farrant, R.: Lord, for thy tender mercy's sake
16) Gibbons: Venite (Short Service)*
17) Morley: Out of the deep
18) Tallis: Preces and Responses (i, Preces only)*
19) Tallis: Preces and Responses (ii, Responses only)*
20) Tallis: Psalm sequence (Psalm 119), nos. 1, 3, 4 (no. 2 had previously been recorded)*
21) Tye: Christ rising*
22) Tye: My trust, O Lord*
23) Tye: Peccavimus cum patribus*

5.6c: The Choir of St John's College, Cambridge

1) Byrd: Have mercy upon me, O God
2) Byrd: Miserere mei, Deus (5vv)*
3) Byrd: Rorate coeli*
4) Farrant, J.: Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (Short Service)*
5) Philips: Ne reminiscaris, Domine*
6) Tallis: Salvator mundi, salva nos (ii)*
7) Tye: Salve regina*
8) Weelkes: Alleluia, I heard a voice
9) Weelkes: Give ear, O Lord
10) Weelkes: Nunc Dimittis (Service for Five Voices)
11) Weelkes: When David heard

According to Day, King's made more premiere recordings of Tudor church music before 1989 than any other sacred choir (Anglican or otherwise). In addition, about 90 percent of the King's Tudor premiere recordings (all but four) were issued by major record labels or subsidiaries of major labels (see the albums marked with asterisks in figure 5.6). In contrast, only about 64 percent of the St John's premieres (seven out of eleven) were issued by major labels or

their subsidiaries and only about 22 percent of the New College premieres (five out of twenty-three) were issued by major labels or their subsidiaries. The greater proportion of King's premiere recordings released by major labels suggests that these recordings reached greater numbers of listeners than the Tudor premiere recordings of the other two choirs, thereby making it easier for the King's recordings to have a greater impact on the late twentieth-century revival of this repertoire.

This impact can also be assessed by looking at the number of times other ensembles subsequently recorded the Tudor works that King's premiered. Again drawing on the information presented in Day's discography, it is apparent that the thirty-nine Tudor works King's premiered were recorded 136 times by other ensembles prior to 1989, with an average of approximately 3.5 subsequent recordings per composition. In contrast, the twenty-three Tudor compositions that New College, Oxford made premiere recordings of were recorded only forty-seven times by other ensembles before 1989, with an average of approximately two subsequent recordings per composition. St John's, however, was on par with King's. The choir's eleven premiere recordings of Tudor compositions were recorded thirty-eight times by other ensembles before 1989, with an average of about 3.5 subsequent recordings per work. While this suggests that the compositions St John's premiered became just as popular as the ones King's premiered, King's made premiere recordings of over three times as many Tudor works as St John's. Thus, the overall role King's has played in reviving Tudor works has been greater than that of St John's. The statistics presented in this paragraph and the preceding one are summarized in figure 5.7 below.

Figure 5.7: Table showing the number of premiere recordings of Tudor church music made before 1989 by the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the Choir of New College, Oxford, the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, and the Clerkes of Oxenford as well as the number of times other ensembles subsequently recorded the works premiered by these choirs before 1989. All data is taken from Timothy Day, *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: The British Library, 1989). Averages and percentages are rounded to the nearest quarter.

Ensemble name	Number of Tudor works premiered in recordings issued before 1989 (percentage of recordings issued on major labels)	Number of times other ensembles recorded these works before 1989	Average number of subsequent recordings by other ensembles per Tudor work premiered
The Choir of King's College, Cambridge	39 (89.75%)	136	3.5
The Choir of New College, Oxford	23 (21.75%)	47	2
The Choir of St John's College, Cambridge	11 (63.75%)	38	3.5
The Clerkes of Oxenford	50 (0%)	59	1.25

Note that the final row in this table presents data for the Clerkes of Oxenford. This specialist early vocal ensemble was founded in 1961 in Oxford by David Wulstan. The Clerkes focused most of its attention on recording and performing Tudor sacred music, making more premiere recordings of this repertoire before 1989 than any other ensemble. Indeed, the Clerkes premiered fifty compositions, a list of which can be found in figure 5.8 below. While King's made more premiere recordings of Tudor church music before 1989 than any other church choir, the choir still had eleven fewer premieres than the Clerkes. The Clerkes also managed to surpass the King's number of premiere recordings even though it released its first premiere recording of a Tudor work in 1966, sixteen years after King's released its first premiere of this repertoire.[20] Yet although the Clerkes had more premiere recordings, the works the ensemble premiered did not become especially popular. On average, each premiered piece was recorded about 1.25

[20]King's made its first Tudor premiere recording in 1950, of Orlando Gibbons's *O Lord, in thy wrath rebuke me not*. The first Tudor premiere recording of the Clerkes was of Thomas Wright's *Nesciens mater.* See Day, *Discography*, CL 51D (p. 71) and p. 238 (for the King's recording) and CL 210 (p. 99) and p. 298 (for the Clerkes recording).

additional times by other ensembles before 1989. In comparison, the Tudor compositions King's premiered were subsequently recorded an average of 3.5 times each. In addition, none of the Clerkes premiere recordings were issued by major labels or subsidiaries of major labels, so there were likely fewer people listening to them than the King's premieres (90% of which were issued by major record labels or their subsidiaries).

Figure 5.8 (part 1 of 2): Premiere recordings of Tudor sacred works made by the Clerkes of Oxenford before 1989. Organized by composer's last name, in alphabetical order. For full citations to the recordings, search for the compositions in Timothy Day, *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: British Library, 1989).

1) Byrd: Defecit in dolore
2) Byrd: Ecce advenit dominator Dominus
3) Byrd: O Domine, adiuva me
4) Byrd: Reges Tharsis (4vv)
5) Byrd: Vidimus stellam
6) Dowland: Mr Henry Noel his funeral Psalms ([O] Lord, consider my distress only)
7) Dowland: Mr Henry Noel his funeral Psalms (O Lord, of whom I do depend only)
8) Gibbons: Almighty God, which hast given us
9) Gibbons: Grant, O Holy Trinity
10) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 3
11) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 4
12) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 5
13) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 9
14) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 18
15) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 20
16) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 24
17) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 31
18) Gibbons: The hymnes and songs of the church, Song 47 (A song of joy)
19) Gibbons: I am the resurrection
20) Gibbons: Lord, grant grace, we humbly beseech thee
21) Gibbons: Lord, we beseech thee, pour thy grace
22) Gibbons: O all true faithful hearts
23) Gibbons: O Lord, how do my woes increase
24) Gibbons: Praise the Lord, O my soul
25) Gibbons: Sing unto the Lord, O ye saints
26) Gibbons: So God loved the world
27) Gibbons: Unto thee O Lord
28) Gibbons: We praise thee, O Father
29) Sheppard: Christi Virgo dilectissima
30) Sheppard: Christ our paschal lamb
31) Sheppard: Filiae Hierusalem venite
32) Sheppard: Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria Virgo
33) Sheppard: Gaude Virgo christipera
34) Sheppard: Hodie nobis coelorum Rex ("Gloria in excelsis Deo" only)
35) Sheppard: Iesu salvator seculi, redemptis (5vv)
36) Sheppard: In manus tuas (i, 4vv)

Figure continues on next page

Figure 5.8 (part 2 of 2)

37) Sheppard: In manus tuas (ii, 4vv)
38) Sheppard: Kyrie eleison (Paschal Kyrie)
39) Sheppard: Mass "Western Wind"
40) Sheppard: Media vita . . . Nunc dimittis
41) Sheppard: Laudem dicite Deo nostro
42) Sheppard: Libera nos, salva nos, Magnus Dominus (i, 7vv)
43) Sheppard: Spiritus sanctus procedens (5vv)
44) Taverner: Dum transisset sabbatum (I, 4vv)
45) Tomkins: Know ye (you) not
46) Weelkes: Nunc Dimittis, Service for Seven Voices - Ninth Service
47) White: Domine, quis habitabit (iii)
48) White: Portio mea, Domine (5vv)
49) White: Regina coeli
50) Wright: Nesciens mater

Looking, however, at choirs' aggregated output of premiere recordings of Tudor church music misses some important nuances, nuances that I explored in detail in chapter 4 when discussing recordings of one particular Tudor work: John Taverner's *Dum transisset*.[21] Here I will also add that *Dum transisset* was not the only Tudor sacred work that King's premiered on its 1962 Taverner album: in fact, of the five compositions on this album, four were premiere recordings.[22] These premiered works were recorded twenty-three times by other ensembles before 1989, or an average of 5.75 times per composition, suggesting that they became popular with other ensembles.[23] In addition, the other album I discussed in chapter 4, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (1964), contained two premiere recordings of Tudor church music, although these premieres appear to have been overshadowed by the recording of Allegri's *Miserere* on the album and they did not see many subsequent recordings by other ensembles.[24] Later in this

[21]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *John Taverner: Tudor Church Music* (recorded in 1961 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG316, 1962, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5316, 1962, LP [stereo]).

[22]These compositions are *Christe Iesu, pastor bone*, *Dum transisset sabbatum* (i, 5vv), *Mater Christi sanctissima*, and the "Western Wind" Mass (all by John Taverner). The one previously recorded work was Taverner's Kyrie "Leroy."

[23]See Day, *Discography*.

[24]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]). The Tudor works premiered on this album were William Byrd's Preces and Responses and Thomas

chapter (in section 5.5), I examine a King's album from the 1980s that featured premiere recordings of several Italian Renaissance and Baroque works, discussing its reception and how it was connected to trends in the early music revival. Apart from this album, however, the premiere recordings of King's have mostly been of Tudor church music, although there was a 1967 album that contained the premiere recording of the *Te Deum* (Z. 232) by Henry Purcell, a work that is now frequently performed and recorded.[25]

The large number of King's albums that contain early music, as well as the choir's premiere recordings of Renaissance and Baroque music, offer two tangible ways in which King's has been an important part of the early music revival since the mid-twentieth century. But to more fully characterize the choir's relationship with the revival, it is also important to look at its connections to people and ensembles that have played significant roles the modern early music revival. It is to this topic that I turn in the following section.

5.4: Personal connections between King's and the early music revival

Looking at the connections between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and individuals and ensembles who have been significant in the early music revival in the second half of the twentieth century and in the early twenty-first century provides an additional means of assessing the relationship between the choir and the revival. These individuals include former members of the choir as well as members of other ensembles that have collaborated with King's.

Caustun's Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from his Service for Children. In his *Discography*, Day lists four subsequent recordings of Byrd's work made by other ensembles before 1989. No subsequent recordings of Caustun's composition are listed.

[25]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the English Chamber Orchestra, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Midnight Mass for Christmas Eve. Purcell: Te Deum* (date and place of recording not listed), dir. David Willcocks (Angel S-36528, [1967], LP). Searching WorldCat for "Purcell" and "Te Deum" produces around 500 results for CDs and LPs in libraries worldwide. See WorldCat, accessed November 12, 2016, https://www.worldcat.org/.

Perhaps the most obvious personal connections between King's and the revival come early in the period I discuss in this dissertation, during the 1960s. In the middle of this decade a group of King's choral scholars formed an ensemble that would later be known as "the King's Singers."[26] The King's Singers is a small (six member) all-male vocal ensemble that has performed and recorded frequently, helping popularize early music (particularly secular Renaissance vocal music, such as madrigals) alongside more recent classical compositions and arrangements of folk songs and popular songs. From 1970 to 1975, for instance, the King's Singers gave over 500 concerts in Britain alone.[27] By 1980, the ensemble had released eighteen albums, of which eight contain early music.[28]

Part of the success of the King's Singers came from the ensemble's decision to present early music alongside more recent popular music, making it seem similar to songs that modern listeners are more familiar with. Perhaps the best-known example of this came in the ensemble's 1984 BBC television series "Madrigal History Tour." The introduction to the series starts by alternating between footage of the King's Singers performing the madrigal *Il bianco e dolce cigno* by Jacques Arcadelt (ca. 1507–68) and playing a recording of a 1981 song by British band Pigbag, while the narrator tells the viewer: "this is a film about popular songs—not today's rock music, but the very first music to win widespread, international popularity. . . . This [Arcadelt's madrigal] is one of its first hits."[29] In addition to the initial airing on the BBC, the "Madrigal

[26]More information about the founding of the King's Singers can be found in Nigel Perrin, Alastair Hume, Bill Ives, Anthony Holt, Simon Carrington, and Brian Kay, *The King's Singers: A Self-Portrait* (London: Robson, 1980), 17–38. See also William Owen, ed., *A Life in Music: Conversations with David Willcocks and Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 156–57, 186, 266–67.

[27]See the sleeve notes to the King's Singers, *Concert Collection* (date and place of recording not listed) (EMI CSD 3766, 1976, LP).

[28]Perrin et al., *King's Singers*, 159–60.

[29]The Pigbag song is "Papa's Got a Brand New Pigbag." The King's Singers, "Madrigal History Tour," six-episode TV series airing on BBC 2 in 1984 (rebroadcast in 1985 on A&E in the United States). The title of the series also helps the viewer associate early music with popular music, as it is a modification of the 1967 Beatles film and

History Tour" was broadcast on the Arts and Entertainment (A&E) cable channel in the United States in 1985, recordings of the music from the series were released on an LP, and the music was issued in two volumes of scores with the title *The King's Singers' Madrigals*.[30] Currently, most of the series has been uploaded to YouTube, and one clip has over 150,000 views.[31] The success of the "Madrigal History Tour" and its various offshoots (the album and scores) provides one of many examples of how the King's Singers have brought Renaissance choral music to mainstream audiences in the second half of the twentieth century and in the early twenty-first century, making it enticing by presenting it alongside more recent classical, folk, and popular music.[32]

Because most of the founding members of the King's Singers trained as choral scholars at King's College, it is perhaps not surprising that the ensemble sings with a sound similar to the King's.[33] Indeed, the King's Singers employs a light and bright timbre and sings with minimal vibrato and limited variation in tempo and dynamics. Because the ensemble is smaller than the Choir of King's College, Cambridge (six singers instead of thirty), the singers on each part do not sound especially blended—or not blended at all when there is only one singer on each line. However, like the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the King's Singers usually make each part evenly balanced with the others.

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album *Magical Mystery Tour*. See the Beatles, "Magical Mystery Tour," TV film airing on BBC 1, December 26, 1967; and the Beatles, *Magical Mystery Tour* (Parlophone SMMT1-2, 1967, LP).

[30]The King's Singers and the Consort of Musicke, *Madrigal History Tour* (date and place of recording not listed) (HMV E 10 7839 1, 1984, 2 LPs); The King's Singers, *The King's Singers' Madrigals*, Volume 1: Madrigals in 4 Parts (London: Faber, 1984); The King's Singers, *The King's Singers' Madrigals*, Volume 2: Madrigals in 5 Parts (London: Faber, 1984).

[31]"King's Singers – Madrigal History Tour – Fair Phyllis," fhunrichse YouTube channel, published April 13, 2008, accessed February 3, 2016, https://youtu.be/OYbN_2hqFoI.

[32]Another example would be the following compilation album feature music from the Renaissance to the Beatles: The King's Singers, *De Janequin aux Beatles* (recorded 1976–88 in the Royal Festival Hall and Abbey Road Studios, London) (EMI Classics 5 73311 2, 1999, 2 CDs).

[33]The founding members of the King's Singers were Simon Carrington, Anthony Holt, Alastair Hume, Brian Kay, Nigel Perrin, and Alastair Thompson. Apart from Holt, all were King's choral scholars.

Being choral scholars at King's College provided the founding members of the King's Singers with connections that helped get the ensemble off the ground. As one of the founders said in a 2006 interview:

> [David Willcocks is] very happy to admit it [establishing the King's Singers] was worth a try, and he's always been wonderfully supportive. We took out of the college everything that he had to offer: a sense of pitch, rhythm, a sense of purpose, a sense of blend, all those things, straight down the line from King's. We couldn't have done it without him.[34]

More tangibly, being at King's College put the founders of the King's Singers in contact with Neville Marriner, a conductor and violinist who led the string orchestra the Academy of St Martin in the Fields (est. 1959). Marriner was connected to King's in the 1960s when his son Andrew was a treble in the choir and when the Academy began making a series of recordings with the choir. In the second half of the decade, the King's Singers and the Academy gave several concerts together, including the London debut of the Singers at Queen Elizabeth Hall on May 1, 1968.[35] In addition, being at King's College put the founders of the King's Singers in contact with people working in the recording industry (including Mike Bremner at Argo Records, who in fact came up with the name "the King's Singers"), contacts that led to recording opportunities.[36]

Neville Marriner himself was another important point of connection between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival. Between 1966 and 1978 the choir collaborated with Marriner's Academy of St Martin in the Fields to make fifteen albums, eleven of which (about 75%) are devoted solely to Baroque music.[37] Although the Academy plays on modern instruments, not period instruments, it can be seen as a proto-period orchestra, as it recorded large amounts of Baroque music with a small orchestra using minimal vibrato, minimal

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[34]Owen, *A Life in Music*, 186.
[35]Perrin et al., *King's Singers*, 21, 24–26.
[36]Ibid., 24.
[37]For a list of these albums, see the discography in Appendix B.

variation in tempo and dynamics, and largely detached articulation, which are styles of playing that became part of the common historically informed approach to instrumental performance around 1980.[38] In his 2013 book on the British early music revival, Nick Wilson suggested that ensembles like the Academy of St Martin in the Fields "were hugely important precursors of the early music movement; for they offered historically aware, stylish, refined, scaled-down performances, in contrast to the large-scale professional concerts also popular at the time."[39]

In addition to the Academy of St Martin in the Fields, in the 1960s and 1970s King's made seven albums with the English Chamber Orchestra (est. 1948 as the Goldsbrough Orchestra), a proto-period modern-instrument orchestra much like Marriner's group.[40] Four of the six King's albums from these two decades that feature the English Chamber Orchestra are devoted exclusively to Baroque music (about 67 percent). In 1960 King's also released a recording of Bach's *Saint John Passion* featuring the Philomusica of London, another pared-down, proto-period string orchestra.[41] Because it collaborated with proto-period orchestras to record Baroque music in the 1960s and 1970s, before the rise of successful period instrument ensembles, the Choir of King's College, Cambridge could be seen as a proto-period ensemble by association.[42]

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[38]See my discussion in chapter 1, pp. 13–14.

[39]Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 21. See also my discussion of proto-period ensembles in chapter 1, p. 22.

[40]In fact, in the passage cited above Wilson was referring to the English Chamber Orchestra as well as the Academy of St Martin in the Fields. See Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 21. For a list of the seven albums that King's made with the English Chamber Orchestra in the 1960s and 1970s, see the discography in Appendix B.

[41]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and Philomusica of London, *J.S. Bach: St John Passion* (recorded in 1960 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo ZRG 5270, 1960, 3 LPs). For more information on the Philomusica of London, see Bruce Eder, "Philomusica of London (Chamber Orchestra), Boyd Neel Orchestra (Chamber Orchestra)," originally published in 1996, *Bach Cantatas Website*, http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/POL.htm. The 1960 King's album with Philomusica was, in fact, the first collaboration between King's and a proto-period orchestra. Although King's collaborated with a proto-period ensemble, the Passion was sung in an English translation; however, this was the last time the choir recorded a major Bach work (cantata, passion, or oratorio) in a language other than the original.

[42]King's can also be seen as a proto-period vocal ensemble on account of aspects of the King's sound that were in place before 1980 that subsequently became part of the common, post-1980 approach to historically informed vocal performance. See my discussion in chapter 1, pp. 16–18 and 22.

In the 1960s and 1970s King's also collaborated with three of the first internationally renowned period instrument ensembles: the Leonhardt Consort (est. 1955) led by Dutch keyboard player and conductor Gustav Leonhardt, Concentus Musicus Wien (est. 1953) led by Austrian conductor and cellist Nikolaus Harnoncourt, and the Early Music Consort of London (est. 1967) led by English early wind player David Munrow. King's released seven albums with these ensembles between 1969 and 1976, including: an album of music by Henry Purcell, a recording of Claudio Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers, a recording of J.S. Bach's *Saint Matthew Passion* (BWV 244), and four albums of cantatas by J.S. Bach.[43]

Released between 1971 and 1973, all four of these Bach cantata albums feature King's with the Leonhardt Consort. On two of them, King's joins forces with the Tölzer Knabenchor from Munich (another boys' choir).[44] The soloists on these four Bach cantata albums were some of the first singers to specialize in historically informed performance, including Dutch bass Max van Egmond (b. 1936), English countertenor Paul Esswood (b. 1942), Dutch tenor Marius van Altena (b. 1938), and Austrian tenor Kurt Equiluz (b. 1929). They were released as part of the *Kantatenwerk* series, the first attempt to record all of Bach's sacred cantatas in one set and with period instruments (played by the Leonhardt Consort and Concentus Musicus Wien).[45] The *Kantatenwerk* LPs come with booklets that list the provenances of the "original instruments" played by the musicians and include essays detailing the historical and musical significance of

[43]For a list of these albums, see my discography in Appendix B.

