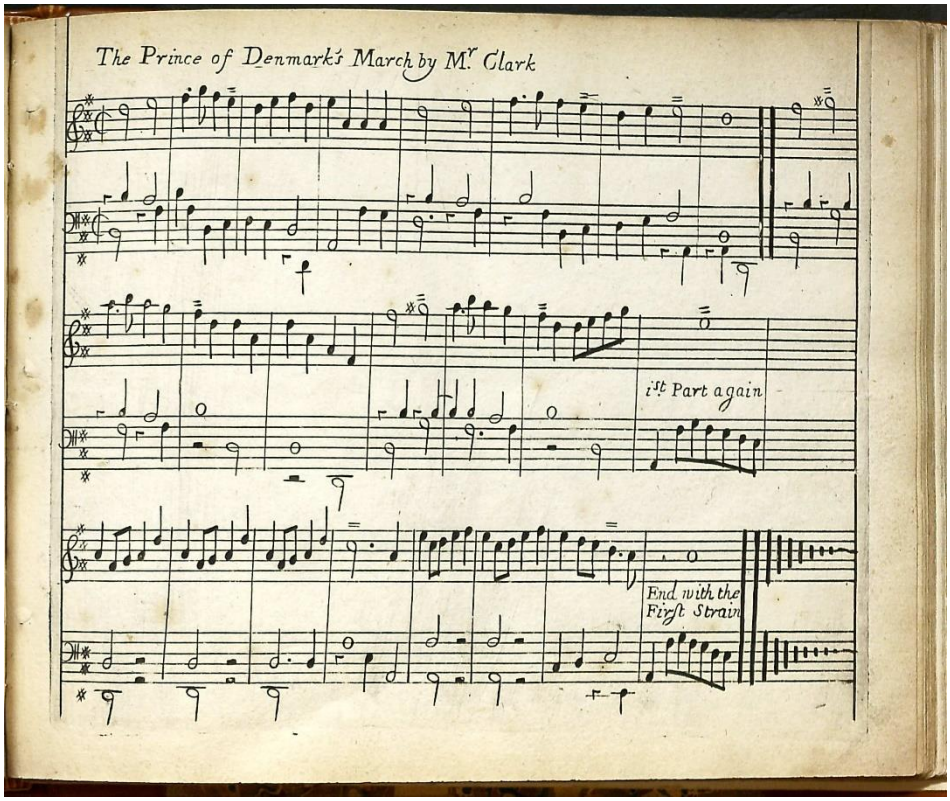
EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER



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COVER:
'The Prince of Denmark's March by Mr. Clark' in *The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master Containing a Choice Collection of LESSONS for the HARPSICORD or SPINETT* (London: John Walsh, 1700) (n.p.), from the unique copy in GB-Lcm (shelfmark G11/3). Reproduced with permission of the Royal College of Music, London.

Editorial

The early history of the orchestra is a topic that I'm sure interests many readers. The go-to work on this subject is John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw's *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford, 2004), which charts how orchestras developed into the institutions they became in the early nineteenth century, drawing on a wide variety of documents and pictorial evidence to place the phenomenon in its wider musical and social contexts. However, though issues directly relevant to performance are covered, these are not its primary concern, and there remains to this day significant work to be done concerning the practices of large ensembles in the long eighteenth century. Prime sources of information are original performing parts, and to some extent, scores that were used by keyboard players. They can provide information on such matters as the makeup of continuo groups, the extent of part-sharing in instrumental groups, and on the participation of ripieno groups (instrumental or vocal). The convincing thesis that the chorus parts of J. S. Bach's concerted sacred works for St Thomas's, Leipzig, were originally performed by single singers to a part, depends on evidence provided by the surviving parts.[1]

The situation is not so sanguine for concerted vocal music with obbligato instruments from Restoration England; very little survives of the performing material. However, as Peter Holman demonstrates in the present issue of *EMP*, Jeremiah Clarke, one of the most talented composers of the generation following Henry Purcell's, is an ideal case study to approach the performance issues it raises. The fascinating works for large ensembles that Clarke wrote in his early 20s seem to deploy the full range of resources and performing practices in English concerted vocal music with obbligato instruments of the 1690s. Drawing attention to evidence from the only surviving set of parts for this repertoire that reflects seventeenth-century practice, Holman is able to resolve many puzzles of Clarke's writing in these pieces as well as some that affect the repertoire more widely.

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[1] Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Inexperience or Boldness? The Orchestral Writing of Jeremiah Clarke's Early Concerted Works*

Peter Holman

Jeremiah Clarke (*c.*1674–1707) is known to most musicians today for just two things. He was the person who actually wrote 'Purcell's Trumpet Voluntary' (he entitled it 'The Prince of Denmark's March'),[1] and he met a violent end: he shot himself on 1 December 1707 in 'a hopeless passion for a very beautiful lady in a station of life far above him', as Sir John Hawkins put it.[2] He was only in his early thirties.

Jeremiah Clarke was one of Henry Purcell's most talented and prominent followers. Like some other members of this group, including Henry's brother or cousin Daniel Purcell (*c.*1664–1718),[3] Francis Pigott (1665/6–1704) and William Croft (1678–1727), he was an organist who received his training as a choirboy in the Chapel Royal; the first unambiguous record we have of him is in a list of the Chapel boys who sang in the Coronation of James II in Westminster Abbey on 23 April 1685.[4] As often happened with the Chapel's most talented boys, Clarke was found a post as a provincial organist soon after his voice broke and he had to leave the choir: he was appointed organist of Winchester College in 1692, aged 17 or 18.

Clarke remained in Winchester until the winter of 1695–6, when he returned to London, apparently to help Daniel Purcell with the provision of music for Christopher Rich's company at the Drury Lane Theatre in the wake of Henry's death in November 1695. He continued to write music for Drury Lane, but soon acquired a post at St Paul's Cathedral as John Blow's assistant, and at some point shortly before 1699 he succeeded Blow as its organist. In 1700 he was appointed gentleman-extraordinary of the Chapel Royal alongside William Croft, sharing a joint reversion of an organist's place, which they received on Francis Pigott's death in 1704. A third role developed for Clarke as the composer of odes (or 'songs', as he called them) for special occasions – the subject of this article.

As repeatedly happened when eighteenth-century composers were revived in the twentieth century, Jeremiah Clarke was known initially for his least important works: the modern revival started with editions of his simple and tuneful keyboard pieces, including 'The Prince of Denmark's March'.[5] However, he would doubtless have wanted to be remembered for his large-scale concerted works for soloists, chorus and orchestra, nine of which survive; information about them is in the Table below, where they are numbered 1–9.[6] Unfortunately, to date only one of them has received a published critical edition: Walter Bergmann's vocal score of no. 2, the *Song on the Death of the Famous Mr Henry Purcell* T200 (the *Purcell Song* for short), appeared in 1961, followed in 2013 by Alan Howard's collected critical edition of the surviving pieces commemorating Purcell's death.[7] However, nos. 1, 5, 7, 9 and the Appendix have been the subject of post-graduate editorial projects at Manchester and Leeds.[8] The *Purcell Song* is also the only one to have been recorded, by Hyperion in 1991,[9] and by Alpha in 2017.[10]

In the booklet notes for the Hyperion recording of the *Purcell Song* I wrote that Clarke 'sometimes betrays his lack of experience by, for instance, giving the trumpets unplayable notes',

* A preliminary version of this article was given as a paper at the Thirty-Sixth Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain, hosted virtually by the Foundling Museum in London on 27 November 2020. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, Christopher Gammon, Martin Holmes, Peter Horton, Alan Howard, James Hume, Robert Rawson, Crispian Steele-Perkins, Christopher Roberts, Michael Talbot, Margaret Urquhart, Bryan White and Andrew Woolley for reading drafts, for providing me with source material or for help of various sorts. The symbol <@> means that the item concerned was available at the time of writing on an open-access website.

an opinion echoed by Bryan White in 2007 when he wrote that 'his trumpet writing betrays both the boldness and inexperience of youth'.[11] In 1991 I was unaware of the even more remarkable writing in no. 1, the *Song on the Assumption* T202, with its much bolder trumpet parts full of non-harmonic tones and its string writing in up to eleven parts, unique in Restoration England. We now know much more about Restoration concerted music and the orchestral practice at the time, enabling us to place Clarke's orchestral writing in its context and to explain most if not all of its puzzling features. So the time is ripe for a new look at these fascinating works.

In this article I will be concerned mainly with Clarke's first two large-scale works, the *Assumption Song* and the *Purcell Song*. His later concerted works, though full of interesting music, are more conventional in their orchestral writing, probably because by the time he wrote them he had become familiar with the mainstream practice at court and in the London theatres, and was prepared to conform to it. There is also much to be written about Clarke's vocal writing and the light it throws on his solo singers and the composition of his choirs, but that will have to wait for another occasion.

Jeremiah Clarke: Concerted Works for Soloists, Chorus and Orchestra

In addition to the abbreviations used in *Oxford Music Online*, gbv = great bass viol
T = T.F. Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit, 1977)

1: *Song on the Assumption*, 'Hark, she's called, the parting hour is come' (Richard Crashaw), T202

Sources	GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1226, ff. 102–124v (autograph); GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1175, pp. 166–91 (Thomas Barrow, copied from Tenbury 1226)
Scoring	Tr, Tr, Ct, T, B solo, SCtTB tutti, 2 rec, [2 ob], 4 vn, 4 vla, 3 b (2 gbv), bc
Performance	?15 August 1695 (Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary), Great Hall, Longleat House

2: *Song on the Death of the Famous Mr Henry Purcell*, 'Come along for a dance and a song' (Anonymous), T200

Sources	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 30934, ff. 3–34v (London A); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31812, ff. 3–31 (R.J.S. Stevens, 1828, copied from a lost early source)
Scoring	Tr (Jemmy Bowen), S (Laetitia Cross), Ct (John Freeman), B (Richard Leveridge), SCtTB tutti, 2 tpt, timp, 2 rec, 2 ob, [?tenor ob], 2 vn, vla, b (gbv), bc (hpscd)
Performance	?January 1696, Drury Lane Theatre (staged performance)
Edition	*Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. A. Howard, Purcell Society Companion Series, 5 (London, 2013), pp. 25–77.

3: [*Song*] *on his Majesty's Happy Deliverance*, 'Now Albion, raise thy drooping head' (Anonymous), T205

Source	GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1232, ff. 48–61v (London A)
Scoring	S, Ct, B solo, SCtTB tutti, 2 tpt, 2 rec, 2 ob, 2 vn (solo/tutti), va, b, bc
Performance	?16 April 1696, ?Drury Lane Theatre (Thanksgiving Day for the exposure of the Jacobite Assassination Plot)

4: *The World in the Moon* (Elkanah Settle): Prologue, 'Welcome Beauty, all the charms' T301A; Entertainment after Act I, 'Within this happy world above', T301B

Source	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31813, ff. 99–121 (R.J.S. Stevens)
Scoring	S (Laetitia Cross), Ct (John Freeman), T, B (Richard Leveridge) solo, SCtTB tutti, tpt, 2 rec, [2 ob], 2 vn, va, b, bc
Performances	From late June 1697, Dorset Garden Theatre

5: [*Song*] *upon the Peace of Ryswick*, 'Tell the world, great Caesar's come' (Anonymous), T208

Source	GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1232, ff. 22–31v (London A)
Scoring	Ct, T, B solo, SCtTB tutti, 2 tpt, timp, 2 ob, 2 vn, (solo/tutti), va, b (gbv), bc

Performances ?November 1697, Drury Lane Theatre. The work advertised in the *Post Boy*, 9–11, 11–14 December as 'a New Pastoral on the Peace, Compos'd by Mr. Jeremiah Clarke', to be performed at York Buildings on 16 December, was probably a different lost work.

6: *The Four Seasons, or Love in Every Age* (*A Musical Interlude*), 'Mourn, drooping seat of pleasures', *The Island Princess, or The Generous Portuguese* (Peter Anthony Motteux), Act V, T300B

Source GB-Lbl, Add. MS 15318, ff. 49–64v (London A)

Scoring Tr, S (Mary Anne Campion), S (Mary Lindsey), Ct (John Freeman), T (John Pate), B (Richard Leveridge, B (Mr Crossfield), SCtTB tutti, tpt, timp, [2 ob], 2 vn (solo/tutti), va, b (gbv), bc

Performances *The Island Princess* was first produced at the Drury Lane Theatre, probably in early February 1699, though D'Urfey stated in the wordbook that *The Four Seasons* 'was design'd for another Season, and another Occasion', and it may have originally been an independent masque.

Editions: *The Inland Princess, British Library Add. MS5318: A Semi-Opera*, facsimile with an introduction by C.A. Price and R.D. Hume, Music for London Entertainment 1660–1800, series C, vol. 2 (Tunbridge Wells, 1985); Jeremiah Clarke, *The Four Seasons, or Love in Every Age from The Island Princess*, ed. Clifford Bartlett (Wyton, 1990)

7: [*Song*] *on Queen Anne's Birthday*, 'Let Nature smile' (Anonymous), T203

Source GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31812, ff. 32–42 (R.J.S. Stevens, 1828, copied from an incomplete early source)

Scoring S, Ct, T, B solo, SCtTB tutti, tpt, timp, 2 rec, 2 ob, 2 vn (solo/tutti), va, b, bc

Performance ?Windsor Castle, 6 February 1701. Despite being headed 'Part of an Ode on Queen Ann's Birthday' in Add. MS 31812, it is argued in J. Winn, *Queen Anne, Patroness of Arts* (Oxford and New York, 2014), 258–61, 693 (fn. 28), that the work's text shows that it was written before she came to the throne.

8: *Song for the Gentleman of the Island of Barbados*, 'Blest genius of our island' (Anonymous), T204

Sources GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1106, ff. 1–28 (London A); GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1232, ff. 32–47 (London, A); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31452, ff. 82v–100, incomplete (London A)

Scoring S, S, Ct, T, B solo, SCtTB tutti, 2 tpt, timp, 2 rec, 2 ob, 2 vn, va, b (gbv), bc

Performance late January or early February 1703, Stationers' Hall; see B. White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day from Purcell to Handel* (Woodbridge, 2019), 48-9.

