EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER

☞ THE Ancient and Noble Art of Muſick, being the firſt Art after the Creation, and has always been made uſe of, by Kings, Queens, and all other People in general; and is good for Miſtreſſes of Families to exerciſe themſelves, and their Children, to elevate the Spirit, and prevent Melancholy: So for the good of all People, but more eſpecially the Famale Sex. There is Two Gentlewomen, that teacheth to play upon the Harpſicord and Spinnet, after the neweſt, fineſt, and eaſieſt way by Book, and at reaſonable Rates, at the places following, *Viz.* every Munday, from ten till one of the Clock, at Mr. *Raliſons*, next Door to the Sign of the *Guy* of *Warwick* in *Iſlington*, every *Tueſday* and *Thurſday*, from the Hours of ten till twelve at the *Black Boy* in Church Court, by St. *Martins* Church in the Fields near *Chearing-Croſs*, and at Mr. Balls in Ball-Court in great *Old Baily*, every *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, from the Hours of nine till twelve in the Forenoon, at Mrs. *Gillets* a boarding School, at the *Hand* and *Pen* in *Lemmom-ſtreet* in *Goodman's-fields*, every *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, from the Hours of three till five in the Afternoon.

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COVER:
A seventeenth-century advertisement from *Early English Books: Tract Supplement* (<https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>)

Editorial

The present issue of *EMP* continues a recent concentration on eighteenth-century British topics and new repertoire. Michael Talbot's investigation into John Sheeles, following on from Andrew Pink's earlier work published in *EMP* 30 (2012), has drawn attention to a figure whose music deserves greater attention from performers than has been the case hitherto. Sheeles's two books of harpsichord music have been published in an edition by Talbot, who has also produced another of some of the simple but attractive songs with sacred texts that Sheeles published later in his life; the latter are offered as one of two online supplements to this issue available for download to members of NEMA.[1] The second article considers an overlooked set of partbooks that were probably used by a music society in Durham in the mid eighteenth century. It accompanies Simon Fleming's edition and reconstruction of a concerto by James Nares that is unique to the source, which is offered in score and parts as a second music supplement. The third article is a continuation of Richard Bethell's investigations into the tempi adopted by modern performers in eighteenth-century orchestral music (see also *EMP* 41). This time he draws our attention to a repertoire for which there is an important source of information on historical tempi.

Andrew Woolley and James Hume
October 2018

[1] See <http://www.earlymusic.info/sheet_music.htm>. The editions of the harpsichord music have been published by Edition HH (Launton).

More on The Life and Music of John Sheeles (1695–1765) Part 2: Later Years and Legacy

Michael Talbot

This is the second part of a two-part article tracing in some detail the life of the talented but little-known composer John Sheeles, with a brief commentary on his music. The first part of the article, discussing his origins and early years, appeared in *EMP* issue 42.

Sheeles's second marriage, to Ann Elizabeth Irwin, proved a turning point in his life that enhanced his financial security, widened his social contacts and deepened his religious commitment. The couple obtained a licence to marry on 20 October 1735,[1] and the wedding ceremony took place at the City of London church of St Dionis Backchurch on 4 November of that year.[2]

Reconstructing Ann Elizabeth's family background is not easy. Two tantalizing leads are given in the vast introduction by her (and also John's) former school pupil Eliza Berkeley (née Frinsham, 1734–1800) to an edition of her late son's poems.[3] This editor-cum-autobiographer recalls: 'Mrs. Sheeles was a most accomplished woman, of very good family, grand-daughter of the excellent Sir John Smith, cousin-german to the late — Lord Montford'. Henry Bromley, 1st Baron Montford (1705–55), is known to history as an inveterate gambler who committed suicide in the face of ruinous debts, but I have not managed to pin down which of the many coeval Sir John Smiths he was related to. Luckily, there is an easier route to discovering her lineage. In her will of 16 June 1777 Ann Elizabeth left a legacy of £300 to her nephew Eyles Irwin in Chennai (Madras).[4] This nephew started out in the employ of the East India Company but in later life made a name as a traveller, merchant and versatile literary figure.[5] His father, Ann Elizabeth's brother, was a Captain James Irwin originally from Roscommon in Ireland who started out as a private trader with his own ship but later entered the service of the same company in Bengal.[6] Ann Elizabeth also had a sister, Catherine, who in 1733 married Isaac van den Hoeck, a bookseller on the Strand.

We first learn of Ann Elizabeth as a schoolteacher of young ladies from an advertisement in the *Daily Gazette* of 30 November 1740 notifying the public that from Midsummer 1743 the boarding school in Queen Square (which we know to have been at no. 24) run by Mr and Mrs Calverley would be transferred to the ownership of Mrs Gambier, a teacher at their school for 18 years, in partnership with Mrs Sheeles.[7] The reason for the advertisement was that Thomas Calverley, a former dancing-master of French extraction, was already over 90 years old and planning an orderly retirement that would not disrupt the school or alarm parents. Martha Gambier (d. 1774), who lived in Gloucester Street adjoining Queen Square, was one of many schoolteachers of Huguenot origin active at that time in London; she became a lifelong friend of the Sheeles and Irwin families. It appears probable that Ann Elizabeth Sheeles had similarly been a teacher at the Calverleys' school for a number of years, and it may indeed have been on school premises that John Sheeles, as a visiting teacher, first met her.

Eighteenth-century reports and recollections concerning Mrs Sheeles, Mrs Gambier and their school – from Eliza Berkeley, various members of the Burney family and many others – are unanimously laudatory and bear witness to friendships between teachers and pupils, often extending to pupils' parents, that endured long after schooldays had ended. The Gambier-Sheeles school became a kind of Eton for daughters of the nobility and gentry and a training ground equally for society ladies and bluestockings. John Sheeles's role in its running seems, however, to have been only peripheral beyond musical matters. Andrew Pink reads a more active managerial involvement into the fact that John refers to 'our business' in his will,[8] but it must be remembered that in the eighteenth century all husbands, by virtue of the principle known as coverture, automatically became the

legal owners of their wives' property, which may be the appropriate context in which to interpret 'our'.

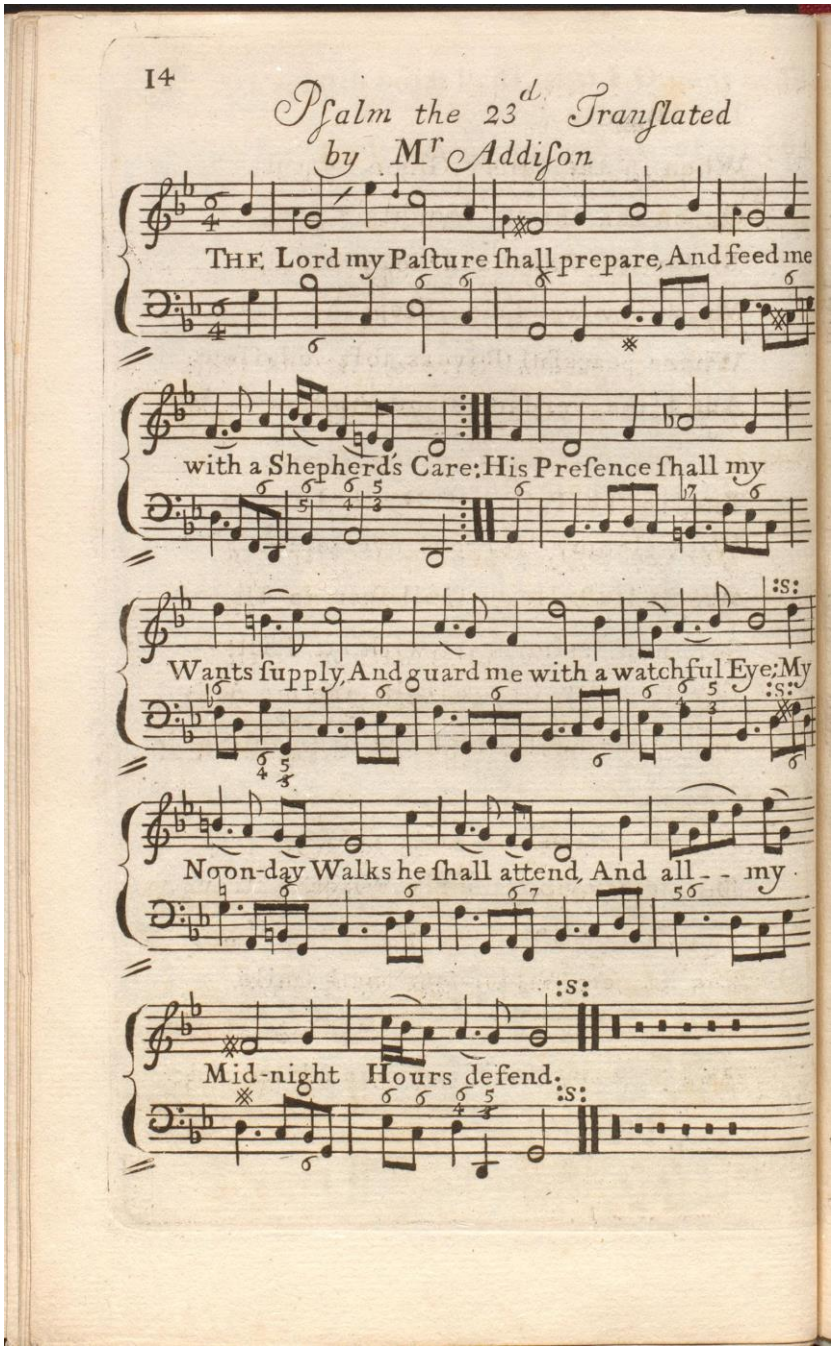
A puzzling footnote in the edition by Slava Klima and two colleagues of Charles Burney's memoirs states that John Shields (the editors use the alternative surname form) 'had two academies, one at or near Chessington'.[9] Closer to the end of the eighteenth century, there was certainly a different John Shields, who was the proprietor of an academy in Islington, and this must be one source of the confusion.[10] No school in Chessington, Surrey, is traceable, but the thought occurs that in this instance 'academy' could perhaps be intended in its other sense: that of a private concert. If so, the reference would most likely be to Chessington Hall, where the music-loving playwright Samuel Crisp, a great friend of the Burney family and therefore moving in the same circles as the Sheeles family, resided.

Only one musical collection by Sheeles postdates his second marriage, but it is in some ways his most original and influential: *The Sky Lark*.[11] As we saw in the first part of this article, this slim volume came out in 1741 from William Smith.[12] The information on the title page that it was 'printed for the Author' suggests that Smith saw little commercial potential in it.[13] In fact, it contains musical settings for voice and bass of hymns suitable for use in private devotions. The seven chosen texts have a common origin in issues that appeared during 1712 of Joseph Addison's periodical *The Spectator*. Four are certainly by Addison himself;[14] one is an extract from Alexander Pope's 'sacred eclogue' *Messiah*, re-branded as a Christmas hymn;[15] one is a metrical paraphrase of Ps. 114 by Isaac Watts (although Sheeles mistakenly credits it to Addison's collaborator Thomas Tickell, who was responsible for the first posthumous edition of his complete works);[16] the remaining hymn is anonymous.[17] All are sensitive and attractive settings: the pre-eminence today of *The spacious firmament on high* results primarily from the fact that its simplicity enabled it to succeed as a congregational hymn, whereas the greater melodic and rhythmic intricacy of its companions precluded this. *The Sky Lark* resembles Maurice Greene's celebrated *Spensers Amoretti* (published in 1739) in paying as much attention to literary as to musical coherence, thereby anticipating the song cycles of the nineteenth century. In his study of Christopher Smart (1722–71) Chris Mounsey hypothesises plausibly that it was John Sheeles who drew the poet into his mentor Stukeley's circle, and that it was the musician, too, who suggested to Smart the idea of writing metrical translations of the complete psalms for liturgical use.[18] (More speculative, however, is Mounsey's suggestion that the ailing Smart was recruited for a short time in the 1750s to teach Latin to Mrs Sheeles's boarders.)[19]

The Sky Lark was dedicated in Sheeles's customary disarming manner to two young noblewomen. Both were pupils of his and, as we learn from Eliza Berkeley, former students at Mrs Sheeles's school during the period immediately before she took over the reins from the Calverleys.[20] They were Lady Albinia (1718–54) and Lady Mary (c.1727–47) Bertie, daughters of Peregrine Bertie, 2nd Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven. Once again, a Lincolnshire connection surfaces, for the duke's main residence was at Long Sutton, South Lincolnshire.[21]

Sheeles's song-writing gifts emerge unobtrusively but unmistakably from this collection. Ex. 1 shows the music for the first stanza of Addison's four-stanza translation of Ps. 23 (stanzas 2–4 share the music of stanza 1). The limpid grace of the melody and the caressing figure of a dotted crotchet followed by three quavers treated almost in ostinato fashion in the bass capture the psalmist's mood exquisitely, and the climactic ascent to a high E flat in the antepenultimate bar is perfect. The natural form of accompaniment to a 'chamber hymn' of this type would be performed by the seated singer herself (or himself): in the 'Hallelujah' conclusion to the Pope setting there is a six-bar untexted section captioned 'Ritornel' where one would expect the singer to give her vocal cords a rest and entrust the treble part momentarily to her right hand – any alternative solution, such as using a separate keyboard accompanist plus possibly a violinist, would seem an artificial, unnecessarily complicated substitute for self-accompaniment. As the phenomenon of the singer-songwriter in the popular music of today reminds us, a peculiar intimacy and aura of sincerity (highly appropriate to a hymn with the character of a prayer) results from entrusting singing and

playing to the same person.[22] Self-accompaniment also encapsulated in its purest form the eighteenth-century ideal of feminine service to the household by wives or unmarried daughters; contemporary descriptions of it in literature and portrayals of it in iconography are too numerous to need citation.