[44]It seems that in these two albums, the choir consisted of the King's choral scholars plus the Tölzer Knabenchor singing treble (with no King's trebles). While the exact way in which the two choirs were combined is not specified on the albums, the trebles do not sound like the King's trebles.

[45]This project began in 1971 at the instigation of the German record label Telefunken (later known as Teldec). See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Das Kantatenwerk*, various performers (Telefunken/Teldec, 45 vols. of LPs, 1971–89). For more information on the project, see Richard Taruskin, "Facing Up, Finally, to Bach's Dark Vision," in his *Text and Act*, 307–15 (originally published in the *New York Times*, January 27, 1991, H25, 28). See also the Bach Cantatas Website, "Nikolaus Harnoncourt & Concentus Musicus Wien, Gustav Leonhardt & Leonhardt-Consort, Bach Cantatas & Other Vocal Works, Recordings - Part 6, Complete Cantatas - Original LP's on Telefunken (1971-1989) & 1st CD Edition on Teldec (1985-1989)," accessed April 25, 2016, http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Performers/H&L-Rec6.htm.

Bach's cantatas as well as copies of the full scores of each cantata, the full German texts, and French and English translations. The inclusion of booklets with such detailed musical and historical information suggests that these albums were targeted to people who valued historically informed performance practice. It should also be noted that King's was the only English choir to participate in the *Kantatenwerk* series.[46]

The 1970 *Saint Matthew Passion* album features the King's choral scholars (and not the King's trebles) singing with the trebles of the Regensburger Domschor and vocal soloists including van Egmond, Esswood, Equiluz, pioneering English countertenor James Bowman (b. 1941), and Nigel Rogers (b. 1935), an English tenor known for his interpretations of early music.[47] The singers are accompanied by Harnoncourt's Concentus Musicus Wien. The cover of the album advertises it as the "first complete recording [of the Passion] in its authentic instrumentation, using original instruments."[48] Like in the *Kantatenwerk* series, the *Saint Matthew Passion* album has a booklet with a detailed essay about the historical context and musical particulars of Bach's composition, a listing of the provenances of the "original instruments" featured on the recording, and an English translation of the composition's text.

Apart from Bach, a 1969 King's album of music by Purcell features the Leonhardt Consort as well as solos sung by van Egmond, Bowman, and Rogers, again with the obligatory

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[46]The choirs that participated were: the Choir of King's College, Cambridge (England), the Collegium Vocale Ghent (Belgium), the Chorus Viennensis (Austria), the Knabenchor Hannover (West Germany), the Regensburger Domschor (West Germany), the Tölzer Knabenchor (West Germany), and the Wiener Sängerknaben (Austria). Most of these ensembles are all-male with boys singing soprano and alto and adult men (or boys with recently changed voices) singing tenor, or bass, with the following exceptions: King's has adult countertenors singing alto, not boys; Tölzer Knabenchor has only boy singers (no tenors or basses); Collegium Vocale Ghent includes both male and female singers and has no boys; and the Chorus Viennensis is comprised of adult male singers only.

[47]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Concentus Musicus Wien, and the Regensburger Domschor, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Matthäus-Passion* (recorded in 1970 in the Casino Zögernitz, Vienna), dir. Nikolaus Harnoncourt (Das alte Werk SAWT 9572-A to 9575-A, 1970, 4 LPs).

[48]My translation from "erste Gesamtaufnahme in authentischer Besetzung mit Originalinstrumenten."

listing of the provenances of the "original instruments" used on the recording.[49] Finally, the choir's 1976 recording of Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers was accompanied by David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London and featured leading English countertenor Charles Brett (b. 1941) and tenors Robert Tear (1939–2011) and Anthony Rolfe Johnson (1940–2010).[50] It was one of the first recordings of the work with period instruments.[51]

In addition to being connected to the founding members of the King's Singers, to proto-period ensembles, and to some of the first prominent period instrument ensembles, King's is also associated with several people who were trebles, choral scholars, or organ scholars in the choir and subsequently became important figures in the early music revival. They include Baroque violinist and conductor Roy Goodman (b. 1951), a former King's treble who founded and directed two period instrumental ensembles in England—the Brandenburg Consort (est. 1975) and the Parley of Instruments (est. 1979, co-founded and co-directed with Peter Holman)—and who also directed other period ensembles, such as the Hanover Band (from 1986 to 1994) and the European Union Baroque Orchestra (starting in 1988). King's made four albums in collaboration with Goodman's Brandenburg Consort in the 1990s.[52] Tenor Charles Daniels (b. 1960) was a King's treble and then a choral scholar in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Known for his interpretations of early music, both as an ensemble singer and a soloist, Daniels has sung with many leading early music specialist ensembles in Britain, including the Tallis Scholars, the King's Consort, the Orlando Consort, the Hilliard Ensemble, the Taverner Consort, and Gothic

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[49]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the Leonhardt Consort, *Henry Purcell: Geistliche Musik am englischen Königshof* (date and place of recording not listed), dir. David Willcocks (Das alte Werk SAWT 9558-B, 1969, LP).

[50]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the Early Music Consort of London, *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)* (recorded in 1975 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Philip Ledger (EMI SLS 5064, 1976, 2 LPs).

[51]See the discussion in Craig Zeichner, "Monteverdi's *Vespers of 1610*: 400 Years and 15 Recordings," *Early Music America* 16, no. 2 (2010): 27.

[52]See the King's discography in Appendix B for a list of these albums.

Voices; he has appeared on dozens of albums.[53] John Butt (b. 1960), an organ scholar at King's College at the same time as Daniels, conducts the Dunedin Consort (est. 2003), a Scottish period ensemble. He is also noted for his organ playing and scholarship on early music.[54] John Potter (a King's treble in the late 1950s) and Richard Wistreich (a choral scholar around 1970) have become noted interpreters and scholars of early music: together they founded the early music vocal ensemble Red Byrd in 1989 and they both contributed to the *Cambridge Companion to Singing*.[55] Michael Chance, who was a King's choral scholar in the mid-1970s, has become an internationally renowned countertenor soloist.

Connections between King's and prominent ensembles and people in the early music revival have helped increase the choir's visibility in the revival. In hindsight, these connections can also create a sense that King's was an important precursor to the historically informed style for early vocal performance that the King's Singers, Goodman, Daniels, and other performers connected to King's helped bring to widespread audiences via their work with HIP and early music specialist ensembles in the 1980s and later. In the following two sections, I explore how the King's sound itself is connected to the early music revival, looking at how the sound reflects elements of the common post-1980 HIP singing style.

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[53]See the Charles Daniels Society, "Discography," accessed February 3, 2016, http://www.charles-daniels-society.org.uk/discography.htm.

[54]See, for instance: John Butt, *Bach's Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J.S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Music Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity: Perspectives on the Passions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[55]John Potter, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Singing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See Potter's contributions in chapters 1, 5, and 13 and Wistreich's contribution in chapter 15.

5.5: The King's sound and historically informed performance

The many King's recordings of early music and the choir's connections to proto-period instrumental ensembles, period ensembles, and important figures in the early music revival helped the King's sound influence the development of a common sound for historically informed vocal ensemble performance that arose in the 1970s and 1980s. The King's sound would have been well known among the singers forming specialist early vocal ensembles in Britain around 1980. In addition, British church choirs with sounds similar to King's (i.e., church choirs with the English sound, such as the Choir of New College, Oxford) would also have been familiar to British singers forming specialist early vocal ensembles, as many of the members of these ensembles trained as trebles or choral scholars in sacred choirs, particularly the college chapel choirs at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford.[56] The connections between Oxbridge choirs and the members of professional early vocal ensembles in Britain made it easy for the King's and English sounds to influence the HIP vocal style emerging around 1980.

It is possible that a sense of historical authenticity conveyed by King's and other Oxbridge choirs made singers in British HIP ensembles feel that the King's and English sounds were historically appropriate for the repertoire they were performing. This sense would have been especially relevant once concerns over "authenticity" become prevalent in the early music revival.[57] Because the Choir of King's College, Cambridge has sung regularly in services with only male singers since the fifteenth century, the choir's renditions of early music carry historical weight, particularly in the case of sacred English music written during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, as much of this repertoire was originally sung by English all-male sacred choirs

[56]See the discussion of the importance of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford to the early music revival in Britain in: Christopher Page, "The English *a cappella* Renaissance," *Early Music* 21, no. 3 (1993): 457–8; and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 26–29, 79–80, 149, 161, 167, and 185–86.9

[57]See my discussion of "authenticity" in chapter 1, esp. pp. 13–14 and footnote 35.

like King's. It has been suggested that King's sings in a historically "authentic" manner because of its continued reliance on only male singers.[58]

In adopting sounds similar to King's and other Anglican choirs, early vocal ensembles in Britain have profited from the "authentic" image these choirs have thanks to their long histories; however, this does not necessarily mean that the King's and English sounds are historically informed. Christopher Page has suggested that longstanding sacred English choirs like King's "represent a particularly convincing postulate about the performing priorities of the original singers," as they sing with a "purity and precision . . . [that] is singularly appropriate to the transparency and intricate counterpoint of the music."[59] Donald Greig, however, has criticized this assertion, arguing that "any similarities [between original performance practices and the present-day English sound] are mostly a happy coincidence" and that "modern *a cappella* performance may tell us more about current cultural conditions than about the original performance."[60] I agree with Greig's assessment: Page's postulate seems to be ultimately based on his own personal preference for the English sound,[61] not primary sources, and in the absence of sound recordings prior to the twentieth century it is hard to substantiate a claim of this nature.

King's has not presented itself as being a historically informed ensemble or even as being part of the early music revival, at least not until very recently (see my discussion in section 5.6 below). However, the choir was involved in some activities before 1980 that could be seen as being historically informed. For instance, the reliance on countertenor choral scholars for singing

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[58]See Andrea Spurling, *Report of the Women in Higher Education Research Project: 1988–90* (Cambridge, UK: King's College Research Centre, 1990), 66. See also my discussion of this report in chapter 3, pp. 88–89.

[59]Page, "English *a cappella* Renaissance," 454.

[60]Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23, no. 1 (1993): 125–26.

[61]Indeed, in the same paragraph where he hypothesized that the present-day English sound reflects how early works were sung when they were originally composed, Page claimed that English ensembles give "exceptional performances of medieval and Renaissance polyphony from England and the Franco-Flemish area." Page, "English *a cappella* Renaissance," 454.

alto lines draws listeners' attention to a voice type that has played a significant role in the revival of early vocal music and the rise of historically informed performance.[62] By the late 1960s, King's had also almost entirely abandoned a decidedly non-historically informed practice: singing early music in English translations rather than in original languages (however, the choir has not adopted historically informed pronunciation).[63] In addition, seven pre-1980 albums feature King's accompanied by period instrument ensembles (discussed in section 5.4 above). There was also a 1967 recording of Charpentier's *Messe de minuit pour Noël* that featured overdotting and *notes inégales*.[64] While these two forms of rhythmic alterations have been discussed in scholarship since the early twentieth century,[65] they were not commonly employed in mid-century recordings. For instance, in a 1962 recording of the same Mass by Charpentier, the Chorale des jeunesses musicales de France and the Orchestre Jean-François Paillard do not use overdotting or *notes inégales*.[66] Outside of these albums, however, King's typically has not used specific historically informed practices like overdotting for recordings or performances of early music.

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[62]See Peter Giles and J.B. Steane, "Countertenor," *Grove Music Online*, updated July 25, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/06694, section 3 ("The revival and developments since" [*sic*]). However, Andrew Parrott has recently suggested that countertenors were in fact less common during the Renaissance period than previously believed. See Andrew Parrott, "Falsetto Beliefs: The 'Countertenor' Cross-Examined," *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (2015): 79–110. In spite of this scholarship, it cannot be denied that countertenors have played a large and important role in the twentieth- and twenty-first-century early music revival.

[63]The aforementioned 1960 recording of Bach's *Saint John Passion* (see footnote 41 above) was the last time King's recorded a major early German work in an English translation. The choir's 1964 recording of Allegri's *Miserere* was the last time it recorded a major Latin early work in an English translation. See the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]).

[64]King's and English Chamber Orchestra, *Charpentier: Midnight Mass* (1967).

[65]See Stephen E. Hefling, *Rhythmic Alteration in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Music: Notes inégales and Overdotting* (New York: Schirmer, 1993), especially the bibliography, pp. 201–23.

[66]Chorale des jeunesses musicales de France and the Orchestre Jean-François Paillard, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Messe de minuit* (date and place of recording not listed), dir. Louis Martini (Erato STE 50083, 1962, LP).

5.6: King's in the era of historically informed performance (1980 to present)

By the 1980s, performing medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music in historically informed ways had become widespread, particularly in Britain where a large number of instrumental and vocal ensembles specializing in early music had formed. A list of some of these ensembles is presented in figure 5.9 below. These ensembles developed a common HIP style with little vibrato and limited variation in tempo and dynamics.[67] This style was in part a response to increasing concerns over "authenticity": instead of risking doing something that the composer might not have approved of performers shied away from adding large or frequent changes in expressive elements such as tempo and dynamics.[68] In addition, many vocal and instrumental ensembles adopted specific historically informed practices around 1980, such as singing with one voice per part, using historical pronunciation, using period pitch and tuning, performing with *notes inégales* and overdotting, adding ornaments not notated in scores, and drawing on guidance from treatises and other documents written in the Baroque era and earlier as well as on more recent scholarship analyzing these primary sources.[69]

[67]See my discussion of this common HIP style in chapter 1, pp. 13–18.

[68]These ensembles were also trying to rid early music performance of a Romantic emotionality that had permeated performances since the nineteenth century.

[69]For more information on treatises and modern scholarship on historically informed performance, see my discussion in chapter 1, pp. 9–15.

Figure 5.9 (part 1 of 2): List of prominent British ensembles that formed by the end of the 1980s and specialize (or specialized) in early music, divided into: instrumental ensembles (5.9a), vocal ensembles (5.9b), and mixed vocal and instrumental ensembles (5.9c). Years and names in parentheses after the names of the ensembles are the years in which the ensembles were founded (and ceased to operate, if applicable) and the names of the founding directors of the ensembles (if known). Asterisks indicate people who were members of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge. Organized alphabetically within each section. While all of the ensembles in this figure specialize in early music, not all of them are HIP ensembles.

5.9a: Instrumental ensembles

Academy of Ancient Music, the (1973–present, Christopher Hogwood)

Brandenburg Consort, the (1975–2001, Roy Goodman*)

English Baroque Soloists, the (1978–present, John Eliot Gardiner)

English Concert, the (1972–present, Trevor Pinnock)

Fretwork (1986–present, Richard Boothby, Richard Campbell, Wendy Gillespie, Julia Hodgson, and Bill Hunt)

Hanover Band, the (1980–present, Caroline Brown)

Parley of Instruments, the (1979–present, Roy Goodman* and Peter Holman)

5.9b: Vocal ensembles

Cantores in Ecclesia (1964–ca. 1975, Michael Howard)

Cardinall's Musick, the (1989–present, Andrew Carwood)

Clerkes of Oxenford, the (1961–ca. 1989, David Wulstan)

Consort of Musicke, the (1969–present, Anthony Rooley)

Gothic Voices (1980–present, Christopher Page)

Hilliard Ensemble, the (1974–2014, Paul Elliott, Errol Girdlestone, Paul Hillier, and David James)

I Fagiolini (1986–present, Robert Hollingworth)

Monteverdi Choir, the (1964–present, John Eliot Gardiner)

Orlando Consort, the (1988–present, Charles Daniels*, Donald Greig, Robert Harre-Jones, and Angus Smith)

Oxford Camerata, the (1984–present, Jeremy Summerly)

Pro Cantione Antiqua (1968–ca. 1992, Mark Brown, Paul Esswood, James Griffett, and Bruno Turner)

Red Byrd (1989–ca. 2005, John Potter* and Richard Wistreich*)

Renaissance Singers (1944–present, Michael Howard)

Sixteen, the (1977–present, Harry Christophers)

Tallis Scholars, the (1973–present, Peter Phillips)

Figure continues on next page

Figure 5.9 (part 2 of 2):

5.9c: Mixed vocal and instrumental ensembles

Early Music Consort of London, the (1967–76, James Bowman, Christopher Hogwood, and David Munrow)

Ex Cathedra (1969–present, Jeffrey Skidmore)

Gabrieli Consort and Players (1982–present, Paul McCreesh)

King's Consort and Choir, the (1980–present, Robert King)

Musica Reservata (1960–ca. 1980, Michael Morrow)

Taverner Choir, Consort, and Players, the (1973–present, Andrew Parrott)

The rise of British ensembles specializing in early music and historically informed performance was the result of several factors. First, in the 1960s and 1970s there was increasing scholarly attention being given to early music and historically informed performance, particularly in Britain where Robert Donington published *The Interpretation of Early Music* in 1963, where the journal *Early Music* was founded in 1973, and where a major conference on "the Future of Early Music in Britain" was held in 1977, the same year in which the York Early Music Festival was established.[70] The rise of the compact disc in the 1980s also facilitated the spread and solidification of a common HIP sound for both vocal and instrumental ensembles, especially because (as Donald Greig and others have suggested) a disembodied sense of "purity" conveyed through the lack of vibrato in the common HIP sounds matches the "clean" sound of CDs, which lack the hisses, pops, and other background noises common on LPs.[71] Finally, in the late 1970s the British Equity Union banned professional and amateur singers (i.e., paid and

[70]Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963); John Thomson, ed., *The Future of Early Music in Britain: Papers Delivered at the Conference Held in the Waterloo Room of the Royal Festival Hall, 14–16 May 1977* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Francis Knights, "Revisiting *The Future of Early Music in Britain*," *Early Music* 41, no. 1 (2013): 11–15. See also my discussion of Donington's book in chapter 1, p. 12.

[71]Donald Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23, no. 1 (1995): 143; Vincenzo Borghetti, "Purezza e trasgressione: il suono del Medioevo dagli anni Cinquanta ad oggi," *Semicerchio* 44 (2011): 48–49; Melanie Marshall, "*Voce Bianca*: Purity and Whiteness in British Early Music Vocalitly," *Women and Music* 19 (2015): 36–44; Kirsten Yri, "Remaking the Past: Feminist Spirituality in Anonymous 4 and Sequentia's Vox Feminae," *Women and Music* 12 (2008): 3, 10–12. See also my discussion in chapter 2, p. 60.

unpaid singers) from working together, meaning that some early music ensembles that had employed both, such as the Tallis Scholars, the Taverner Choir, and the Monteverdi Choir, had to become fully professional.[72] This also placed financial strain on vocal ensembles, which seem to have responded by decreasing their size, making them well suited for a smaller historically informed chorus size.[73]

The rise of historically informed performance around 1980 complicates an analysis of the position of King's in the early music revival, as ensembles that specializing in performing early music and in historically informed manners have become so numerous in the past four decades that they have become almost synonymous with the revival itself. The contributions of performers and ensembles that do not specialize in early music or do not employ HIP have often been passed over in discussions of the revival since 1980.[74] Although ensembles like King's have performed and recorded large quantities of early music since the 1980s, their contributions to the revival have been overshadowed by specialist and HIP ensembles.

Since professional early music ensembles have become more prominent in the revival than King's and other non-specialist ensembles, it may seem like the 1980s would be an ideal stopping point for this dissertation. My overarching argument, then, would be that King's was an important precursor to the specialist early vocal ensembles and the common HIP vocal style that had emerged by the 1980s. By performing and recording large amounts of early music with a vibrato-free sound and with minimal variation in tempo and dynamics, King's laid the

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[72]See the discussion in: Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*, 83–84; and Peter Phillips, *What We Really Do: The Tallis Scholars*, 2nd ed. (London: Musical Times, 2013), 34–35.