9: *Song for New Year's Day 1706*, 'O Harmony, where's now thy pow'r?' (Nahum Tate), T206

Sources GB-Ob, Mus. c.6, ff. 2–22; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31813, ff. 84–98v (R.J.S. Stevens, ?1828, scored up from lost 'single parts')

Scoring Ct (Richard Elford), Ct (John Freeman), T (John Church), T (John Mason), B (Daniel Williams) solo, SCtTB tutti, 2 rec, [2 ob], 2 vn, va (solo/tutti), b, bc

Performance 1 January 1706, St James's Palace. It was repeated on 6 March 1706 at Mr Holt's Dancing Room in Bartholomew Lane; see the *Daily Courant*, 4 March 1706.

Appendix:

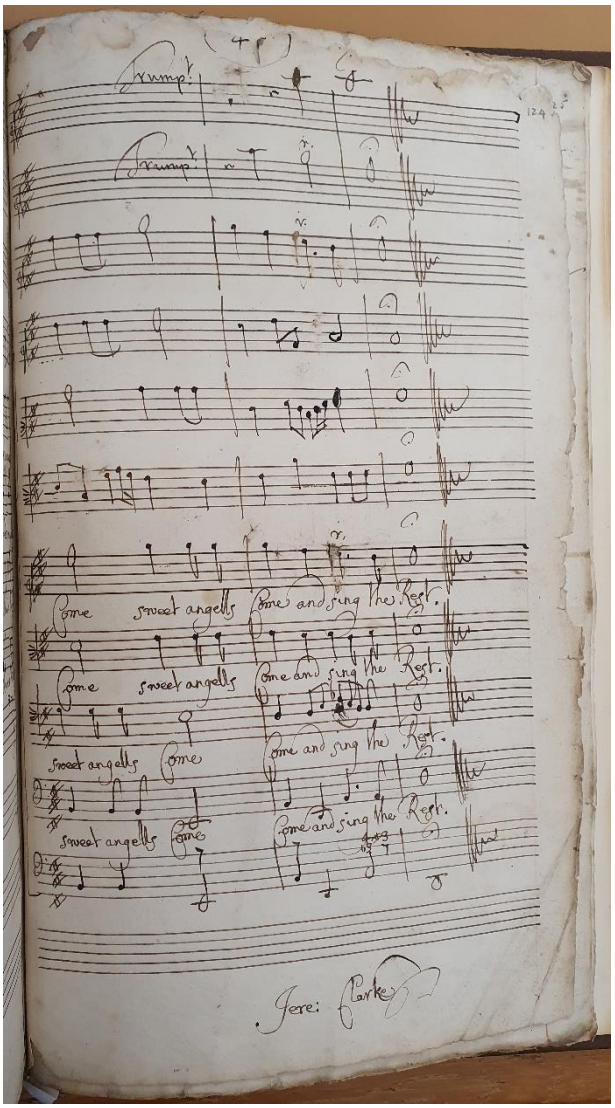
[*Song*] *upon the Peace Concluded at Ryswick*, 'Pay your thanks to mighty Jove', T207

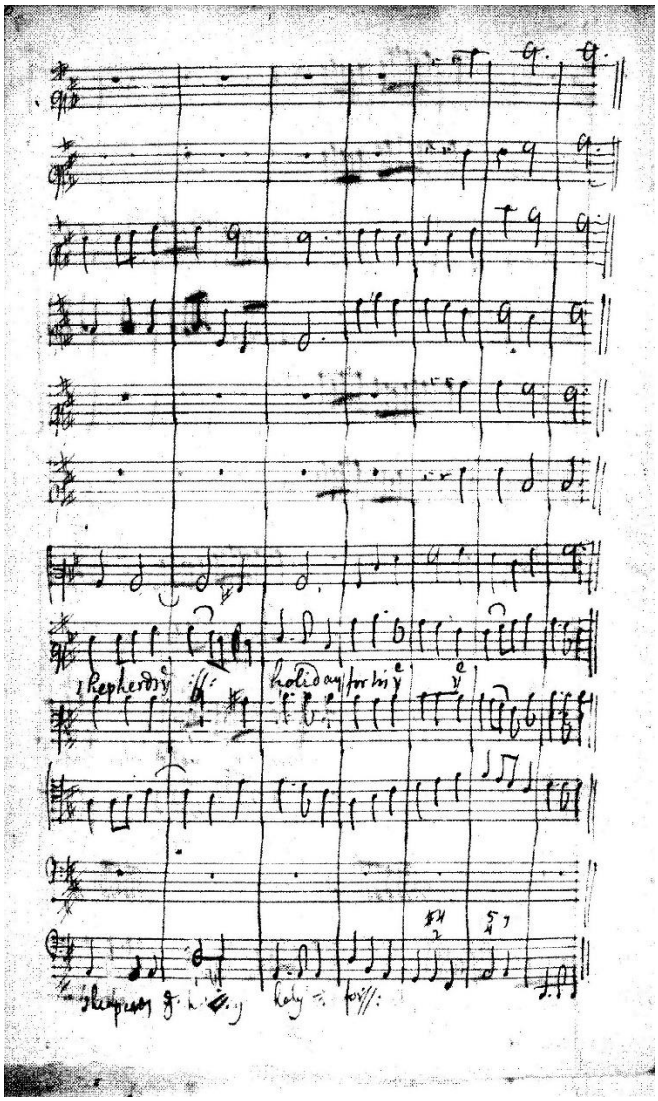
Source GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1232, ff. 18–21v (London A)

Scoring S, Ct, B solo, SCtTB tutti, 2 vn (solo/tutti), va, b, bc

Performance Despite William Croft's annotation on London A's score, that this was 'a song upon y^{e}. Peace', its words actually come from Act IV, Scene 2 of Thomas D'Urfey's dramatic opera *Cinthia and Endimion*, produced at the Drury Lane Theatre in December 1696. Clarke collaborated with Daniel Purcell and Richard Leveridge to provide the music for *Cinthia and Endimion*, but his only known contribution, the song 'Kneel, O kneel thou stubborn creature', comes from Act II,

while Purcell set the first song in the Act IV scene, 'The poor Endimion loved too well', and probably composed the music for the whole scene; Croft did not identify the composer in Tenbury 1232.





Illus. 1 (left). The last page of Jeremiah Clarke's autograph score of the *Song on the Assumption*, GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1226, f. 124. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Illus. 2 (right). The end of the chorus 'Come, come along for a dance and a song' from Jeremiah Clarke's *Song on the Death of the Famous Mr Henry Purcell* in the hand of London A, GB-Lbl, Add MS 30934, f. 12v.

Sources: 'fowle originall' and fair-copy scores

Jeremiah Clarke's concerted works survive today only in score. The primary source of the *Assumption Song*, GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1226, ff. 102–124[v], seems to be the only surviving example of his music hand. Its status as an autograph is suggested by a number of corrections apparently made in the final stages of composition. For instance, in one place, at the beginning of the duet 'Hail, holy queen of humble hearts' (f. 115v), he originally planned to repeat the first four bars, then changed his mind, crossed out the passage and began again further down the page. On the last page (f. 124) he made some changes to the part-writing in the final cadence and signed it at the bottom of the page 'Jere: Clarke' – a form said to be similar to his signatures in acquittance books at St Paul's Cathedral (Illus. 1).[12] Despite these corrections, Clarke

seems to have conceived his score as a fair copy, from which vocal and instrumental parts could have been copied and from which performances might have been directed – a point to which I will return. It also seems to have been the score that the singer and teacher Thomas Barrow (?1722–89) had in front of him when he made own score of the work, now GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1175, pp. 166–91.[13]

Most of the rest of the surviving scores of Clarke's concerted works were copied by a single unidentified individual, known to Purcell scholars as London A.[14] No fewer than 17 manuscripts have been identified to date as being in his hand, and Robert Shay and Robert Thompson suggested that he might have been Francis Pigott, who became the first organist of the Temple Church in 1688 and also succeeded Henry Purcell as a Chapel Royal organist in 1695.[15] However, Andrew Woolley has pointed out to me that this identification is brought into question by the fact that one of the manuscripts in London A's distinctive bold hand, the keyboard anthology US-Wc, M21/M185/Case,[16] includes on p. 121 a 'Minuet' apparently copied from p. 5 of *Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinett* by the London organist Abiell Wichello or Whichello (1683–1747), published in May 1707;[17] Pigott had died on 15 May 1704.

Nevertheless, London A, whoever he was, clearly had close connections with Henry Purcell, Daniel Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke and the theatre company at Drury Lane. Scores in his hand include an early manuscript of Henry Purcell's music for *Timon of Athens* (1695);[18] the primary source of the text and the music by Henry and Daniel Purcell for *The Indian Queen* (1695–6);[19] the primary source, also with the text, of the dramatic opera *The Island Princess* (1699) with music by Clarke, Daniel Purcell and Richard Leveridge;[20] and GB-Lcm, MS 1172, a collection of four-part consort music mostly taken from plays put on at Drury Lane in the 1690s, including a number of pieces by Clarke.[21]

Of London A's copies of Clarke's concerted works, the one that has attracted the most attention from scholars is the primary source of the *Purcell Song*, now GB-Lbl, Add. MS 30934, ff. 3–34v; it is the first item in a volume once owned by William Croft that also includes odes by Henry and Daniel Purcell.[22] It was thought to be in Clarke's hand until scholars became aware of the Tenbury score of the *Assumption Song*, and it certainly has some of the characteristics of the type of score Rebecca Herissone has classified as a 'fowle originall' autograph.[23] It is hastily written, with doubling orchestral parts omitted in chorus sections and some corrections to the part-writing made during and after copying, as in the last page of the chorus 'Come, come along for a dance and a song' (Illus. 2).

However, these characteristics can be explained by the circumstances of the work's original performance. Most of what we know about what must have been a remarkable event comes from an annotation William Croft added to a flyleaf in his volume, Add. MS 30934, f. 2v:

> The Following piece of musick was compos'd / By Mr. Jeremiah Clarke (When organist of / Winchester Colledge) upon ye. Death of ye. Famous / Mr: Henry Purcell, and perform'd upon ye. stage in Druery lane play house[.]

We do not know when this performance took place, though there would have been some urgency to get it and the other musical tributes to Henry Purcell performed while his unexpected death on 21 November 1695 was still fresh in the public mind. Gottfried Finger's 'Ode *for the Consort at* York-Buildings, *upon the Death of Mr.* Purcell', a lost choral and orchestral setting of verses by James Talbot,[24] was advertised for performance on Monday 13 January 1696,[25] and it is likely that Clarke's *Purcell Song* was performed around the same time (it sets verses of similar length and presumably required a similar time to compose, prepare and rehearse), though almost nothing is known about the activities of the Drury Lane company early in 1696.[26]

According to Croft, Jeremiah Clarke wrote the *Purcell Song* while he was still in Winchester. We can suppose that Clarke composed the work in December 1695 having received its text from its anonymous author (who was perhaps someone at Winchester Cathedral or College), and then, having worked out his notice as organist of the College until the end of the year (his replacement, John Bishop, is first recorded in the autumn of 1696),[27] hurried up to London bringing with him his 'fowle originall' composing score, now lost. On arrival he must have asked London A (as a house composer for the Drury Lane company), to make the fair copy, now Add. MS 30934. This hastily written score – as with the autograph of the *Assumption Song* –

doubtless served for the production of parts, and was probably used by the composer to direct the performance from the keyboard.

Sources: sets of parts

This brings us to the limitations of scores – fair copy as well as 'fowle originall' – for conveying the composer's exact intentions in concerted works. They rarely convey the finer details of the orchestration: exactly how wind instruments were deployed; which string passages were played solo and which tutti; how the vocal parts in choruses were doubled; which instruments played the bass line; and how they were deployed. These details would have been incorporated directly into the performing parts, particularly when – as presumably happened with the *Assumption Song* and the *Purcell Song* – Clarke was on hand to give the copyist verbal instructions. They doubtless would have been refined further during rehearsals, as happens today when such works are performed by period-instrument groups.

It is unfortunate that we have virtually no sets of performing parts for concerted works by the mainstream of London's court and theatre composers in the Restoration period. For details of their orchestral practice we have to rely mainly on peripheral sources, such as the performing material for Oxford academic odes preserved in the Bodleian Library and the library of Christ Church, Oxford.[28] It is tantalising that the composer and organist R.J.S. Stevens (1757–1837), evidently something of a Clarke enthusiast, noted that he used a set of 'Single Parts' when copying his score, now GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31813, ff. 84–98v, of no. 9, 'O Harmony, where's now thy power?' T206, the 1706 *New Year Song*.[29] We must be grateful to him for doing so, for he preserved details not in the primary source, the score now GB-Ob, Mus.c.6, ff. 2–22. Stevens's annotations include the names of the solo singers (see the Table), and the information that one of the first violins – presumably the leader – was 'Mr Banister', the eminent court and theatre musician John Banister junior (1662–1736).[30]

However, it is unfortunate that Stevens (or a subsequent owner) did not preserve this set of parts, though not to do so was common in the early nineteenth century. It was routine at that time for librarians and (one suspects) private owners of concerted works by late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English composers to discard the sets of performing parts while retaining the scores. For instance, of nearly 70 sets of performing material for court odes and other concerted works by Maurice Greene listed in the catalogue of William Boyce's library as sold in 1779, only two sets and one stray part can be traced today.[31] It is fortunate that the original performing parts for Boyce's own concerted works were not included in the 1779 sale and eventually found their way to the Bodleian Library.[32] The Bodleian evidently had a policy of not discarding any of its holdings, perhaps because of its status as a legal deposit library, and effectively as England's national library before the founding of the British Museum in 1753.[33] Other libraries had more cavalier attitudes even later. For instance, sets of parts from the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music (1776–1848) were discarded by the Royal College of Music (founded 1883) early in its history on the basis that 'they were of no practical use' and 'they weighed around one ton'.[34]

Librarians and collectors were not solely to blame: the fire that destroyed most of Whitehall in 1698, including the Chapel Royal, also seems to have consumed any collections of performing material of court music that had accumulated during the seventeenth century. Also, the four most important London theatres were destroyed by fire in turn around 1800 – the King's Theatre in the Haymarket (1789), the Pantheon (1792), Covent Garden (1808) and Drury Lane (1809) – apparently taking their music libraries with them. Thus we have no central library of performing material in Britain equivalent to, for instance, those surviving from the Swedish court, now in Uppsala University Library,[35] or from the Saxon court, now in the Saxon State and University Library (SLUB) in Dresden.[36]

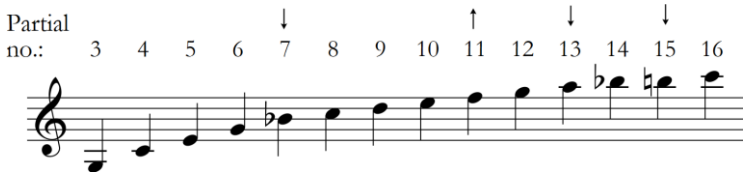
To cut a long story short, there is only one complete set of performing material for a large-scale concerted work by Purcell or his followers that seems to derive from the continuous performance tradition of the Restoration period – as opposed to sets of parts copied in the late eighteenth century that embody the practice of a later period.[37] This set, now GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1309, consists of 19 parts for Purcell's 'Hail, bright Cecilia' Z328 (the 1692 St Cecilia ode), the minimum required for a performance of the work as scored by the

composer; it seems to have been copied for use by a Cecilian music society in Canterbury in the 1720s.[38] It has been said to be in the hand of Daniel Henstridge (*c.*1650–1736), organist of Canterbury Cathedral from 1698 and an important collector of Purcell's music. However, Andrew Woolley informs me that the set is actually in the hand of Henstridge's pupil William Raylton (1688–1757), who became master of the choristers at Canterbury in 1718 and acted thereafter as Henstridge's deputy as organist, succeeding him formally at his death.[39] Unless duplicate parts have been lost, the Canterbury parts for 'Hail, bright Cecilia' were copied for a much smaller group than Purcell had in 1692, but they do preserve some important features that seem to go back to the composer, as we shall see.