Ex. 1. John Sheeles: 'Psalm the 23d Translated by M.r Addison' (*The Sky Lark*, p. 14). Facsimile reproduction of the copy in GB-Lbl, C.688.

To return to William Stukeley whose importance for Sheeles's early years was discussed in the first part: ordained into the Church of England in 1729, he held the rather undemanding rectorate of All Saints, Stamford, from 1730 to 1748. In late 1747 he was persuaded by the lay patron of St George the Martyr, the Duke of Montagu, and also by his friend Martin Folkes, president of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries and likewise a resident of Queen Square, to return to his old London haunts and become rector of that church. Once installed, he formed around himself a new 'Stukeley circle', having as his

congregants the Sheeles family, Christopher Smart and John Sherratt. In religion Stukeley was High Anglican, and his congregation was dominated by non-jurors (believers in the inviolability of kingship and thus potential Jacobites), but this tendency was balanced by anti-Catholic sentiment and strident patriotism.

It is finally time to pay some attention to John and Ann Elizabeth's four children, all of whom did significant things with their lives, and one of whom carried on his father's interest in music. The first-born was James Sheeles, who was christened on 24 February 1738/9 at St George the Martyr.[23] After attending Eton, James was admitted as a pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1755, obtaining his BA in 1759 and MA in 1762. Concurrently, he prepared for a clerical career, being ordained Deacon on 31 August 1761. Almost immediately, and before full ordination, he was presented as a curate and vicar designate to the parish church at Long Burton, Somerset, whose lay patron was Hugh Percy, 2nd Duke of Northumberland. The Duke's daughter, Lady Elizabeth Anne Frances (1744–61), and an unnamed illegitimate daughter had both been educated at the Gambier-Sheeles school, and it was John Sheeles who obtained this preferment for his son, together with permission to have members of his family buried in the same church's chancel.[24] James, who had literary ambitions, did his best to repay the debt in advance. In June 1761 he published in London a 'funeral Pindaric poem', *Threnodia Northumbrica*, in memory of Elizabeth Anne Frances, also taking the opportunity to tell readers: 'In the Winter will be Published, ODES on several Subjects, and ACADEMIA, a Poem in Six Books By Mr. SHEELES'. When he later brought out in print a sermon that he had delivered on 12 March 1762 in St George the Martyr, however, he had to announce to his readers that he had put his literary projects on hold: 'The Publication of Academia, a Poem in Six Books, and Odes, on Several Subjects, by Mr. Sheeles, is Postponed 'till further Notice'. Perhaps he suffered from a progressive illness such as consumption that presaged his imminent death. In the event, he passed away in Long Burton on 29 October 1762, becoming four days later the first member of the Sheeles family to be interred in the chancel.[25] His exact date of death is given in a commemorative text with the outline of a funerary urn probably penned by his father that prefaces a short epitaph in verse added by Christopher Smart.[26]

The elder of the Sheeles's two daughters, Anne (generally called Anna) Frances, was christened at St George the Martyr on 15 October 1741.[27] She never married, and indeed had not long since reached her majority when she died in 1764, being duly buried at Long Burton on 19 June.[28] She is famous for one thing only: for being a vital member of the small group of benevolent conspirators who 'sprang' Christopher Smart from his involuntary captivity in Mr Potter's madhouse in Bethnal Green in January 1763. The group's leader was John Sherratt, who was finally doing something to redeem his murky career by becoming a campaigner for the reform and regulation of private asylums. In his *Epistle to John Sherratt, Esq.* of 1763 Smart credits Anna Frances with laying the foundation for the escape, calling her 'one sublime, transcendent maid'.[29]

The Sheeles's third child, Thomas, was christened at St George the Martyr on 8 December 1743.[30] He went to sea and followed the example of his uncle James Irwin by joining the service of the East India Company, ending his days as an administrator based at Fort William in Kolkata. He died there a wealthy man in December 1774.[31] His executors listed his property, which included music and musical instruments. The relevant entries have been collated and transcribed by Ian Woodfield in his study of the cultivation of European music in the Raj during the later eighteenth century.[32] Woodfield does not clearly identify the list as one connected with the disposal of a person's effects after death, and even ponders, in view of the size of the collection (with over 120 items, many composite), whether Thomas was a dealer in music; nor does he link Thomas to John Sheeles. I would propose that this is in large part John Sheeles's music collection inherited by Thomas and then very considerably augmented after John's death in 1765 by new acquisitions obtained from England and intended for performance in India. The collection contains much mid-century harpsichord music (John's harpsichord suites are not named by the compiler, but could be hidden among the less fully described items)

and even more music for violin or string ensemble. Tellingly, the listed musical instruments include four violins, two transverse flutes and a fortepiano. One of the violins is described as 'a Cremona Fiddle sent out to the deceased by Doctor Burney Music Master to the Queen | in a Case | Cost 35 6^{s} in England' – eloquent testimony to the friendship between the two families.

It is not possible to be certain that any particular item in the collection, however old, came from John, since all music, and especially published music, could be acquired on the open market at auction or by purchase from a dealer just as well as inherited from a parent or relative. This is true, for example, of the many partbooks for Corelli sonatas in the list. One's attention is caught, however, by a very large number of items that belong more naturally to the working collection of a composer than to the performing material of a non-composer. Many items do not name a composer and are clearly manuscript: these could well have contained autograph drafts or fair copies of John's music. Examples are the '3 Books ruled for Music and cont[ainin]g a few Pieces Marbled Covers' and 'A Small Book of Music'.[33] The item described simply as 'a Book of Songs' could even have been John's *Collection of Songs* (if so, perhaps the 'printer's copy' for it).[34] But one cannot disagree with Woodfield when he writes: 'On the whole, the collection reflects what was available in London in the 1760s and 1770s'.[35] Anything later than 1765 cannot, of course, have been an inheritance from John. Thomas Sheeles was unquestionably a very prominent amateur musician in Bengal, keen to keep up with the latest fashions and therefore an assiduous collector in his own right – and perhaps a person with special responsibilities for supplying amateur chamber ensembles, as Woodfield surmises.[36] If one insists that something of John's music and musical collection must be embedded somewhere in the list, this is mostly for circumstantial reasons. Neither John's will nor Ann Elizabeth's mentions music (as distinct from musical instruments), and there is no record of its disposal after his death. The most natural thing would have been for it to pass to Thomas via John's widow, who was also her husband's executor responsible for transmitting inherited funds (totalling £1,000) to his son in Bengal, although John's harpsichord music could possibly have been set aside as performing material, or at least as a memento, for his daughter Martha Sophia, to whom we now come.

The most conventional, and for her parents perhaps reassuring, life of the four was that of Martha Sophia, who was christened at St George the Martyr on 2 May 1748 and lived until 1832.[37] She was named for her godmother Martha Gambier, who seems often to have been commemorated in the names of the children of relatives.[38] In 1769 Martha Sophia made a conventionally 'good' marriage to a landowner from Co. Durham, Christopher Thompson Maling, and her children did even better, in some cases elevating themselves into the nobility.[39]

John's life continued, it seems, in indolent tranquillity. As his will shows, he and Ann Elizabeth had the financial means in the early 1760s to purchase outright from the executors of Sir John Smith, 2nd Baronet of Isleworth (d. 11 October 1760), a house at 10 Queen Square that was let to a series of distinguished tenants.[40] His life drew elegantly to its close, ending shortly before 27 February 1765, when his body was laid to rest in Long Burton.[41] Ann Elizabeth remained in Queen Square until, around the time of Martha Gambier's death in 1774, she retired from school management and took up residence in Welbeck Street, where, on 11 August 1777, she died (to quote the short obituary in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*) 'after a long and painful illness', following which she was interred in Long Burton on 18 August.[42] That the press should notice and record her passing, whereas her husband died without any similar mention, speaks volumes both for how exceptional a woman she was and for how, in a sense, John had allowed himself after their marriage to piggy-back on her career at the expense of his own.

But between 1717 and 1741 John had achieved enough as a composer for his music not to deserve oblivion. Our present task must be to correct this.

[1] The marriage is listed in the dataset 'Faculty Office Marriage Licences' hosted by the website <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/> (hereafter abbreviated as FMP). All web references in the present article were verified on 5 July 2018).
[2] Joseph Lemuel Chester, *The Reiester Booke of Saynte Denis Backchurch Parishe* (London, 1878), 66.
[3] *Poems by the Late George-Monck Berkeley, Esq. […] with a Preface by the Editor Consisting of Some Anecdotes of Mr Monck Berkeley and Several of His Friends*, ed. Eliza Berkeley (London, 1797), dcxxv (footnote). Elizabeth Eger's biography of Eliza Berkeley in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http//www.oxforddnb.con>) is recommended.
[4] Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/1035/12.
[5] See the entry 'Eyles, Irwin' by D. L. Prior in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (< http://www.oxforddnb.com>).
[6] On James Irwin, see Barry Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge, 2012), 45. Irwin's date of death, 20 June 1752, is given in Julian James Cotton, *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras Possessing Historical or Archæological Interest*, revised edition ed. B. S. Baliga (Madras, 1945–46), 2 vols., ii,165.
[7] The 'Mrs Calverley' seems in reality to have been Mr Calverley's unmarried daughter Elizabeth Henrietta, his wife Mary having died in 1733. The family surname was originally 'Caverley' (an adaptation of French 'Cavalier'), but the school proprietor had apparently gained permission from Sir Walter Calverley Blackett to add another letter L to his surname and adopt the Calverley arms. See Walter Calverley Trevelyan, 'Change of Name: Cavalier to Caverley; Calverley to Calvert', *Notes and Queries*, 3/10 (1866), 65. Thomas Calverley died in 1745. His cheerful vigour in old age impressed his neighbours, who included the historian John Campbell (resident at 20 Queen Square), in whose partly translated, partly original, study of old age entitled *Hermippus redivivus, or, The Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave* (3rd edition, London, 1771) we find footnoted on pp. 54–5 the following delightful pen-portrait: 'All the world hath heard of Mr. Calverley, who kept a boarding-school for young ladies in Queen Square. He maintained his health, his vigour, his chearfulness, his good sense, and his good humour, to upwards of a hundred [an only slightly exaggerated age], and would say merrily, when he heard men forty years younger than himself, coughing, groaning, and complaining; "what a troublesome thing it is to be plagued with old folks!" This gentleman after he parted with his school, did not survive long, and it was said he was himself of opinion, that he might only have not lived, but have enjoyed life, some years longer, if he had not quitted business'.
[8] 'John Sheeles: eighteenth-century composer, harpsichordist, and teacher', *EMP*, 30 (2012), 18–20, at 19.
[9] *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney*, 1726–1769, ed. Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry S. Grant (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1988), 133n10.
[10] The school is listed, for instance, in Peter Hudson, *A New Introduction to Trade and Business* (London, 1767), vi.
[11] The full title of the collection runs: The | SKY LARK | A Collection of all | the DIVINE ODES | and HYMNS Taken out | of the SPECTATORS | Set to Musick by | M.r Sheeles. The digitised volume is published online by Google Books.
[12] See 'More on the Life … Part 1', 7.
[13] A mention of the publication of the collection in the October 1741 issue of *The London Magazine and Monthly Chronicler* (p. 520) names as stockist 'J. Osborne' – presumably a continuer of the business of John Osborne (d. 1734) in Paternoster Row; the price is given as 1s. However, the Fleet Street publisher Henry Lintot includes *The Sky Lark* in a list of books printed for him that was appended to the third volume of his edition of *The Odyssey of Homer* (London, 1745). Sheeles may in fact have marketed the book via several retail outlets as well as selling it, one supposes, from his home. He evidently believed, doubtless correctly, that the section of the public most likely to purchase it frequented general booksellers rather than music sellers.
[14] These are the hymn *When all thy mercies, o God* (9 August 1712), the ode paraphrasing Ps. 19 *The spacious firmament on high* (23 August 1712), the translation of Ps. 23 *The Lord my pasture shall prepare* (26 July 1712) and the ode *How are thy servants blest, o Lord* (20 September 1712), which, described only as 'made by a Gentleman upon the Conclusion of his Travels', can nevertheless be attributed without hesitation to Addison since it refers to the author's deliverance from a sea storm while sailing to Italy from the west – exactly as had happened to the poet in 1700.
[15] *Peace, o'er the world thy olive wand extend* (May 14 1712).
[16] *When Israel, freed from Pharaoh's Hand* (19 August 1712). This paraphrase appeared anonymously in Addison's periodical but is included in Watts's *Psalms of David* (1719). Sheeles did, however, set Tickell's poem after Fontenelle *I am (cry'd Apollo) when Daphne he woo'd* , which appears in Book 3 of *The Musical Miscellany* (1730).
[17] *When rising from the bed of death* (18 October 1712). The literary style of this hymn is somewhat more homespun than that of its companions, as noted in Sir Roundell Palmer, *English Church Hymnody* (London and Cambridge, 1867), 30, but Addison is nevertheless almost certainly its author.
[18] Chris Mounsey, *Christopher Smart: Clown of God* (Lewisburg, 2001), 176–7. The psalm collection in question, entitled *A Translation of the Psalms of David*, appeared in August 1765, and was followed before the end of the year by John Walsh junior's companion publication *A Collection of Melodies for the Psalms of David*, which contained musical settings contributed by several leading hymn composers.
[19] Mounsey, 'Christopher Smart', 170.
[20] *Poems by the Late George-Monck Berkeley*, cxc (footnote).
[21] A document preserved among the Bertie family papers in Lincolnshire Archives (5-ANC/8/2/5, p. 266, entry 46) records a disbursement of £3 16s 6d by Lady Mary Bertie for 'Mr Sheeles Musick' dated 17 July 1742. This payment appears to have been in settlement of a debt to Sheeles incurred by her father, who had died on 1 January 1742. Whether this debt was related to *The Sky Lark*, to other music by Sheeles or to music that Sheeles had simply acquired or copied for the Duke remains to be discovered.