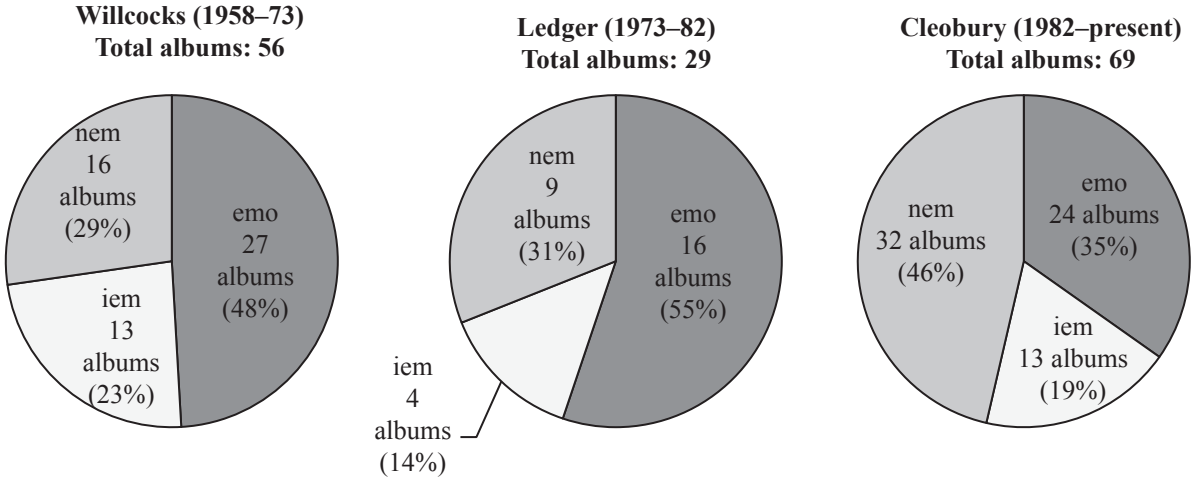
[73]See my discussion in chapter 1, p. 10 and the sources I cite in chapter 1, footnotes 28 and 39.

[74]Examples of books on the early music revival and historically informed performance that focus mostly on professional ensembles specializing in early music and HIP when discussing post-1980 developments include: Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988); Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Wilson, *Art of Re-Enchantment*.

groundwork for specialist early music ensembles and foreshadowed trends that were to come in the revival. While this narrative is true, it tells only part of the story of the connections between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the early music revival since the mid-twentieth century. In the remainder of this section, I discuss some early music recordings that King's released in the 1980s and later, showing how the choir has continued to be closely linked to the revival.

The proportion of King's albums devoted to early music decreased in the 1980s. This was likely partly the result of the rise of HIP and specialist early music ensembles around this time, although the 1980s also saw Stephen Cleobury becoming director of King's, a change that also seems to have contributed to the decrease. Under Cleobury's direction King's has been less involved with recording early music than it was under the directorships of his predecessors David Willcocks and Philip Ledger. Only a slight majority of the albums Cleobury has made with King's contain early music, while around 70 percent of the albums Willcocks and Ledger made contain early music (see the breakdown of the albums made under each conductor in figure 5.10 below).

Figure 5.10: King's albums divided by director (Willcocks, Ledger, and Cleobury) and album type. Key follows figure.[75]



Key:

"emo" = albums that contain "early music only" (all tracks are pieces that were composed before 1750)

"iem" = albums that "include early music" (at least one track was composed before 1750)

"nem" = albums that have "no early music" (all tracks were composed after 1750)

The decrease in the percentage of King's albums devoted to early music is probably partially the result of Cleobury's strong interest in performing contemporary music; indeed, one of the earliest things he did as choir director was to inaugurate the annual commissioning of new carols for the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services (starting in 1983). Yet the rise of specialist early vocal ensembles in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s also created more competition for recordings, competition that Cleobury and record producers may have felt the choir was not able to match, perhaps especially not after a 1984 album of Italian Renaissance and Baroque

[75]Only LPs and CDs released before January 1, 2016 are included in this figure. Compilations of previously recorded material and re-issues of previously released albums are not included. Years in parentheses following Willcocks's, Ledger's, and Cleobury's names are the years in which they served as directors of the choir. The first number in each pie slice is the number of albums in each category. The second number is the percentage that the albums in each category represent of the total number of albums under each conductor, rounded to the nearest percent (with no rounding error). The pies are not sized proportionally. Albums created during each director's tenure but conducted by other individuals are not included in this figure (most of the pre-1980 albums discussed earlier in this chapter that feature King's and a period-instrument ensemble are excluded, as all but one of these albums were conducted by Gustav Leonhardt and Nikolaus Harnoncourt).

music with the title *Allegri: Miserere* received negative reviews.[76] This album, however, should not be outright dismissed on account of the reviews. It presents surprisingly adventurous repertoire for Kings: apart from Allegri's *Miserere*, there are compositions by four sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers that King's had not previously recorded: Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), Luca Marenzio (1553 or 1554 to 1559), Giovanni Maria Nanino (1543 or 1544 to 1607), and Vincenzo Ugolini (ca. 1580–1638). The three pieces by Marenzio, Nanino, and Ugolini on this album were premiere recordings and since 1984 these compositions combined have been recorded at least twelve times by other ensembles.[77]

The fact that three of the five pieces on the 1984 *Allegri: Miserere* album were premiere recordings offers an additional example of how King's has aligned itself with the important early music revival trend of performing and recording works that are not commonly performed and have not previously been recorded. In addition, the liner notes by Iain Fenlon (a musicologist and fellow at King's College, Cambridge specializing in Renaissance Italy) evidence another trend that had become common in the revival by the 1980s where early music scholars provided sleeve/liner notes to albums to help listeners appreciate the music.[78] Cleobury's decision to focus

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[76]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Allegri: Miserere* (recorded in 1984 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (HMV EL270095-1, 1984, LP [digital]/HMV EL290095-4, 1984, cassette [digital]/EMI CDC 7 47065 2, 1984, CD). See the following reviews by John Milsom: Review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's *Allegri: Miserere* album (HMV EL270095-1, 1984, LP [digital]/HMV EL270095-4, 1984, cassette), *Gramophone*, December 1984, 790; Review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's *Allegri: Miserere* album (CD re-release) (EMI CDC7 47065-2, 1985, CD), *Gramophone*, May 1985, 1381. In the former review, Milsom wrote: "The remaining short pieces [not Allegri's *Miserere* or the Frescobaldi Mass] . . . barely rise above the routine; even Marenzio's double-choir *Magnificat* is disappointingly undistinguished. In short, this seems to me an uneven record, and on the whole not one of King's College Choir's most obvious successes in recent years."

[77]The specific works premiered on the album are Marenzio's eight-voice Magnificat, Nanino's *Adoramus te, Christe,* and Ugolini's *Beata es Virgo Maria*. Frescobaldi's composition is his eight-voice *Messa sopra l'aria della monica*, which was first recorded in 1975: see Ensemble vocal d'Avignon, *Messa sopra l'aria della Monica* (date and place of recording not found), dir. Georges Durand (Arion ARN 90813, 1975, LP). Search for the compositions on WorldCat to find the subsequent recordings. See WorldCat, "WorldCat," accessed July 2, 2015, https://www.worldcat.org/.

[78]It should also be noted, though, that there are examples of King's seeking out early music scholars to write sleeve notes for earlier albums, such as the 1962 Taverner album with notes by Philip Brett. See King's, *Taverner: Tudor Church Music* (1962).

one of his first albums with King's on repertoires not commonly associated with English sacred choral traditions also suggests that he was trying to launch King's on a new path, perhaps one more in line with the revivalist and HIP trends of the early music revival.[79]

King's, however, did not end up becoming an early music specialist or HIP ensemble following the *Allegri: Miserere* album. After 1984 it is difficult to find particularly innovative early music albums or albums that feature premiere recordings of multiple early music compositions in the choir's output. Nonetheless, King's continued to play a significant role in the revival. While the choir has not adopted many historically informed techniques (such as historically informed ornamentation or pronunciation), it has still recorded, performed, and broadcast large amounts of Renaissance and Baroque music, often on major labels (particularly EMI) or on major broadcasting networks (especially the BBC). Since the 1980s, King's has continued to bring early music to mainstream classical music audiences. At the same time, King's has become increasingly influenced by developments in the early music revival, particularly when performing choral-instrumental works. For instance, since its first LP in 1954 King's has issued nineteen albums devoted to early music that feature period instrument ensembles, of which the majority (eleven, or 58 percent) were released after 1982.[80]

In the past several years King's has also begun releasing more decidedly historically informed recordings. This has been particularly apparent since the launch of the choir's own record label in 2012.[81] From the late 1960s until around 2010, most King's albums were issued by EMI or subsidiaries of EMI. By the mid-2000s EMI had accumulated significant debt and in

[79]When sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music is performed in English churches, it is typically music from England, not the continent.

[80]See the discography in Appendix B.

[81]This was perhaps following the lead of the Tallis Scholars, which was one of the first vocal ensembles to form its own label Gimell Records (in 1980), a move that allowed it to focus almost exclusively on recording early music. See: Gimell Records, "The Complete Gimell Catalogue," Accessed August 12, 2015. http://www.gimell.com/catalogue.aspx; and Peter Phillips, *What We Really Do: The Tallis Scholars*, 2nd ed. (London: Musical Times, 2013), 73–111.

2012 the company became defunct, which was part of the impetus for creating an in-house record label at King's College in that same year.[82] In publicity for its launch, however, the shift to a new record label was portrayed in more positive terms. An October 2012 press release stated:

> [The choir's] label will give it unprecedented freedom to manage its recording portfolio. The Director of Music Stephen Cleobury said: "I am delighted that this new development will allow the Choir to spread its wings in terms of recordings, which have been such an integral part of our life going back so many years. We will also be able to record more adventurous repertoire as well as bringing a fresh look at some of the most important pieces from the choral literature."[83]

Cleobury's ideas of "adventurous repertoire" and a "fresh look" at choral classics become clear when examining the ten albums released on the King's in-house label by the end of 2015 (see figure 5.11 below).

[82]"Music Giant EMI Agrees Takeover," *BBC News*, updated May 21, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6677875.stm; Ben Sisario, "EMI Is Sold for $4.1 Billion in Combined Deals, Consolidating the Music Industry," *New York Times*, November 11, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/12/business/media/emi-is-sold-for-4-1-billion-consolidating-the-music-industry.html; "Universal-EMI Merger: A Timeline of Events," *Billboard*, September 21, 2012, http://www.billboard.com/biz/articles/news/1083872/universal-emi-merger-a-timeline-of-events.

[83]King's College, Cambridge, "King's College Choir Launches Its Own Record Label," published October 4, 2012, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2012/choir-launches-label.html.

Figure 5.11 (part 1 of 2): List of the albums released by the in-house record label of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge from its foundation in 2012 to the end of 2015. Organized in ascending chronological order by date of release and alphabetical order by album title within each year. All albums were directed by Stephen Cleobury and feature King's as the only ensemble on the recording and in its standard configuration of choral scholars plus trebles, unless otherwise noted. Descriptions of the music on the albums follow album entries.

1) *Nine Lessons and Carols* (recorded in 2010, 2011, and 2012 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's College Cambridge KGS0001, 2012, 2 CDs.

Two discs of carols and hymns that have been sung at the annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols Christmas Eve services at King's College. Includes premiere recordings of six carols commissioned by King's for the Festival service between 2006 and 2012.

2) *Britten: Saint Nicolas* (recorded in 2012 and 2013 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's plus the Britten Sinfonia, the Swaston Village College Choir, and the Cambridge University Musical Society Chorus (CUMS). King's College Cambridge KGS0003, 2013, CD.

A recording of various works by Benjamin Britten, including a performance of his cantata *Saint Nicolas* (op. 42) that "closely follows the staging and instrumentation of the première of the work at the first Aldeburgh Festival in 1948."[84] A rare recording of King's that also features mixed-gender choirs (Swaston and CUMS).

3) *Mozart: Requiem Realisations* (recorded in 2011 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge [music only, not the "audio documentary" on disc 2 recorded at a later date]). King's plus the Academy of Ancient Music. King's College Cambridge KGS0002, 2013, 2 CDs.

A recording of Mozart's Requiem Mass in D Minor (K. 626) and various different completions of the work. Liner notes by Mozart scholar Cliff Eisen. Disc 2 is an audio documentary about the *Requiem*. The orchestra plays period instruments.

4) *After Hours* (recorded in 2013 at St George's Church, Chesterton and West Road Studios, Cambridge). The King's Men (ensemble of King's choral scholars only). Ruairi Bowen and Rob Stephen, dirs. King's College Cambridge KGS0006, 2014, CD.

A recording featuring pop and folk songs only, sung in close-harmony arrangements for alto, tenor, and bass voices. Appears to be the first King's album to be partially recorded in a studio.

5) *English Hymn Anthems* (recorded in 2013 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's College Cambridge KGS0004, 2014, CD.

Recording of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthems by English composers.

6) *Fauré: Requiem, Cantique de Jean Racine, Messe Basse* (recorded in 2014 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's plus the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. King's College Cambridge KGS0005, 2014, CD.

A recording of Fauré's Requiem in D Minor (op. 48) that "faithfully recreates the 1889 premiere," accompanied by an orchestra playing on period instruments.[85] Liner notes written by Marc Rigaudière, a musicologist and editor of the score of the *Requiem* used in the recording.

Figure continues on next page

[84]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "Recordings," accessed January 27, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/listen/recordings.html.

[85]Ibid.

Figure 5.11 (part 2 of 2):

7) *Favourite Carols from King's* (recorded in 2014 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's College Cambridge KGS0007, 2014, CD.

A collection of carols commonly sung in the choir's annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols Christmas Eve services.

8) *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* (recorded in 2015 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's plus His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts. King's College Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD.

A recording of works by Giovanni Gabrieli taken from collections of his music published in 1615. Released in the year of the 400th anniversary of the works' publication and the 500th anniversary of the completion of the chapel of King's College. Accompanied by a period instrument ensemble. The first classical recording to be released with Dolby's ultra high fidelity Atmos surround sound technology. Liner notes by Iain Fenlon, a musicologist specializing in early Italian music and a fellow at King's College.

9) *Evensong Live 2015* (recorded in 2013 and 2014 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). King's College Cambridge KGS0011, 2015, CD.

An album presenting live recordings of works performed in Evensong services at King's College. Includes tracks of English Renaissance music and nineteenth- and twentieth-century compositions. One of just only albums of King's presenting live service recordings exclusively.[86]

10) *Liszt, Reubke, Mendelssohn: Organ Works* (recorded in 2013 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge). Stephen Cleobury, organ [the only performer on the album]. King's College Cambridge KGS0010, 2015, CD.

An album of solo organ music played by King's music director Stephen Cleobury. First surround-sound recording of the main organ in the King's College chapel.

Apart from albums 5 and 7 listed in this figure, the albums released on the choir's new label have all been somewhat atypical in comparison to the recordings King's had been releasing prior to 2012. Most relevant to my study are the Mozart, Fauré, and Gabrieli albums (albums 3, 6, and 8 in figure 5.11), all of which feature period ensembles and historically informed performance, and in two cases for post-Baroque repertoire that is not often associated with HIP and the early music revival. In the remainder of this section, I discuss these three albums in

[86]The other being: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Choral Evensong Live from King's College, Cambridge* (date and place of recording not found), dir. Stephen Cleobury (EMI CDC 7 54412 2, 1992, CD).

depth, considering how they engage with HIP and the early music revival in new and innovative ways.[87]

In a press release for the choir's 2013 recording of the unfinished Requiem Mass in D Minor (K. 626) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91), Stephen Cleobury was quoted as saying:

> I think our recording with boy trebles and period instruments will bring to the piece a particular strain of authenticity, and I hope that the sound world it inhabits will reflect something of what Mozart himself might have heard, if he had lived to hear the work performed.[88]

A number of different aspects of this recording convey a sense of authenticity, perhaps most obviously the inclusion of a period instrument ensemble (the Academy of Ancient Music) to accompany the choir while singing a work that is more often performed by orchestras with modern instruments. The liner notes by Mozart specialist Cliff Eisen add scholarly support to the "authenticity" of the performance on this album as does the "audio documentary" featured on the album's second disc.[89] The title of the liner notes—"Mozart's Requiem: Problems of Completion and Authenticity"—directly draws the listener's attention to the central concern of "authenticity"

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[87]In recent years, though, musicians involved in historically informed performance have increasingly considered music written after 1750. For instance, there was a period instrument performance of *The Rite of Spring* (written 1911–13) by Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) at the 2008 Utrecht Early Music Festival. See the discussion of this performance and the expanding timeframe covered by the phrase "early music" in Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Saving Room for Early Music," *Early Music America* 16, no. 2 (2010): 7 and also in Kelly's *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 117–18. In the liner notes to the King's 2013 Britten album, it is claimed that the recording of *Saint Nicolas* "closely follows the staging and instrumentation of the première of the work at the first Aldeburgh Festival in 1948," which suggests that it could be seen as a historically informed recording much like the Mozart, Fauré, and Gabrieli albums; however, since the album lacks a period instrument ensemble, I do not consider it to be an obvious HIP recording and therefore do not discuss it in depth. See my additional discussion on p. 185.

[88]King's College, Cambridge, "The Choir Releases a New Recording of Mozart's Requiem," published April 8, 2013, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2013/choir-mozart-requiem.html. Cleobury's idea of "authenticity" is a very hypothetical one that cannot be grounded in anything Mozart actually "heard" since he died before completing the *Requiem*.

[89]The "audio documentary" is essentially a recording of a lecture targeted to a general audience on the genesis of Mozart's *Requiem.*

in the early music revival.[90] Finally, in addition to including the commonly performed completion of the *Requiem* by Franz Xaver Süssmayr (1766–1803), the album also has recordings of four movements completed (or "realized," as the title suggests) by present-day composers and scholars, reflecting recent scholarship on Mozart and his *Requiem*.[91]

In a review of the 2013 King's Mozart album in *Choral Journal*, Nathan Windt seemed to appreciate its historically informed aspects, but he criticized King's for not being historically informed enough in certain regards. Particularly, he noted how the choir's use of "ecclesiastical Latin [pronunciation], instead of German Latin [pronunciation], seems to contradict . . . [Cleobury's] statement" that the choir's rendition of the *Requiem* has "'a certain strain of authenticity.'"[92] Overall, however, the 2013 Mozart album—and its historically informed nature and use of period instruments—received praise from reviewers.[93]

The 2014 King's album devoted to music by Gabrieli Fauré is intriguing because it brings historically informed performance and period instruments to music composed in *fin de siècle* France. As in the 2013 Mozart album, the choir is accompanied by a period orchestra, this time the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment. In addition, the choir is accompanied by an organist playing with historically informed registrations. The liner notes claim that:

> [Cleobury and the choir] faithfully recreated the 1889 premiere [of Fauré's *Requiem* on this album], and, in selecting registration on the King's [chapel] organ, care was taken to employ only those stops which would have been available to the organist of the

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[90]The concerns over "authenticity" Eisen discussed are almost exclusively related to the various completions (or "realisations") of the Requiem included on the album. Discussion of the "authenticity" (or lack thereof) of the way King's sings the composition is notably absent.

[91]They include movements completed by Franz Beyer (1980), Richard Maunder (1988), Robert Levin (1991), and Duncan Druce (1994). A fifth movement is included from a 2011 "realisation" by Michael Finnissy (the Lacrimosa), however this movement incorporates influences from nineteenth- and twentieth-century music. Some of these completions were written and recorded by other ensembles substantially before this King's album was released. King's was not being especially cutting-edge in deciding to record completions of the *Requiem*.

[92]Nathan Windt, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 2013 *Mozart: Requiem Realisations* album (King's College Cambridge KGS0002, 2013, 2 CDs), *Choral Journal* 58, no. 4 (2014): 71.

[93]See King's College, Cambridge, "Critics Praise the New Choir CD," published May 8, 2013, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2013/critics-praise-cd.html.