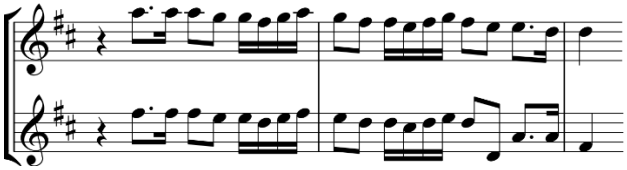
Clarke's trumpet parts and non-harmonic tones

A striking feature of the trumpet parts of the *Assumption Song* and the *Purcell Song* is the blatant use of notes not in the harmonic series, to which parts written for the natural or valveless trumpet in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were normally limited. Ex. 1 shows the harmonics or partials normally used in music written for a natural trumpet in C; they will of course be a tone higher for a D trumpet.[40] However, some of the harmonics or partials are out-of-tune according to Western temperament systems (particularly the 7th and 13th partials (C trumpet: *b′ flat* and *a″*; D trumpet: *c″* and *b″*) which are a little flat, and the 11th partial (C trumpet: *f″*; D trumpet: *g″*) which is notoriously sharp, so natural trumpeters have to bring these notes into tune, either by lipping them (modifying the lip pressure on the mouthpiece), or by using a device that momentarily changes the length of the tube, as with the system of finger holes widely used on modern 'Baroque' vented valveless trumpets,[41] or with the slide trumpet invented by John Hyde in the 1790s and widely used in Victorian England.[42]

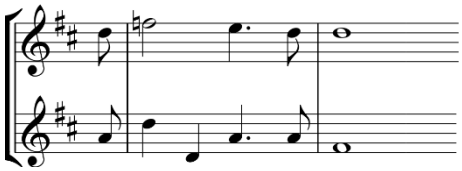
Lipping can also be used to some extent for non-harmonic tones, particularly those that occur briefly and are approached from above, such as the leading note *c″*♯ in the second trumpet part occurring twice in the duet 'And now when the renown'd Nassau' Z333/3 from Purcell's *Yorkshire Feast Song*, 'Of old, when heroes thought it base' (Ex. 2),[43] or the similar situation in 'Sound, Fame, thy brazen trumpet' Z627/22 from *Dioclesian*.[44] Other examples of non-harmonic tones in Purcell include the *g′* passing rapidly from *f′*♯ to *a′* in the second trumpet part of the D major air 'The fife and all the harmony of war' Z328/11 in 'Hail, bright Cecilia', and notably the bold *f″*♮(lipped down from the 10th partial) in the first trumpet part at the end of the same movement (Ex. 3).[45]



Ex. 1. Partials normally used on a natural trumpet in C

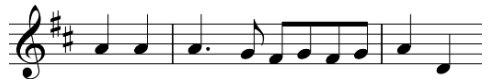


Ex. 2. Purcell, 'And now when the renown'd Nassau' (Z333/3), *Yorkshire Feast Song*, bb. 432–4.

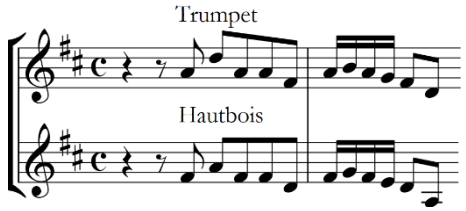


Ex. 3. Purcell, 'Hail, bright Cecilia', 'The fife and all the harmony of war' (Z328/11), bb. 72–3.

However, Clarke wrote non-harmonic tones with much greater abandon than Purcell. The D major Symphony of the *Assumption Song* begins with an extraordinary passage in which the two highest staves in the autograph score (unlabelled by Clarke but designated '1st. Trumpet' and '2nd. Trumpet' by Barrow) have many non-harmonic tones in the lower octave, including repeated *e*′s, *g*′s and *b*′s as well as many repeated *c*′′♯s later in the movement (Ex. 7). The *Purcell Song* is more restrained in this respect, though there are also some *c*′′♯s in the second trumpet part, mostly in the last chorus, and the single trumpet part of the Cibell apparently contains a phrase with repeated *g*′s (Ex. 4).[46] R.J.S. Stevens erased it from his score, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31812, f. 13, perhaps because he thought his source (which was clearly not London A's score) was in error at this point or because he thought that the trumpeters of his own time would be unable to play it.



Ex. 4. Clarke, *Purcell Song* (T200), bb. 200–2.



Ex. 5. Croft, 'The heav'nly warlike goddess', bb. 1–2.

Clarke was not alone among Purcell's contemporaries and followers in writing trumpet parts with non-harmonic tones. Giovanni Battista Draghi included a number of *b*′s in the C trumpet parts for the movement 'The trumpet's loud clangour' from his 1687 *Song for St Cecilia's Day*, 'From harmony, from heav'nly harmony', the work that in many respects inspired the concerted works Purcell and John Blow wrote in the reign of William and Mary.[47] In the first solo vocal passage of William Croft's Cecilian ode 'The heav'nly warlike goddess' (which Bryan White has suggested was originally written for the Peace of Ryswick in 1697),[48] the following figure is played twice (Ex. 5). The sole surviving score, copied by Croft's pupil John Barker (1707–81), allocates the parts respectively to 'Trumpet' and 'Hautbois', though, given the bottom *a*, the second part must have been intended for a second trumpet instead of, or as well as, an oboe.[49] Perhaps both parts were played by oboes and trumpets doubling – a scoring to be discussed later. There are also some bold *c*′′♯s in the single D trumpet part for one of the versions of Vaughan Richardson's *St Cecilia Song* 'From sounds, celestial sounds'.[50] We shall see that it was performed on 22 November 1704 in Winchester, where Richardson (*c*.1670–1729) was organist of the cathedral.[51] More examples of non-harmonic tones in trumpet parts will doubtless come to light as the English concerted music of the 1690s is investigated more fully.

The role of the Shore Family

It has long been suspected that the development of this flamboyant style of trumpet writing had much to do with the skills of the Shore family of court trumpeters, both as players and inventors. Such was their fame that puns were made on their name, notably in the duet beginning with the couplet 'Sound the trumpet, till around / You make the list'ning shores rebound' from Purcell's ode 'Come, ye sons of art, away' Z323, written for Queen Mary's birthday on 30 April 1694. It is surely significant that Matthias Shore (d. 1700), the father of William (d. 1707) and John (d. 1752), became Serjeant Trumpeter at court in the summer of 1687, a few months before Draghi's *Song for St Cecilia's Day*, with its ground-breaking trumpet writing, was performed.[52] Peter Motteux wrote in 1692 that 'Mr. Showers hath taught the trumpeters of late years to sound with all the softness imaginable',[53] and this was probably Matthias, the Serjeant Trumpeter, rather than John, as is normally assumed. Motteux added that at the 1691 St Cecilia celebrations 'they plaid us some flat Tunes, made by Mr. [Gottfried] Finger, with a general applause'. I will discuss the probable nature of these 'flat tunes' later.

John Shore seems to have been something of an inventor as well as a distinguished player. Sir John Hawkins wrote that 'by his [John Shore's] great ingenuity and application' he 'extended the power of that noble instrument', producing from it 'a tone as sweet as that of a hautboy'.[54] John was also presumably the 'Mr. Shoar, a most exquisite trumpetter' credited by Roger North with the invention of 'a screw or worme' that he used 'to adapt his trumpet to consort … by which his exotick notes fall all into use'.[55] Furthermore, according to Hawkins, John produced the first tuning fork, and is the obvious

suspect for being the inventor of the flat trumpet, a type of slide trumpet described by James Talbot and written for by Henry Purcell in his four-part March and Canzona Z860, written for Queen Mary's funeral on 5 March 1695, and by Daniel Purcell in a three-part 'Sympho[ny] of Flat Trumpets' in Act IV of *The Island Princess*; Henry reused the March in a modified form in his music for *The Libertine* Z600/2a.[56]

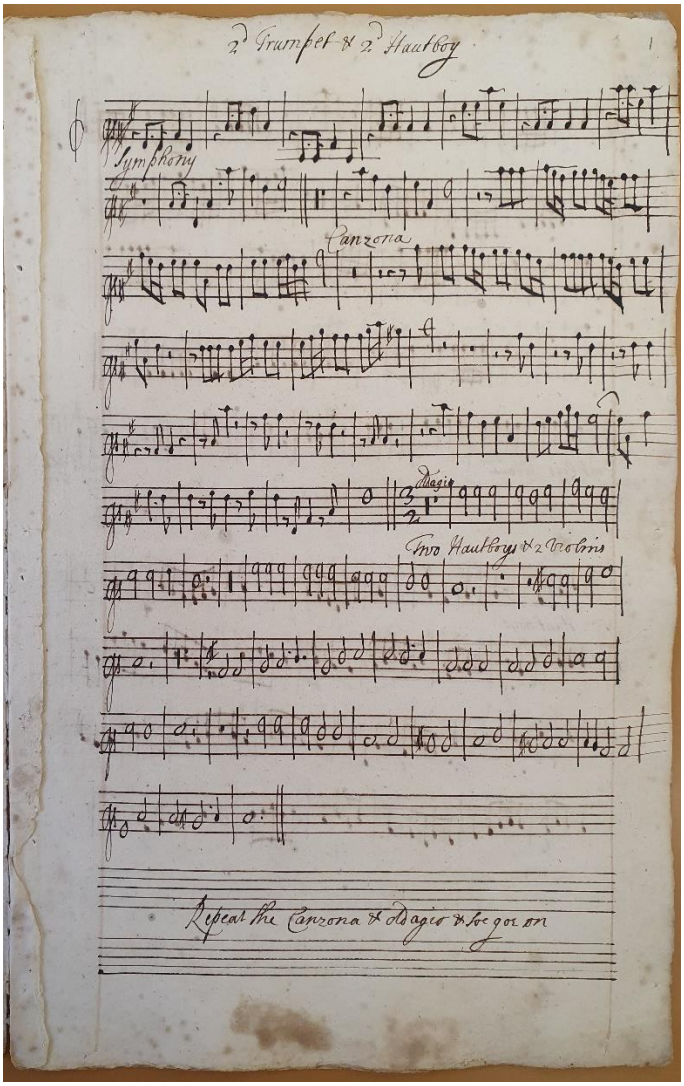
A number of trumpet parts from the 1690s are known to have been played by John Shore. According to Hawkins, he played the obbligato in Henry Purcell's 'Genius of England' Z578/7 from Act V of *Don Quixote* part 2 (Drury Lane, June 1694) alongside the soprano Katherine Cibber, his sister, and the countertenor John Freeman. In addition to his post in the main royal music, Shore was a musician around 1700 in the household of Princess Anne and her husband Prince George of Denmark, and in 1699 Johann Gottfried Keller (1657–1704), a harpsichordist from Heidelberg who had settled in England around 1680, published a collection of ensemble sonatas dedicated to Anne, including three for trumpet, strings and continuo.[57] Keller stated in this dedication that 'all y^{e} Gentlemen of your Musick excell; and on y^{e} Trumpet particularly, one of them is allow'd to be y^{e} best Master in y^{e} World' – an unmistakeable reference to Shore. A newspaper report of the St Cecilia concert in Winchester on 22 November 1704 already mentioned stated that 'Mr John Shore, the Famous Trumpeter, and Mr [Richard] Elford, were sent for down by the Gentlemen of the County'.[58] The first vocal passage of the version with trumpet of Richardson's 'From sounds, celestial sounds' is an elaborate solo for countertenor, trumpet and continuo, suitably displaying the talents of London's most famous trumpeter and one of its most prominent solo singers.

I have already mentioned that Clarke's later concerted works have more conventional trumpet writing than in the *Assumption Song* and the *Purcell Song*, and it is likely that his subsequent avoidance of non-harmonic tones (and, more generally, a decline in the adventurousness and flamboyance of the trumpet writing in English concerted music) was caused by the departure of the Shores from the London concert scene soon after 1700. Matthias died in that year; William died in 1707; and Hawkins wrote that John 'had the misfortune to split his lip in sounding the trumpet, and was evermore unable to perform on that instrument', a statement corroborated by Roger North's comment that 'the stoutest trumpeter with much use disables his lips so that he cannot performe, which was the case of the excellent M^{r} Shoar'.[59] North and Hawkins did not date this catastrophic event, but it probably happened soon after Shore's appearance in Winchester in November 1704. Apparently changing direction in his career as a performer, he was paid for attendance as lutenist of the Chapel Royal during the summer of 1705 and received his formal appointment on 7 March 1707, backdated to 1 April 1706.[60] He also succeeded his brother as Serjeant Trumpeter at court in December 1707, but presumably as a leader, administrator and teacher rather than as a player.