[22] One eagerly awaits the emergence of concert artists in the domain of early music with the skill, belief in historical authenticity and – especially – courage to revive the once ubiquitous practice of self-accompanied performance in relation to songs, cantatas and motets for voice and continuo.
[23] The details on James's baptism, education and ordination are taken from the websites ACAD (<http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>) and CCEd (<http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk>).
[24] C. H. Mayo, *The Registers of Long Burton, Dorset, from 1580 to 1812* (Hertford, 1894), 50. This is the explanation for the concentration of Sheeles family burials in this church, not the non-existent ancestral connection to the village mooted in Pink, 'John Sheeles', 20.
[25] Mayo, *The Registers*, 45.
[26] Christopher Smart, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1763), 14–16. Earlier, a touching elegy on his death, dated 11 November 1762, had been published anonymously in *The London Magazine: or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 31 (November 1762), 620. From the fact that the place where the poem was written, Sherborne, is given, one infers that the author was his friend the Rev. William Sharpe, at that time usher of Sherborne School and soon to become vicar at Long Burton.
[27] 'London, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538–1812' (<www-ancestrylibrary-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org>). The thought occurs that the slightly younger Elizabeth Anne Frances Percy, daughter of the Sheeles's benefactor Hugh Percy, may not have shared two forenames with Anne Frances Sheeles by accident.
[28] Mayo, *The Registers*, 45.
[29] I am quoting from the edition of the poem published in *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart, IV: Miscellaneous Poems, English and Latin*, ed. Karina Williamson (Oxford, 1987), 345–7. Anna Frances is identified by a footnote in the original that calls her 'Miss A. F. S. —, of Queen Square'.
[30] 'London, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538–1812' (<www-ancestrylibrary-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org>).
[31] Date given in the short obituary published in the *London Evening Post* on 11–13 July 1775.
[32] Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society* (Oxford, 2000), 33–6. The manuscript from which the extracts are transcribed is GB-Lbl, Oriental and India Office Collections, Bengal Inventories, 1774–1776, P155/4.
[33] Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, 34 and 35, respectively.
[34] Ibid., 35.
[35] Ibid., 36.
[36] Ibid., 36–7.
[37] 'London, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538–1812' (<www-ancestrylibrary-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org>). 'National Burial Index for England & Wales' (FMP).
[38] John Sheeles's will reveals that Martha Gambier left a bequest of £100 for Martha Sophia. From her father Martha Sophia received, in addition to a generous inheritance, his 'best harpsichord', but it is not recorded whether she was able to make good use of it. Martha Gambier is remembered also in the names of James Irwin's daughter Sarah Gambier Irwin (1749–68) and of her French great-niece living in Paris, Amélie Marthe Duvoisin.
[39] On the Maling family's enviable fortunes, see Jeremiah William Summers, *The History and Antiquities of Sunderland […] from the Earliest Authentic Records down to the Present Time* (Sunderland, 1858), 265–6 (footnote).
[40] Hugh Phillips, *Mid-Georgian London: A Topical and Social Survey of Central and Western London about 1750* (London, 1964), 294. This was a different Sir John Smith from the claimed relative of Ann Elizabeth (see earlier, p. 3).
[41] Mayo, *The Registers*, 45.
[42] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 13 August 1777; Mayo, *The Registers*, 47.

James Nares' Concerto Grosso and the Durham Partbooks[1]

Simon D. I. Fleming

It is always exciting when one comes across a work that has remained hidden and unperformed for over two centuries, but the emergence of six hitherto unrecorded instrumental partbooks associated with the choir at Durham Cathedral is a cause for celebration for, as well as furthering our knowledge of the music that was performed in that city and of concert repertory in eighteenth-century Britain, this new source also contains a hitherto unknown concerto grosso written by the organist James Nares (1715–1783).

We already know a good amount about what was performed at Durham during the Georgian period, much of which is derived from the extensive printed and manuscript collections held by Durham Cathedral's Dean and Chapter Library.[2] However, its holdings are primarily associated with either music production in the cathedral itself, or were assembled by an individual or family associated with that place, such as Philip Falle, Richard Fawcett, Edward Finch, or the Sharp family of amateur musicians.[3] As such, these collections do not shed significant light on the repertory performed at Durham's eighteenth-century public concerts, concerning which there is little extant documentation. Nevertheless, as an important and wealthy provincial city, Durham had a vibrant concert life that grew significantly as the century progressed. The details of these concerts are primarily sourced from advertisements that appeared in the Newcastle press, with the earliest recorded public concert at Durham dating from 1735, an event organised by the cathedral lay-clerk Thomas Mountier.[4] Additionally, like other provincial cities, there was a subscription series; in this case, it was organised by the cathedral choir. The earliest recorded notice of these concerts dates from 1740, although they had probably been instigated much earlier.[5] However, advertisements of this time tend to give the particulars of an upcoming concert, such as the time, date and ticket prices, but rarely provide details about the music performed.[6] As a result, this new source is a most welcome discovery.[7]

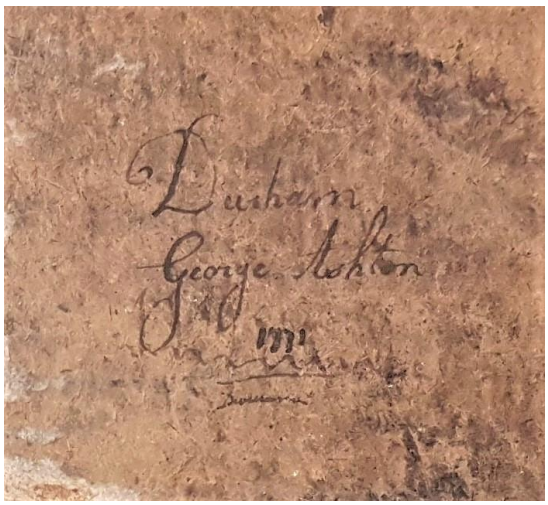
The partbooks are held by Newcastle upon Tyne's Literary and Philosophical Society, an organisation that opened in 1825 and which is today, according to their website, the largest independent library outside London.[8] It has, so far, not been ascertained when these partbooks were donated to the Literary and Philosophical Society, although they have clearly been in their possession for a considerable number of years.[9] I first became aware of their existence through James Sutton, a Trustee of the Avison Charitable Trust, who contacted me during his preparations for the Charles Avison Exhibition.[10] The importance of these partbooks to the study of eighteenth-century British music was not lost on myself, but it was the discovery of a concerto grosso by Nares, a composer for whom no original works in this genre were thought to have survived, that was the most exciting find of all.

The association of the partbooks with Durham's cathedral choir is evident, since members of the choir doodled and inscribed their names in numerous places,[11] including Thomas Ebdon's predecessor as organist, James Hesletine, along with George Ashton, William Wilson and possibly Cornforth Gelson.[12] However, it is clear that non-cathedral musicians also had access to these books, including John Ebdon, which suggests they could have been used elsewhere. John was never a member of the cathedral choir, although he was presumably related to Thomas, perhaps a cousin or uncle.[13] Some of the printed music is also inscribed with the name of John Branfoot and was acquired by him during his time as a student at St John's College, Cambridge. According to the *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, Branfoot acquired his Bachelor's degree at St John's, before completing a Master's degree at King's College

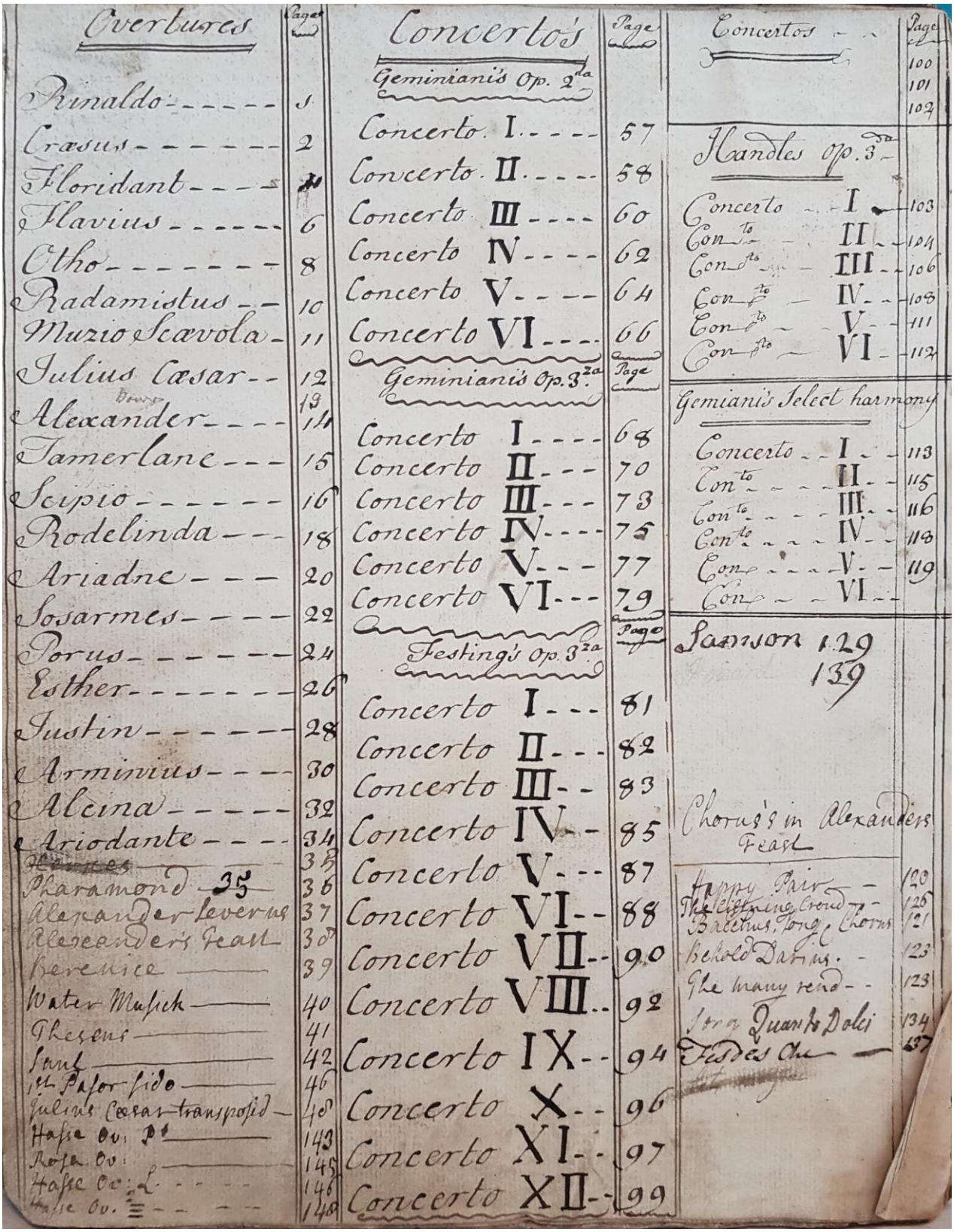
in 1732. He had relocated to Durham by 1730, in which year he was appointed as a minor canon, a position he held until 1742.[14] The minor canons at Durham tended to be able musicians, and there was an expectation that they would sing with the choir at services. It is therefore of little surprise that Branfoot may have been involved with the Durham choir's concerts.[15] However, the inclusion of some printed parts to Avison's 1740 Op. 2 concerti grossi also suggests a connection to the Durham Musical Society, with which Branfoot could also have been associated.