> Cathédrale de Ste. Madeleine in Paris [where the work premiered]. The instruments and techniques used by the orchestra are typical of those used in a French orchestra of the late 19th century.[94]

The liner notes also mention that the album presents "the first recording of Marc Rigaudière's new reconstruction of the first complete liturgical performance of Fauré's *Requiem*," appealing to a sense of rediscovery commonly valued in the early music revival, and the booklet includes detailed notes written by Rigaudière himself on the historical context surrounding Fauré's composition, much like Eisen's notes in the 2013 Mozart album.[95] Unlike King's, many other ensembles performing and recording Fauré's *Requiem* have not used boy trebles, even though the work premiered with them, so this is another way in which this album is historically informed.[96]

Reviews of the King's 2014 Fauré album were more positive than the reviews of the Mozart album. *BBC Music Magazine*, for instance, named it the "recording of the month" in November 2014, and reviewer Roger Nichols wrote:

> This recording of Fauré's *Requiem*, quite outstanding in its beauty, balance, and sensitivity, also has claims to historical interest. . . . Considerable trouble has been taken by the King's team to recreate the original sound as far as possible, even to taking account of the Madeleine's choir organ [*sic*]. . . . The boys of King's College Choir fully live up to their illustrious tradition, and [the] treble [soloist] . . . in the "Pie Jesu" sends shivers down the spine in the approved manner.[97]

Nichols also gave the album five out of five stars for both "performance" and for "recording."

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[94]King's, *Fauré Requiem* (2014), liner notes, p. 3.

[95]Ibid.

[96]However, King's uses Italianate Latin pronunciation rather than the French Latin pronunciation that was probably used in the premiere of Fauré's composition. Although the *Requiem* is not commonly performed with historically informed performance practice or with period instruments, the King's recording is actually the second HIP and period instrument recording of the work. The first was: Collegium Vocale Ghent, Chapelle Royale, and Orchestre des Champs-Elysées, *Fauré: Requiem*, dir. Philippe Herreweghe (Harmonia Mundi HMC90 1771, 2002, CD). This earlier recording, however, is of the 1900 concert version of Fauré's *Requiem*, not the version used for the 1889 liturgical premiere found on the King's recording. Unlike King's, there are adult female singers on this recording. Also unlike King's, the Collegium Vocale Ghent and Chapelle Royale use French Latin pronunciation. For more information on the various versions and early performances of the *Requiem*, see: Karen Cooksey, "Fauré's *Requiem* Re-Examined: A Study of the Work's Genesis, Influences, and Influence" (DMA thesis, University of Southern California, 2009), 34–80.

[97]Roger Nichols, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge's 2014 *Fauré: Requiem* album (King's College Cambridge KGS0005, 2014, CD), *BBC Music Magazine*, November 2014, 68–69.

The 2013 Mozart and 2014 Fauré albums are innovative historically informed recordings because they focus on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century repertoires that are not as commonly associated with HIP, period instruments, or the early music revival, and include works that are classics in the "standard" classical music canon. Most of the other albums released so far on the in-house record label at King's College are innovative or unique in choice of repertoire or in how the repertoire is presented to listeners, but only one of them is devoted entirely to early music as more traditionally defined (music written before 1750): the 2015 recording of compositions by Italian Renaissance composer Giovanni Gabrieli.[98]

Recorded in January and June of 2015 in the King's College chapel, *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* is the first collaboration between the choir and period wind ensemble His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts. The works on the album come from collections of Gabrieli's music published in 1615,[99] so presumably the repertoire was chosen because 2015 was the 400th anniversary of the music's publication. In addition, 2015 was the 500th anniversary of the completion of the King's College chapel, an anniversary that was highlighted in several press releases and events at the college as well as in a book.[100] It seems the Gabrieli album was also meant to highlight the anniversary of the chapel, as the chapel was emphasized in media surrounding the album and in the packaging of the CD itself. For instance, a press release on the college's website said:

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[98]King's and His Majestys Sagbutts, *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* (2015).

[99]Giovanni Gabrieli, *Canzoni et sonate* (Venice: Bartolomei Magni, 1615); Giovanni Gabrieli, *Symphoniae sacrae . . . liber secundus* (Venice: Bartolomei Magni, 1615).

[100]King's College, Cambridge, "New Book Celebrates 500th Anniversary of the Chapel," published October 31, 2014, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2014/new-chapel-book.html; King's College, Cambridge, "King's Celebrates 'Henry VI: The 500th Anniversary Project," published April 1, 2015, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2015/anniversary-project.html; King's College, Cambridge, "Two Celebrated Kingsmen Mark the Chapel 500th," published July 6, 2015, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2015/kingsmen-chapel-500.html; Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman, eds., *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge* (London: Harvey Miller, 2014).

> This recording pays homage to one of the most influential musicians of the Venetian Renaissance within one of the great buildings of the English Renaissance. . . . The early brass ensembles for which Gabrieli composed are no longer found performing in St Mark's Basilica, but this tradition is alive and well in Cambridge.[101]

This press release suggests that the chapel of King's College is a building with a historical importance rivaling that of St Mark's Basilica in Venice, where Gabrieli's music was originally performed. Thus, the King's chapel becomes a historically appropriate stand-in for St Mark's.[102]

The idea that the King's chapel presents an appropriate substitution for St Mark's Basilica is also conveyed on the album cover, where a drawing of the left half of the south door to the chapel is seamlessly fused to a drawing of the right half of the central west door to St Mark's.[103] The image gives the listener the impression that the album presents Renaissance music as it would have sounded in both the chapel of King's College and Saint Mark's Basilica around the time of its composition, a message that held special resonance in a year when King's College was looking back in time to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the completion of its chapel.

King's also highlighted the historically informed nature of this album in a full-page color advertisement on the back cover of the winter 2015 issue of Early Music America's *EMAg* magazine.[104] This same advertisement appeared on the back cover of the December 2015 to February 2016 issue of the magazine *Early Music Today*.[105] The advertisement highlights the period instruments on the recording. And, as far as I am aware, this was the first advertisement

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[101]King's College, Cambridge, "Choir's New CD Is First to Use Dolby Atmos," published November 9, 2015, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2015/gabrieli-in-venice.html.

[102]It should be noted, however, that the construction of St. Mark's Basilica began in the eleventh century while the construction of the King's College chapel began in the fifteenth century.

[103]See description in King's and His Majestys Sagbutts, *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* (2015), liner notes, p. 18. The drawing was created by Louis Wilson.

[104]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, advertisement for the *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* album (King's College, Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD), *EMAg* 21, no. 4 (2015): back cover.

[105]King's and His Majestys, advertisement for the *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* album (King's College, Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD), *Early Music Today* 24, no. 1 (2016): back cover.

for a King's album in publications devoted to early music. Like the Fauré and Mozart albums, *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* also features detailed liner notes (this time by Iain Fenlon) on the historical context surrounding the music on the album, as well as shorter notes introducing listeners to the instruments on the recording.

David Vickers's review of the 2015 King's Gabrieli album was largely positive. He wrote:

> [The motet] *In ecclesiis* never fails to generate an awestruck sense of wonder when the brass chords enter after the first few vocal solos and choral "Alleluia" refrains; the [vocal] soloists . . . soar angelically. . . . An unforced solemnity suits the concentrated low textures of the all-adult voices in the 12-part [motet] *Suscipe, clementissime Deus* [the motet is sung by the choral scholars only, without the boy trebles]. The opening of the 10-part setting of [the motet] *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* conveys an imperious swagger, with Cleobury's surprisingly steady tempo not only suitable for the reverberant acoustic of the antechapel at King's College but also a reminder that St Mark's Byzantine basilica would have presented similar challenges to its musicians.[106]

In addition to upholding the quality of the recording, by pointing to similarities between the acoustics of the chapel of King's College, Cambridge and St Mark's Basilica, Vickers's review drew attention to a sense of the historical appropriateness of this album being recorded in an old and reverberant space similar to the place where the music was originally performed.

In contrast, reviewer D. James Ross criticized the album for not being historically informed enough:

> The choir with its boy trebles was simply not the vocal sound for which this music [was] conceived. Worse than that, much of the singing had an English politeness about it which seemed to me to emasculate Gabrieli's highly dramatic idiom. . . . The solo voices are also patchy, not apparently sharing the same concepts of how Gabrieli should sound. . . . Any foray into this repertoire invites comparison with the work of specialist period ensembles such as Paul McCreesh's Gabrieli Consort and Players and if, like me, you prefer your Gabrieli to be brash and thrilling you will always go for the sound of soaring falsettists and blaring brass rather than these rather diffident accounts. Although the programme note declares the recording to be "the culmination of considerable

[106]David Vickers, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* album (King's College, Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD), *Gramophone*, December 2015, 84.

> scholarship into the performance practice of Gabrieli's Venice," with the noble exception of Hugh Keyte's cutting-edge and valuable contribution (published 2015 by The Early Music Company), there seems nothing terribly radical here, and indeed ironically many of the editions used date from the 1990s and one indeed is from Denis Arnold's 1962 CMM [Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae edition].[107]

Although Ross criticized this album for not being adequately historically informed, his reasoning was based more on his subjective listening experience than on historical evidence. His claim that the boy trebles produce a sound at odds with "the vocal sound for which this music [was] conceived" and his mentioning of the "soaring falsettists" of "specialist period ensembles" seems to imply that boy trebles did not perform Gabrieli's music when it was originally composed, however this is not true.[108] Instead of giving a thorough critique of King's engagement with historically informed performance, Ross suggested that the choir's approach could not be historically informed largely, it seems, because the ensemble sings with the English sound, a sound that presumably would not have been used in Venice in Gabrieli's lifetime. However, the absence of sound recordings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries makes it hard to substantiate this assumption. The idea that an ensemble like the Gabrieli Consort sounds more similar to a seventeenth-century Venetian chorus than King's is difficult to prove.

Despite some criticism suggesting that they are not historically informed enough, it is clear that with albums like the 2013 Mozart recording, the 2014 Fauré recording, and the 2015 Gabrieli recording King's has been making innovative forays into performing in historically

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[107]D. James Ross, review of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts' *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* album (King's College, Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD), published November 27, 2015, http://earlymusicreview.com/1615-gabrieli-in-venice/; Giovanni Gabrieli, *Opera omnia*, vol. 3, *Motetta: Sacrae Symphoniae (1615)*, ed. Denis Arnold (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962). The work in question is *Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes*, 8vv, C57 (pp. 44–56 in Arnold's edition). I was unable to find the full citation information for the Hugh Keyte edition.

[108]See David Bryant, "Gabrieli, Giovanni," *Grove Music Online*, updated February 24, 2010, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40693, section 2 ("Works"), paragraph 6: "Little information is available on the participation of boy singers. However, besides the 24 adult singers mentioned in a list [of the singers at St Mark's] of 1562 are the names of five boys who were required to participate daily in the performance of polyphonic music; of the 14 extra singers hired for first Vespers *in festo ascensionis Domini*, 1604, three were 'putti soprani.'"

informed ways and with period instrument ensembles, expanding the temporal boundaries traditionally associated with early music and historically informed performance. If King's continues releasing albums like these, the choir may become a leader in historically informed performance.

5.7: Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the connections between the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, the early music revival, and historically informed performance from the mid-twentieth century to the present day. The choir's large number of albums containing early music, its collaborations with proto-period and period instrument ensembles, its involvement in making premiere recordings of early music, its role in training early music performers, and its engagement with historically informed performance practice attest to its close links to the early music revival. In the following, concluding chapter of this dissertation, I consider what these connections and what my dissertation as a whole say about the position of King's in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century early music revival.

Conclusion

The September 2015 death of David Willcocks—the director of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge for the first fifteen years discussed in this dissertation (1958 to 1973)—provided the classical music world with an opportunity to reflect on his contributions at King's College. Obituaries emphasized how Willcocks fostered the "vibrato free," "perfectly in tune," "bright" and "flawless[ly] blend[ed]" King's sound and how he made many recordings with the choir, some of which became well known.[1] One writer, who focused on the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols services at King's College, went as far as characterizing Willcocks as "the choirmaster whose carols became the sound of Christmas."[2]

The obituaries for Willcocks, however, mostly passed over his involvement with early music. One exception was the *Telegraph* obituary, which stated:

> His approach was the antithesis of the early music movement. Where their major thirds were falling flat, towards a minor third, Willcocks's would be heading north. He had a joke scale, sung in the pub after evensong, in which the major third was above a perfect fourth and the major seventh above an octave.[3]

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[1]"Sir David Willcocks, Choirmaster—Obituary," *Telegraph*, September 17, 2015, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/11872141/Sir-David-Willcocks-choirmaster-obituary.html; Margalit Fox, "Sir David Willcocks, Conductor Who Influenced British Choral Music, Dies at 95," *New York Times*, September 22, 2015, http://nyti.ms/1QY0Pm9; John Rutter, "In Memoriam: David Willcocks, 1919–2015," *Choral Journal* 56, no. 4 (2015): 59. Willcocks's recordings are focused on especially in the obituaries in the *Choral Journal* and the *Telegraph* as well as in the following three obituaries: Martin Cullingford, "Conductor and Organist Sir David Willcocks Has Died," *Gramophone*, September 17, 2015, http://www.gramophone.co.uk/classical-music-news/conductor-and-organist-sir-david-willcocks-has-died; Kenneth Shenton, "Sir David Willcocks: Charismatic Conductor and Organist Who Raised Choral Standards round the World to New Levels of Excellence," *Independent*, September 17, 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/sir-david-willcocks-charismatic-conductor-and-organist-who-raised-choral-standards-round-the-world-10506561.html; Robert Tear (posthumously published), "Sir David Willcocks Obituary," *Guardian*, September 17, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/sep/17/david-willcocks.

[2]Martin Clarke, "The Choirmaster Whose Carols Became the Sound of Christmas," *The Conversation*, December 23, 2015, http://theconversation.com/the-choirmaster-whose-carols-became-the-sound-of-christmas-51921.

[3]*Telegraph*, Willcocks obituary.

In this quotation, one aspect of historically informed performance (tuning) is made to stand in for the entire early music revival. While it is true that Willcocks did not use historically informed tuning, his contributions to the revival were still considerable. As I discussed in chapter 5, with King's he collaborated with proto-period and period instrument ensembles and made many recordings of early music, including premiere recordings of some Renaissance compositions. The choir's subsequent music directors (Philip Ledger and Stephen Cleobury) have made similar contributions to the early music revival.

The way obituaries passed over David Willcocks's involvement with early music is symptomatic of a larger gap in literature on the early music revival where the Choir of King's College, Cambridge and other ensembles that do not specialize in early music or historically informed performance practice have not gotten the attention they deserve. In addition, vocal ensembles have not received as much consideration as instrumentalists and vocal soloists.[4] Once a large number of specialist and HIP ensembles had formed by the 1980s, attention shifted away from ensembles like King's that do not specialize in early music. Yet King's has continued performing and recording Renaissance and Baroque music, collaborating with period instrument ensembles, creating premiere recordings of early works, and training musicians who went on to become important figures in the revival. In addition, in the past several years King's has begun releasing innovative historically informed albums on its new in-house record label.

In this dissertation, I have begun to address this gap in scholarship on the early music revival by exploring the connections between King's and the revival since the mid-twentieth

[4]Some sources that do not give substantial consideration to non-specialist ensembles and vocal ensembles include: Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988); Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

century. In chapter 1, I gave an overview of the history of the early music revival, of historically informed performance, and of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge. Then in chapter 2, I enumerated the characteristics of the choir's way of singing (the "King's sound") and of the "English sound," discussing how they developed and how they influenced the adoption of similar sounds among vocal ensembles specializing in early music, particularly in Britain. While King's cannot be said to have created the English sound, the choir is one of the best-known ensembles to sing with a variant of this sound and has played an important role in bringing the English sound to both mainstream classical music audiences and to early music specialist and HIP ensembles. Chapter 3 was a detailed analysis of the cultural context surrounding the King's sound and image. I argued that because King's operates in a privileged Anglican, English, highly educated, all-male, and mostly white environment, it was easy for the King's sound to spread and become valued throughout Britain. The privileged position of King's and other choirs with the English sound also influenced the adoption of a post-1980 HIP singing style similar to the English sound. In chapter 4, I applied my discussion from the previous two chapters to give close readings of John Taverner's *Dum transisset* and Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere*, two compositions with prominent positions in the recorded output of King's. Finally, in chapter 5, I looked in depth at the connections between King's, the early music revival, and historically informed performance. The King's and English sounds today are probably not identical to how choirs sounded in medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque England; yet the personal connections between King's and the revival, as well as the fact that the English sound became a standard way of singing early music in Britain show that King's and other choirs with the English sound are inextricably linked to the early music revival.

I hope that my dissertation will inspire others to write about performers and ensembles that have been involved with medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music but have not received substantial attention in previous scholarship on the early music revival and historically informed performance. Such ensembles include liturgical choirs, amateur groups, student groups, ensembles that do not specialize in early music, and ensembles performing on modern instruments or without historically informed performance practice. While some have considered the contributions that non-HIP and non-specialist musicians have made to the early music revival, a teleological approach is often taken where it is implied that these musicians are mostly valuable because they laid the foundation for the rise of historically informed performance and specialist early music ensembles.[5] This may be true, but it is also important to analyze non-HIP and non-specialist ensembles on their own terms, as I have done in the case of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge.

Since the mid-twentieth century, King's has regularly released compelling recordings of early music. They range from the 1964 recording of Allegri's *Miserere* with the unforgettably clear and high treble solo sung by Roy Goodman, to one of the first period instrument recordings of Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers produced in the excitingly live acoustic of King's (in 1975), to the 1984 album premiering late Renaissance and early Baroque Italian gems, to the recent

[5]See, for instance: Harry Haskell, "Early Music," *Grove Music Online*, accessed May 10, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46003; Haskell, *Early Music Revival*; and Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). At a 2014 conference at the Horniman Museum and Gardens in London presenters challenged the idea that musicians and ensembles involved with early music prior to the late twentieth-century rise of historically informed performance were merely precursors to HIP, particularly Peter Holman in his keynote address "The Shock of the Old: Early Music in Britain from Purcell to Sting" and Brian Robins in his presentation on "The Myth of the 19th Century Early Music Revival." See the discussion of the conference in: Brian Blood, "Roots of Revival Conference, 12–14 March 2014," *Dolmetsch Foundation Bulletin,* new series, no. 26 (Autumn 2014): 5–10; John W. Briggs, "The 'Roots of Revival' Conference at the Horniman Museum, 12–14 March 2014," *Early Music Performer* 35 (2014): 28–30; [Christopher Goodwin (not credited)], "Roots of the Revival, conference at The Horniman Museum, London: March 11th–14th 2014," *Lutezine* 111 (2014): 4–21; Brian Robins, "Roots of Revival," *Early Music Today* 22, no. 4 (2014): 31–32; and Dan Tidhar, "Early Early Music," *Early Music* 42, no. 3 (2014): 505–6.

historically informed album of *fin de siècle* music by Gabriel Fauré.[6] The choir has also featured early music and HIP in many of its performances, services, and broadcasts.

It will be interesting to see how the relationship between King's, the early music revival, and historically informed performance continues to evolve and how the position of non-specialist ensembles within the revival will change in the future. Will early music specialist and HIP ensembles dominate album sales and performances so much that other ensembles will not be able to compete and will stop performing early music altogether? This seems unlikely, for although many HIP ensembles have formed since the 1980s, non-specialist choirs like King's have continued to record and perform large amounts of medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque music. It seems there is a market for both types of ensembles. Will choirs like King's be increasingly influenced by HIP and eventually become specialist early music ensembles? While it is clear that King's and other church choirs are following trends in the revival (such as using period instruments), ultimately these choirs' primary purpose is to sing music in church services. A large body of church music has been written since the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in the United Kingdom, and music-making at King's College and other places of worship would be lacking something special if choirs were to ignore the sacred music of composers such as Benjamin Britten (1913–76), Herbert Howells (1892–1983), Elizabeth Poston (1905–86), Edmund Rubbra (1901–86), Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958), and Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810–76). Although it is unlikely that church choirs like King's will

[6]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]); The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the Early Music Consort of London, *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)* (recorded in 1975 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Philip Ledger (EMI SLS 5064, 1976, 2 LPs); The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Allegri: Miserere* (recorded in 1983 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (HMV EL270095-1, 1984, LP [digital]/HMV EL270095-4, 1984, cassette [digital]/ EMI CDC 7 47065 2, 1984, CD); The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, *Fauré: Requiem, Cantique de Jean Racine, Messe basse* (recorded in 2014 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (King's College Cambridge KGS0005, 2014, CD).

become specialist early music ensembles, given the present-day valuing of HIP, King's and other church choirs will probably suggest in some contexts that they are early music ensembles in order to encourage listeners to buy their recordings and attend their concerts. We have seen this already with the 2015 King's Gabrieli album being prominently advertised on the back covers of two magazines devoted to early music and historically informed performance.[7]

The questions and answers in the preceding paragraph assume a relatively stable continuation of historically informed performance and the early music revival as they currently exist, but it is also probable that notions of what constitutes "early music," "historically informed performance," and "period instruments" will change and the values and tastes of listeners and performers will also change. The recordings and performances of King's and other ensembles suggest that "early music" may soon denote any music written before the twentieth century and that any music can be played in a historically informed manner, even a mid-twentieth-century composition by Britten.[8] It is also uncertain whether early music performers, listeners, and scholars will continue to value being historically informed as much as they have for the past several decades. Perhaps listeners will want to hear more imaginative performances of early music that take creative liberties with historical evidence. In addition, it is uncertain what will happen as we continue entering the digital age and record companies fold as

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[7]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge and His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, advertisement for the *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* album (King's College, Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD), *Early Music Today* 24, no. 1 (2016): back cover; King's and His Majestys, advertisement for the *1615: Gabrieli in Venice* album (King's College, Cambridge KGS0012, 2015, CD), *EMAg: The Magazine of Early Music America* 21, no. 4 (2015): back cover.