At the risk of developing a circular argument, the non-harmonic tones in the *Assumption Song* and the *Purcell Songs* are good reasons for associating these works with John Shore and his family. He is known to have played in *Don Quixote* part 2 at Drury Lane in June 1694, so it is likely that he also took part in the performance of the *Purcell Song* in the same theatre less than two years later. Nothing is known for sure about the circumstances of the original performance of the *Assumption Song*, though Bryan White has argued that some of the lines in its text, a shortened version of Richard Crashaw's poem 'On the Glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin',[61] might have been read as alluding to the death of Queen Mary on 28 December 1694.[62] If so, then the obvious date for the performance would be the following Feast of the Assumption, 15 August 1695.

That was while Clarke was still at Winchester, and this location is supported by the Winchester provenance of the autograph score of the *Assumption Song*, which is part of a guard-book once owned by James Kent (1700–76),[63] a life-long Winchester musician as a chorister in the Cathedral and then its organist from 1738 to 1774, a post he combined with organist of Winchester College. The volume includes two scores in the hand of John Reading, organist of Winchester Cathedral 1675–81 and the College 1681–92.[64] Perhaps John Shore and other court musicians came down from London to assist Clarke in the performance of the *Assumption Song*, as Shore and Elford were to do for Vaughan Richardson's Winchester St Cecilia

concert in 1704. A task for the future must be to explain why, given the anti-Catholic temper of English life in the 1690s, Clarke set such an overtly Marian poem, by a poet who ended his life as a Catholic exile in Italy, concerning a belief that was not formally part of Anglican dogma.



Illus. 3. The first page of the part (labelled on its cover 'The Second Trumpet and Second Hautboy') for Henry Purcell's ode 'Hail, bright Cecilia' in the hand of William Raylton, GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1309. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Clarke's wind parts in performance

As the reader will have gathered, there are several ways in which John Shore and his colleagues might have coped with Clarke's non-harmonic tones. Some of them, such as the *c''*♯s in the *Purcell Song*, might have been obtained just by lipping down from *d''* on a conventional natural trumpet, but it is unlikely that this technique would have sufficed for the Symphony in the *Assumption Song* (Ex. 7) and for the passage in Croft's ode (Ex. 4). One possibility is that Shore and his colleagues routinely used flat trumpets (slide instruments akin to small trombones), as suggested by Andrew Pinnock in 1989; he wrote: 'in my opinion *flat trumpets were used routinely in the English orchestra of the Purcell period*, for playing ordinary as well as "flat" (minor key) trumpet parts'.[65]

However, if so, it is difficult to explain why the three surviving pieces written for flat trumpets, slow moving and solemn, are so different in character from ordinary trumpet parts of the period. Also, as Crispian Steele-Perkins put it: 'If chromatic and diatonic notes had been available [on the ordinary natural trumpet], composers would surely have used them, and the trumpet's singular character lost forever – as occurred subsequently, of course,

with the invention of valves'.[66] Furthermore, Pinnock and others have assumed that the 'flat tunes' Gottfried Finger wrote for a group of trumpeters to play in the 1691 St Cecilia's celebrations were played on flat trumpets, but Robert Rawson has argued convincingly that this Moravian composer had grown up with the central European practice of writing for the trumpet in minor keys using notes available on the ordinary natural instrument.[67] He points out that Pavel Vejvanovský and Heinrich Biber, Finger's probable teachers, wrote sonatas for a C trumpet in G minor using the seventh partial *b′ flat*, and that in Finger's Sonata in C for trumpet, violin and continuo the C trumpet plays in a passage in C minor, the part including a *b′*♮.[68] Thus Finger's 'flat tunes' performed in 1691 could have been a suite in G minor or C minor for trumpets in C, or in A minor or D minor for trumpets in D.

A more promising solution to Clarke's non-harmonic tones is the 'screw or worme' already mentioned, that, according to Roger North, 'Mr Shoar' used 'to adapt his trumpet to consort'. North described the mechanism as follows: 'It was by an imperceptible lengthening or shortning the tube, so as by turning the trumpet round he gained, or remitted of the length, by which his exotick notes fall all into use'. Whether these 'exotick notes' included all the non-harmonic tones in the *Assumption Song* has yet to be determined (so far as I know, the work has not been performed since the seventeenth century), though Crispian Steele-Perkins reports that experiments using a natural trumpet with a tuneable crook (in the form of a small double slide) gave excellent results correcting the out-of-tune partials and allowed the production of a perfect *c″*♯ on a D trumpet, though it did not help with the repeated *e′*s, *g′*s and *b′*s in the Symphony for the *Assumption Song*.[69]

So far, the debate about non-harmonic tones in English trumpet music (which has ignored these two crucial works by Clarke and the ode by Croft) has focussed on the nature of the different types of trumpet that might have been used in England in the 1690s. However, another solution to the problem was used by Purcell, and therefore would have been known to his followers: trumpets could be doubled by oboes. In later eighteenth-century music oboes usually doubled or shadowed violin parts in the tutti sections of concerted works, but this was not necessarily so in the 1690s, particularly because Purcell and his followers tended to voice their four-part string writing with low-lying second violin parts, often going below *c′*, the lowest note on the Baroque oboe.

In fact, there is considerable evidence from indications in Purcell's scores that he often intended oboes to double trumpets rather than violins. An early example is the Ritornello for trumpets, oboes and bass between the verses of 'Let the soldiers rejoice' Z627/10 in *Dioclesian* (1690), a scoring also used in the Echo Z629/8c from Act II of *The Fairy Queen* (1692). A more telling example is the Symphony Z629/42 in Act V of *The Fairy Queen*, a movement in rondeau form in which the pairs of doubled oboes and trumpets are accompanied by the strings in the theme and its repeats. Another example is the chorus 'Sound, all the spheres' Z338/13b from 'Welcome, glorious morn' (Queen Mary's birthday ode for 1691), where the oboes are specified doubling the trumpets rather than the violins. Purcell wrote independent oboe and trumpet parts in the Symphony of this work, but did not do so everywhere the trumpets play according to the sole complete source, the none-too-accurate and rather compressed early eighteenth-century score GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31447, ff. 112–21.[70] Perhaps, for instance, the oboes should double the trumpets in the Ritornello Z338/8 rather than the violins, the solution suggested in the Purcell Society edition.[71]

Luckily, we do not have to rely entirely on the incomplete indications in the scores of Purcell's concerted music since we have the example of GB-Ob, MS Tenbury 1309, the set of parts for 'Hail, bright Cecilia'. These include two parts labelled on their covers 'The First Trumpet and First Hautboy' and 'The Second Trumpet and Second Hautboy'. They contain all the music required for the trumpets and oboes except for the 'Great Chorus' at the end, where Purcell wrote independent oboe parts. At that point the Canterbury oboists were required to change to separate parts labelled 'The First hautboy in the Last Cho[rus]' and 'The Second Hautboy in the Last Cho[rus]'. The Tenbury parts tell us that for most of the work the oboists doubled the trumpets, not the violins, and that the Canterbury trumpeters and oboists shared parts. This is a highly effective scoring technique, producing an attractive sonority, and it has a

practical purpose: the oboes can supply non-harmonic tones if needed and the trumpets can contribute the bottom *A*s outside the range of the oboe, as in the third bar of the second part of the opening Symphony (Illus. 3). The Canterbury wind players clearly did not need Purcell or William Raylton to tell them exactly where to play or be silent.

Much more could be written on the topic of the deployment of oboes in Restoration concerted music. In particular, it is significant that in the scores of Restoration concerted music oboes and recorders do not normally play together, implying that the two instruments were played by the same people – a common practice with flutes and oboes until the late eighteenth century. This is corroborated by the fact that numerous oboists are known also to have played the recorder, starting in England with Jacques or James Paisible (*c.*1656–1721), the leading woodwind player at court and the theatre during Purcell's working life.[72] This raises the possibility that in concerted works seemingly scored just for strings but with a solo section accompanied by two recorders, as with Purcell's odes 'What shall be done in behalf of the man' Z341 (1682) and 'Why are all the Muses mute?' Z343 (1685), the recorder players did not sit unoccupied during the rest of the work but used oboes in the tutti sections. Draghi's *Song for St Cecilia's Day* also has a movement with two recorders, and therefore their players might have used their oboes to double the trumpets or the two choral soprano parts rather than the rather angular violin parts.

A possible exception to the near-invariable rule that oboes and recorders do not play together is in no. 7, Clarke's 'Let Nature smile', which ostensibly has simultaneous parts for them in the Ritornello after the air 'Pay your homage' T203/4.[73] James Winn argued that this work, despite being entitled 'Part of an Ode on Queen Ann's Birthday' by R.J.S. Stevens in his score (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31812, ff. 32–42, copied in 1828), was written before Anne became queen, and was performed at Windsor on 6 February 1701 by members of her household.[74] He connected Clarke's simultaneous use of recorders and oboes with J.G. Keller's *Six Sonatas* of 1699, which, as already mentioned, is dedicated to Princess Anne and includes three sonatas for two recorders, two oboes and continuo as well as the three trumpet sonatas. Most of her household musicians seem to have been Frenchmen who played principally as an oboe band, using recorders and strings as alternatives.[75]

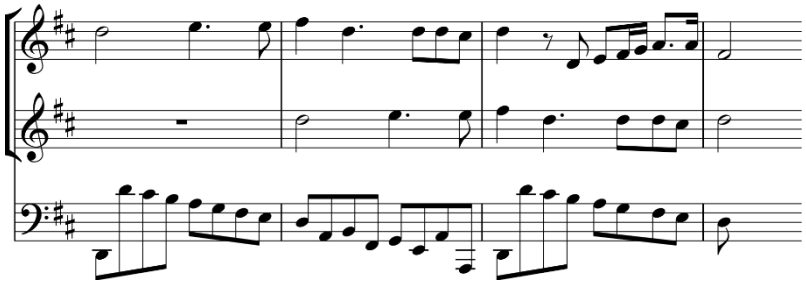
However, another ode apparently written for Princess Anne's musicians, Henry Purcell's 'Who can from joy refrain' Z342, performed on 24 July 1695 (the sixth birthday of her son William Henry, Duke of Gloucester), does not include simultaneous recorder and oboe parts – only oboes are specified.[76] Furthermore, Stevens wrote at the end of his score of 'Let Nature smile' that 'Jeremiah Clarke's copy was so mutilated and torn, that I was obliged to end my Copy, in the middle of this grand Chorus', and it is likely that Stevens amplified the scoring in that ritornello, as he did in several of his other scores of Clarke's work. In his score of the *Purcell Song* Stevens allocated the trumpet parts to recorders at the end of the last chorus,[77] and in the ground-bass duet 'No, the fruitless chase give o'er' T206/6 from 'O Harmony, where's now thy pow'r?' he allocated Clarke's recorder parts to two violins and then wrote additional separate parts for 'Flauti'. With the British Library shut while I was preparing this article, I have been unable to study the score of 'Let Nature smile', though I strongly suspect that its simultaneous use of oboes and recorders was devised by R.J.S. Stevens, not Jeremiah Clarke.

Be that as it may, the two suggestions I have made about Purcell's wind scoring – that oboes often doubled trumpets and that solo sections with recorders can indicate the presence of oboes in tutti sections when not specifically indicated – come together in the *Assumption Song*. Clarke specified a pair of 'Flutes' – recorders – in three solo sections: accompanying a counter-tenor in the second half of the first solo 'Hark, she's call'd, the parting hour is come' T202/2; in a fine instrumental movement T200/5 based on a chromatic *passacaglia* ground (akin to the one in Dido's Lament); and in the ritornelli of the vocal trio 'Live our chaste love', part of the final chorus 'Maria, men and angels sing' T202/11.

In the tutti sections without trumpets in the *Assumption Song* it is likely that the recorder players used their oboes to double the violins or the upper chorus parts, but in the first section of the Symphony it makes sense for them to double the trumpets; see Ex. 7, a semi-diplomatic transcription of the opening from Clarke's autograph. This passage would be highly effective

were the oboes to start playing the trumpet parts softly (it begins with a sort of musical sunrise), with the trumpets initially just touching in the harmony notes on the main beats but then playing the parts more or less complete as the music rises in pitch and volume. Clarke marked the two treble parts in a later instrumental passage 'Trump[e]t', a four-bar phrase near the end of the duet 'Come away, my love' T202/3, but then gave both of them non-harmonic tones (Ex. 6). The *c''*♯s could have been lipped down by the trumpeters, but the third bar of the first part seems designed to be played mainly by the first oboe, effectively creating an echo effect. Of course, John Shore and a colleague might have been able to play all of Clarke's trumpet parts in the *Assumption Song* as they stand with instruments equipped with his 'screw or worme', but as an alternative the work could easily have been played with ordinary natural trumpets doubled by oboes – the obvious option for the near future, when this fine and unaccountably neglected work is published and finally begins to receive performances and recordings.