Op. 2 was one of only two works published by Avison to which the Durham Musical Society subscribed, the other being his 1742 *Two Concertos*. References to this group are scarce and we only know of its existence through its subscriptions to various musical publications, including the 1745 Op. 2 concerti grossi, produced by the York-based cellist, John Hebden, Jasper Clarke's *Cantata and Five English Songs* from 1760 and Thomas Wright's Op. 1 *Six Songs* from c.1785.[16] It did not subscribe to any of Avison's later sets of concertos presumably because of the long-standing dispute between Hesletine and Avison, a situation that did much to sour concert life in the northeast of England.[17] A good number of the signatures in the partbooks are also dated. George Ashton's name appears several times, often with a date; for example, one signature is dated 1764, while the cover of the violin 1 partbook is dated 1771 by him (Illus. 1). Another date of 1752 appears on the reverse board to this partbook, indicating that these books had been used for music-making by members of the choir for at least two decades. However, these books appear to have been originally bound up before 1740 as the copy of Avison's Op. 2 is tipped-in, with the inclusion of blank manuscript pages enabling the addition of other works at a later date.

The partbooks contain both printed and manuscript music, and were clearly well used given their poor condition. Many of the violin 1 parts may have been lost at an early stage as the majority of this book is in manuscript. Other partbooks, such as that for viola, are mainly formed from printed parts. These partbooks, as is evident from their covers, were primarily used by string players, although some do contain parts intended for oboes and horns. The range of music they contain is typical for this time. Handel naturally features prominently, and the partbooks contain a large number of overtures from his operas and oratorios (Illus. 2). They also appear to have been used for performances of *Alexander's Feast* and *Samson* as they contain substantial portions of both these works; *Alexander's Feast* was first performed at Durham in 1749 and the earliest recorded performance of *Samson* was in 1750.[18] There are also some parts to William Boyce's oratorio *Solomon*, first recorded as being performed at Durham in 1764.[19] There are, furthermore, copies of Handel's Op. 3 concerti grossi. Concerti grossi were, as with other musical societies, a staple of that in Durham, evident from the number of such works the partbooks contain. Avison's Op. 2 has already been mentioned, but there are also copies of Francesco Geminiani's Op. 2 and 3 and his *Select Harmony* concertos, along with his transcriptions as concerti grossi of Arcangelo Corelli's Op. 5 violin sonatas.[20] There are also parts to Corelli's Op. 6 concertos, Michael Festing's Op. 3, both Carlo Tessarini's and Giuseppe Alberti's Op. 1 , and Antonio Vivaldi's *Two Celebrated Concertos…the Cuckow and the...Extravaganza.* There are furthermore overtures by Johann Hasse in F and G, along with a flute concerto in G by the German, an overture in G minor by Giovanni Sammartini, and what appears to be an overture in B flat by Leonardo Leo. There are additionally parts in manuscript to a short gavotte and minuet, perhaps an indication that these books were additionally employed to accompanying dancing, although no other independent dances are included.



Illus. 1: signature of the Durham cathedral lay-clerk George Ashton, dated 1771, written on the cover of the front board to the violin 1 partbook.[21]



Illus. 2: Contents list to the violin 1 partbook, which appears on the inside front board.

The inclusion of Nares' concerto indicates that that this work was viewed highly by at least one person in Durham, who had presumably heard it performed, or had taken part in a performance at York, and had arranged for it to be copied. It was then presumably

performed at Durham. Nares himself had a strong connection to the northeast of England and was the organist at York Minster for over twenty years. He had been a chorister at the Chapel Royal, where he studied under William Croft and Bernard Gates; he was later tutored by John Christopher Pepusch. After a time as deputy organist at St George's Chapel, Windsor, he was, in 1734 appointed organist of York Minster. He held this position until 1756, in which year he was appointed one of the organists and composers to the Chapel Royal. He then graduated on 1757 with a MusD from Cambridge University and succeeded Bernard Gates as master of the children of the Chapel Royal.[22]

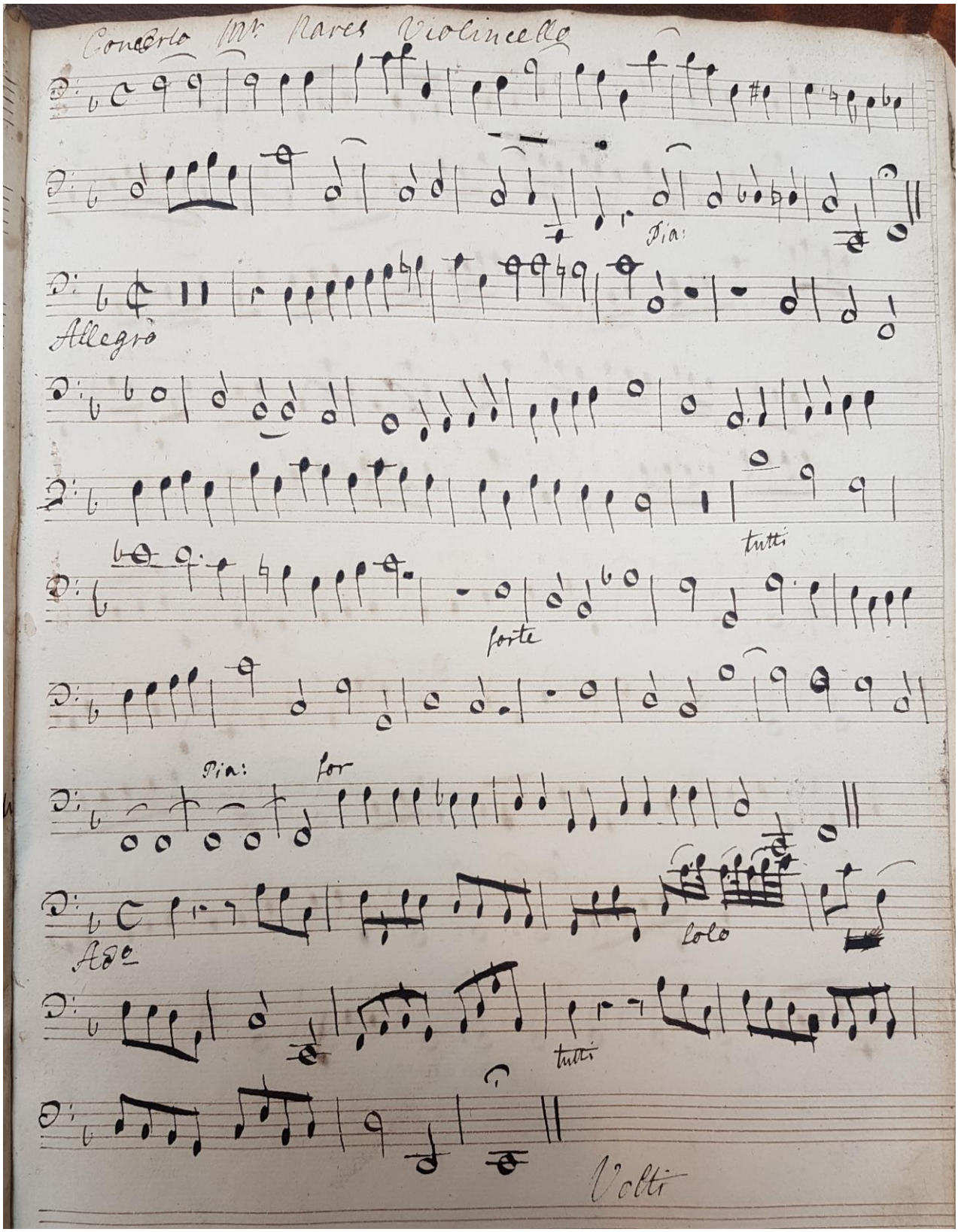
Nares was active as a composer throughout his career, and his output includes music for cathedral use, such as anthems and service settings, along with keyboard sonatas, organ voluntaries, and published tutors for those studying the keyboard or wanting to develop their singing technique. Beyond his dramatic ode, *The Royal Pastoral*, nothing that Nares wrote for orchestra was thought to survive, which makes the discovery of this new concerto grosso particularly exciting.[23]

Nares' concerto grosso in F was almost certainly composed at some point between 1734 and 1756, when he was organist at York Minster. Such a date ties in well with the other works in the partbooks. Nares would have written this work for public performance at York, either for concert use or for a meeting of the York Musical Society. He, like many organists, was actively involved in local concert life, organising benefit concerts for which he was the recipient of the profits, and taking part in concerts organised by others.[24] At these events, he regularly played organ or harpsichord concertos, including examples by William Felton, and sang in duets and songs, some of which were taken from the works of Handel.[25] Nares is also known to have composed orchestral music for his concerts; for example, a 1756 benefit concert included an 'Overture' composed by him in the first act and a 'Concerto' in the second.[26] Furthermore, David Griffiths observed that concerti grossi were a popular choice for the York concerts, with 'the average number of concertos performed in each York concert between 1740 and 1775 being three'.[27] Concerti grossi from Geminiani's Op. 2 and 3, along with Handel's Op. 6 and Avison's Op. 4, were a popular choice in the 1750s.[28] Concerti grossi were also favoured by the York Musical Society, which subscribed to Avison's 1744 concertos based on lessons by Domenico Scarlatti, along with his Opp. 3 and 4 concertos, issued respectively in 1751 and 1755. Nares was himself a subscriber to Avison's concertos and purchased copies of his Scarlatti concertos, the *Two Concertos*, and Opp. 2, 3 and 4; he additionally subscribed to a 1750 set of concerti grossi by the Lichfield Cathedral organist, John Alcock.[29]

The inclusion of Nares' concerto grosso in the Durham partbooks indicates a strong link between musicians at Durham and those based at York; this link is further apparent through the Durham Musical Society's subscription to Hebden's Op. 2. Furthermore, the Durham-based composer, John Garth, paid a visit to York in 1753, on which occasion he performed on the cello in a concert at which Nares played the harpsichord.[30] The close connection between Durham and Nares is also evident from Brian Crosby's catalogue of the manuscripts held at Durham Cathedral, where nineteen items are composed by him.[31] Of these, ten are from Nares' 1778 collection of anthems, nine copies of which were subscribed to by Durham's Dean and Chapter; Garth and Ebdon were also subscribers.

Nares' concerto is formed from six movements and, as such, bears a similarity to the Roman model as used by Corelli, Geminiani, Handel and Avison. Five of the movements are in the tonic key of F major, with movement five in the relative key of D minor. The choice of F major is interesting as it is a key associated with pastoral imagery. That Nares chose it for this reason is evident from the final movement, a rather tranquil Andante composed in a 3/4 metre. Nares, to further the pastoral imagery in this movement, included such commonly used devices as pedal notes, lombardic rhythms and simple melodies that imitate rural flutes, with the violins often moving in thirds and sixths. The harmony itself is also much simpler than what can be seen in some of the other movements, most notably the first, and he only moves to closely related keys. The inclusion of this movement at the end draws our attention towards the more famous pastoral movement that was attached to the end of Arcangelo Corelli's concerto grosso, Op. 6 No. 8, a work

more commonly known as the 'Christmas Concerto'. Although there are differences between the two, such as Corelli's finale being in G major and 6/8 metre, Nares would have been familiar with this work; he also presumably knew Antonio Vivaldi's Op. 8 concerti grossi, particularly the first four concertos which are collectively known as *The Four Seasons*. The third concerto in this set, 'Autumn', is also in the key of F major, as Vivaldi set out to portray the pastoral imagery of a harvest celebration and a hunt.