[8]See especially the King's recording of Britten's cantata *Saint Nicolas* (op. 42), which the choir's website claims "closely follows the staging and instrumentation of the première of the work at the first Aldeburgh Festival in 1948." See: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Britten Sinfonia, the Swaston Village College Choir, and the Cambridge University Musical Society Chorus, *Britten: Saint Nicolas* (recorded 2012–13 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Stephen Cleobury (King's College Cambridge KGS0003, 2013, CD); and the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "Recordings," accessed January 27, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/listen/recordings.html. See also Thomas Forrest Kelly's discussion of the broadening timeframe for "early music" in his *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 117–18.

increasing numbers of people share music freely online. King's had a large enough audience base and enough resources to create its own record label when EMI became defunct in 2012, but other ensembles have not been (or will not be) as fortunate. On the other hand, social media and online music sharing may be a boon to ensembles wishing to get their early music recordings to many listeners. Whatever happens in the future of the early music revival, I predict that King's will be there, recording and performing early music and serving as a point of connection between the revival and mainstream classical music culture, just as the choir has been doing since 1958.

Appendix A: King's facts and figures

Basic facts

Foundation

The Choir of King's College, Cambridge began singing in services by the end of 1444[1]

Size and personnel

Currently, the choir has thirty male singers. Sixteen are boys between the ages of eight and thirteen who sing treble (soprano parts only, not alto). The remaining fourteen are choral scholars who are undergraduate students at the University of Cambridge and sing alto, tenor, and bass parts. Typically, there are four altos, four tenors, and six basses. Boy trebles in their first year with the choir are probationers, meaning they attend rehearsals but do not sing in services or concerts or on recordings (probationers are not included in the sixteen boys counted above).[2] There are also two undergraduate organ scholars plus the Director of Music.

Music directors in the twentieth century:[3]

- **Arthur Henry "Daddy" Mann** (1850–1929): Organist from 1876 to 1929
- **Boris Ord** (1897–1961): Organist from 1929 to 1957, Director of Music from 1957 to 1958
- **David Willcocks** (b. 1919): Organist from 1957 to 1958, Organist and Director of Music from 1958 to 1973[4]
- **Philip Ledger** (1937–2012): Organist and Director of Music from 1974 to 1982
- **Stephen Cleobury** (b. 1948): Organist and Director of Music since 1982

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[1]See the discussion in Roger Bowers, "Chapel and Choir, Liturgy and Music, 1444–1644," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman, 259–83 (London: Harvey Miller, 2014). Footnote numbering is continuous for all my end matter (appendices and lists of works cited).

[2]For more information, see: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "The Choir and Singing," accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/choristers/singing.html; and the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "The Choir Today," accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/about/choir-today.html.

[3]For more information on the history of the choir in the twentieth century, see: Nicholas Marston, "'As England knows it': 'Daddy' Mann and the King's College Choir, 1876–1929," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 302–21; and Timothy Day, "'The Most Famous Choir in the World'?: The Choir [of King's College, Cambridge] since 1929," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 347–63.

[4]Prior to 1958, the directors of the choir were called "Organist." In 1957, as Ord's health was failing, Willcocks became "Organist" while Ord was given the new title of "Director of Music." Ord remained a leader of the ensemble, albeit in a limited capacity. In 1958, Willcocks began leading the choir completely on his own, becoming "Organist and Director of Music," a title that all subsequent King's music directors have held.

Services, concerts, and tours

Total number of Evensong and Eucharist services sung in a typical year[5]
217

Total number of concerts given in a typical year[6]
14

Recordings

Year of first recording[7]
Made in 1927, released in 1931

Year of first LP[8]
1954

Year of first CD[9]
1983

King's College, Cambridge launches its own record label[10]
2012

Total LPs/CDs released[11]
168 (109, or ca. 65%, contain at least one track of music written before 1750)

Albums released in a typical year
2 or 3[12]

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[5]Counted for October 2013 to September 2014 at: King's College, Cambridge, "Services Archive," accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/events/chapel-services/archive.html.

[6]Counted for July 2015 to June 2016 at: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, official Facebook page events listing, accessed June 20, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/KingsCollegeChoir/events. Includes concerts on tour, concerts of only the choral scholars (the King's Men), and concerts featuring only the boy trebles.

[7]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "Bach: Auf auf! mein Herz (BWV 441)" and "Bach: Gott lebet noch (BWV 461)" (recorded in 1927, place of recording not listed), dir. Arthur Henry Mann (HMV B 3707, 1931, 78 rpm record). Digitized versions of each recording can be listened to at the British Library Sound Archive in London (call nos. 1CDR0025679 BD6 C2 NSA and 1CS0059509 1 HMV, respectively). An additional recording made by HMV in 1927 ("Brahms: Es ist das Heil uns kommen her") was never commercially released, but it can also be listened to at the British Library (call no. 1CDR0025679 BD7 NSA).

[8]The Choir of King's College, *Cambridge, Festival of Lessons and Carols 1954* (recorded in 1954 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. Boris Ord (Argo RG 39, [1955], LP [mono]).

[9]For a list of the first King's albums issued as CDs, see the year 1983 in the King's discography (Appendix B, section B).

[10]King's College, Cambridge, "King's College Choir Launches its Own Record Label," published October 4, 2012, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2012/choir-launches-label.html.

[11]Counting only LPs and CDs released before January 1, 2016.

[12]168 albums divided by 62 years (from start of 1954 to end of 2015), rounded to the nearest 100th = 2.71.

Radio, television, and film

Year of first King's radio broadcast in Britain[13]

1926

Year of first King's radio broadcast outside Britain[14]

1932

First moving image of the choir[15]

1941, in British propaganda film "Christmas Under Fire"

First television broadcast of King's[16]

1954, in broadcast of Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols

First podcast of service at King's College[17]

2013

Early music figures associated with the choir

Philip Brett (1937–2002): English musicologist and conductor known for his work on William Byrd and his editions of early English choral music. Began undergraduate studies at King's College in 1955, where he was also a choral scholar. Earned his PhD from King's in 1965. Spent most of his career in the United States, teaching at the University of California in Berkeley, in Riverside, and in Los Angeles. Also known as one of the founding fathers of gay and lesbian musicology and for being an influential Benjamin Britten scholar.

John Butt (b. 1960): English conductor, organist, harpsichordist, and scholar of Bach and historically informed performance. Directs the Glasgow-based Dunedin Consort (Baroque ensemble). Was an organ scholar at King's College in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and also was Director of Studies at King's College from 1997 to 2001, where he found the college's mixed-gender choir King's Voices. Since 2001 he has taught at the University of Glasgow.

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[13]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, "History of the Choir," accessed July 1, 2015, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/about/history.html.

[14]See the discussion of the first international radio broadcasts of King's in Nicholas Nash, "'A Right Prelude to Christmas': A History of *A Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols*," in *King's College Chapel 1515–2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller, 2014), 342.

[15]Watt, Harry, dir., "Christmas Under Fire" (1941), Crown Film Unit, Ministry of Information (UK), available on the British Film Institute official YouTube channel, accessed September 14, 2015, https://youtu.be/aGK5EsGzKIg.

[16]King's, "History of the Choir."

[17]King's College, Cambridge, "Listen to Choral Services Online," published November 13, 2013, http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2013/services-online.html.

Simon Carrington (b. 1942): English baritone, conductor, and double bass player. Founding member of the King's Singers (est. 1965). A sought-after choral educator, he has taught in the United States at the New England Conservatory and the Yale School of Music. He founded the Yale Collegium Musicum (est. 2003). Much of his choral activities have been focused on early music. Carrington was a choral scholar at King's College.

Michael Chance (b. 1955): English countertenor known especially for his work in opera. He was a choral scholar at King's College.

Joseph Crouch (b. ca. late 1970s): English Baroque cellist and current principal cellist of the Academy of Ancient Music. Crouch was a choral scholar at King's College.

Charles Daniels (b. 1960): English tenor, known as an early music soloist as well as a member of prominent early vocal ensembles such as the Orlando Consort and the Gesualdo Consort of Amsterdam. Daniels was a choral scholar at King's College.

Iain Fenlon (b. 1949): English musicologist specializing in sixteenth-century Italian music. He began working on his PhD at King's College in 1971 and has been there ever since, teaching musicology. A colleague of King's music directors Ledger and Cleobury, Fenlon has written sleeve/liner notes for choir's albums.

Roy Goodman (b. 1951): English conductor and violinist specializing in Baroque music, founder and director of the Brandenburg Consort (1976–2001). Was a treble in King's and was the treble soloist on the choir's well-known recording of Allegri's *Miserere* released in 1964.[18]

John Potter (b. ca. late 1940s): English tenor and scholar who focuses on early music as well as contemporary music. Was a treble in King's in the late 1950s. Founded the specialist early music vocal ensemble Red Byrd with Richard Wistreich in 1989. Was also a member of the Hilliard Ensemble. Was director of vocal studies at the University of York. Has published widely on vocal performance and early music (see "Works Cited," section A for a selection of some of his writings).

[18]The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, *Evensong for Ash Wednesday* (recorded in 1963 in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge), dir. David Willcocks (Argo RG365, 1964, LP [mono]/Argo ZRG5365, 1964, LP [stereo]).

Appendices B–E: Discographies

B: The Choir of King's College, Cambridge (p. 209 [section A]; pp. 210–12 [section B])
C: The Choir of New College, Oxford (pp. 213–14)
D: The Choir of St John's College, Cambridge (pp. 215–16)
E: The Tallis Scholars (217–18)

General notes

These discographies were compiled between June 2013 and March 2016. Only recordings released before January 1, 2016 are included. Singles are not included (apart from 78-rpm records in the case of King's only). Records that play at speeds other than seventy-eight revolutions per minute are considered to be LPs. The discographies do not include re-releases of previously issued albums, or albums compiling recordings from previously issued albums, nor do they include recordings that were only issued online (as MP3s, etc.). In cases where an album was issued as both an LP and a CD, I list the LP only.

The discographies are arranged in ascending chronological order, and in alphabetical order by album title within each year. Fields left blank do not apply for the album in question.

Key

EM = early music
emo = a recording that contains early music only (music composed before 1750)
iem = a recording that contains some early music and some later music (includes early music)
nem = a recording that contains no early music (only music written after 1750)
sc = a recording dedicated to the music of a single composer
mc = a recording presenting the music of multiple composers

Sources used in compiling the discographies

ArkivMusic. http://www.arkivmusic.com/.
The Choir of New College, Oxford. "New College Choir Recordings." Updated February 21, 2014. http://www.newcollegechoir.com/recordings.html.
The Choir of St John's College, Cambridge. "Releases." Accessed March 3, 2016. http://www.sjcchoir.co.uk/listen/releases/.
Discogs. http://www.discogs.com/.
Gimell Records. "The Complete Gimell Catalogue." Accessed August 12, 2015. http://www.gimell.com/catalogue.aspx.
Head, Brian. Discography of recordings of the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, 1940s–2001. Held at the Archive Centre of King's College, Cambridge, call number KCAR/8/3/14.
Phillips, Peter. *What We Really Do: The Tallis Scholars*. 2nd ed. London: Musical Times, 2013.
WorldCat. https://www.worldcat.org/.

Searchable and sortable version of discographies

The discographies are available to download as searchable and sortable Excel files from the page for this dissertation on the McGill eScholarship website: http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/.

For more detailed descriptions of the categories used for each column, consult these Excel files (move the cursor over an individual cell in the first row and a comment with a description will appear).

Appendix B, section A: Discography of King's 78-rpm records

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Choral ensemble(s)	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
1	?	Mann	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1931	78	HMV B 3707	Yes	?			
2	Columbia Anthology of English Church Music	Ord	?			mc		1940	78	Columbia OX 1611	Yes	?			
3	Ding Dong Merrily on High/Three Kings	Ord	nem			mc		1949	78	Columbia DB 2608	Yes	A cappella			
4	An Anthology of English Church Music: First series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1950	78	Columbia LB 91	Yes	?			
5	An Anthology of English Church Music: First series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1950	78	Columbia LB 92	Yes	?			
6	Columbia Anthology of English Church Music	Ord	?			mc		1951	78	Columbia LX 1572	Yes	?			
7	An Anthology of English Church Music: Second series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1951	78	Columbia LX 1380	Yes	?			
8	An Anthology of English Church Music: Second series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1951	78	Columbia LX 1383	Yes	?			
9	Columbia Anthology of English Church Music	Ord	?			mc		1952	78	Columbia LX 1609	Yes	?			
10	An Anthology of English Church Music: Third series	Ord	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1953	78	Columbia LX 1563	Yes	?			
11	An Anthology of English Church Music: Third series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1953	78	Columbia LX 1564	Yes	?	Other works on album sung by Choir of St George's Chapel		
12	An Anthology of English Church Music: Fourth series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1954	78	Columbia LX 1604	Yes	?	Other works on album sung by the Choir of St Paul's Cathedral		
13	An Anthology of English Church Music: Fourth series	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1954	78	Columbia LX 1605	Yes	?	Other works on album sung by the Choir of St Paul's Cathedral		

Appendix B, section B: Discography of King's LPs and CDs (part 1 of 3)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Choral ensemble(s)	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
1	Festival of Lessons and Carols 1954	Ord	iem	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1954	LP	Argo RG 39	Yes	Organ			
2	Orlando Gibbons: Tudor Church Music	Ord	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1956	LP	Westminster XWN 18165	No	Organ			
3	Evensong	Ord	iem			mc		1957	LP	Argo RG 99	Yes	Organ			
4	A Festival of Lessons and Carols 1958	Willcocks	iem			mc		1958	LP	Argo RG 190	Yes	Organ			
5	No Easter Hymns	Ord	iem			mc		1958	LP	Argo RG 120	Yes	Organ			
6	Vaughan Williams: Three Elizabethan Songs, Three Shakespeare Songs	Willcocks	nem			sc	Vaughan Williams	1959	LP	Argo ZFA 1	Yes	A cappella			
7	Orlando Gibbons: Tudor Church Music [2]	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1959	LP	Argo ZRG 2059	Yes	Organ, Viol consort		The Jacobean Consort of Viols	No
8	J.S. Bach: Jesu, Priceless Treasure and Sacred Part-Songs [sung in English]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1960	LP	Argo ZRG 5234	Yes	Organ			
9	J.S. Bach: St John Passion [BWV 245] [sung in English]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1960	LP	London X-5592 to X-5594	Yes	Orchestra		Philomusica of London	No
10	William Byrd: Mass for Five Voices	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1960	LP	Argo ZRG 5226	Yes	A cappella			
11	A Procession with Carols on Advent Sunday	Willcocks	iem			mc		1961	LP	Argo RG 240	Yes	Organ			
12	The First Nowell	Willcocks	iem			mc		1961	LP	Argo ZFA 20	Yes	Organ			
13	Croft: The Burial Service	Willcocks	emo	18th c	England	sc	Croft	1962	LP	Argo ZFA 28	Yes	A cappella			
14	Evening Hymns	Willcocks	iem			mc		1962	LP	Argo ZFA 32	Yes	Organ			
15	Haydn: The Nelson Mass [H. XXII:11]	Willcocks	emo			sc	Haydn	1962	LP	Argo RG 325	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		London Symphony Orchestra	
16	Carols from King's	Willcocks	iem			mc		1962	LP	Argo ZRG 543	Yes	Organ			
17	John Taverner: Tudor Church Music	Willcocks	emo	16th c	England	sc	Taverner	1962	LP	Argo ZRG 5316	Yes	A cappella			
18	On Christmas Night	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1962	LP	Argo ZRG 5333	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		London Symphony Orchestra	No
19	Handel: Coronation Anthems [HWV 258–61]	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1960	LP	Argo ZRG 5226	Yes	A cappella		English Chamber Orchestra	No
20	The Infant King	Willcocks	iem			mc		1961	LP	Argo RG 240	Yes	Organ			
21	William Byrd: Mass in Three Parts. Mass in Four Parts	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1963	LP	London OS 25795	Yes	A cappella			
22	Evensong for Ash Wednesday	Willcocks	iem			mc		1964	LP	Argo ZRG 5365	Yes	A cappella			
23	Palestrina: Stabat Mater, Magnificat in Eight Parts, Litany in Eight Parts, Two Motets	Willcocks	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Palestrina	1964	LP	Argo ZK4	Yes	A cappella			
24	A Festival of Lessons and Carols as Sung on Christmas Eve, 1964 in King's College Chapel, Cambridge	Willcocks	iem			mc		1965	LP	Argo ZRG 5450	Yes	Organ			
25	Byrd and His Contemporaries	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	Several countries	mc		1965	LP	EMI ASD 641	Yes	A cappella			
26	Tallis: Tudor Church Music 1	Willcocks	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1965	LP	Argo ZRG 5436	Yes	Organ	King's, plus Cambridge University Musical Society		
27	The Nativity to Candlemas	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	Several countries	mc		1965	LP	Angel S-36275	Yes	A cappella			
28	Handel: Chandos Anthems. O Praise the Lord [HWV 254] Let God Arise [HWV 256a]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1966	LP	Argo ZRG 5490	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
29	Handel: Dixit Dominus [HWV 232]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Handel	1966	LP	Angel S-36331	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	No
30	Sing Praises	Willcocks	iem			mc		1966	LP	EMI ASD 2290	Yes	Cello, Flute, Lute, Organ			
31	Tallis: Tudor Church Music 2	Willcocks	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1966	LP	Argo ZRG 5479	Yes	Organ			
32	Vivaldi: Gloria [RV 589]. Pergolesi: Magnificat	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Italy	mc		1966	LP	Argo ZRG 505	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
33	Charpentier: Midnight Mass for Christmas Eve. Purcell: Te Deum [Z. 232]	Willcocks	emo	17th c	England/France	mc		1967	LP	Angel S-36528	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	No
34	Haydn: Mass in Time of War [H. XXII:9]	Willcocks	nem			sc	Haydn	1967	LP	Angel S-36417	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	
35	Howells: Church Music	Willcocks	nem			sc	Howells	1967	LP	Argo ZRG 507	Yes	Organ			
36	Faure: Requiem [op. 48]. Poyans [op. 50]	Willcocks	nem			sc	Fauré	1968	LP	EMI ASD 2358	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		New Philharmonia Orchestra	
37	Handel: Chandos Anthems. The Lord is My Light [HWV 255]. As Pants the Hart [HWV 251]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1968	LP	Argo RG 541	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
38	J.S. Bach: Motets	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1968	LP	EMI HQS 1144	Yes	A cappella			
39	Vaughan Williams: Sancta Civitas. Benedicite	Willcocks	nem			sc	Vaughan Williams	1968	LP	Angel S-36751	Yes	Orchestra	King's plus London Bach Choir	London Symphony Orchestra	
40	Carols from King's	Willcocks	iem			mc		1969	LP	Classics for Pleasure CFP 4586	Yes	Organ			
41	Psalms of David vol. 1	Willcocks	nem			mc		1969	LP	EMI CLP 1656	Yes	Organ			
42	Purcell: Gestliche Musik am englischen Königshof [Z. 10, 30, 35, 36, 49, 50, 730]	Willcocks	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1969	LP	Das alte Werk SAWT 9558-B	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Leonhardt Consort	Yes
43	Vaughan Williams: Mass in G Minor	Willcocks	nem			sc	Vaughan Williams	1969	LP	Angel S-36590	Yes	Brass ensemble, Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	
44	Britten: Saint Nicolas [op. 42]	Willcocks	nem			sc	Britten	1970	LP	EMI ASD 2637	Yes	Orchestra	King's plus the Cambridge Girls' Choir	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
45	Howells: Hymnus paradisi	Willcocks	nem			sc	Howells	1970	LP	EMI ASD 2690	Yes	Orchestra		New Philharmonia Orchestra	
46	J.S. Bach: Matthäus-Passion [BWV 244]	Harnoncourt	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1970	LP	Das alte Werk SAWT 9572-A to 9575-A	Yes	Orchestra	King's choral scholars plus the trebles of the Regensburger Domchor (with no King's trebles).	Concentus Musicus Wien	Yes
47	Vaughan Williams: Flos Campi. An Oxford Elegy. Five Variants of "Dives and Lazarus"	Willcocks	nem			sc	Vaughan Williams	1970	LP	Angel S-36699	Yes	Orchestra		Jacques Orchestra	
48	J.S. Bach: Das Kantatenwerk. Folge 2 [BWV 5–8]	Leonhardt	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1971	LP	Telefunken 6.35028	Yes	Orchestra	King's sings BWV 7–8 (accompanied by the Leonardi Consort). BWV 5–6 are sung by the Wiener Singerknaben (accompanied by Concentus Musicus Wien).	Leonhardt Consort	Yes
49	J.S. Bach: Das Kantatenwerk. Folge 3 [BWV 9–11]	Leonhardt	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1971	LP	Telefunken 6.35029	Yes	Orchestra	King's sings BWV 9–10 (accompanied by the Leonhardt Consort). BWV 11 is sung by the Wiener Singerknaben and the Chorus Viennensis (accompanied by Concentus Musicus Wien).	Leonhardt Consort	Yes
50	J.S. Bach: Das Kantatenwerk. Folge 4 [BWV 12–14, 16]	Leonhardt	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1971	LP	Telefunken 6.35030	Yes	Orchestra	King's joins forces with the Tölzer Knabenchor (probably King's choral scholars only [no King's trebles] plus the Tölzer trebles) to sing all three cantatas on the album (accompanied by the Leonhardt Consort).	Leonhardt Consort	Yes
51	The World of Christmas	Willcocks	iem			mc		1971	LP	Argo SPA 40/22	Yes	A cappella			
52	Britten: Ceremony of Carols [op. 28]. Hymn to St. Cecilia [op. 27]. Missa brevis in D major [op. 63]	Willcocks	nem			sc	Britten	1972	LP	EMI HQS 1285	Yes	Harp, Organ			
53	Elgar: The Dream of Gerontius [op. 38]	Willcocks	nem			sc	Elgar	1972	LP	London OS 26255	Yes	Orchestra	King's plus London Symphony Chorus	London Symphony Orchestra	
54	J.S. Bach: Cantata no. 147, "Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben," Motets [BWV 147]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1972	LP	HMV HQS 1254	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
55	Palestrina: The Pope Marcellus Mass and Missa brevis	Willcocks	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Palestrina	1972	LP	EMI HQS 1237	Yes	Organ			
56	Psalms of David vol. 2	Willcocks	nem			mc		1972	LP	EMI CSD 3717	Yes	Organ			