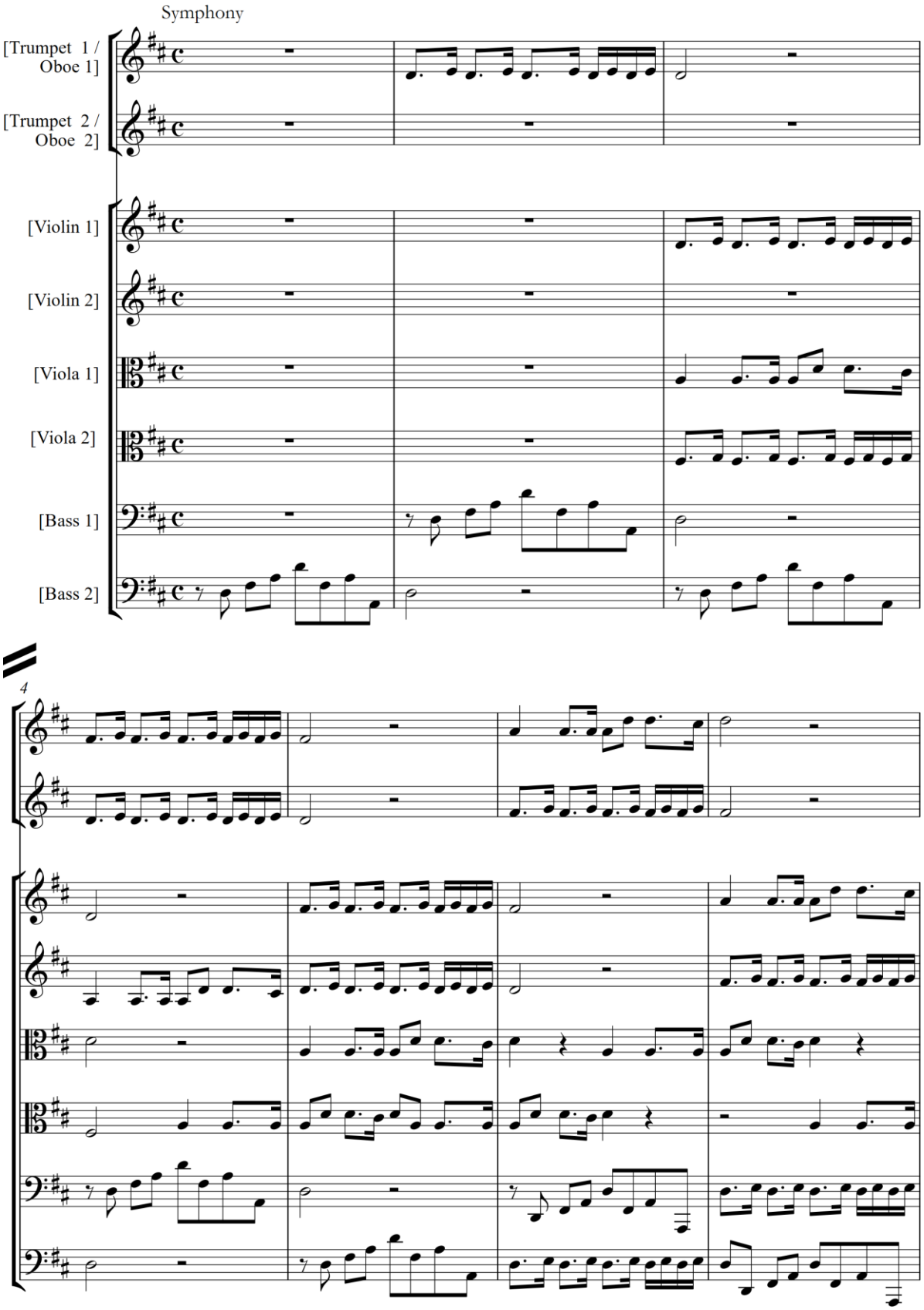
Turning now to the *Purcell Song* and its wind scoring, at first sight London A specified it with greater precision than Clarke did in the autograph of the *Assumption Song*. There are oboe parts on separate staves in all the tutti sections, with the exception of the remarkable orchestral movement 'M[r] Purcell's Farewell' T200/10, in which the recorders, replacing the oboes, play with trumpets, timpani, strings and continuo. However, there are problems to be resolved. It is strange that in the first section of the opening Symphony the oboes echo the trumpet and strings in bb. 3, 6, 9 and 12, seemingly accompanied by the orchestral violas and the continuo. I wonder whether Clarke actually intended a tenor oboe to play at these points, making up a three-part oboe band similar to the one John Blow used in 'The glorious day is come', the St Cecilia ode for 1691.[78]

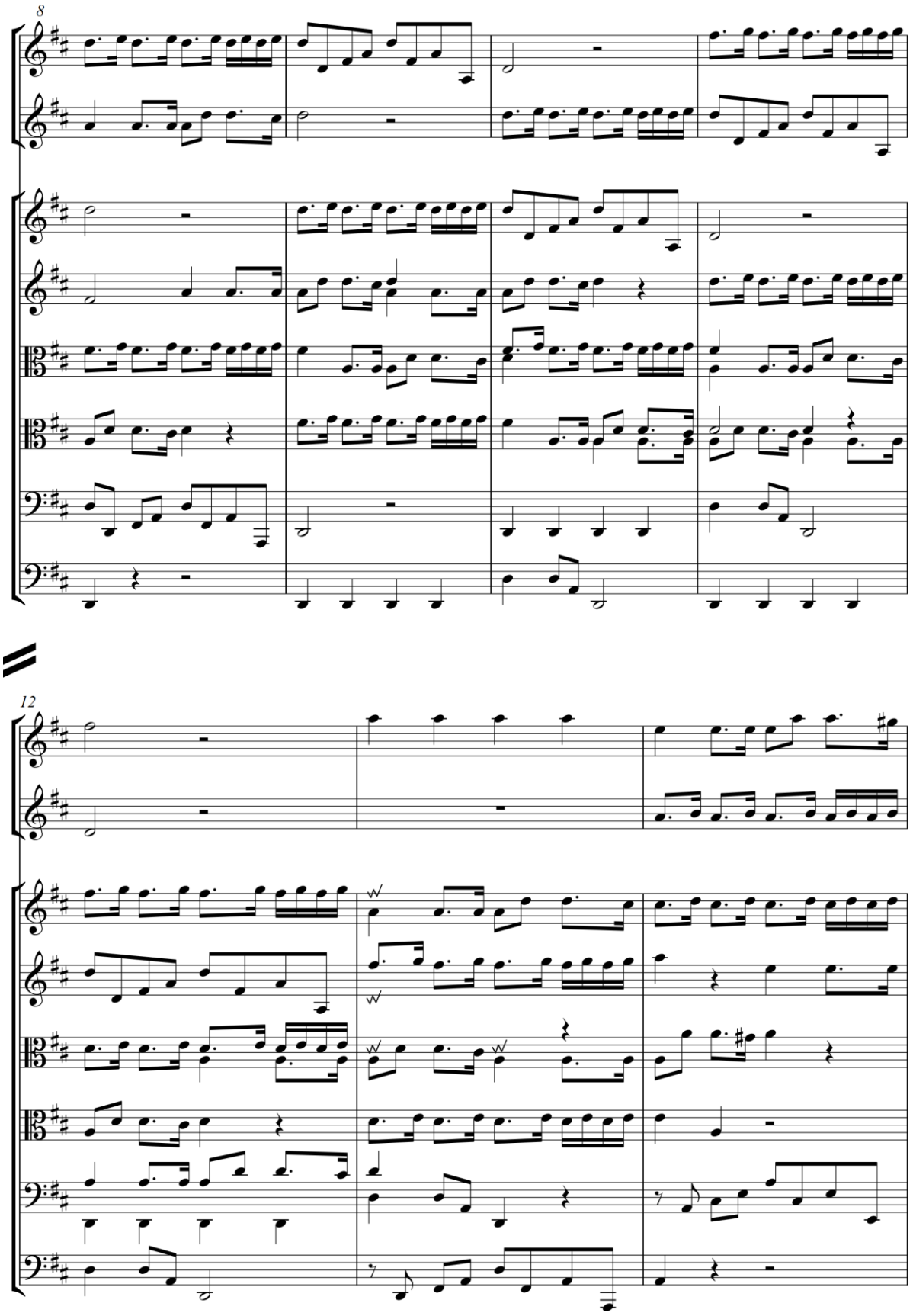


Ex. 6. Clarke, *Assumption Song*, 'And will she go?' (T202/3b), bb. 22–5.

Perhaps Clarke had four treble woodwind players available for the 1696 performance of the *Purcell Song*, with the third player doubling the trumpet in the Symphony and the fourth initially playing a tenor oboe, doubling and alternating with the violas. There would be time for him to change to an ordinary oboe for the first chorus, enabling both trumpet parts to be doubled. This would also get round the problem Clarke seemingly created for himself at the end of 'M[r] Purcell's Farewell', where a quick change is required from recorders to oboes to enable the choir to respond with the great chorus 'All's untuned' T200/11.[79]

As already mentioned, the *Purcell Song* was performed on the stage at Drury Lane and was apparently staged (R.J.S. Stevens included several stage directions in his separate copy of the words),[80] so there would have been an imperative not to pause at that point. Clarke could have avoided this by using the third and fourth oboists to play the recorder parts of 'M[r] Purcell's Farewell', with the first and second players playing the oboe parts in the following chorus. The third and fourth players might then have switched to oboes to join the trumpets in time to help out with the non-harmonic tones at the words 'Strephon's soft airs', bb. 464–5.[81] These scoring details could of course have been embodied directly in the parts without having to be specified in the score. Incidentally, there is no mention of a bassoon in the *Purcell Song* or in any of Clarke's concerted works, and his use of three-part oboe passages in the first section of the Symphony (rather than a complete four-part oboe band requiring a bassoon on the bass line) suggests that one was not present in the original performance.


Symphony
[Trumpet 1 / Oboe 1]
[Trumpet 2 / Oboe 2]
[Violin 1]
[Violin 2]
[Viola 1]
[Viola 2]
[Bass 1]
[Bass 2]
4



Ex. 7. Clarke, *Assumption Song*, opening (diplomatic transcription)

String and continuo scoring in the *Assumption Song*

The string writing in the *Assumption Song* is equally unusual and thought-provoking. By the time Jeremiah Clarke wrote the work, four-part string writing, with two violins, viola and bass, had become the norm in London, replacing the five-part writing with two violas that was briefly fashionable at court around 1690 (another aspect of the influence of Draghi's *Song for St Cecilia's Day*),[82] or the four-part writing with two violas that had been used at court and in the theatres in the 1660s and early 1670s.[83] However, the *Assumption Song* is essentially scored for six-part strings – two violins, two violas, and two bass parts – and during the first section of the Symphony both violin parts, both viola parts and the first bass part divide, making up to eleven-part writing – quite unlike any other English concerted work of the period (Ex. 7). We know nothing for sure at present about the original performance of the *Assumption Song*, though it is clear that Clarke had a sizeable group at his disposal. His score calls for a minimum of 16 or 17 instrumentalists: two trumpets, two recorders/oboes, four violins, four violas, three bass instruments (or four if two players were allocated to the second bass part to balance the two on the first part), with at least one continuo instrument.

Clarke did follow standard Restoration practice by accompanying solo vocal passages in the *Assumption Song* with three-part strings, omitting the violas, as in the first vocal passage, 'Hark, she's call'd, the parting hour is come' T202/2, for countertenor accompanied by two violin parts (marked 'vio soft') and bass. This convention, signalling the reduction to solo instruments, is found in many Restoration concerted works and is equivalent to the contemporary distinction between the *petit choeur* and *grand choeur* in French opera orchestras.[84] It is almost never explicitly specified in English scores, and thus the three-part string passages in Purcell's concerted works are often wrongly played by the full strings in modern performances and recordings. However, in Draghi's *Song for St Cecilia's Day* the three-part passages in the introduction to the first chorus are labelled 'one single violin', 'one single 2d violin' and 'one single bass', with the label 'Here enter all the violins and other instruments' when five-part writing resumes; in the last chorus there are also brief solo passages marked 'Here one violin' and 'Only two violins'.[85]

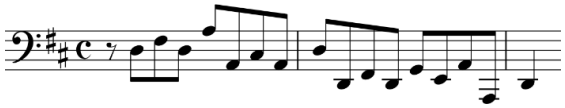
Thus the viola was normally a ripieno instrument in Restoration concerted works, playing only in the four-part string symphonies and ritornelli, and in vocal sections accompanied by the full string group. Clarke follows this convention in the *Assumption Song* and all but one of his concerted works, the striking exception being 'A year triumphant in its morn' T206/4 in the 1706 *New Year Song* 'O Harmony, where's now thy pow'r'; a duet for two countertenors and continuo has florid obbligato passages for a solo viola. The part is labelled 'Tenor vio[lin]' in the primary source, GB-Ob, Mus. c.6.

A striking feature of the string writing in the *Assumption Song* is the use of two separate and crossing bass parts in the first movement of the Symphony, both descending to *AA* (Ex. 7). Of the various types of bowed instrument that might have been used at the time to play those low notes (six-string bass viols, bass violins and violoncellos can be ruled out, while the seven-string bass viol with a bottom *AA* string, developed in late seventeenth-century France, is not known to have been used in England before the early eighteenth century),[86] the most likely is a large viol tuned *AA–D–G–B–e–a* (a fourth below the ordinary bass viol in *D*), playing parts essentially at written pitch. It is striking that the two parts in the *Assumption Song* never contain notes between *AA* and *D*, suggesting instruments with thick plain gut bottom strings, much more resonant played open than stopped.

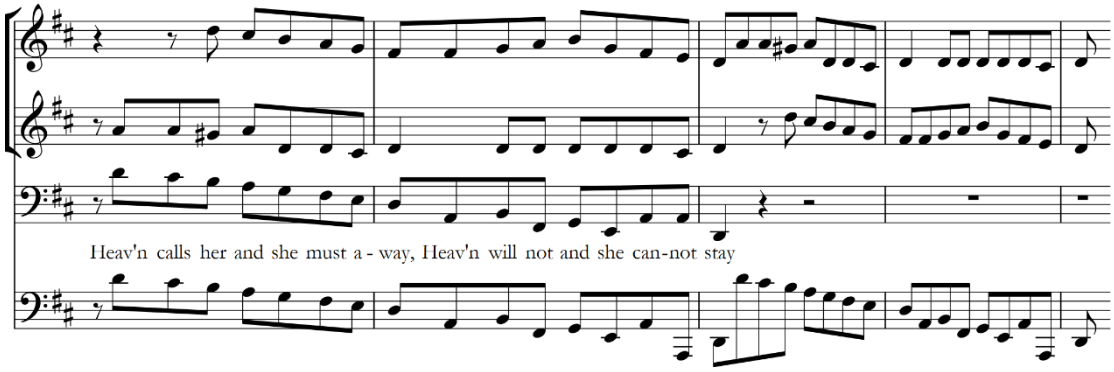
Large viols in *AA* called 'great double bass' were not new in English music. Several are listed in early seventeenth-century inventories, and they are required for music written by Orlando Gibbons and John Coprario around 1620; by George Jeffries in the middle of the century; and by John Blow around 1680.[87] John Hingeston (d. 1683) left 'my greate double Basse' in his will to the court viol player William Gregory; his godson Henry Purcell was his apprentice as the role of tuner and keeper of the court keyboard instruments.[88] There do not seem to be any surviving contrabass-sized English instruments set up as six-string viols, though three by Edward Lewis (1651–1717) survive with bodies shaped like bass violins but with the top of the back cut away like a bass viol.[89] Their necks and pegboxes have been replaced, so we do not know how they were

originally set up and strung, though they could originally have been 'great double basses' with six strings tuned in *AA*. One of them, dated 1695, is now set up as a five-string violone; its neck and front have been replaced but its beautiful back is original (Illus. 4).[90]

Jeremiah Clarke's use in the *Assumption Song* of two large bass instruments playing equal and crossing parts seems to be unique in English orchestral music, though it has parallels with the role of the two bass viols in English six-part viol consort music, and he also incorporated bottom *AA*s (also without the intermediate notes between *AA* and *D*) into the bass parts of several of his later concerted works, including the *Purcell Song* and the *Barbados Song* T204 (1703); the latter begins with the following ostinato figure played five times (Ex. 8).[91] In addition, the same feature also occurs in the orchestral sections of William Croft's Te Deum and Jubilate in D major (1709, revised 1715).[92] However, the *Assumption Song* seems also to be unique in that one of the large basses plays in the solo passages as well as the tutti sections, as in the passage for solo bass, two solo violins and continuo setting the words 'Heav'n calls her and she must away' T200/2, in which the *AA*s form part of an ostinato figure imitating the change-ringing of bells – an obvious allusion to the famous Symphony of Purcell's anthem 'Rejoice in the Lord alway' Z49 (Ex. 9).