Illus. 3. first page of the violoncello part for Nares' concerto grosso in F.

The first, slow, preludial movement is the most striking harmonically through its use of chromaticism, which furnishes a more unusual sound. Nares, from F major, touches A minor in bar 6, and then G minor two bars later. Then, after cadencing in F major in bar 12, he briefly passes through the parallel minor before finishing back in the tonic. It is a highly effective piece of writing, so much so that one suspects that had Watkins Shaw had been aware of this work, he may not have described Nares as having a 'pleasant if slender talent for composition'.[32] Nares was, however, not unknown for being harmonically adventurous, as can be seen in the Larghetto from his fifth lesson for harpsichord (1747).[33] Some of the other movements in the concerto are also quite commendable, such as the second, an alla breve Allegro written in the *stile antico* manner. Its first fugue subject, built on a descending broken chord, is answered by a countersubject based on an ascending scale; it is this countermelody that dominates the remainder of the movement. Nares certainly had an interest in contrapuntal music, publishing a set of *Six Fuges* [sic] for organ in 1771;[34] these pieces are, for the most part, written in three-part polyphony, with fuller, often block chords used at cadential points. The first and last of these fugues are also in F major, but none have a countersubject as prominent as that in the concerto.[35] Nevertheless, in this regard, Nares' concerto bears some resemblance to the fugal movements in the concerti grossi Op. 2 No. 4 and Op. 3 No. 6 by Francesco Geminiani.[36] Some of the other movements, such as the Adagio and second Allegro, also have much to commend them, and feature gentle interplay between the parts and not unattractive melodic lines. Nevertheless, there are several places where the music does not seem quite as well polished, and one suspects that, had Nares decided to publish this work, he would have spent more time refining it.

These six partbooks are an important new source of information on concert life in eighteenth-century Britain, providing us with another glimpse into the music favoured by provincial concert orchestras. Much of the choice in music is perhaps not unexpected, as the popularity of works by Handel and the concerto grosso genre has been observed elsewhere, but it is the inclusion of the concerto by Nares that make these books particularly interesting; my edition of this work is available as a music supplement to the present issue of *EMP*.[37] Given that these books have languished on a library bookshelf, one wonders what other works by composers who worked in eighteenth-century Britain, still remain to be discovered.

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[1] I am grateful for the assistance of staff at the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle City Library, and at Durham University's Palace Green Library. Individual thanks are due to Paul Gailiunas, who originally uncovered the partbooks and realised their importance, along with Sarah Mulligan, Martin Perkins, James Smith and James Sutton.

[2] Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986); R. Alec Harman, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (London, 1968).

[3] Crosby, *A Catalogue*, xxi–xxvi; Harman, *A Catalogue*, ix–xi.

[4] *North County Journal*, 21 June 1735.

[5] *Newcastle Courant*, 20 September 1740. See also Simon Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811: A Documentary Study', Ph.D. thesis (University of Durham, 2009), 60–1.

[6] Diaries and letters are also a source for information on concert life in Durham. See, for example, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732–1780*, ed. Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (Oxford, 2002) and *Letters of Spencer Cowper Dean of Durham 1746–74*, ed. Edward Hughes (Durham, 1956).

[7] Peter Holman discussed another set of partbooks used at Colchester in the mid-eighteenth century. See Holman, 'The Colchester partbooks', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 577–95.

[8] Website of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle, <http://www.litandphil.org.uk/information/about-us/>, accessed 15 June 2018. The volumes have the shelfmarks M2131 to M2136, and are for violin 2 concertino, violins 1 and 2 ripieno, viola, violoncello and basso. There are, however, only four extant parts for Nares' concerto, with it missing from both the viola and basso books.

[9] James Smith believes that the partbooks might have come into the Literary and Philosophical Society's collection in 1917, although their records do not provide conclusive evidence that it was these particular music books that were donated in that year.

[10] This event was held in Newcastle City Library, housed in the aptly named Charles Avison Building, between May and September 2018. The exhibition included a good amount of information about Avison, along with early editions of music by both him and his contemporaries, and a display of concert programmes, CDs and other ephemera produced by the Avison Ensemble.

[11] The cello book also has inscribed, on the inside verso board, the expenditure for a journey, with payments for turnpikes, food, drink, hay and corn.

[12] Ashton was a chorister from 1758 to 1770, in which year he became a lay-clerk. Gelson had also been a chorister from 1737 to 1746 and then a lay-clerk from 1751 to 1754. Both took part in the choir's concerts, with Ashton playing cello and Gelson, violin. Wilson was a chorister between 1764 and 1773. See Brian Crosby, *Durham Cathedral Choir: Biographical Details of Masters of the Choristers, and Organists, Lay-Clerks, and Boys, with a supplement on Minor Canons Part 2: 1660–1812* ([Durham], c.2004), 1–2, 12–13, 39; *Newcastle Journal*, 24 July 1773; *Letters of Spencer Cowper*, ed. Hughes, 155–61; Fleming 'A Century of Music Production', 72, 89–91.

[13] John Ebdon's signature is dated 1753.

[14] <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>, accessed 15 June 2018. See also Crosby, *Durham Cathedral Choir*, 41.

[15] Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production', 23, 88.

[16] For more on the Durham Musical Society see Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production', 170–71.

[17] This argument was most likely brought about through Avison's involvement in a proposal by 'the Managers of the Concert at Newcastle' to hold a series of concerts during Durham's 1742 race week. The matter ultimately came to a head in 1752 when Avison, in partnership with Garth, set up a subscription series in direct competition with an existing series ran by the cathedral choir. The Dean of Durham, Spencer Cowper, observed at this time that the dispute was largely due to Hesletine's 'jealousy, who cannot bear a Competitor'. Curiously, on the verso inner board of the basso book, someone has inscribed a passage from Avison's important treatise *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1752). The passage, which appears on page 114 of the first edition, refers to the importance of the double bass in the performance of concertos. *Newcastle Journal*, 17 July 1742; *Letters of Spencer Cowper*, ed. Hughes, 159. For more information on the dispute see Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production', 61–71 and Roz Southey, 'Competition and Collaboration: Concert Promotion in Newcastle and Durham, 1752–1772', *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, 2004), 55–70.

[18] Fleming 'A Century of Music Production', 122–3, 128–9; *Newcastle Courant*, 14 July 1764; *Letters of Spencer Cowper*, ed. Hughes, 135. Handel's *Messiah* was also regularly performed at the Durham concerts. The manuscript copy apparently used for its first Durham performance in 1751 survives in the cathedral's Dean and Chapter Library as MS A12. Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production', 124–9,

[19] *Newcastle Courant*, 14 July 1764.

[20] The copies of Geminiani's *Select Harmony* concertos were not completed, with gaps left in the violin 1 partbook for the first and third concertos.

[21] All images are reproduced with the kind permission of Newcastle's Literary and Philosophical Society.

[22] J. C. Hadden, 'Nares, James (bap. 1715, d. 1783), composer and organist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 15 June 2018; Watkins Shaw, 'Nares, James', *Oxford Music Online: Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 15 June 2018.

[23] This work was performed at Durham in the early 1770s. *Newcastle Courant*, 14 July 1770, 13 July 1771.

[24] *York Courant,* 29 January 1751, 30 January 1753, 28 January 1755, 17 February 1756, 23 March 1756.

[25] *York Courant,* 22 January 1740, 19 February 1751, 20 August 1751, 15 January 1754, 5 February 1754, 3 February 1756. See also David Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: A History of Institutional Music-Making in York c.1550–1990* (York, [1994]), 17, 109–10.

[26] *York Courant*, 30 March 1756.

[27] Griffiths, *A Musical Place*, 116.

[28] Ibid., 117.

[29] I am grateful to Martin Perkins, who kindly provided me with a copy of this subscription list.

[30] The two men were clearly on good terms, even after Nares had relocated back to London, as Nares subscribed to Garth's 1768 Op. 2 sonatas.

[31] Crosby, *A Catalogue*, 195–7.

[32] Shaw 'Nares, James'.

[33] Ibid.

[34] They were published in London by Welcker.

[35] Another difference is that Nares' alla breve fugues in the published set have four crotchets beats in each bar, rather than the four minims of the concerto.

[36] The second movement to Handel's concerto, Op. 6 No. 3, also has a prominent countersubject.

[37] See <http://www.earlymusic.info/sheet_music.htm>.

Tempi in Historically Informed Performances of Quantz's Fast Movements

Richard Bethell

Commentators often observe that Quantz's tempi suggestions are most likely to apply to his own music. But the extent to which this view is put into practice has never been tested, to my knowledge. So, I carried out an exercise to see if the tempi employed by historically informed flautists are consistent with Quantz's recommendations for presto, allegro and allegretto movements.

The results of this exercise are shown below. I then examine briefly the evidence on tempi for baroque allegros, including the uses of time signatures, concluding with a discussion of how physiological differences between players may account for tempo preferences, a factor Quantz himself believed to be significant.

Quantz's music has undergone revival in recent years thanks to new recordings and research. We have come a long way since his compositions were sidelined by Charles Burney and I hope that this article will make a small contribution to this revival.[1]

Research methodology

I accessed 43 historically informed recordings of Presto movements, 45 of Allegro movements and 14 of Allegretto movements, from Spotify, YouTube and my own CD collection, most of them made within the past 25 years. Metronome markings were logged for all pieces with a time signature of C (4/4), 3/4, 2/4 or ₵ (2/2). Tempi were logged by tapping on a computer keyboard in time to the music using an app which displays the average beats per minute (BPM) for a complete piece.[2] Average markings were taken for the whole piece, or representative samples where the metrical flow was interrupted by fermatas, general pauses, cadenzas or rallentandos. Pieces in 3/8, 6/8, 9/8 or 12/8 were omitted (for an explanation for why this so, see below). QV numbers and time signatures were established for ease of reference with scores.[3]

The majority of the recordings were made by just seven performers: Rachel Brown, Benedek Csalog, Verena Fischer, Mary Oleskiewicz (sometimes with Jean-Francois Beaudin), and Jed Wentz (often with Marion Moonen). They use reconstructions of wide-bore instruments with two keys (for D sharp and E flat) based on originals designed, built and played by Quantz himself, and by his student Frederick II of Prussia. All exhibit outstanding virtuosity, as demanded by these pieces, which require the player to perform double and triple-tongued passagework at maximum velocity.