Appendix B, section B: Discography of King's LPs and CDs (part 2 of 3)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Choral ensemble(s)	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
57	Handel: Messiah [HWV 56]	Willcocks	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1973	LP	EMI SLS 845 J	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
58	Hymns for All Seasons	Willcocks	iem			mc		1973	LP	EMI CSD 3739	Yes	Brass ensemble, Organ		Philip Jones Brass Ensemble	No
59	J.S. Bach: Das Kantatenwerk Folge 6 [BWV 21–23]	Leonhardt	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1973	LP	Telefunken 6.35032	Yes	Orchestra	King's joins forces with the Tölzer Knabenchor (probably King's choral scholars only [no King's trebles] plus the Tölzer trebles) to sing BWV 22–23 (accompanied by the Leonhardt Consort). BWV 21 is sung by the Wiener Sängerknaben and the Chorus Viennensisn (accompanied by Concentus Musicus Wien)	Leonhardt Consort	Yes
60	Tye: Euge bone Mass, Western Wynde Mass	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Tye	1973	LP	Argo ZRG 740	Yes	A cappella			
61	Anthems from King's	Willcocks	nem			mc		1974	LP	EMI CSD 3752	Yes	Organ			
62	Bernstein: Chichester Psalms. Britten: Rejoice in the Lamb [op. 30].	Ledger	nem			mc		1974	LP	Angel S-37119	Yes	Harp, Organ, Percussion			
63	Haydn: The Creation [H. XXI:2]	Willcocks	nem			sc	Haydn	1974	LP	EMI SLS 971	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
64	Music for St. Mark's	Willcocks	emo	16th c/17th c	Germany/Italy	mc		1974	LP	Seraphim S-60324	Yes	Brass ensemble, Organ	King's plus the Bach Choir	Cambridge University Musical Society, Wilbraham Brass Soloists	No
65	Blow: Coronation Anthems, Symphony Anthems	Willcocks	emo	17th c	England	sc	Blow	1975	LP	Argo ZRG 767	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
66	Choral Music of Schubert and Brahms	Ledger	nem			mc		1975	LP	EMI ASD 3091	Yes	Piano			
67	Handel: Chandos Anthems. I Will Magnify Thee [HWV 250]. In the Lord Put I My Trust [HWV 247] .	Willcocks	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1975	LP	Argo ZRG 766	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
68	Handel: The Choice of Hercules [HWV 69]	Ledger	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1975	LP	EMI ASD 3148	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
69	Monteverdi: Vespers of 1610	Ledger	emo	17th c	Italy	sc	Monteverdi	1976	LP	EMI SLS 5064	Yes	Orchestra		Early Music Consort of London	Yes
70	Psalms of David vol. 3	Ledger	nem			mc		1976	LP	EMI CSD 3768	Yes	Organ			
71	To Be Sung of a Summer Night on the Water	Ledger	nem			mc		1976	LP	HMV 07777 64569 2	Yes	A cappella			
72	C.P.E. Bach: Magnificat	Ledger	nem			sc	Bach, C.P.E.	1977	LP	Argo ZRG 853	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
73	Elgar: The Kingdom [op. 51], Coronation Ode [op. 44]	Ledger	nem			sc	Elgar	1977	LP	EMI CMS 7642092	Yes	Orchestra	King's plus Cambridge University Musical Society	Cambridge University Musical Society	
74	J.S. Bach: Christmas Oratorio [BWV 248]	Ledger	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1977	LP	EMI SLS 5098	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
75	Magnificat settings by J.S. Bach and Vivaldi [BWV 243, RV 610]	Ledger	emo	18th c	Germany/Italy	mc		1977	LP	Argo ZRG 854	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
76	Purcell: Funeral Music for Queen Mary and Five Anthems [Z. 5, 15, 17a, 27, 28, 49, 50, 58a, 58c, 680]	Ledger	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1977	LP	Angel S-37282	Yes	Brass ensemble, Orchestra, Organ		Academy of St Martin in the Fields, Philip Jones Brass Ensemble	No
77	Britten: The Little Sweep [op. 45]	Ledger	nem			sc	Britten	1978	LP	EMI ASD 3608	Yes	String quartet	King's choral scholars only plus the Finchley Children's Musical Group	Medici String Quartet	
78	Charpentier: Te Deum, Magnificat	Ledger	emo	17th c	France	sc	Charpentier	1978	LP	Angel S-37470	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
79	Music for Holy Week	Ledger	iem			mc		1978	LP	EMI ASD 3450	Yes	Organ			
80	Palestrina: Missa Hodie Christus natus est, Six Motets	Ledger	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Palestrina	1978	LP	Angel S-37514	Yes	A cappella			
81	A Festival of Lessons and Carols from King's	Ledger	iem			mc		1979	LP	EMI ASD 3778	Yes	Organ			
82	Handel: Alexander's Feast [HWV 75]	Ledger	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1979	LP	EMI SLS 5168	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
83	Choral Evensong for Ascension Day	Ledger	iem			mc		1980	LP	EMI ASD 3764	Yes	Organ			
84	Bach: Cantatas [BWV 11, 34]	Ledger	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1981	LP	EMI ASD 4055	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
85	Duruflé: Requiem and Two Motets	Ledger	nem			sc	Duruflé	1981	LP	EMI ASD 4086	Yes	Cello, Organ			
86	Handel: Ode for St Cecilia's Day [HWV 76]	Ledger	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1981	LP	ASV DCA 512	No	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
87	Handel: Saul [HWV 53]	Ledger	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1981	LP	His Master's Voice ASD 3920	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
88	Missa Ave Maria	Ledger	emo	Medieval/16th c	Italy?	mc		1981	LP	EMI ASD 3955	Yes	A cappella			
89	Procession with Carols on Advent Sunday	Ledger	iem			mc		1981	LP	EMI ASD 3907	Yes	Organ			
90	Fauré: Requiem [op. 48], Messe basse [WoO]	Ledger	nem			sc	Fauré	1982	LP	EMI ASD 4234	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	
91	Gibbons: Tudor Church Music	Ledger	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1982	LP	ASV DCA 514	No	Orchestra		London Early Music Group	Yes
92	Mass in Five Parts	Ledger	emo	16th c	England	mc		1982	LP	EMI ASD 4104	Yes	A cappella			
93	Tallis: The Lamentations of Jeremiah	Ledger	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1982	LP	EMI ASD 4285	Yes	A cappella			
94	Handel: Coronation Anthems for George II (1727) [HWV 258–61]	Ledger	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1983	LP	EMI ASD 143445	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
95	Allegri Miserere, Nanino, Marenzio, Frescobaldi, Ugolini	Cleobury	emo	17th c	Italy	mc		1984	LP	Angel DS-38086	Yes	Organ			
96	Mozart: Coronation Mass [K. 317], Missa solemnis [K. 337]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Mozart	1984	LP	Argo 411-904	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	
97	O Come All Ye Faithful	Cleobury	iem			mc		1984	LP	Argo 414-042	Yes	Organ			
98	O quam gloriosam	Cleobury	emo	16th c	England/Italy	mc		1984	LP	Argo 410-149	Yes	A cappella			
99	Rossini: Petite messe solennelle	Cleobury	nem			sc	Rossini	1985	LP	EMI 270 316 3	Yes	Harmonium, Piano			
100	Bax: Mater ora filium, I Sing of a Maiden, This Worldes Joie. Finzi: Magnificat [op. 36], God is Gone Up [op. 27], Lo, the Full, Final Sacrifice [op. 26].	Cleobury	nem			mc		1986	LP	EMI EL 27 0440 1	Yes	Organ			
101	Holy, Holy, Holy	Cleobury	iem			mc		1986	LP	Argo 414 609	Yes	Organ			
102	Vivaldi: Dixit Dominus [RV 594], Beatus vir [RV 597]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Vivaldi	1986	LP	Argo 414-495	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
103	Byrd: The Great Service	Cleobury	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1987	LP	EMI EL 27 0564 1	Yes	Organ			
104	Gabrieli: The Glory of Venice	Cleobury	emo	16th c/17th c	Italy	sc	Gabrieli, G.	1987	LP	Argo 417-468	Yes	Brass ensemble		Philip Jones Brass Ensemble	No
105	Handel: Dixit Dominus [HWV 232]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Handel	1988	CD	Decca 421 294 2	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	No
106	Missa brevis	Cleobury	nem			mc		1988	LP	EMI EL 7 49092 1	Yes	Harp, Organ			
107	Mozart: Vesperae de Dominica [K. 321], Vesperae solennes de confessore [K. 339], Ave verum corpus [K. 618]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Mozart	1989	CD	EMI CDC 7 49672 2	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	King's plus the Hilliard Ensemble	Cambridge Classical Players (on period instruments)	Yes
108	Requiem	Cleobury	nem			mc		1989	CD	EMI CDC 7 498802	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	
109	Berlioz: L'enfance du Christ [op. 25]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Berlioz	1990	CD	EMI CDC 7 49935 2	Yes	Orchestra		Royal Philharmonic Orchestra	
110	Tallis: Spem in alium, Lamentations	Cleobury	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1990	CD	Argo 425 199 2	Yes	A cappella			
111	Verdi: Four Sacred Pieces	Cleobury	nem			sc	Verdi	1990	CD	Argo 425 480 2	Yes	Orchestra	King's plus Cambridge University Musical Society	London Philharmonic Orchestra	
112	Britten: A Ceremony of Carols [op. 28], Rejoice in the Lamb [op. 30], A Boy Was Born [op. 3]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Britten	1991	CD	Argo 433 215 2	Yes	Harp, Organ, Percussion	Kings plus women from the Cambridge University Chamber Choir		
113	Carols from King's	Cleobury	iem			mc		1991	CD	Collins 13352	No	Organ			
114	Chichester Psalms	Cleobury	nem			mc		1991	CD	EMI CDC 7 54188 2	Yes	Harp, Organ, Percussion			
115	Motets by Philips and Dering	Cleobury	emo	16th c/17th c	Low countries	mc		1991	CD	EMI CDC 7 54189 2	Yes	Organ			

Appendix B, section B: Discography of King's LPs and CDs (part 3 of 3)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Choral ensemble(s)	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
116	Mozart: Masses [K. 139, 167, 257, 317, 337]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Mozart	1991	CD	Decca 421 3652	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		English Chamber Orchestra	
117	A Celebration of Herbert Howells	Cleobury	nem			sc	Howells	1992	CD	Argo 430 205 2	Yes	Organ			
118	Choral Evensong Live from King's College, Cambridge	Cleobury	nem			mc		1992	CD	EMI CDC 7 54412 2	Yes	Organ			
119	Maxwell Davies: Solstice of Light	Cleobury	nem			sc	Maxwell Davies	1992	CD	Argo 436 1192	Yes	Organ			
120	English Anthems	Cleobury	nem			mc		1993	CD	EMI CDC 7 54418 2	Yes	Organ			
121	Hear My Prayer	Cleobury	nem			mc		1993	CD	Argo 433 452 2	Yes	Organ			
122	Bach: St. Matthew Passion [BWV 244]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1994	CD	Vanguard 99070	Yes	Orchestra	King's plus the Choir of Jesus College, Cambridge	Brandenburg Consort	Yes
123	Carols from King's	Cleobury	iem			mc		1994	CD	Brilliant 9186	No	Organ			
124	Handel: Messiah [HWV 56]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1994	CD	Argo 440 672 2	Yes	Orchestra		Brandenburg Consort	Yes
125	Ikos	Cleobury	iem			mc		1994	CD	EMI CDC 5 55096 2	Yes	Organ			
126	Gregorian Chant: The Ceremony of the Shepherds and Midnight Mass	Berry, Mary	emo	Medieval	?	mc		1995	CD	Herald HAVPCD180	No	A cappella	King's choristers only plus the Schola Gregoriana of Cambridge		
127	Handel: Israel in Egypt [HWV 54]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1995	CD	Decca 452 295 2	Yes	Orchestra		Brandenburg Consort	Yes
128	Evensong and Vespers at King's	Cleobury	iem			mc		1996	CD	Columns 0144	No	Organ			
129	J.S. Bach: Johannes Passion [BWV 245]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1996	CD	Columns 290241	No	Orchestra		Brandenburg Consort	Yes
130	Lassus: Missa Vinum bonum	Cleobury	emo	16th c	Italy/Spain	mc		1996	CD	London 444 335-2	Yes	A cappella			
131	Credo	Cleobury	iem			mc		1997	CD	EMI 56439	Yes	Organ			
132	Stanford: Evening Service in C [op. 115]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Stanford	1997	CD	EMI CDC 5 55535 2	Yes	Organ			
133	Strauss: Choral Works	Cleobury	nem			sc	Strauss, R.	1997	CD	Collins 14952	No	A cappella	King's choristers only plus BBC Singers		
134	Ades: Living Toys	Cleobury	nem			sc	Ades	1998	CD	EMI 7243 5 57271 24	Yes	Organ			
135	Back to Tallis	Hornet, J.	nem			sc	Hornet, J.	1998	CD	Sony SK60691	Yes	Orchestra	Choristers only	London Symphony Orchestra	
136	Christmas with the Choral Scholars of King's College, Cambridge	Oliver, J.	iem			mc		1998	CD	Quilisma QUIL401	No	A cappella	Collegium Regale (choral scholars only)		
137	Rutter: Requiem	Cleobury	nem			sc	Rutter	1998	CD	EMI CDC 5 56605 2	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		City of London Sinfonia, Wallace Collection	
138	The King's Collection	Cleobury	iem			mc		1998	CD	Decca 460 021 2	Yes	Orchestra, Organ			
139	Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols	Cleobury	iem			mc		1999	CD	EMI 7243 5 73693 29	Yes	Organ			
140	Rachmaninoff: Vespers [op. 37]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Rachmaninoff	1999	CD	EMI 7243 5 56752 2	Yes	A cappella			
141	J.S. Bach: Magnificat [BWV 243]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	2000	CD	EMI 7243 5 56994 2	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
142	Best Loved Hymns	Cleobury	nem			mc		2001	CD	EMI 57026	Yes	Harp, Organ			
143	Handel: Coronation Anthems [HWV 258–61]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	2001	CD	EMI 57140	Yes	Orchestra, Trumpet		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
144	Carry Me Home: Folksongs from Around the World	?	?	?	?	mc		2002	CD	Quilisma QUIL403	No	A cappella	Collegium Regale (choral scholars only)		
145	Vivaldi: Gloria [RV 589]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Vivaldi	2002	CD	EMI 7243 5 57265 2	Yes	Orchestra, Organ		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
146	D. Scarlatti: Te Deum	Cleobury	emo	18th c	Spain?	sc	Scarlatti, D.	2003	CD	EMI 5099923573529	Yes	Cello, Organ			
147	Heavenly Voices	Cleobury	nem			mc		2004	CD	EMI 57812	Yes	Organ, Violin	King's choristers only		
148	Rachmaninoff: Liturgy of St John Chrysostom [op. 31]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Rachmaninoff	2004	CD	EMI 55767 7-2	Yes	A cappella			
149	Gregorian Chant	Cleobury	emo	Medieval	?	mc		2005	CD	EMI 57983	Yes	A cappella			
150	On Christmas Day: New Carols from Kings	Cleobury	nem			mc		2005	CD	EMI 58070	Yes	Flute, Organ			
151	Purcell: Music for Queen Mary [Z. 27, 46, 58C, 323, 331, 860]	Cleobury	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	2005	CD	EMI 0094634443821	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
152	Rutter: Gloria	Cleobury	nem			sc	Rutter	2005	CD	EMI 0724355795229	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	King's plus the Choir Gonville and Caius College	City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra	
153	Brahms: Ein deutsches Requiem	Cleobury	nem			sc	Brahms	2006	CD	EMI 0946 3 66948 2 5	Yes	Pianos (2)			
154	Lassus: Lamentationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ, Requiem	Cleobury	emo	16th c	Germany	sc	Lassus	2006	CD	Signum SIGCD076	Yes	A cappella	Collegium Regale (choral scholars only)		
155	I Heard a Voice: Music of a Golden Age	Cleobury	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		2007	CD	EMI 0094639443024	Yes	Viol consort		Fretwork	Yes
156	Wert: Vox in Rama	Cleobury	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Wert	2008	CD	Signum SIGCD131	Yes	A cappella	Collegium Regale (choral scholars only)		
157	A Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols	Cleobury	iem			mc		2009	CD	EMI 5099968608224	Yes	Organ			
158	Handel: Messiah [HWV 56]	Cleobury	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	2009	CD	EMI 2681562	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
159	A Year at King's	Cleobury	iem			mc		2010	CD	EMI 6 69004 2	Yes	Organ			
160	Nine Lessons and Carols	Cleobury	iem			mc		2012	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0001	No	Organ			
161	Britten: Saint Nicolas [op. 42]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Britten	2013	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0003	No	Orchestra	King's plus Swaston Village College Choir and the Cambridge University Musical Society Chorus	Britten Sinfonia	
162	Mozart: Requiem Realizations [K. 626]	Cleobury	nem			mc		2013	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0002	No	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	
163	After Hours	Bowen, R. and R. Stephen	nem			mc		2014	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0006	No	A cappella	King's choral scholars only		
164	English Hymn Anthems	Cleobury	nem			mc		2014	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0004	No	Organ, Trumpet			
165	Fauré: Requiem [Op. 48], Cantique de Jean Racine [op. 11], Messe Basse [No. 6]	Cleobury	nem			sc	Fauré	2014	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0005	No	Orchestra, Organ		Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment	
166	Favourite Carols from King's	Cleobury	iem			mc		2014	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0007	No	Organ			
167	1615: Gabrieli in Venice	Cleobury	emo	16th c/17th c	Italy	sc	Gabrieli, G.	2015	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0012	No	Cornetti (3), Dulcians (2), Organs (2), Sackbutts (3), Violas (2)		His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts	
168	Evensong Live 2015	Cleobury	iem			mc		2015	CD	King's College Cambridge KGS0011	No	Organ			