Ex. 8. Clarke, *Barbados Song* (T204/1), bb. 1–2.

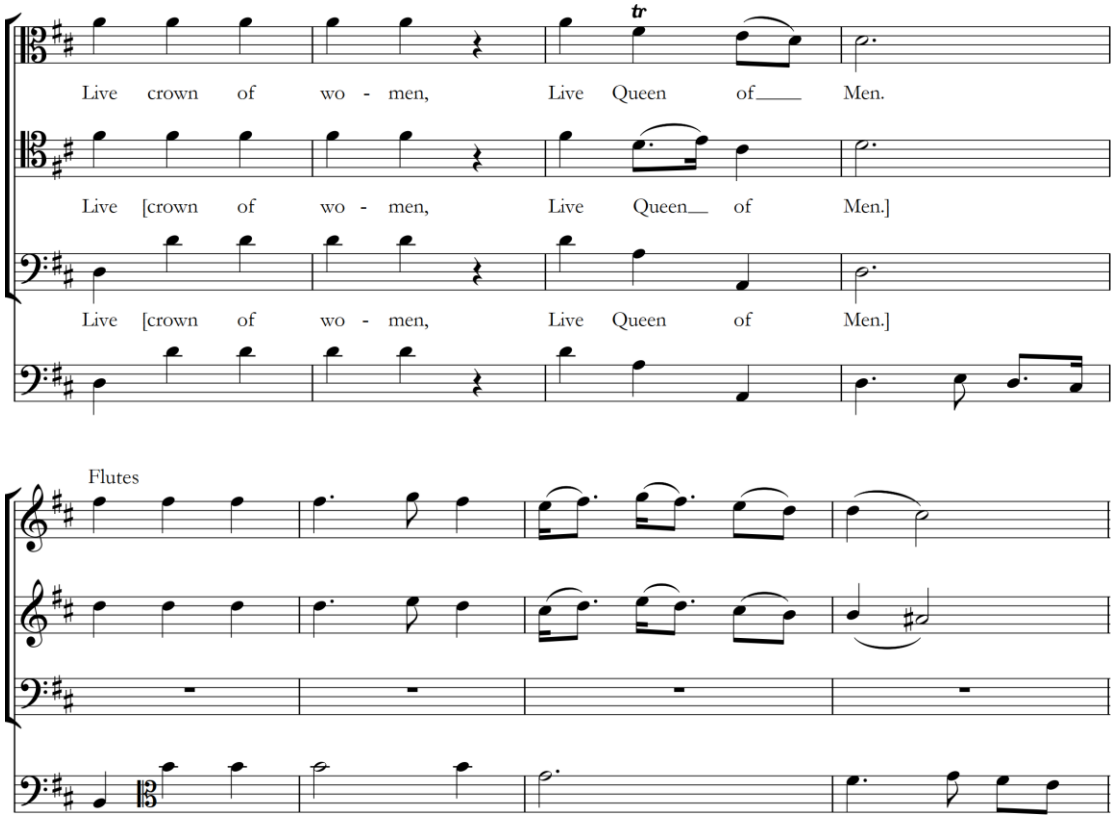


Ex. 9. Clarke, *Assumption Song*, 'And will she go?' (T200/3b), bb. 6–9.

Finally, I have already suggested that Clarke used his autograph score of the *Assumption Song* to direct its performance from the organ. The evidence for this is circumstantial but persuasive. It is clear that when writing out his score he tried to organise it to minimise page turns, ending many sections at the bottom of the right-hand side of an opening. He wrote 'Turn' at the end of the Symphony (f. 108, or p. 13 to use his original pagination); after the solo 'Go then, go glorious' T202/4 (f. 112, p. 21) and the first eight bars of the trio 'And while thou go'st' T202/6 (f. 114, p. 25); 'Over' between the duet 'Hail, holy queen of humble hearts' T202/7 (f. 116, p. 29) and the following chorus; and 'Turn' between the Ritornello after the trio 'Thy sacred name shall be' T202/10 and the following chorus (f. 119, p. 35). All these are places where Clarke apparently felt it necessary to remind himself (or possibly someone else acting as director) not to pause at that point in the performance.

Also, Clarke included some continuo figures in his score, but mainly in the solo vocal sections. He would have had little need for figures in tutti sections because he was trained in a tradition in which score-reading was an important method of accompaniment in church music,[93] which presumably explains why there are no figures and no separate continuo part in the Symphony. Furthermore, he tended to add figures at places in the solo sections where even an experienced continuo player might need reminding of the harmonies, as with some unexpected moves from 5/3 to ♯4/2 harmonies. Finally, there is a revealing passage in the trio 'Live our chaste love', part of the final chorus T202/9, where the 'Flutes' alternate with three male voices (Ex. 10). At the point where the recorders enter the continuo part goes into the alto clef and shoots up more than an octave. We

might think that a viola or large recorder suddenly starts playing at that point, but Clarke does not indicate this, and it is more likely that, directing from the organ, he just accompanied the recorders by playing the continuo part on a flute stop, giving the impression of a consort of three recorders.



Ex. 10. Clarke, *Assumption Song*, 'Maria, men and angels sing' (T202/11), bb. 56–63 (diplomatic transcription)

Illus. 4. The back of a contrabass-range instrument by Edward Lewis dated 1695, now set up as a five-string violone. Private collection, photograph by René Zaal.

Conclusion

What have we learned from all this? I cannot claim to have solved all the problems surrounding Jeremiah Clarke's orchestral writing, and there is much more to be learned about it. However, it is clear that the unusual features of the *Assumption Song* and the *Purcell Song*, that I and others once interpreted as inexperience, can now mostly if not entirely be explained by the practice of the period. They reveal Clarke to have been as bold and innovative in his orchestral writing as Henry Purcell was a generation earlier, making full use of John Shore, James Paisible and the other talented wind players who were working at court and in London's theatres during the 1690s. I hope there will soon be critical editions and recordings of more of these remarkable works. If John Eccles is deemed worthy of a collected edition,[94] then the same is surely true of Jeremiah Clarke.

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[1] See C. Cudworth and F.B. Zimmerman, 'The Trumpet Voluntary', *Music & Letters* 41 (1960), 342–8. For Clarke's piece, see T.F. Taylor, *Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke* (Detroit, 1977) [T], T435 (keyboard); T497/4 (trumpet, two oboes, bassoon, strings and continuo). T435 is in J. Clarke, *Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. J. Harley (London, 1988), 20–1. T497/4 is in Clarke, *Suite in D major*, ed. R. Minter (London, 1971), 9–11.

[2] J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776); repr. in 2 vols. (London, 2/1853; repr. New York, 1963), ii. 784 <@>. For Clarke's biography, see C. Powell and W. Shaw, rev. H. Diack Johnstone, 'Jeremiah Clarke [Clark, Clerk] (i)', *Oxford Music Online* [*OMO*]; Johnstone, 'Jeremiah Clarke', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*]; *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714* [*BDECM*], comp. A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, assisted by P. Holman and F. Kisby, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998), i. 254–6.

[3] For the argument that Daniel was Henry's cousin, see M. Humphreys, rev. R. Thompson, 'Daniel Purcell', *OMO*; Humphreys, 'Daniel Purcell', *ODNB*. The traditional view, that Daniel was Henry's younger brother, will be reasserted in O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'Henry and Daniel Purcell: Brothers or Cousins?', forthcoming in *A Handbook for Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Music*.

[4] Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of … James II … and … Queen Mary* (London, 1687), 69 <@>.

[5] The earliest seems to be J.A. Fuller-Maitland, *The Contemporaries of Purcell*, v: *Jeremiah Clark* (London, 1921) <@>.

[6] See also the survey in B. White and A. Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke (*c.*1674–1707): A Tercentenary Tribute', *Early Music Performer* 21 (November 2007), 25–36, at 28–31 <@>.

[7] J. Clarke, *Music on Henry Purcell's Death*, ed. W. Bergmann (London, 1961); *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. A. Howard, Purcell Society Companion Series 5 (London, 2013), 25–77.

[8] I am grateful to James Hume, Christopher Gammon and Christopher Roberts for providing me with copies of their unpublished editions, respectively of no. 1 (University of Manchester, 2007); no. 5 and the Appendix (University of Leeds, 2007); and no. 9 (University of Leeds, 2011). I am also grateful to Bryan White for letting me use an edition of no. 7 made by Cassie Barber (University of Leeds, 2002).

[9] *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, The Playford Consort, The Parley of Instruments Baroque Orchestra / Roy Goodman and Peter Holman, Hyperion CDA66578 (1992); the CD booklet, with my notes, can be downloaded from the Hyperion website <@>.

[10] *Sons of England: Music by Jeremiah Clarke and Henry Purcell*, Les Cris de Paris, Le Poème Harmonique / Vincent Dumestre, Alpha ALPHA285 (2017). A video of a live performance by the same artists, recorded in Rouen in 2016, is available on YouTube <@>.

[11] White and Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke', 29. See also the discussion in *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, xx–xxi.

[12] R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 135.

[13] For Barrow, see *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, ed. P.H. Highfill jr. et al., 16 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973–93), i. 312–13.

[14] For London A, see esp. Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 131–5.

[15] For Pigott, see esp. *BDECM*, ii. 894–5.

[16] Reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by A. Silbiger (New York and London, 1987); see also see also English Keyboard Music 1650–1695: Perspectives on Purcell, ed. A. Woolley, Purcell Society Companion Series, 6 (London, 2018), xxxiii, A. Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, *c.*1660–1720', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008), 275, and J.B. Hodge, 'English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660–1714', Ph.D. thesis, 3 vols. (University of Manchester, 1989), iii. 106.

[17] An advertisement for the collection in the *Daily Courant*, 26 May 1707, is headed 'This Day is Publish'd'.

[18] See esp. H. Purcell, *Timon of Athens*, ed. I. Spink, The Works of Henry Purcell [WHP] 2 (London, 1994), xiv–xv.

[19] See esp. H. Purcell, *The Indian Queen*, ed. M. Laurie and A. Pinnock, WHP 19 (London, 1994), xxiv.

[20] See the introduction by C.A. Price and R.D. Hume to the facsimile *The Island Princess, British Library Add. MS5318: A Semi-Opera*, Music for London Entertainment 1660–1800 [MLE], series C, vol. 2 (Tunbridge Wells, 1985).

[21] See the introduction by C.A. Price to the facsimile *Instrumental Music for the London Theatres, 1690–1699: Royal College of Music, London, MS 1172*, MLE, series A, vol. 3 (Withyham, 1987); Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 298–302.

[22] For the manuscript, see *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, xxiv–xxv. See also the overview of the contents of the volume in R. Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England. Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts* <@>.