Tempi measured against external benchmarks set by Quantz

One of the best sources for guidance on tempi in the high and late baroque periods is Quantz himself. He wrote: 'The means that I consider most useful as a guide for tempo is the more convenient because of the ease with which it is obtained, since everyone always has it upon himself. It is *the pulse beat at the hand of a healthy person*',[4] although he warns: 'I do not pretend that a whole piece should be measured off in accordance with the pulse beat; this would be absurd and impossible', implying that he believed flexibility to be appropriate when choosing tempi.[5] For each of his tempo designations, Quantz suggests which note values are equivalent to a pulse beat; if this pulse rate is assumed to be 80 per minute, it is possible to establish crotchet beats per minute for each designation (see Table 1).[6] He added that his tempo observations are 'most specifically and fully applicable in instrumental pieces such as concertos, trios, and solos.'[7]

Quantz certainly makes his views on the tempi appropriate for different tempo designations in common time perfectly clear. But it must be admitted that he ties himself in knots when offering complicated explanations for calculating how to match a pulse beat to pieces with 2/3, 3/8, 6/8, 9/8 and 12/8 time signatures, which are confusing. I return to this point later in the article, but further details can be found in a dissertation by Sheridan Haskell, which contains an

analysis suggesting the tempi intended for each of Quantz's tempo designations (as well as some dance forms) in all time signatures.[8]

Tempo Designations	Note length equal to a pulse beat	Crotchet beats per minute
Presto, Allegro Assai, Allegro di molto	Minim	160
Allegro, Poco Allegro, Vivace	Three Quavers	120
Allegretto, Allegro Moderato, Allegro non troppo	Crotchet	80
Adagio Cantabile, Larghetto, Poco Andante	Quaver	40
Adagio Assai, Largo Assai, Lento, Grave	Semiquaver	20

Table 1. Tempi suggested by Johann Quantz for movements in common time (4/4)

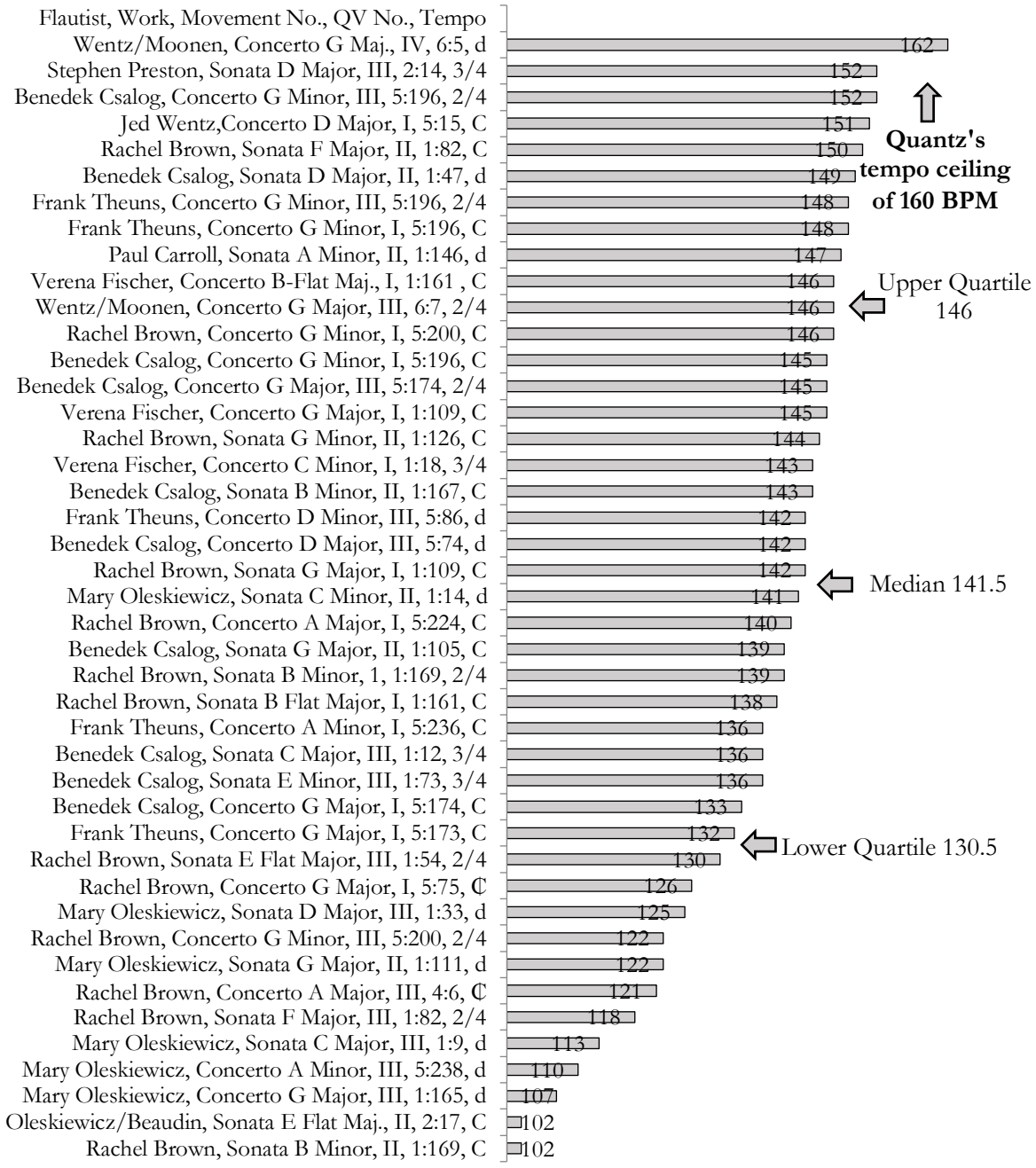

Table 2. Tempi achieved in Presto or Allegro Assai movements (crotchets per minute)

Tempi used by historically informed flautists for Quantz's fast movements

Table 2 lists the tempi chosen (in crotchets per minute) in performances of Presto, Allegro Assai and Allegro di Molto movements. The left-hand column identifies the flautist, the work played, the movement number, the QV number and the time signature (C, ₵, 2/4, 3/4, or d – duple time not identified – for cases where it was not possible to access a score). Ace flautist Quantz made clear that 160 crotchet BPM was top speed for him, 'since no more than eight very fast notes can be executed in the time of a [minim] pulse beat, either with double-tonguing or with bowing….'.[9] Such speeds remain the ceiling for modern flautists, with only Jed Wentz and Marion Moonen achieving a tempo marginally faster than 160 BPM in the Allegro Assai of Quantz's Concerto in G major (QV 6.5) where some arpeggios are double tongued instead of slurred. Typically, modern flautists delivered tempi in the range 130 to 153 BPM, with only eleven recordings taken at less than 130 BPM.

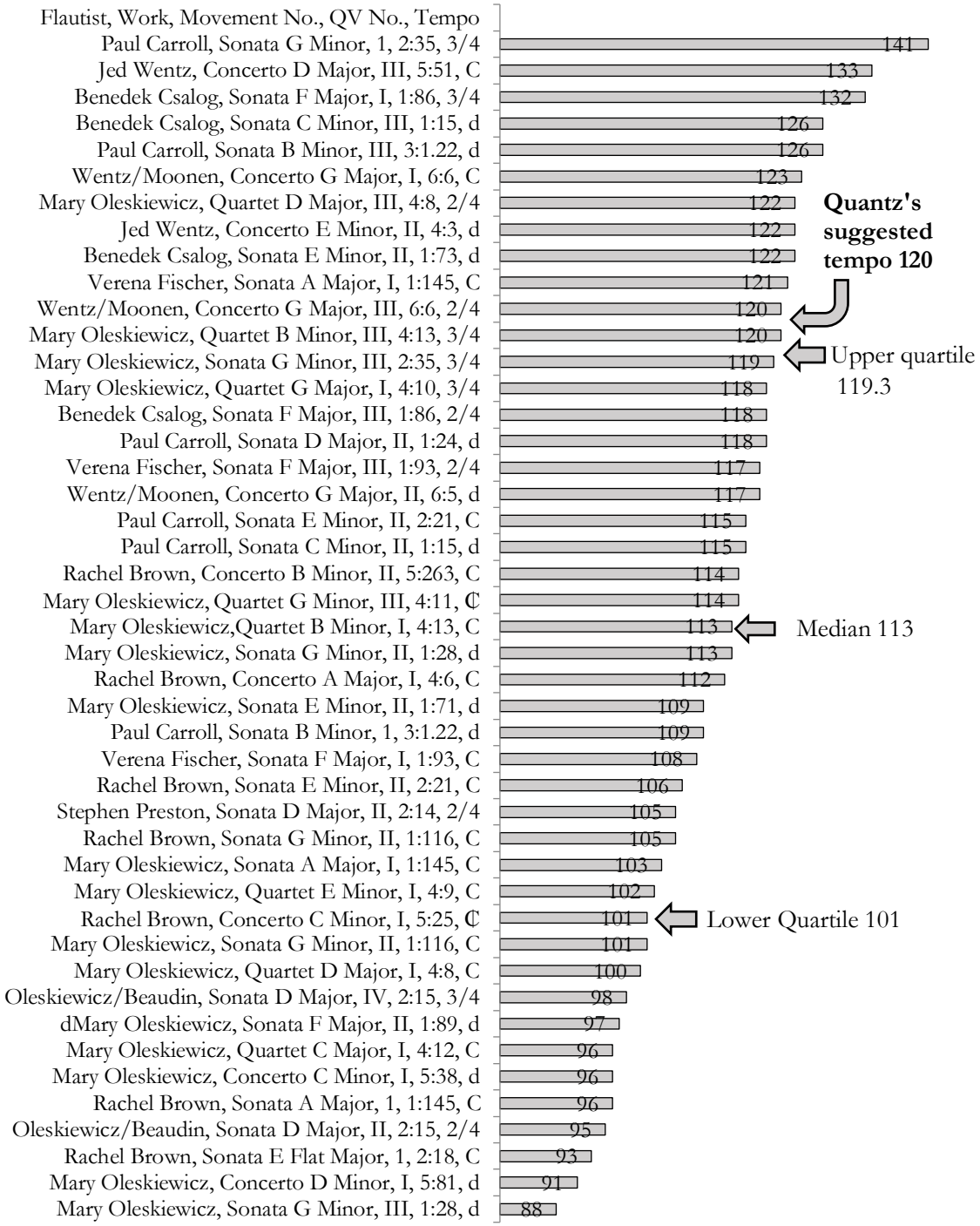

Table 3. Tempi achieved in Allegro movements (crotchets per minute)

Table 3 lists the same information for Quantz's movements designated Allegro or Vivace, for which Quantz suggests a tempo of 120 crotchets per minute. This tempo is equivalent to the upper quartile speed delivered by today's HIP flautists. As the chart shows, 18 Allegro or Vivace movements were played at 117 BPM or faster. All semiquaver passagework at these speeds must normally be double tonged. The remaining 27 recordings had tempi ranging from 88 to 115 BPM.

Finally, Table 4 lists the information for 14 movements designated as Allegretto, Allegro ma non tanto, or Allegro ma non troppo. At first the results were puzzling with some of the tempi emerging at the quickest end of the Presto spectrum, but scores showed that the fastest notes were demisemiquavers, not semiquavers, in these instances. Indeed, Quantz made clear that demisemiquavers in an Allegretto must be played at the same speed as semiquavers in an Allegro Assai: 'In the Allegro assai the passage-work consists of semiquavers or quaver triplets, and in the Allegretto, of demisemiquavers or semiquaver triplets. Since, however, the passage-work just cited must usually be played at the same speed whether it is in semiquavers or demisemiquavers, it follows that notes of the same value in the one are twice as fast in the other.'[10] All tempi in Table 4 are therefore expressed in quavers per minute, so they can be compared on a like for like basis with the Presto tempi in Table 2 where there is a similar profile in the tempi chosen. Four recordings equalled or slightly exceeded Quantz's ceiling of 160 quavers per minute. Neil McLaren's recording with the Cambridge Baroque Camerata of the first movement of the concerto in E minor (QV 5:120), marked Allegro ma non tanto,[11] has an andante feel in the opening tutti, with chugging semiquavers from the first violins over an underlying quaver pulse, but the demisemiquavers and triplet semiquavers elsewhere in the movement show why 80 crotchets per minute is appropriate. While Frank Theuns achieved 161 quavers per minute in the first movement of the D Minor Concerto, there are two even quicker performances of other Allegretto movements. Barthold Kuijken, one of the first to record Quantz, performs the second movement of the Sonata in B flat major (QV 1:162) at an astonishing 170 quavers per minute, though Jed Wentz and Marion Moonen, in the first movement of the Concerto in G Major (QV 6:7) for 2 flutes, come a close second.[12]

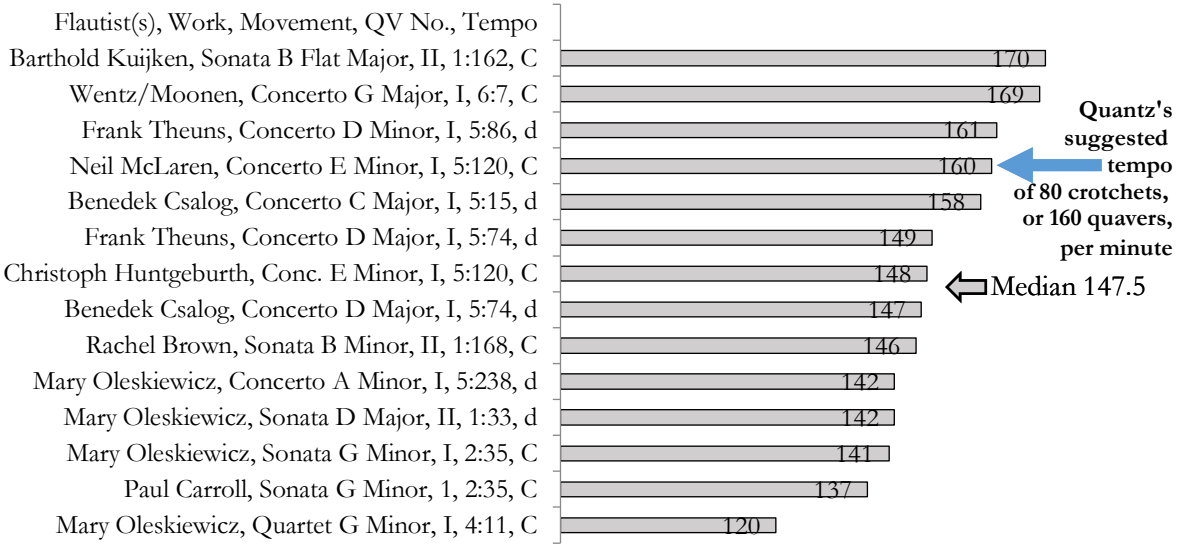

Table 4. Tempi achieved in Allegretto movements (quavers per minute)