Appendix C: Discography of the Choir of New College, Oxford, LPs and CDs (part 1 of 2)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Choral ensemble(s)	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
1	A Christmas Recital	Lumsden	iem					1962	LP [mono]	Alpha ADV 001	No	Organ			
2	Benjamin Britten: A Ceremony of Carols [op. 28], Missa Brevis in D [op. 63], Prelude and Fugue on a theme of Vittoria [WoO]	Lumsden	nem			sc	Britten	1966	LP	Saga XID 5274	No	Harp, Organ			
3	Benjamin Britten/Henry Purcell: Church Music	Lumsden	iem			mc		1966	LP	Saga XID 5285	No	"Instrumental ensemble" [instruments unspecified]		[name of instrumental ensemble not specified]	
4	Carols from New College	Lumsden	iem			mc		1967	LP	Abbey E7627	No	Organ			
5	Choral Music to Mark the 25th Anniversary of Oxfam	Lumsden	iem			mc		1967	LP	Abbey E7616	No	A cappella			
6	Tomás Luis de Victoria: Mass and Motet O quam gloriosum	Lumsden	emo	16th c/17th c	England/Spain	mc		1967	LP	Abbey ABY 629	No	A cappella			
7	To us a Child…'	Lumsden	emo	16th c/17th c	Various countries	mc		1969	LP	Abbey ABY 652	No	Organ, Viol consort		English Consort of Viols, the	Yes
8	Choral Music by S.S. Wesley	Lumsden	nem			sc	Wesley, S.S.	1971	LP	ORYX 712	No	Organ			
9	Kenneth Leighton: Crucifixus pro nobis, God's Grandeur, An Easter Sequence, Paean	Lumsden	nem			sc	Leighton, K.	1971	LP	Abbey ABY 702	No	Organ, Trumpet			
10	Evensong at New College Oxford	Lumsden	nem			mc		1972	LP	Abbey LPB 725	No	Organ			
11	In Quires and Places…' [no. 7]	Lumsden	nem			mc		1972	LP	Abbey LPB 716	No	Organ			
12	Chrismas Music From New College Oxford	Lumsden	iem			mc		1973	LP	Abbey LPB 745	No	Cello, Flute, Harpsichord, Oboe, Organ, Percussion, Viola, Viola da gamba, violin		London Virtuosi, the	No
13	William Byrd: Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from the Great Service, Psalms and Anthems	Lumsden	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1976	LP	Abbey LPB 751	No	Organ			
14	Benjamin Britten: Church Music	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Britten	1977	LP	Abbey LPB 753	No	Organ			
15	John Taverner: The Western Wind Mass and Mater Christi. Thomas Tallis: Votive Antiphons, Motets and Responds.	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	England	mc		1979	LP	CRD 1072	No	A cappella			
16	Christopher Tye (ca. 1500–1573): The Western Wind Mass, My trust, O Lord, in Thee is grounded, Christ rising again from the dead, Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, Peccavimus cum patribus	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tye	1982	CD [analogue]	CRD 3405	No	A cappella			
17	Desmarest: Deux grands motets Lorrains, Mystères de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ [New College sings Deux grands motets only]	Higginbottom	emo	17th c/18th c	France	sc	Desmarest	1983	CD [analogue]	Erato 4509-98529-2	Yes	Basso continuo, orchestra		Fiori Musicali	Yes
18	William Byrd: Cantiones Sacres (1589)	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1984	CD	CRD 3420	No	A cappella			
19	Thomas Tallis: Gaude Gloriosa, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Motets from the Cantiones Sacrae (1575)	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1984	CD	CRD 3429	No	A cappella			
20	Carols from New College	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1985	CD [analogue]	CRD 3443	No	Organ			
21	Josquin Desprez: Motets, Antiphons and Sequences	Higginbottom	emo	15th c/16th c	France/Italy	sc	Josquin	1985	CD [analogue?]	Meridian CDE 84356	No	A cappella			
22	Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1591)	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1986	CD	CRD 3439	No	A cappella			
23	Handel: Athalia [HWV 52]	Hogwood, C.	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1986	CD	L'Oiseau-Lyre 417 126	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
24	Vincent Lübeck, 1654 (1656)–1740: Sämtliche Kantaten	Albert, T.	emo	17th c/18th c	Germany	sc	Lübeck	1986	CD	Motette CD 50181	No	Orchestra		Fiori Musicali	Yes
25	"O Sing Unto the Lord": Sacred music/ Musique sacrée/ Sakralmusik	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1986	CD	Proudsound PROU CD 114 02	No	Cello, Brass, Organ, Percussion, Viola, Violins		[name of instrumental ensemble not given]	
26	Ralph Vaughan Williams: Mass in G Minor, with Choral works by Leighton, Howells, Rose, Harris and Harvey	Higginbottom	nem			mc		1987	CD	Meridian CDE 84123	No	Organ			
27	Choral Evensong at New College Oxford	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1988	CD	Proudsound PROU CD 121	No	Organ			
28	Orlando Gibbons: Second Service and Anthems	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1988	CD	CRD 3451	No	Organ			
29	Mondonville: De Profundis, Venite exultemus	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	France	sc	Mondonville	1988	CD	Helios CDH55038	Yes	Harpsichord, Orchestra		London Baroque	Yes
30	Henry Purcell: Sacred Music	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1988	CD	Meridian CDE 84112	No	Organ			
31	The Georgian Anthem	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	England	mc		1988	CD	Meridian CDE 84151	No	Organ			
32	For unto us a Child is born	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1989	CD	CRD 3462	No	Organ			
33	Handel: Music for the Royal Fireworks [HWV 351], Four Coronation Anthems [HWV 258–61]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1989	CD	Hyperion CDA66350	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
34	Herbert Howells: Choral and Organ Music	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Howells	1989	CD	CRD 3454	No	Organ			
35	Handel: Music for Royal Occasions	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1989	CD	Hyperion CDA66315	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
36	Plague and the Moonflower	Harvey, R.	nem			sc	Harvey, R.	1989	CD	Altus ALU0001	No	Orchestra	New College, Oxford plus the English Chamber Choir and the New London Children's Choir		
37	Henry Purcell: Hail! bright Cecilia (1692) [Z. 328], Who can from joy refrain? (1695) [Z. 342]	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1989	CD	Hyperion CDA66349	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
38	Benjamin Britten: Rejoice in the Lamb [op. 30]. George Frideric Handel: As pants the hart [HWV 251].	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1989	CD	Proudsound PROU CD 125	No	Orchestra, Organ		Fiori Musicali	Yes
39	de Lalande: De Profundis, Confitebor tibi Domine, Miserere	Higginbottom	emo	17th c/18th c	France	sc	de Lalande	1990	CD	Erato 2292-45014-2	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
40	Haydn: The Creation/ Die Schöpfung [H. XXI:2]	Hogwood, C.	nem			sc	Haydn	1990	CD	L'Oiseau-Lyre 430397	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
41	Matthew Locke: Anthems, Motets and Ceremonial Music	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	England	sc	Locke, M.	1990	CD	Helios CDH55250	Yes	Orchestra		Parley of Instruments, the	Yes
42	Maurice Greene: Select Anthems	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	England	sc	Greene, M.	1991	CD	CRD 3484	No	Organ			
43	Handel: Joshua [HWV 64]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1991	CD	Hyperion CDA66461/2	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
44	Herbert Howells: Choral Music [vol. 2]	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Howells	1991	CD	CRD 3455	No	Organ			
45	Claude le Jeune: Missa ad placitum, Benedicite, Magnificat, and organ music by Jehan Titelouze and Charles Racquet	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	France	mc		1991	CD	Hyperion CDA66387	Yes	Organ			
46	Samuel Sebastian Wesley: Anthems	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Wesley, S.S.	1991	CD	CRD 3463	No	Organ			
47	Motets en espace	Higginbottom and M. Gervais	emo	16th c/17th c	Various countries	mc		1991	CD	K617 7010	No	Organ			
48	Handel: Judas Maccabaeus [HWV 63]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1992	CD	Hyperion CDA66641/2	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
49	K. 321 Vesperae solennes de Dominca, K. 195 Litaniae Lauretanae B.M.V.	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Mozart	1992	CD	K617 7028	No	Orchestra		Hanover Band	Yes
50	Purcell: Come ye sons of Art [Z. 323], Welcome, viceregent of the mighty king [Z. 340], Why are all the Muses mute? [Z. 343]	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1992	CD	Hyperion CDA66598	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
51	Purcell: The Complete Anthems and Services (vol. 1)	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1992	CD	Hyperion CDA66585	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
52	Purcell: The Complete Anthems and Services (vol. 2)	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1992	CD	Hyperion CDA66609	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
53	William Boyce: Select Anthems	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	England	sc	Boyce	1992	CD	CRD 3483	No	Organ			
54	Handel: Deborah [HWV 51]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1993	CD	Hyperion CDA66841/2	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
55	Purcell: The Complete Anthems and Services (vol. 4)	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1993	CD	Hyperion CDA66644	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
56	Purcell: The Complete Anthems and Services (vol. 5)	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1993	CD	Hyperion CDA66656	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
57	Purcell: The Complete Anthems and Services (vol. 6)	King	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1993	CD	Hyperion CDA66663	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
58	A Ceremony of Carols [op. 28]	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Britten	1994	CD	CRD 3490	No	Harp			
59	William Croft: Select Anthems	Higginbottom	emo	17th c/18th c	England	sc	Croft	1994	CD	CRD 3491	No	Organ			
60	Thomas Tomkins: The Third Service, Anthems and Voluntaries	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Tomkins	1994	CD	CRD 3467	No	Organ			
61	Handel: The Occasional Oratorio [HWV 62]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1995	CD	Hyperion CDA66961/2	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
62	Les manuscrits de Malte/The Malta Manuscripts	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	Italy	mc		1995	CD	Studio SM 44	No	Orchestra		London Bach Consort, the	Yes
63	Agnus Dei: Music to Soothe the Soul	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1996	CD	Erato 0630-14634-2	Yes	Orchestra		Capricorn Ensemble	
64	William Byrd: Lamentations, Four Part Mass. Thomas Tallis: Lamentations I & II, Audivi vocem de caelo	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1996	CD	CRD 3499	No	A cappella			
65	William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae (1575)	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	England	sc	Byrd	1996	CD	CRD 3492	No	Organ			
66	Handel: Joseph and his Brethren [HWV 59]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1996	CD	Hyperion CDA67171/3	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes

Appendix C: Discography of the Choir of New College, Oxford, LPs and CDs (part 2 of 2)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Choral ensemble(s)	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
67	Bach: Magnificat [BWV 243] & Christmas Oratorio [BWV 248]	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	1996	CD	BBC Music Magazine (vol. 5, no. 3)	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
68	Stanford: Anthems & Motets	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Stanford	1996	CD	CRD 3497	No	Organ			
69	Fauré: Requiem [op. 48]. Duruflé: Requiem [op. 9].	Higginbottom	nem			mc		1997	CD	CRD 3466	No	Orchestra, Organ		Capricorn Ensemble	
70	Early One Morning: Music from past times, for our time	Higginbottom	nem			mc		1997	CD	Erato 0630-19065-2	Yes	?			
71	Handel: Alexander Balus [HWV 65]	King	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	1997	CD	Hyperion CDA67241/2	Yes	Orchestra		King's Consort, the	Yes
72	Orlande de Lassus: Mass 'Tous les regretz' & Motets	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	Germany	sc	Lassus	1997	CD	CRD 3517	No	A cappella			
73	Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis	Higginbottom	nem			mc		1997	CD	Priory PRCD 596	No	Organ			
74	Nativitas: A celebration of peace at Christmas	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1997	CD	Erato 0630-19350-2	Yes	Organ			
75	Agnus Dei II: Music to Soothe the Soul	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1998	CD	Erato 3984-21659-2	Yes	Orchestra		Capricord Ensemble	
76	William Boyce: The Secular Masque, 4 Ode Overtures	Lea-Cox, G.	emo	18th c	England	sc	Boyce	1998	CD	Gaudeamus CD GAU 176	No	Orchestra		Hanover Band, the	Yes
77	Christmas at New College	Higginbottom	iem			mc		1998	CD	CRD 3508	No	Organ			
78	Philippe de Monte: Mass 'Si ambulavero' & Motets	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	Austria/Italy	sc	de Monte	1998	CD	CRD 3520	No	A cappella			
79	Eustache du Caurroy: Requiem Mass & Motets	Higginbottom	emo	16th c/17th c	France	sc	du Caurroy	1998	CD	CRD 3518	No	A cappella			
80	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Stabat Mater, Canticles & Motets	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Palestrina	1998	CD	CRD 3519	No	A cappella			
81	John Cameron: Missa Celtica	Cameron, John	nem			sc	Cameron, J.	1999	CD	Erato 3984-25492-2 WE 810	Yes	Orchestra		English Chamber Orchestra	
82	Bluebird: Voices from Heaven	Higginbottom	nem			mc		2000	CD	Decca 466 870-2	Yes	Organ?			
83	William Boyce: Ode for St Cecilia's Day	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	England	sc	Boyce	2000	CD	Gaudeamus CD GAU 200	No	Orchestra		Hanover Band, the	Yes
84	Henry Purcell: Verse Anthems	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	2000	CD	CRD 3504	No	Orchestra		Band of Instruments, the	Yes
85	Sancte Deus: A journey through the renaissance	Higginbottom	emo	15th c/16th c/17th c	Various countries	mc		2000	CD	Erato 8573-80239-2	Yes	A cappella			
86	William Boyce: Pindar's Ode, New Year Ode 1774	Lea-Cox, G.	emo	18th c	England	sc	Boyce	2001	CD	Gaudeamus CD GAU 232	No	Orchestra		Hanover Band, the	Yes
87	John Tavener: Total Eclipse, Agraphon	Goodwin, P.	nem			sc	Tavener	2001	CD	harmonia mundi hm 90	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
88	Coronation Anthems: Blow, Boyce, Clarke, Croft, Handel, Purcell	Higginbottom	emo	17th c/18th c	England	mc		2002	CD	Decca 476 7230	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
89	In Excelsis	Higginbottom	iem			mc		2002	CD	Erato 09274 46572	Yes	Organ?			
90	Pergolesi: Marian Verspers	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Pergolesi	2002	CD	Erato 09274 66842	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
91	Carols for Christmas Morning	Higginbottom	iem			mc		2003	CD	The Gift of Music CCL CDG1075	No	Organ			
92	J.S. Bach: St John Passion [BWV 245]	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	2003	CD	Naxos 8.557296-97	Yes	Orchestra		Collegium Novum	Yes
93	The Georgian Anthem [vol. 2]	Higginbottom	nem			mc		2004	CD	CRD 3510	No	Organ			
94	Copland and his American Contemporaries	Higginbottom	nem			mc		2006	CD	Avie AV2086	No	Organ?			
95	Handel: Messiah [HWV 51 (1751 version)]	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	England	sc	Handel	2006	CD	Naxos 8.570131	Yes	Orchestra		Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
96	MacMillan and his British Contemporaries	Higginbottom	nem			mc		2006	CD	Avie AV2085	No	Organ?			
97	Pergolesi: Stabat Mater. D. Scarlatti: Stabat Mater.	Higginbottom and H. Christophers	emo	18th c	Italy	mc		2006	CD	BBC MM265	Yes	Orchestra	New College, Oxford boy trebles only. Scarlatti work sung by BBC Singers, Pergolesi sung by NC trebles.	Academy of Ancient Music	Yes
98	Poulenc and his French Contemporaries	Higginbottom	nem			mc		2006	CD	Avie AV2084	No	Organ			
99	Evensong at New College Oxford	Higginbottom	iem			mc		2008	CD	Novum 09465 21788	No	Organ			
100	Haydn: The Creation [H. XXI:2]	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Haydn	2008	CD	Oxford Philomusica Records 050693 213428		Orchestra		Oxford Philomusica	Yes
101	Nicholas Ludford: Missa Benedicta & antiennes votives	Higginbottom	emo	16th c	England	mc		2008	CD	K617 206	No	A cappella			
102	The Art of the Chorister	Higginbottom	iem			mc		2008	CD	Novum 09465 21787	No	Orchestra		Collegium Novum	Yes
103	The Victorian and Edwardian Anthem	Higginbottom	nem			mc		2008	CD	CRD 3513	No	Organ			
104	J.S. Bach: Motets	Higginbottom	emo	18th c	Germany	sc	Bach, J.S.	2009	CD	Novum 09465 21786	No	Organ			
105	Monteverdi: Vespro della Beata Vergine 1610	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	Italy	sc	Monteverdi	2010	CD	Novum 10074 28600	No	Orchestra		Charivari Agréable	Yes
106	Couperin: Exultent superi	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	France	sc	Couperin, F. ["le grand"]	2011	CD	Novum NCR 1384	No	Orchestra		Collegium Novum	Yes
107	W.A. Mozart: Requiem [K. 626]	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Mozart	2011	CD	Novum NCR 1383	No	Orchestra		Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment	Yes
108	Haydn: Nelson Mass [H. XXII:11]	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Haydn	2012	CD	Novum NCR 1385	No	Orchestra		New Century Baroque	Yes
109	Illumina: Music of Light	Higginbottom	iem			mc		2012	CD	Decca 2758053	Yes	?			
110	Britten: The Sacred Choral Music	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Britten	2013	CD	Novum NCR 1386	No	Organ			
111	Mozart: Music for Salzburg Cathedral	Higginbottom	nem			sc	Mozart	2013	CD	Novum NCR 1388	No	Orchestra		Collegium Novum	Yes
112	Charpentier: Musique sacrée	Higginbottom	emo	17th c	France	sc	Charpentier	2013	CD	Novum NCR 1387	No	Orchestra		Oxford Baroque	Yes