[23] See esp. R. Herissone, '"Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006), 569–619; ead., *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013).
[24] For Finger's ode, see R. Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger' (*c.*1655–1730), Ph.D. diss. (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002); 13, 322 <@>; *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, xviii–xix; the text is edited in ibid., xl–xli.
[25] *The Post Boy*, 9 January 1696.
[26] The calendar of theatrical activity in *The London Stage 1660–1800*, i: *1660–1700*, ed. W. Van Lennep (Carbondale IL, 1965), 457–8 <@>, includes only one entry for Drury Lane in January 1696, the production of Colley Cibber's *Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion*, though doubtless most evenings would have been taken up with repeats of plays in the company's existing repertoire.
[27] *Winchester Long Rolls 1653–1721*, ed. C.W. Holgate (Winchester, 1899), 82 <@>; *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, xviii.
[28] See esp. P. Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 1996), 9–19, 265–71; F.E.J. Smith, 'Original Performing Material for Concerted Music in England, *c.*1660–1800', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2014), 51–145 <@>.
[29] My knowledge of this source comes from Christopher Roberts's unpublished edition; see also White and Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke', 31.
[30] For John Banister junior, see *BDECM*, i. 72–9.
[31] R.J. Bruce and H.D. Johnstone, 'A Catalogue of the Truly Valuable and Curious Library of Music Late in the Possession of Dr William Boyce (1779): Transcription and Commentary', *RMA Research Chronicle* 43 (2010), 111–71; Smith, 'Original Performing Material', 20–2.
[32] For Boyce's performing parts, see esp. Smith, 'Original Performing Material', 211–331; P. Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge, 2020), 103–9.
[33] See J. Gilchrist, 'Copyright Deposit, Legal Deposit or Library Deposit? The Government's Role as Preserver of Copyright Material', *Queensland University of Technology Law and Justice Journal* 5 (2005), 177–94, at 177–82 <@>; *Bodleian Library & Radcliffe Camera*, *University of Oxford: History of the Bodleian* <@>. For the development of the British Museum and its libraries, see E. Miller, *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum* (Athens OH, 1974).
[34] Information from Peter Horton, Deputy Librarian at the Royal College of Music from 1984 to 2017. Charles Mackeson stated in his article 'Ancient Concerts' (*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. J.A. Fuller-Maitland, 5 vols. (London, 1904–10), i. 82 <@>) that 'The last concert took place on June 7, 1848, and the library of old masters belonging to the society was afterwards removed to Buckingham Palace, and was subsequently presented to the Royal College of Music'. The most detailed studies of the Concerts of Ancient Music, J.E. Mathew, 'The Antient Concerts, 1776–1848', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 33 (1906–7), 55–79, and W. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford, 1992), 143–97, 248–57, are focussed on printed programmes and other documentary evidence rather than the performing material used in them.
[35] See *The Düben Collection Database* <@>.
[36] See *Hofmusik in Dresden* <@>.
[37] An example is the set of parts of Purcell's 'Hail, bright Cecilia', apparently copied for performance in Oxford in the 1760s; see S. Mangsen, 'New Sources of Odes by Purcell and Handel from a Collection in London, Ontario, *Music & Letters* 81 (2000), 13–40; P. Ward Jones and D. Burrows, 'An Inventory of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Oxford Musical Hands', *RMA Research Chronicle* 35 (2002), 61–139, at 70, 103. Six parts from another set for 'Hail, bright Cecilia', said to be in the hand of the Chapel Royal singer Bernard Gates (1686–1773), are in GB-Ob, Mus. c.27, ff. 3–25; see H. Purcell, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day 1692*, ed. P. Dennison, WHP 8 (Borough Green, 1978), xi. GB-Lam, MS 25A is a set of parts for *Dido and Aeneas*, prepared for a concert performance given by the Academy of Ancient Music in London on 22 February 1787; see E.T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (New York, 2/2018), esp. 55–6, 147–51; H.D. Johnstone, 'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library once Lost and Partially Recovered', *Music & Letters* 95 (2014), 329–73, at 373.
[38] See Purcell, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day 1692*, ed. Dennison, xi; B. White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day from Purcell to Handel* (Woodbridge, 2019), 272–6.
[39] For Henstridge and Raylton, see W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), 47–8; Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources', 143–54.
[40] For explanations, see esp. D.L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 2/1988), 21–5; E. Tarr, *The Trumpet*, trans. S.E. Plank and Tarr (London, 1988), 11–15; C. Steele-Perkins, *The Trumpet* (London, 2001), 23.
[41] See Steele-Perkins, *The Trumpet*, 86–92; G. Nicholson, 'The Unnatural Trumpet', *Early Music* [*EM*] 38 (2010), 193–202.
[42] For the slide trumpet, see A. Brownlow, *The Last Trumpet: A History of the English Slide Trumpet* (Stuyvesant NY, 1996); Steele-Perkins, *The Trumpet*, 35–41.
[43] H. Purcell, *Three Occasional Odes*, ed. B. Wood, WHP 1 (London, 2008), 71, 73. There is a similar instance in the Ritornello introducing the duet 'Brigantium, honour'd with a race divine'; see ibid., 42. For Purcell's trumpet writing and non-harmonic tones, see Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet*, 207–27; P. Downey, 'Performing Mr Purcell's "Exotick" Trumpet Notes', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. M. Burden (Oxford, 1996), 49–60, at 56–7; A. Pinnock and B. Wood, 'A Counterblast on English Trumpets', *EM* 19 (1991), 436–43, at 440–1.
[44] H. Purcell, *Dioclesian*, ed. J.F. Bridge and J. Pointer, rev. M. Laurie, WHP 9 (London, 1961), 71.
[45] Purcell, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day 1692*, ed. Dennison, 67, 69.
[46] *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. A. Howard, 41, 71; see also Howard's discussion in ibid., 102.

[47] G.B. Draghi, *From Harmony, from Heav'nly Harmony: A Song for St Cecilia's Day, 1687*, ed. B. White, Purcell Society Companion Series 3 (London, 2010), xvi, 30–1. See also P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, 2/1995), 425–30; idem, 'The Italian Connection: Giovanni Battista Draghi and Henry Purcell', *Early Music Performer* 22 (2008), 4–19, at 8, 11–14 <@>.
[48] White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, 230–4.
[49] I am grateful to Alan Howard for letting me see his draft edition, to be published in a forthcoming volume of Musica Britannica.
[50] For the two versions of this work, see White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, 256–61. I am grateful to Bryan White for providing me with a photocopy of the autograph score of the version with trumpet, owned by the late Richard Luckett, and to Crispian Steele-Perkins for a copy of the unpublished edition Luckett made for a concert in Cambridge on 22 January 1975. The first three bars are edited in C. Steele-Perkins, 'Practical Observations on Natural, Slide and Flat Trumpets', *The Galpin Society Journal* [*GSJ*] 42 (1989), 122–7, at 124.
[51] For Richardson, see esp. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 299, 307; I. Spink, 'Vaughan Richardson', *ODNB*.
[52] For the Shores, see esp. *BDECM*, ii. 1003–8.
[53] P. Motteux, *The Gentleman's Journal* (January 1692), 6–7; see White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, 35–6.
[54] Hawkins, *A General History*, ii. 752.
[55] R. North, *Cursory Notes of Musicke (c.1698–c.1703): A Physical, Psychological and Critical Theory*, ed. M. Chan and J.C. Kassler (Kensington N.S.W., 1986), 119.
[56] For the flat trumpet, see esp. A. Pinnock, 'A Wider Role for the Flat Trumpet', *GSJ* 42 (1989), 105–111; D. Rycroft, 'Flat Trumpets Facts and Figures', *GSJ* 42 (1989), 134–42; F. Tomes, 'Flat Trumpet Experiments', *GSJ* 43 (1990), 164–5; J. Webb, 'The Flat Trumpet in Perspective', *GSJ* 46 (1993), 154–60; Downey, 'Performing Mr Purcell's "Exotick" Trumpet Notes', 51–6; Brownlow, *The Last Trumpet*, 8–13. Daniel Purcell's Symphony is reproduced in facsimile in ibid., 12.
[57] J.G. Keller, *Six Sonatas, the First Three for a Trumpett, Haubois or Violins with Doubble Basses, the Other Three for Two Flutes and Two Houbois or Two Violins with Doubble Basses* (Amsterdam, [1699]); there is a facsimile with my introduction (Alston, 2002). For the publication, see *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène: A Website by Rudolf Rasch* <@>. For Keller's biography, including the recent discovery that he was the son of the Heidelberg court Kapellmeister Johann Andreas Keller, see H.O. Koch, 'Johann Andreas Keller (1630–nach 1695) aus Worms, der letzte Heidelberger Hofkapellmeister, und sein Sohn Johann Gottfried (Godfrey) Keller (1657–1704)', *Die Wormsgau* 36 (2020), 33–41.
[58] *The Diverting Post*, 25 November 1704; see White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, 257.
[59] *Roger North on Music,* ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), 229.
[60] *BDECM*, ii. 1003–4.
[61] Clarke probably found the poem in R. Crashaw, *Steps to the Temple, the Delights of the Muses and Carmen Deo Nostro* (London, 3/1690), 70–2.
[62] White and Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke', 29.
[63] E.H. Fellowes, *The Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (Paris, 1934), 268; Herissone, *Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts*. For Kent at Winchester, see Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 299–300, 399.
[64] Ibid., 298–300, 398.
[65] Pinnock, 'A Wider Role for the Flat Trumpet', 107.
[66] Steele-Perkins, 'Practical Observations', 124.
[67] Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London', 111–18.
[68] For an extract, see ibid., 113. A complete modern edition is G. Finger, *Sonata in C for Oboe/Trumpet (Descant Recorder), Violin and Basso Continuo*, ed. P. Holman (London, 1979).
[69] Private communication.
[70] It was copied by the individual labelled FQ4; see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 173, 316.
[71] H. Purcell, *Birthday Odes for Queen Mary Part I*, ed. B. Wood, WHP 11 (London, 1993), 118–19. However, see Wood's valuable discussion, ibid., xi–xii, of the role of the oboes in this work and 'Arise, my muse' Z320, the ode for Queen Mary's birthday in 1690.
[72] For Paisible's biography, see esp. *BDECM*, ii. 852–66; see also D. Lasocki, 'The French Hautboy in England, 1673–1730', *EM* 16 (1988), 339–57.
[73] To my knowledge, there are only two other Restoration concerted works with indications for recorders and oboes playing simultaneously. There is a "Symphony for Flutes and Hautboys' in Act II of *King Arthur* Z638/13a (see H. Purcell, *King Arthur*, ed. D. Arundell, rev. M. Laurie, WHP 26 (London, 1971), 76, 185); and two movements in John Weldon's setting of *The Judgment of Paris*, the 'Pastoral Symphony' at the beginning of the work and the chorus 'Happy thou of human race', in which the upper instrumental parts are labelled 'Violins Hautboys & Flutes y^{e}. Same' (see J. Weldon, *The Judgment of Paris*, ed. D.W. Music, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 94 (Madison WI, 1999), 3–4, 25, 100).
[74] J.A. Winn, *Queen Anne, Patroness of Arts* (Oxford and New York, 2014), 258–61, 693 (fn. 28). Different conclusions are reached in R. McGuinness, *English Court Odes 1660–1820* (Oxford, 1971), 26, 58 (fn. 44); E. Murphy, 'The Fashioning of a Nation: The Court Ode in the Late Stuart Period', 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis (National University of Ireland, Cork, 2012), i. 69–70, 195, 198–9; ii. 18–19, 57–8; White and Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke', 31.
[75] For Princess Anne's musicians, see Lasocki, 'The French Hautboy in England', 344–5, 352–4; R. Rawson, "'After the Italian Manner": Finger, Pepusch and the First Concertos in England', *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman* [*MEBE*], ed. J. Cunningham and B. White (Woodbridge, 2020), 108–36, at 110–14; S. Owens, "'Seven young Men on Hautboys": The Oboe Band in England, *c.*1680–1740', *MEBE*, 282–310, esp. 291–2.

[76] H. Purcell, *A Song for the Duke of Gloucester's Birthday 1695*, ed. I. Spink, WHP 4 (London and Sevenoaks, 1990). See also B. White, 'Music for a "Brave Livlylike Boy": The Duke of Gloucester, Purcell and "The Noise of Foreign Wars"', *The Musical Times* 148 (Winter 2007), 75–83.
[77] See *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, 106–7.
[78] Modern edition: J. Blow, *Ode for St Cecilia's Day 1691*, ed. M. Bevan (London, 1981); see also White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, 112–18.
[79] *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, 66–7.
[80] These directions are not included in the edition of the text in *Odes on the Death of Henry Purcell*, ed. Howard, xxxvi–vii, but are inserted in the score as edited in ibid., 32 (b. 101) and 44 (b. 231).
[81] Ibid., 70–1.
[82] See P. Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford, 1994), 66. I suggested there that Purcell wrote his Overture in G minor Z772 around 1687–90 as part of this fashion for five-part string writing with two violas, though Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 295, subsequently argued convincingly that it was actually written *c.*1682–5.
[83] See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, esp. 316–18, 338–42, 371–3.
[84] J. Spitzer and N. Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford, 2004), 90–1, 95, 184–9.
[85] Draghi, *From Harmony, from Heav'nly Harmony*, ed. White, 5, 69, 76, 85.
[86] See P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 44–5.
[87] See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 215–19, 408–10; Holman, *Life after Death*, 43; D.R.S. Force, '"A Holding, United-Constant Friend": The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music', Ph.D. thesis (The Open University, 2019), 89.
[88] See Hingeston's biography in *BDECM*, i. 574–6.
[89] For Lewis, see T. MacCracken, *Biographical Sketches of English Viol Makers, with Brief Surveys of their Surviving Work* (2018) <@>.
[90] I am grateful to Margaret Urquhart for information about this instrument, which was formerly owned by Anthony Van Kampen and is now in a private collection.
[91] For the *Barbados Song*, see White and Woolley, 'Jeremiah Clarke', 30–1; White, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, 48–9.
[92] Modern edition: *William Croft: Canticles and Anthems with Orchestra*, ed. D. Burrows, Musica Britannica 91 (London, 2011), 15, 50, 51, 55.
[93] For the practice of accompanying from score, see esp. P. Holman, '"Evenly, Softly and Sweetly Acchording to All": The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee and Holman (Oxford, 1996), 353–82, at 355–6, 361–5, 368–72; R. Herissone, *'To fill, forbear, or adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music* (Aldershot, 2006), 9–12, 115–21; Holman, *Before the Baton*, 14–17, 57–62.
[94] *The Works of John Eccles*, ed. M. Burden, A.E. Winkler, A. Howard, K. Lowerre *et al.* (Middleton WI, from 2004).

J.S. Bach, *Concerto in D minor BWV 1052*R, edited and reconstructed by Fabrizio Ammetto

Edition HH, 2020; ISMN 979-0-708185-30-7; ISMN 979-0-708185-15-4.
Full score and solo part: £26.00; Instrumental parts (3/3/2/2/Cembalo/Continuo): £56.00

Jude Ziliak

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Wilhelm Rust and Philipp Spitta proposed that Johann Sebastian Bach's Harpsichord Concerto in D minor BWV 1052 was based on a lost violin concerto (BWV 1052R). Almost as soon as the proposal was in print, attempts were made to reconstruct the putative original, beginning with an edition by Ferdinand David in 1873. This theory of the origin of the piece held sway among most scholars until the last decade, when new research by Christoph Wolff and Gregory Butler gave rise to a competing view that the original instrument was organ or harpsichord.[1] Fabrizio Ammetto offers a rejoinder to Wolff and Butler in his new edition of BWV 1052R, arguing in his introduction that textual features of the source material, particularly the early version preserved in the hand of C.P.E. Bach, known as BWV 1052a, indicate that the true original must indeed have been a violin concerto. Ammetto's arguments will be made in further detail in a forthcoming article in *Studi Vivaldiani*.[2] In the introduction to his edition, Ammetto outlines a dual rationale for the need for a new edition of BWV 1052R. First, he argues that BWV 1052a is the closest text available to the lost original, so by taking it as his primary source, he offers a reconstruction which is less speculative than its predecessors. Ammetto's edition makes a strong case for this argument; several passages from BWV 1052a translate more naturally to the violin than do the parallel passages in the other source material. Second, he summarily dismisses prior reconstructions as 'unsatisfactory'. This is a fair assessment. No matter how it is reconstructed, BWV 1052R is far more difficult than Bach's extant violin concertos, but prior editions have strained credibility. Donald Tovey wrote in 1935 that the D Minor Violin Concerto was 'the greatest and most difficult violin concerto before the time of Beethoven', but went on to describe the *Bach-Gesellschaft* edition by Robert Reitz as 'demonstrably wrong in every possible way besides several impossible ways'.[3] Reitz, who made the edition in 1917, made technical demands that are plainly anachronistic and frequently recall Brahms and Bruch. Wilfried Fischer's violin part in the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (1970, with revisions by Werner Breig in 1976) is more akin to the most demanding Italian concerti of Bach's lifetime.