In conclusion, Quantz recommends 160 crotchets per minute for Presto movements, or 160 quavers per minute for Allegretto movements, tempi representing a limit both for himself and for most modern flautists. His proposed tempo of 120 crotchets per minute for Allegro movements are at the upper quartile levels achieved by modern players. The excellent orchestras in Dresden and Sanssouci, led by Quantz or Frederick II, could presumably

manage the fast tempi advocated by Quantz. Given that performance standards achieved by modern HIP flautists and orchestras are also high, with delivery characterised by precision and accuracy, Quantz's tempo recommendations generally come across as convincing. It is also reasonable to assume that Quantz's remarks have some bearing on speeds adopted for other late baroque instrumental compositions, certainly by German composers including Telemann, Bach, and Handel, a conclusion reached by Mary Oleskiewicz:[13]

> It is possible to apply the tempos recommended in the *Essay* with confidence to compositions Quantz composed during his Berlin period (after c. 1741). Those pieces, which generally are more homophonic in style, demand greater extremes of speed or slowness for their expression. More discretion is required when applying his tempo prescriptions to earlier pieces, such as the quartets, in part because of their contrapuntal textures. Nevertheless, even when used as a point of departure, Quantz's tempo system yields refreshing contrasts in speed between movement types, and it becomes abundantly clear that he was accustomed to hearing tempos that are significantly slower or faster than those that would be used today.

Tempi appropriate for late baroque allegros and the influence of time signatures

Bernard D. Sherman has identified several cases 'in which the fast new tempos favoured by HIP performers seem to have less historical support than the slow ones once favoured by mainstream performers'.[14] He cites as one example the 'Et in unum' of the B minor Mass: 'But while mainstream performers take a median tempo of MM 67 – a historically plausible *Andante* tempo – HIP performers take a median tempo of MM 76, that of a *tempo ordinario*, which (to speak subjectively) often feels too jaunty to qualify as an andante…Moreover, the movement has a great deal of text; at a fast tempo it "often sounds gabbled, almost like a patter aria".'[15] However, Sherman also observed that 'it is not the case that the historical performers as a group have always played Bach faster than mainstream performers'. His best example is a table comparing median recorded MM tempi for the first 24 preludes and fugues in Bach's Well Tempered Clavier for pianists against period performers (presumably on clavichord or harpsichord). It shows that pianists' tempi were significantly faster than period instrument performers on 79% of occasions, although he does not appear to have examined trends over time. In a reply, Klaus Miehling wrote: 'I can't share his opinion, however, that the mentioned examples of HIP tempos are "less historical than slower pre-HIP tempos"'.[16]

Sherman and Miehling also review the influence of time signatures on tempi. After discussing tempi for some of J. S. Bach's vocal works, Miehling concluded that 'there is plenty of evidence that 3/4 is normally faster than C by 50 per cent or even 100 per cent', although Sherman takes a different position: 'Regarding triple metre, I agree that many theorists say that 3/4 is faster than C; but I believe they are referring to 3/4 whose fastest prevalent note is no smaller than the quaver.'

In a previous article, I discussed how Quantz's tempo suggestions might be applied to the third Allegro in Corelli's Concerto in G Minor (Opus 6 No. 8), which is an alla breve movement in ₵ time.[17] In referring to Quantz's comment that 'In alla breve time there is, in an Allegro, a pulse beat (which he set at 80 BPM) for each semibreve', I noted that this would imply an impossibly fast tempo of 160 minim beats per minute, which has never been achieved in the recording studio. Edward R. Reilly correctly concluded that Quantz intended Allegro in this case to mean Allegro Assai, although he came to different conclusions for allegros in other time signatures:

(1) Allegros in 2/4. Quantz writes: 'In two-four time or quick six-eight time a pulse beat occurs on each bar in an Allegro' which Reilly interprets as a minim per bar, equivalent to 160 beats per minute. Haskell agrees: 'Interestingly, the Allegro of this time signature is as fast as the tempo of the *Allegro Assai* in common time. Perhaps therefore you might say that for Quantz, 2/4 pieces are generally faster than common time pieces.' However, the key question here is, what type of allegro is Quantz referring to: the Allegro Assai or the 'moderate Allegro which is approximately the mean between the Allegro assai and the Allegretto'? There is a compelling case for thinking that he meant the Allegro Assai, in which case 160 BPM was the tempo recommended for the Allegro Assai, written in either 2/4 or C, while 120 BPM was recommended for the moderate Allegro.[18]

(2) Allegros in 3/4. Haskell concludes, with Reilly and Miehling, that 3/4 movements are generally faster than their common-time counterparts.[19] Quantz observed that you can only define the tempo of a 3/4 Allegro movement (containing semiquavers or quaver triplets) by taking two bars together, noting that the 'pulse beat falls on the first and third crotchets of the first bar, and on the second crotchet of the following bar; thus there are three pulse beats for six crotchets'.[20] Here again, if Quantz really means the Allegro Assai rather than the moderate Allegro, then the tempi for C (two pulse beats for two minims, or four crotchets) would be the same as for a 3/4 Allegro Assai.

Dr. Klaus Miehling has reviewed an earlier version of this article. He asserts that Quantz should be taken literally, that is the tempo indication of 'Allegro' means an ordinary 'moderate Allegro' not the 'Allegro Assai'.[21]

Table 3 above shows that the six movements with a 2/4 time signature are taken at various speeds, suggesting that, from the point of view of modern performers, they are not noticeably either faster or slower than the other allegros in the list. Also, if Quantz really did believe that 2/4 movements headed 'Allegro' were equivalent to an Allegro Assai, why did he not give them an 'Allegro Assai' tempo designation in the first instance? However, when we look at the six performances with a 3/4 time signature, a different pattern emerges, with five performances clustered at, or faster than, the upper quartile (quickest) end of the group, with only a single performance (of the Allegro from the Sonata in D Major, QV 2:15, performed by Mary Oleskiewicz and Jean-François Beaudin) at a relatively slow 95 BPM. This finding offers some support for Miehling's position.

Do physiological differences drive tempo preferences?

While attending Luisa Morales's conference on Spanish keyboard music in Murcia,[22] in October 2006, I advanced the theory that people with slower heartbeats are likely to prefer slower tempi, and asked if anyone knew whether any experiments had been done, either to prove or disprove the theory. However, any discussion was immediately cut short by a Dutch lady (an academic and harpsichord specialist) who gave me a furious dressing down for having the temerity even to mention such an idiotic suggestion. She left me sitting with my mouth open, shocked and speechless.

Having since read Quantz, it is clear that he would have taken my side, when he indicated that a 'jovial and high-spirited and yet rather fiery and volatile person' would prefer faster tempi than a 'low spirited, or melancholy, or cold and sluggish person'.[23] Quantz was a considerable composer, dedicated to artistic performance practice, a virtuoso flautist who designed and built his own instruments, and an experienced and well-travelled all-round musician, and it is no surprise to find that his tempo theories were derived from observation; he claimed to have 'proved it with the beat of my own pulse and with many other tests with various people in connexion with my own compositions and those of others'.[24] He advised performers to adjust for their heartbeat, by taking their allegros faster if they have a slow heartbeat, or slower if they have a fast one. It transpired from a later discussion on Facebook that Klaus Miehling's resting heartbeat was a high-spirited 90 (at the 95 percentile level), while mine was a relatively sluggish 62 (around lower quartile levels in the general population). Clearly, Quantz's advice to Miehling would be that he should perform his allegros more slowly. By contrast, I would be advised to take them faster. But conclusions can't be derived from a sample of two! So, I advance the suggestion that a reasonably large-scale survey is carried out to test Quantz's hypothesis. There would have to be a few distinct peer groups; for example, professional violinists might prefer faster tempi than amateur music lovers. Perhaps the survey could be conducted as a joint venture between an institution's music and psychology departments.

[1] 'and though his genius for composition was not original, he was a keen observer of the beauties and defects of others, both in composition and performance.' *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1776–89), iv [1789], 588.
[2] Richard T. Reel's app for counting beats per minute is at www.all8.com. This app might be described as a 'clever metronome' as it recalculates the BPM (arithmetic average) for the whole piece after each tap.
[3] Horst Augsbach, *Johann Joachim Quantz: Thematisch-systematisch Werkverzeichnis* (Stuttgart, 1997). This has been updated by Mary Oleskiewicz, in Mary Oleskiewicz, 'Quantz's Quartuors and Other Works Newly Discovered', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 484–505.
[4] Johann Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans with notes and introduction by Edward R. Reilly, 2nd edn. (London, 1985), 283.
[5] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. Reilly, 284.
[6] The median pulse rate at rest is around 70 BPM for men, and slightly more for women. See charts on pages 4 and 5 of National Health Statistics Report Number 41, on Resting Pulse Rates Reference Data for Children, Adolescents, and Adults: United States, 1999–2008 (<http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhsr/nhsr041.pdf>).
[7] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. Reilly, 287.
[8] Sheridan Haskell, personal project report: 'A Summary of Quantz's 1752 Tempo Account', 20 February 2013, available from <https://sheridanhaskell.wordpress.com/>
[9] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. Reilly, 285.
[10] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. Reilly, 285.
[11] Neil McLaren, Cambridge Baroque Camerata, *Rare Baroque Flute Concertos*, Amon Ra label.
[12] Barthold Kuijken, *Flute Concertos & Sonatas*, Vivarte; Jed Wentz and Moonen, Musica Antiqua Köln cond. Reinhard Goebel, *Concerti per l'orchestra di Dresda*, Archiv label.
[13] Mary Oleskiewicz, 'Tempo and Movement Types', *Johann Joachim Quantz, Six Quartets for Flute, Violin, Viola and Basso Continuo* (Middleton, 2001), ix, Preface, Performance Issues
[14] Bernard D. Sherman, 'Bach's notation of tempo and early music performance: some reconsiderations', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 455–66.
[15] Sherman, 'Bach's notation', 460, partially quoting a personal communication from John Butt (27 February 2000).
[16] Klaus Miehling and Bernard Sherman, 'Bach's notation of tempo', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 153–4.
[17] Richard Bethell, 'The Accelerating Tactus', *EMP*, 41 (2017), 10–19.
[18] Haskell, 'An Analysis of Quantz's Tempo Account'.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. Reilly, 286.
[21] Private communication.
[22] Eighth 'Diego Fernández' Symposium on Spanish Keyboard Music, FIMTE.
[23] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. Reilly, 288.
[24] Ibid.

Perspectives on Historically Informed Practices in Music Conference (10–12 September 2018) and Archival Research Study Morning (10 September 2018)

Marten Noorduin

These two recent events, organised by the AHRC-funded Transforming Nineteenth-Century Historically Informed Practice (TCHIP) research project, with support from the Royal Musical Association, took place at the Faculty of Music at the University of Oxford (where TCHIP is based).

The opening study morning was aimed mainly at postgraduate students, as well as early career researchers interested in further developing their archival skills. After an introduction by Claire Holden, the Principal Investigator for TCHIP, five speakers presented different approaches to working with specific collections. Martin Holmes (Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford) and Rupert Ridgewell (British Library) discussed the benefits and drawbacks of undertaking research in legal deposit libraries. Rachel Cowgill (University of Huddersfield) focussed on the more practical side of archival work, with plenty of examples of good and bad research practices. Timothy Jones (Royal Academy of Music) and Richard Sutcliffe (Royal Conservatoire of Belgium) each discussed relevant areas of the collections of their respective institutions, including performance materials related to famous musicians, orchestras, and other items of interest to performers and researchers. The event concluded with an open discussion featuring all speakers, during which the approximately 50 attendees had the opportunity to ask questions.

The conference itself started later that day, with parallel sessions on a range of different topics. During the sessions on piano music, Leonardo Miucci spoke about his research on Beethoven's pedal markings; Luca Lévi Sala discussed the revisions in different editions of Clementi's piano sonatas opp. 2 and 12; Lorenda Ramou explored the interpretation of pianists in Berlin during the Weimar Republic; and László Stachó discussed Bartók's Beethoven playing. Two piano lecture recitals by Christina Kobb and Neal Peres Da Costa explored, in practice, issues of early nineteenth-century piano technique and the interpretation of a Mozart piano concerto by the pianist Carl Reinecke (1824–1910), respectively.