Appendix D: Discography of the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, LPs and CDs (part 1 of 2)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
1	Hear My Prayer	Guest	iem			mc		1959	LP	Argo ZRG5152	Yes	Organ		
2	Music by Tallis and Weelkes	Guest	emo	16th c	England	mc		1961	LP	Argo ZRG5327	Yes	Organ		
3	The Crucifixion	Guest	nem			sc	Stainer	1962	LP	Argo ZRG5320	Yes	Organ		
4	Twentieth Century Cathedral Music	Guest	nem			mc		1962	LP	Argo ZRG5340	Yes	Organ		
5	The Golden Age of English Church Music	Guest	emo	16th c/17th c	England	mc		1963	LP	Disques Lumen AMS37	No	Organ		
6	English Cathedral Music	Guest	nem			mc		1963	LP	Argo ZRG5406	Yes	Organ		
7	Music for the Chapel Royal	Guest	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1964	LP	Argo ZRG5444	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
8	Hymns for All Seasons	Guest	iem			mc		1964	LP	Argo ZRG5405	Yes	Organ		
9	Haydn: Theresa Mass [H. XXII:12]	Guest	nem			sc	Haydn	1965	LP	Argo ZRG5500	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
10	Music by Benjamin Britten	Guest	nem			sc	Britten	1965	LP	Argo ZRG5440	Yes	Organ, Harp		
11	Music by Monteverdi	Guest	emo	17th c	Italy	sc	Monteverdi	1966	LP	Argo ZRG5494	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	No
12	Evensong for Ascensiontide	Guest	iem			mc		1966	LP	Argo ZRG5511	Yes	Brass ensemble, Organ	London Brass Players	No
13	Haydn: Harmoniemesse [H. XXII:14]	Guest	nem			sc	Haydn	1967	LP	Argo ZRG5515	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
14	A Meditation on Christ's Nativity	Guest	?			mc		1968	LP	Argo ZRG5550	Yes	Organ		
15	Victoria: Requiem Mass	Guest	emo	16th c	Spain	sc	Victoria	1968	LP	Argo ZRG5570	Yes	A cappella		
16	Palestrina: Veni sponsa Christi	Guest	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Palestrina	1968	LP	Argo ZRG5578	Yes	A cappella		
17	Haydn: Heiligmesse [H. XXII:10]	Guest	nem			sc	Haydn	1968	LP	Argo ZRG5542	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
18	Victoria: O Quam Gloriosum	Guest	emo	16th c	Spain	sc	Victoria	1969	LP	Argo ZRG620	Yes	A cappella		
19	Italian and English Church Music	Guest	iem			mc		1969	LP	Argo ZRG621	Yes	Organ		
20	Haydn: Creation Mass [H. XXII: 13]	Guest	nem			sc	Haydn	1969	LP	Argo ZRG598	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
21	Haydn: Paukenmesse [H. XXII:9]	Guest	nem			sc	Haydn	1970	LP	Argo ZRG662	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
22	O Sacrum Convivium: Modern French Church Music	Guest	nem			mc		1970	LP	Argo ZRG634	Yes	Organ		
23	Palestrina: Assumpta est Maria	Guest	emo	16th c	Italy	sc	Palestrina	1972	LP	Argo ZRG690	Yes	A cappella		
24	Purcell: Ceremonial Music	Guest	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1973	LP	Argo ZRG724	Yes	Orchestra, Organ, Viol	English Chamber Orchestra	No
25	In Quires and Places	Guest	iem			mc		1973	LP	Abbey LPB 730	No	Organ		
26	Beethoven: Mass in C [op. 86]	Guest	nem			sc	Beethoven	1974	LP	Argo ZRG739	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
27	Music by Liszt and Bruckner	Guest	nem			mc		1974	LP	Argo ZRG760	Yes	Organ		
28	Schubert: Mass in E Flat [D. 950]	Guest	nem			sc	Schubert	1975	LP	Argo ZRG825	Yes	Orchestra	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
29	Durufle: Requiem [op. 9]	Guest	nem			sc	Durufle	1975	LP	Argo ZRG787	Yes	Cello, Organ		
30	Purcell: Verse Anthems	Guest	emo	17th c	England	sc	Purcell	1976	LP	Argo ZRG831	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	A String Orchestra (leader: Raymond Keenlyside)	No
31	Fauré: Messe de Requiem [op. 48]	Guest	nem			sc	Fauré	1976	LP	Argo ZRG841	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
32	The King Shall Rejoice and Other Chapel Royal Anthems	Guest	emo	17th c	England	mc		1977	LP	Argo ZRG855	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Philomusica of London	No
33	Schubert: Mass in A Flat [D. 678]	Guest	nem			sc	Schubert	1977	LP	Argo ZRG869	Yes	Orchestra	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
34	Psalms of Consolation and Hope	Guest	?			mc?		1978	LP	Argo ZRG892	Yes	Organ		
35	Music by Bononcini, Caldara and Lotti	Guest	emo	18th c	Italy	mc		1978	LP	Argo ZRG850	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Philomusica of London	No
36	Haydn: Marienzellermesse; [H. XXII:8]	Guest	nem			sc	Haydn	1978	LP	Argo ZRG867	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Academy of St Martin in the Fields	
37	Music by Poulenc and Peeters	Guest	nem			mc		1978	LP	Argo ZRG883	Yes	Organ		
38	A. Scarlatti: Saint Cecilia Mass	Guest	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Scarlatti, A.	1979	LP	Argo ZRG903	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Wren Orchestra	No
39	Pergolesi: Stabat Mater	Guest	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Pergolesi	1980	LP	Argo ZRG913	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Argo Chamber Orchestra	No
40	Mozart: Spaur Mass [K. 258]	Guest	nem			sc	Mozart	1980	LP	Argo ZRG924	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Wren Orchestra	
41	Mozart: Vesperae de Dominica [K. 321]	Guest	nem			sc	Mozart	1980	LP	Argo ZRG933	Yes	Orchestra, Organ	Wren Orchestra	
42	Vivaldi: Glorias	Guest	emo	18th c	Italy	sc	Vivaldi	1982	LP	Argo ZRDL1006	Yes	Orchestra	Wren Orchestra	No
43	Masses by Tallis and Sheppard	Guest	emo	16th c	England	mc		1982	LP	ASV DCA311	No	Organ		
44	Music by Desprez and Titelouze	Guest	emo	16th c/17th c	Low countries	mc		1983	LP	Meridian E4577052	No	Organ		
45	Music by Allegri	Guest	emo	17th c	Italy	sc	Allegri	1983	LP	Meridian E4577058	No	Organ		
46	Palestrina and his Successors	Guest	emo	16th c	Italy	mc		1984	LP	Meridian E4577069	No	Organ		
47	Music by Orlando Gibbons	Guest	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1985	LP	Meridian E4577094	No	Organ		
48	Domenico Massenzio: The Office of Compline	Guest	emo	17th c	Italy	sc	Massenzio	1985	CD	Meridian KE77121	No	Organ		
49	Masses by Byrd	Guest	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1987	CD	EMI EMX2104	Yes	A cappella		
50	Carols from St John's	Guest	iem			mc		1987	CD	Chandos CHAN 8485	No	Organ		
51	Welsh Music	Guest	iem			mc		1988	CD	Sain SAIN1467D	No	Organ		
52	Mozart: Requiem [K. 626]	Guest	nem			sc	Mozart	1988	CD	Chandos CHAN 8574	No	Orchestra, Organ		
53	Masses by Tavener and Tallis	Guest	emo	16th c	England	mc		1989	CD	EMI EMX2155	Yes	A cappella		
54	Music by Charpentier and Poulenc	Guest	iem			mc		1989	CD	Chandos CHAN8658	No	Orchestra, Organ	City of London Sinfonia	No
55	Music by Allegri, Lassus, and Palestrina	Guest	emo	16th c/17th c	Germany/Italy	mc		1991	CD	EMI EMX2180	Yes	A cappella		
56	The Sound of St John's	Guest	nem			mc		1992	CD	Nimbus NI5335	Yes	Organ		
57	Tallis: Choral and Organ Works	Robinson	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1993	CD	Chandos CHAN0588	No	Organ		
58	Advent Carols from St John's	Robinson	?			mc		1994	CD	Nimbus NI5414	Yes	Organ		
59	Music by Gibbons	Robinson	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Gibbons	1994	CD	Chandos CHAN0559	No	Organ		
60	O God, Thou art my God	Robinson	iem			mc		1995	CD	Lindenburg LBCD47	No	Organ, Trumpet		
61	Set Me as a Seal upon Thine Heart	Robinson	nem			mc		1996	CD	Lindenburg LBCD55	No	Organ		
62	Ave Verum	Robinson	iem			mc		1997	CD	Regis RRC1010	No	Organ		
63	Mendelssohn: Church Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Mendelssohn	1998	CD	Nimbus NI5529	Yes	Organ		
64	Durufle: Complete Choral Works	Robinson	nem			sc	Durufle	1999	CD	Nimbus NI5599	Yes	Cello, Organ		
65	Howells: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Howells	1999	CD	Naxos 8.554659	Yes	Organ		
66	Fear and Rejoice	Robinson	nem			mc		1999	CD	Nimbus NI5589	Yes	Organ		
67	Britten: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Britten	2000	CD	Naxos 8.554791	Yes	Organ		
68	Tavener: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Tavener	2001	CD	Naxos 8.555256	Yes	Cello, Organ		
69	Rubbra: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Rubbra	2001	CD	Naxos 8.555255	Yes	Organ		
70	An Evening Hymn	Robinson	iem			mc		2002	CD	Naxos 8.557129	Yes	Organ		
71	Finzi: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Finzi	2002	CD	Naxos 8.555792	Yes	Organ		
72	Walton: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Walton	2002	CD	Naxos 8.555793	Yes	Organ		
73	Stanford: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Stanford	2002	CD	Naxos 8.555794	Yes	Organ		
74	Leighton: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Leighton, K.	2002	CD	Naxos 8.555795	Yes	Organ, Trumpet		
75	Berkeley: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Berkeley, L.	2003	CD	Naxos 8.557277	Yes	Organ		

Appendix D: Discography of the Choir of St John's College, Cambridge, LPs and CDs (part 2 of 2)

Number	Album title	Conductor(s)	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?	Instrumentation	Instrumental ensemble(s)	Includes period instrument ensemble(s)?
76	Elgar: English Choral Music	Robinson	nem			sc	Elgar	2003	CD	Naxos 8.557288	Yes	Organ		
77	Meditation	Hill	iem			mc		2004	CD	SJCR SJCR103-2	No	Organ		
78	Mendelssohn: Sacred Choral Music	Hill	nem			sc	Mendelssohn	2005	CD	Hyperion CDA67558	No	Organ		
79	Christmas at St John's	Hill	iem			mc		2006	CD	Hyperion CDA67576	No	Organ		
80	Jongen and Peeters: Choral Music	Hill	nem			mc		2006	CD	Hyperion CDA67603	No	Brass ensemble, Organ, Violin		
81	Bairstow: Choral Music	Hill	nem			sc	Bairstow	2008	CD	Hyperion CDA67497	No	Orchestra, Organ		
82	Hear My Words: Choral Classics from St John's	Nethsingha	iem			mc		2010	CD	Chandos CHSA 5085	No	Cello, French horn, Organ		
83	St John's Magnificat: Choral Works by Herbert Howells	Nethsingha	nem			sc	Howells	2010	CD	Chandos CHAN10587	No	Cello, Organ, Violin		
84	Laudent Deum: Sacred Music by Orlande de Lassus	Nethsingha	emo	17th c	Germany	sc	Lassus	2011	CD	Chandos CHAN0778	No	Brass ensemble, Organ	His Magestys Sagbutts and Cornetts	Yes
85	On Christmas Night	Nethsingha	iem			mc		2011	CD	Chandos CHSA 5096	No	Organ		
86	My Beloved Spake	Nethsingha	emo	17th c	England	mc		2012	CD	Chandos CHAN0790	No	Orchestra, Organ	St John's Sinfonia	No
87	Mozart: Coronation Mass [K. 317]	Nethsingha	nem			sc	Mozart	2012	CD	Chandos CHAN0786	No	Orchestra	St John's Sinfonia	
88	Bernstein: Chichester Psalms	Nethsingha	nem			mc		2012	CD	SJCR SJCR105-2	No	Harp, Organ, Percussion		
89	Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria	Nethsingha	emo	16th c	England	sc	Sheppard	2013	CD	Chandos CHSA 0401	No	A cappella		
90	Ascribe unto the Lord	Nethsingha	nem			sc	Wesley, S.S.	2013	CD	Chandos CHAN10751	No	Organ		
91	When David Heard	Nethsingha	emo	17th c	England	sc	Tomkins	2014	CD	Chandos CHAN200804	No	Organ		
92	The Call: More Choral Classics from St John's	Nethsingha	nem			mc		2015	CD	Chandos CHAN10872	No	Harp, Organ		
93	O Sacrum Convivium!: French Sacred Choral Works	Nethsingha	nem			mc		2015	CD	Chandos CHAN10842	No	Organ		

Appendix E: Discography of the Tallis Scholars, LPs and CDs (all are *a cappella* and conducted by Peter Phillips) (part 1 of 2)

Number	Album title	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?
1	English Sacred Music of the Sixteenth Century	emo	16th c	England	mc		1977	LP	UACL 10005	No
2	Works of Thomas Tallis, vol. 1	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1979	LP	UACL 10006	No
3	Allegri: Miserere. Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli. Mundy: Vox Patris caelestis.	emo	16th c/17thc	England/Italy	mc		1980	CD	CDGIM 339	No
4	Palestrina Masses: Missa Benedicta es	emo	16th c	France/Italy	mc		1981	CD	CDGIM 001	No
5	English Madrigals	emo	16th c/17thc	England	mc		1982	LP	CFP 4391	Yes
6	Russian Orthodox Music: Medieval Polyphony, Tsar Ivan the Terrible, Rachmaninov, Stravinsky, John Tavener	iem			mc		1982	CD	CDGIM 002	No
7	Werken van Thomas Tallis	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1982	LP	KRO klassiek Eurosound 313-33	No
8	Palestrina Masses: Missa Nigra sum	emo	Medieval/16th c	Several countries	mc		1983	CD	CDGIM 003	No
9	John Tavener: Ikon of Light	nem			sc	Tavener	1984	CD	CDGIM 005	No
10	John Taverner: Missa Gloria tibi trinitas	emo	Medieval/16th c	England	mc		1984	CD	CDGIM 004	No
11	William Byrd: The Three Masses	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1984	CD	CDGIM 345	No
12	Thomas Tallis: Spem in alium	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1985	CD	CDGIM 006	No
13	Christmas Carols and Motets	emo	Several periods	Several countries	mc		1986	CD	CDGIM 010	No
14	Josquin: Missa Pange lingua, Missa La sol fa re mi	emo	Several periods	France/Italy	mc		1986	CD	CDGIM 009	No
15	Palestrina Masses: Missa Brevis	emo	16th c	Italy	mc		1986	CD	CDGIM 008	No
16	Thomas Tallis: The Complete English Anthems	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1986	CD	CDGIM 007	No
17	Carlo Gesualdo: Tenebrae Responsories for Holy Saturday	emo	16th c/17th c	Italy	sc	Gesualdo	1987	CD	CDGIM 015	No
18	Clemens non Papa: Missa Pastores quidnam vidistis	emo	16th c	Belgium	sc	Clemens non papa	1987	CD	CDGIM 013	No
19	Victoria: Requiem. Alonso Lobo: Versa est in luctum.	emo	16th c/17th c	Spain	mc		1987	CD	CDGIM 012	No
20	William Byrd: The Great Service	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	1987	CD	CDGIM 011	No
21	Sarum Chant: Missa in gallicantu	emo	Medieval	England	mc		1988	CD	CDGIM 017	No
22	William Cornysh: Stabat Mater	emo	15th c/16th c	England	sc	Cornysh, W.	1988	CD	CDGIM 014	No
23	John Sheppard: Media vita	emo	16th c	England	sc	Sheppard	1989	CD	CDGIM 016	No
24	Josquin: L'homme armé masses	emo	Several periods	France/Italy	mc		1989	CD	CDGIM 019	No
25	Orlandus Lassus: Missa Osculetur me	emo	16th c	Germany	sc	Lassus	1989	CD	CDGIM 018	No
26	Palestrina Masses: Assumpta est maria and Sicut lilium	emo	Medieval/16th c	Italy	mc		1989	CD	CDGIM 020	No
27	Manuel Cardoso: Requiem	emo	16th c/17th c	Portugal	sc	Cardoso	1990	CD	CDGIM 021	No
28	Victoria: Tenebrae Responsories	emo	16th c	Spain	sc	Victoria	1990	CD	CDGIM 022	No
29	Heinrich Isaac: Missa de apostolis	emo	15th c/16th c	Italy	sc	Isaac	1991	CD	CDGIM 023	No
30	Thomas Tomkins: The Great Service	emo	17th c	England	sc	Tomkins	1991	CD	CDGIM 024	No
31	Antoine Brumel: Missa Et ecce terrae motus	emo	15th c/16th c	France	sc	Brumel	1992	CD	CDGIM 026	No
32	Duarte Lôbo: Requiem	emo	16th c/17th c	Portugal	sc	Lôbo, D.	1992	CD	CDGIM 028	No
33	Thomas Tallis: Lamentations of Jeremiah	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1992	CD	CDGIM 025	No
34	Taverner, Tye, Sheppard: Western Wind Masses	emo	16th c	England	mc		1993	CD	CDGIM 027	No
35	Cipriano de Rore: Missa Praeter rerum seriem	emo	15th c/16th c	Italy	mc		1994	CD	CDGIM 029	No
36	Live in Rome	emo	16th c/17th c	Italy	mc		1994	CD	CDGIM 994	No
37	Robert White: Tudor Church Music	emo	16th c	England	sc	White, R.	1995	CD	CDGIM 030	No
38	Jacob Obrecht: Missa Maria zart	emo	15th c/16th c	Italy	sc	Obrecht	1996	CD	CDGIM 032	No
39	Alonso Lobo: Missa Maria Magdalene	emo	16th c/17th c	Spain	mc		1997	CD	CDGIM 031	No
40	Johannes Ockeghem: Au travail suis, De plus en plus	emo	15th c	France	mc		1997	CD	CDGIM 035	No
41	Lamenta	emo	16th c	Several countries	mc		1998	CD	CDGIM 996	No
42	Live in Oxford	emo	15th c/16th c	Several countries	mc		1998	CD	CDGIM 998	No
43	The Tallis Christmas Mass	emo	16th c	England	sc	Tallis	1998	CD	CDGIM 034	No
44	Cristóbal de Morales: Missa Si bona suscepimus	emo	16th c	Several countries	mc		2000	CD	CDGIM 033	No
45	Nicolas Gombert: Magnificats 1–4	emo	Medieval/16th c	Netherlands/Spain?	mc		2001	CD	CDGIM 037	No
46	Nicolas Gombert: Magnificats 5–8	emo	Medieval/16th c	Netherlands/Spain?	mc		2002	CD	CDGIM 038	No
47	Francisco Guerrero: Missa Surge propera	emo	16th c	Spain	sc	Guerrero	2005	CD	CDGIM 040	No

Appendix E: Discography of the Tallis Scholars, LPs and CDs (all are *a cappella* and conducted by Peter Phillips) (part 2 of 2)

Number	Album title	EM type	EM period(s)	EM locale(s)	Album composer type	Composer name	Year	Recording format	Record label and label number	Major label?
48	John Browne: Music from the Eton Choirbook	emo	15th c/16th c	England	sc	Browne, J.	2005	CD	CDGIM 036	No
49	Playing Elizabeth's Tune: The Tallis Scholars Sing William Byrd	emo	16th c/17th c	England	sc	Byrd	2006	CD	CDGIM 992	No
50	Allegri: Miserere. Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli.	emo	16th c/17th c	Italy	mc		2007	CD	CDGIM 041	No
51	Josquin: Missa sine nomine, Missa Ad fugam	emo	15th c/16th c	France/Italy	sc	Josquin	2008	CD	CDGIM 039	No
52	Josquin Masses: Malheur me bat, Fortuna desperata	emo	15th c/16th c	France/Italy	sc	Josquin	2009	CD	CDGIM 042	No
53	Victoria: Lamentations of Jeremiah	emo	16th c/17th c	Mexico/Spain	mc		2010	CD	CDGIM 043	No
54	Josquin Masses: De beata virgine, Ave maris stella	emo	Several periods	France/Italy	mc		2011	CD	CDGIM 044	No
55	Jean Mouton: Missa Dictes moy toutes voz pensées	emo	15th c/16th c	France	mc		2012	CD	CDGIM 047	No
56	John Taverner: Missa Gloria tibi Trinitas	emo	16th c	England	sc	Taverner	2013	CD	CDGIM 045	No
57	Arvo Pärt: Tintinnabuli	nem			sc	Pärt	2015	CD	CDGIM 049	No
58	John Taverner: Missa Corona spinea	emo	16th c	England	sc	Taverner	2015	CD	CDGIM 046	No

Works cited

Listings of all the works cited in this dissertation, organized into the following categories:

A: Textual sources (books, articles, theses, presentations, and websites [excluding ones devoted to audiovisual recordings and images]) (pp. 219–34)

B: Audiovisual sources (recordings, videos, performances, radio and television broadcasts, images, and webcasts)[19] (pp. 235–40)

C: Scores (p. 241)

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[19]This category also includes concert programs. All long-playing records (LPs) play at thirty-three and one-third revolutions per minute, have stereophonic sound, and were recorded with analogue recording technology, unless otherwise noted. All cassettes are analogue, unless otherwise noted. All seventy-eight revolution-per-minute records (78s) have monophonic sound and were recorded with analogue recording technology.

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