Ammetto's introduction focuses on the practical suitability of the solo part for the violin. Relative to Fischer, Ammetto brings certain very high passages down by an octave and slightly reduces the prevalence of double stopping. This brings the overall technical requirements of the concerto into line with those of Bach's Sinfonia BWV 1045, for example, or concertos by Pisendel. In this respect, Ammetto's is a more plausible reconstruction of the hypothetical original than Fischer or Reitz, and any violinist wishing to play the work should consult it. However, technical issues in the third movement mean that players will continue to need to refer to other editions or to the original sources for alternate readings of certain passages. Ammetto's first and second movements successfully adapt the keyboard solo parts to the violin, yielding interesting points of variation from Fischer's. In the first movement, bb.27–34, following BWV 1052a, are an octave lower than in Fischer's version, and there is attractive chromatic material in b.28 not found in other reconstructions. Bars 133–42 in the first movement, again following BWV 1052a, have an interestingly varied contour and tessitura. The second movement differs from Fischer's reconstruction only at the level of detail, and in

every case Ammetto's choices are logical and appealing. By contrast, the third movement is marred by historically improbable and needlessly awkward writing in the bariolage passages. While Bach's own violin writing is sometimes ungrateful, there are certain principles that he never violated in bariolage writing: double stops and chords are used to reinforce metrical structure; in arpeggio passages given in abbreviated block-chord notation, the number of notes in each chord never exceeds four; and in bariolage passages, it is never necessary to skip over a string underneath a slur. All these principles are broken here. In the third movement, bb.90–91 and 100–1 (the latter passage printed a fifth too low by mistake), Ammetto proposes an arpeggiation texture in which the odd-numbered semiquavers are single notes, and the even-numbered ones are double stops. This violates the principle of using double stops to create metrical clarity and is unnecessarily difficult. At bb.138–149 in the third movement, Ammetto's score, too literally reproducing the keyboard part, gives six-, seven-, and eight-voiced chords – never seen in Bach's violin writing – and the realization he gives in the solo part, while appealing musically, does not resemble Bach's typical arpeggio realizations for the violin. In the arpeggio *ad libitum* passage at the end of the cadenza in the third movement, bb.265–80, several of the chords are voiced such that the player must skip over a string in the middle of the arpeggio. This reviewer has never encountered this unidiomatic difficulty in eighteenth-century violin writing; it could have been avoided with unobtrusive revoicing, as Fischer and Benjamin Shute both did in their respective editions.[4]

A challenge in reconstructing Bach's violin writing from his keyboard music is determining where, if at all, to add slurs. When transcribing his violin concerti for harpsichord, Bach omitted many of the slurs that he provided in the violin versions (consider, for example, BWV 1041/ii compared with BWV 1058/ii). While Fischer and Breig were conservative in offering articulation markings beyond those present in the original sources, Ammetto responds to the situation by taking Bach's surviving violin concerti as models and proposing numerous slurs. The suggestions are sound and reflect Ammetto's deep familiarity not only with Bach's violin music, but also that of Vivaldi and Torelli. Yet no distinction is made between the editorial suggestions and slurs that Bach or his copyists wrote into the keyboard solos. Players who wish to have such distinctions made in the part would have to refer to Shute's reconstruction. That edition, like Ammetto's, offers sensible and idiomatic editorial slurs, but differentiates carefully between editorial and original markings. A similar issue arises with the *ad libitum* arpeggio passages. These are given in the solo part with suggested arpeggiation fully realized; only by consulting the score will one find the original skeletal block-chord notation that Bach typically provided in such passages.

Conversely, the brief cadenza at b.109 in the first movement is omitted, leaving nothing but a fermata. The critical report accounts for this by pointing to the presence of similar fermatas in Bach's extant violin concertos, saying nothing of the existing cadenza which is written into the first movement of the Concerto in E major BWV 1042 – and included in Bach's harpsichord transcription of the same work, BWV 1054. The performer could easily elect to cross out a printed cadenza and substitute it with their own, but the player who wishes to play Bach's own cadenza (which translates neatly to the violin) while using Ammetto's edition, will have to make the extra effort of locating it and then inserting it.

These issues of slurring, arpeggiation, and cadenzas ultimately underline the extent to which reconstructing a potential D minor violin concerto by Bach requires not only speculation, but imaginative input. The role of the editor is not so much to establish an authoritative text as to assist and inform the performer in arriving at their own imagined version of the work. Ammetto's version is not a self-sufficient guide to this process; the problematic third movement and the somewhat heavy editorial hand mean that performers will need to continue to refer to editions by Fischer and Shute. Nevertheless, novel readings of numerous passages and the robust and illuminating critical report will make Ammetto's reconstruction valuable to performers and scholars alike.

[1] Christoph Wolff, 'Did J. S. Bach Write Organ Concertos?: Apropos the Prehistory of Cantata Movements with Obbligato Organ', *Bach Perspectives*, 10 (2017), 60–75; Gregory Butler, 'The Choir Loft as Chamber: Concerted Movements by Bach from the Mid- to Late 1720s', *Bach Perspectives*, 10 (2017), 76–86.

[2] Fabrizio Ammetto, 'Ancora a proposito dell'origine di BWV 1052 di J.S. Bach: un concerto per violino debitore a Vivaldi', *Studi Vivaldiani*, 20 (2020), forthcoming.

[3] Donald Francis Tovey, *Concertos and Choral Works: Selections from Essays in Musical Analysis* (Oxford, 1989), 27–8.

[4] J.S. Bach, *Concerto in D Minor, BWV 1052r*, reconstructed and edited by Benjamin Shute (Albany, CA, 2013).

Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Georgian England – A Social and Musical History*

Yale University Press, 2020; ISBN 9780300212471; xx+304 pp.

Martyn Hodgson

I take my hat off to Chris Page: he's again written another fine volume in a series unearthing much new information about the social and musical history of the guitar in England. The previous two books covered the four and five-course guitar from late Tudor times through to the Stuart reigns; this one deals with the Georgian period.[1] However, notwithstanding this theme, most of the new work focusses on the very early nineteenth century – it may have been prudent to replace the prescriptive dynastic title with some other, thereby allowing fuller consideration across the whole of this peak period of early guitar usage. In particular, it's a pity that Page wasn't able to extend his work partly into Victoria's reign and so cover important, if often idiosyncratic, guitarists working in England just a little later when the instrument was also increasingly found amongst classes other than just the more leisured.

In fact, *pace* the prescriptive title, the first substantive chapter deals with the guitar during the reign of the last Stuart monarch, Anne (r.1702–14) – this material would have been better suited to the earlier volume which dealt specifically with this period. Contrarywise, the earlier Stuart book contains a telling 1747 portrait of the Earl of Blessington, in 'antick' dress, with a five-course guitar, which would have been more appropriate in this latest volume, demonstrating that the five-course instrument was still around in mid-eighteenth-century England – if only for dressing-up! Similarly, the inclusion of a chapter on the 'English guitar' (or guittar) – a small wire-strung instrument derived from the cittern – sits awkwardly with a work focussing on the period guitar. Indeed, whilst including the 'guittar' might tell us a bit about some other instrument played in mid-eighteenth-century England, it really has little to do with the guitar proper which, even if still within living memory, appears to have been hardly played in England during this period. Conversely, a more related family of invented instruments (harp lute, harp-guitar, lyre-guitar, etc.), which were much closer competitors to the guitar during the later peak period, are not explored: since these were targeted at the same domestic market as the new six-string guitar, their inclusion would have provided an extremely useful perspective on and context to the social and musical history of all plucked instruments (including the guitar) at this revolutionary time.

Like the others in the set, the latest book is subtitled 'A Social and Musical History' and this, rather than organological matters, is the principal focus of the new research by Page with findings based on gathering together many literary, archival and pictorial documents. The work follows a similar pattern to its predecessors: an introduction setting the scene; various more focussed chapters; a couple of appendices (in unnecessarily small print) – one with even more information on the 'English guittar'; an extensive bibliography (20 pages) separated into primary and modern sources (including some relevant dissertations and

articles); and a useful index. However, much to be regretted is the relegation of the extensive and very useful footnotes away from the relevant page (as helpfully employed in the first volume) and now put into a wholly separate section at the end of the book – thus making referencing a tedious occupation. Inexplicably, these notes are set in an extremely tiny, faint and difficult-to-read typeface. It is truly puzzling why, in these days of sophisticated computer type-setting, where such changes can be made at the click of a button, a more convenient and readable layout was not adopted.

Professor Page has clearly put considerable effort into scouring the archives (including newspapers, reviews, written anecdotes and similar sources) and the results shed more light on the social history of the guitar in this period than hitherto readily available. This largely new and original research is to be much applauded: it gives the work a discipline and authority not always evident in other books on the history of the guitar. The various chapters cover:

- the guitar in the time of Queen Anne;
- some notes on the eighteenth-century 'English guit(t)ar' (perhaps included as a filler in the absence of much about the five-course guitar in mid-century – though more about the swift decline of the instrument in England might have been useful in understanding the sudden impact of the later six-string form);
- first representations of the new six-string/course guitar in England, including an important early (1765) portrait of Maria Walpole with a, presumably Spanish, six-course instrument. The suggestion that Merchi was the pioneer of single strings on the guitar ignores the crucial role of native-Italian makers of the new six-string guitar and their fundamental significance in spreading the fashionable new instrument across Europe (and England) – only Spain, where earlier the six-course guitar was invented and popularised (not dealt with here), resisted this urge and continued with doubled courses for decades more.
- general introduction of the six-string guitar into England around 1800;
- influence of the Peninsular war with the soldiers' return;
- guitarists and teachers in the provinces as well as London
- associations with the middle class and the increasing popularity of the 'romantic' guitar – especially for vocal accompaniment;
- the instrument as played and perceived by women and men;
- adoption by some in the working classes – although, in truth, much of this important subject lies outside the regrettably prescriptive Georgian scope of this book and, accordingly, is not adequately covered here.

The work gets into its stride with the advent of the nineteenth century and Page seems more comfortable analysing the wealth of printed comment available from this era; he presents much new and fascinating information about the guitar's social place and some of its musical usage. Parts of this story have been told by other authors and there's also more information in various papers (many available online, including some by Page). Unfortunately, because of the procrustean restriction to the 'Georgian' period, the continuity of development from the late-Georgian (Regency) through early Victorian periods (the early romantic), which consolidated the guitar in England for some time to come, is not explored. For example, whilst briefly touching on the guitar amongst the lower classes with a brief glimpse into the early Victorian age (a nice example from Dickens describing the Misses Briggs giving an impromptu performance for voices and guitars on a steam packet), the important larger joined-up story is unable to be fully told. It is much to be hoped that Page will reconsider and add a Victorian volume to his series and even, perhaps, include the Edwardian era and the still vigorous musical hall influences.

Wider consideration of the context of the guitar within overall musical and social life during this period is rather limited. For example, it might have been instructive to compare the usage and popularity of the guitar from 1800 to 1830 (the peak time of guitar interest covered by this book) with other instruments, say, the flute, fiddle, or new-fangled piano – especially the popular (and increasingly affordable) square piano. This is

especially the case in the late-Georgian period when truly enormous numbers of pianos (generally 'squares') were produced to supply the mainly domestic market. To give some context and scale, even a relatively small manufacturer such as Rolfe produced over 7,000 instruments over a period of almost 30 years. The larger companies such as Broadwood, Clementi, Longmann & Broderip, Tomkison and others taken as a whole probably produced something around 3,000 instrument a year! How these staggering numbers compare with the modest numbers of guitars is really not considered and such evaluation might have produced a needed perspective on the true comparative popularity of the guitar at the time – or whether it was merely a fashionable 'fringe' instrument of the day.

Whilst, like the earlier books, this work doesn't set out to explore technological or organological matters, it is nevertheless surprising that the relevant subject of stringing is not explored (as it is briefly in the earlier books) – although Burney is usefully quoted about the power of the new overwound bass strings on the guitar. Similarly, Shelley's conserved guitar with, it is thought, original strings suggesting very high tensions might have been mentioned in the text along with other contemporary stringing references since these may also have had some influence on the adoption of the instrument in society.

The publishers of the earlier volumes (Cambridge University Press) produced books of high quality, nicely presented and well bound. However it's a shame they didn't publish this latest book since a number of features of this new Yale University Press production are less than perfect. For example: the quality of the paper is coarse and does not allow the clarity of reproduced paintings and photographs in such fine detail as the CUP editions; the binding is extremely tight so that, despite much manipulation, it proves difficult to have the pages open reasonably flat.

Nevertheless, Page once again presents us with valuable and well-sourced descriptions containing much new documentary and pictorial evidence. Like the two earlier works, this on the six-string instrument is a good contribution to understanding the guitar's position in English musical society – a topic frequently neglected by many writers on the guitar. It should be read by all serious players of the period guitar and, of course, procured by all academic institutions, public libraries and other bodies involved with the social history of early instruments and their performance.

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[1] *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge, 2015) and *The Guitar in Stuart England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge, 2017). See my review in *Early Music Performer*, 43 (2018).

[2] William Rolfe established his own piano manufacturing business in 1798 and by the mid-1820s the serial numbers exceeded 7000. Figures for the Broadwood company's output of square pianos can be seen at *Broadwood Archive Services* (<http://www.broadwood.co.uk/serial_numbers.html#Square%20pianos>).

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