In the sessions on music for wind and brass, Robert Percival discussed the preparation of new arrangements of nineteenth-century repertoire for a six-part wind band with historical instruments; Anneke Scott demonstrated the practical problems that result from the use of a mute in pre-valve horn repertoire; Sebastiaan Kemner discussed the historical background and interpretation of Beethoven's three Equale WoO 30 for four trombones; Maryse Legault discussed the interpretation of early Romantic clarinet repertoire through the bibliographical lens of Joseph Beer (1744–1812); Anne Pustlauk explored ornamentation practices in the early nineteenth century through an autograph by Leipzig flautist Christian Gottlieb Belcke (1796–1875); and Emily Worthington discussed the historiographical problems with our understanding of nineteenth-century woodwind players. In a lecture recital, drawing on evidence from contemporary vocal practices, Sara Huebsch demonstrated possible realisations of nineteenth-century opera pit wind ornamentation.

String players were particularly well represented, and most papers had some demonstrative aspect alongside their theoretical discussion. Anton Steck discussed the interpretative conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of fingerings in violin music; Vijay Chalasani explored some of the earliest viola treatises to consider the instrument as a separate specialism; and Job ter Haar demonstrated how the study of performance indications in the personal collection of Alfredo Piatti (1822–1901) in the Royal Academy of Music can be used to reconnect with Piatti's somewhat

counterintuitive, but apparently internally consistent, cello practices, particularly in terms of fingering. Kate Bennett Wadsworth's lecture recital seemed to position itself between the previously mentioned string papers, as it drew on the editorial expressive markings by the cellist Friedrich Grützmacher (1832–1903) – particularly in his pedagogical material – and what were the most likely intended interpretations of these markings. In a more theoretical paper, Richard Sutcliffe discussed the characteristics and influences of the Belgian violin school during the nineteenth century. Finally, Octavie Dostaler-Lalonde and Artem Belogurov, on cello and piano respectively, gave a preview of their soon-to-be launched website *Romantic Lab*, on which they will upload videos of their experiments with early recordings and contemporaneous documentary evidence, as well as the documentation of their artistic process.

Besides these more direct approaches to instrumental practices, there were many papers about the social context of music performance, the most significant of which were the two keynotes. The first, given by Christina Bashford, offered a detailed exploration of how concert history might be used to influence aspects of historically informed performance. The second keynote, by Simon McVeigh under the title 'Performance Informed History', posed and explored various questions about the life of nineteenth-century musicians. He considered the justification for performances, questions of agency, distinctions between public and private music making, and many other areas. Other speakers explored a diverse range of topics: Nicole Forsyth's contribution considered the intersection of mid-nineteenth century professional and amateur music making found in the drawing rooms of New South Wales; Natasha Loges discussed the gulf between current and nineteenth-century programming and publishing practices of Schubert's *Winterreise*; I discussed evidence for orchestral rehearsal practices in the nineteenth century; George Kennaway explored nineteenth-century notions of musicality; and Michael O'Loghlin discussed how earlier practices influenced pre-nineteenth-century performance practices in Berlin.

Both strands, the practical and the social, came together in the informal evening concert, and although this was explicitly not a recreation of a nineteenth-century salon, it did bring back certain aspects of it. The musicians, Claire Holden on violin, Olga Andryushchenko on an original 1838 Streicher piano, and Guadalupe López Íñiguez on cello, played the Mendelssohn D minor and Jadassohn E major trios in the middle of the room, surrounded by the audience. Instead of neat rows of chairs that one finds in most concert venues, the audience sat around tables with drinks, often on pillows on the floor. The rehearsal process that preceded the concert was elucidated by Claire Holden in a discussion the next day.

Perhaps most diverse in terms of subject matter were the papers on new methodologies. Cayenna Ponchione-Bailey and TCHIP Co-Investigator Eric Clarke's discussed their recently developed tools to measure synchronicity in orchestral and chamber performances; David Milsom highlighted the problems of literalism in the application of HIP research; Rémy Campos's paper concerned itself with the history of piano technique; Frankie Perry discussed historically informed arrangements of Mahler songs by Luciano Berio (1925–2003); and Lila Ellen Gray offered an ethnographic exploration of the role of the body in current and historical practices. Several of the papers explored the subjects outside of the traditional focus of performance practice studies: Miriam Akkerman, discussed to what extent the idea of HIP can be extended towards computer music; Kristiina Ilmonen approached the problem of the scarcity of sources for performance cultures through an ethnomusicological lens, and Samuel Bruce explored the parallels between critiques of political theory and musically informed scholarship.

Finally, many of the papers, including some of those already mentioned, engaged with early recordings. Barbara Gentili and Daniele Palma used recorded performances to define aspects of singing in the early twentieth century; Kevin Sherwin considered conductors on early film; Inja Stanović discussed some of the findings of her Leverhulme-funded research project on the reconstruction of early recordings; and Mark Bailey offered a virtual tour of the Yale Collection of Historical Sound Recordings.

Overall, this conference showed that performance studies is a diverse field both in terms of approaches and subjects, and that the question of how to engage and understand past performance cultures as performers and academics can produce a variety of answers. The plethora of topics and approaches represented at the conference highlighted the great interest in the topic, and although there are no current plans by the conference organisers for a follow-up event, there doubtlessly is enough scholarly enthusiasm for others to do so.

Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History* Cambridge University Press (Musical Performance and Reception series), 2015 [xix, 248 pp. ISBN 9781107108363]; Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England: A Social and Musical History* Cambridge University Press (Musical Performance and Reception series), 2017 [xix, 288 pp. ISBN 9781108419789].

Martyn Hodgson

In modern times many books about the guitar have often adopted something of a romantic approach when considering the period instrument – reflecting the author's personal foibles, they have contained uncorroborated speculations, excessive reliance on anecdotal and secondary sources and on artistic assertions. But a few have fairly recently adopted a more welcome forensic approach; these have included the late James Tyler's *The Early Guitar – A History and Handbook* (Oxford Early Music Series, 1980) and the expanded work by Tyler with Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music* (Oxford Early Music Series, 2002) covering the development of the instrument and its music from the sixteenth century through to the early nineteenth. These also briefly dealt with the various national schools and the individual styles of instruments from the early four-course guitar through to the introduction of the new six-single-string instrument around 1800. However both, being relatively slim volumes, necessarily only touch on the particular manifestations of the instrument in various countries and there has long been a need for more detailed social and musical national histories of the instrument.

Two new books now very well cover this lacuna for England – at least up to the early eighteenth century: Christopher Page's fine works, *The Guitar in Tudor England* and *The Guitar in Stuart England*, are scholarly, as might be expected from Professor Page, but are also highly absorbing and very readable. Indeed, from the high level of detailed research and insightful deductive reasoning, it would be difficult to see how many of their aspects could be better covered. These two books are outstanding examples of the more recent tendency to employ a scientific approach in the analysis of sources, including related literary works and pictorial depictions. Both are subtitled 'A Social and Musical History' and this, rather than organological matters, is the principal focus of this major research effort by Page with findings directly based on 'gathering the relevant literary, archival and pictorial documents in a more comprehensive manner than has yet been attempted'. In this he succeeds outstandingly well.

Whilst each book is self-contained they are, in truth, an omnibus recounting the guitar's history in England from around 1550 through to the first decades of the 1700s as is, indeed, reflected by their titles. A further final book is promised in this CUP trilogy to cover the guitar in Georgian England – although I do hope Page might feel able to extend his work up to the end of Victoria's reign and so cover important, if often idiosyncratic, guitarists working in England later in the nineteenth century such as Giulio Regondi (also a celebrated Wheatsone concertina virtuoso), Madame Sidney Pratten (née Catharina Pelzer) and the popular music-hall comic, Ernest Shand, who had a second, more private, career as a guitar performer and composer. Some of Page's interesting findings are also found in his Gresham lectures covering a range of novel guitar topics and these give a taste of his scholarly, but very accessible, manner.[1]

Both books follow a similar pattern: an introduction setting the scene and outlining what is to come; various chapters on different aspects of the instrument; relevant appendices fleshing out the main text; a very extensive bibliography separated into primary and modern sources (including some relevant

dissertations and articles – although not all specialist journals are represented); and a useful index. Extensive notes are collected at the end of each chapter (but I still hanker for the more convenient format of having them as footnotes close by the main text).

The four-course guitar (English 'gittern', 'guiterne' and other cognates) was played in many parts of Europe during the sixteenth century, including Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, but especially in France where it enjoyed particular popularity. England was no exception to the fashion and in *The Guitar in Tudor England* Page identifies and recounts relevant manifestations of the guitar there. The seven chapters cover:

- images of the guitar in Tudor England, such as the Hengrave Hall overmantel with representations of two guitars and the Eglantine Table at Hardwick Hall, which includes a guitar inlay. How typical these depictions were of all contemporary instruments is, of course, difficult to say but Page makes a good case for considering them reasonable representations;
- studies of various inventory listings, accounts and other documents which identify some of those who owned guitars – from Henry VIII, through various gentlemen, university fellows and even apprentices – although how relatively widespread guitar ownership was compared to, say, the lute is not established;
- surviving sixteenth-century London Port Books which show the importing of instruments, including guitars, primarily by drapers and the like who may have simply filled free shipping space alongside their principal imports – small business entrepreneurs I suppose we might call them today;
- James Rowbothum's printed guitar tutor, *An Instruction to the Gitterne* from around 1569, of which only fragments survive. It seems to be an English adaptation of a work from Adrian Le Roy and allows Page to reconstruct, fairly convincingly, much of Rowbothum's missing original tablature;
- examination of other contemporary sources of or relating to guitar music including the refined works published by Le Roy & Ballard (perhaps the finest guitar music of this period) and pieces from the Osborn Commonplace Book;
- possible song accompaniments with guitar which, although there are no extant sources for such songs from England at this time, Page believes was a known practice and, after considering various contemporary non-guitar sources, he develops suitable accompaniments to some songs;
- the autobiography of a particularly interesting individual, Thomas Whythorne, who not only wrote songs and sonnets but also played the guitar. Whythorne appears to have successfully climbed the first few rungs on the social ladder towards becoming a gentleman through his artistic endeavours (studying composition, the lute, virginals, 'sittern' and the 'gittern') as well as possessing skill in the gentlemanly arts of fencing and dancing.

A conclusion summarises the preceding chapters and also outlines the eight substantial and relevant appendices. These cover: the terms 'gittern' and 'cittern'; references to gitterns from 1542 to 1605; the probate inventory of Dennys Bucke (1584); octave strings on the third and fourth courses; the fiddle tunings of Jerome of Moravia, 'swept' strings and the guitar; the mandore and the wire-strung gittern; the ethos of the guitar in sixteenth-century France; Raphe Bowle's manuscript of 1558.

The Guitar in Tudor England contains a few facsimiles of early guitar tablatures, but most musical examples are given in the octave transposing treble clef as if for a modern instrument in E (perhaps to appeal to modern guitar players), rather than a more expected nominal G for the period instrument. A parallel intabulation would also have been useful for period guitarists who do not play from modern guitar staff notation.

The only significant reservation I have over much of what Page writes are the assertions about the stringing of the third and fourth courses (Appendix D). Firstly, the idea that on the early four-course guitar the high octave of an octave pair was always placed on the 'outside' (i.e. the plucking thumb side) of the course: whilst there is clear evidence that this was a practice widely employed on the later five-course guitar, there is no primary evidence, as far as I'm aware, for such use on the early four-course instrument – it may have been the case, or may not – but practice on the later five-course instrument is in any case not really

sufficient evidence for earlier practice. Indeed, the similarities between much lute and guitar music of the period (for example in the Le Roy prints) suggests a more lute-like disposition (with the lowest string of the bass pair on the right hand, thumb side) rather than one more suitable for the later *campanella* style of play and high chords, as often found with the later five-course instrument. Secondly, the evidence of one early printed instruction book, *Selectissima Elegantissimaqve, Gallica, Italica Et Latina In Gviterna Lvdenda Carmina* (Pierre Phalèse, 1570), requiring a high octave on the third of the four-course guitar is dismissed as a contemporary confusion between other stringing instructions for the cittern and those for the guitar: whilst this possibility has also been suggested elsewhere, and may even be the case, in my view the thesis is simply not sufficiently proven. Notwithstanding these particular reservations, Page's superb book on the Tudor instrument is undoubtedly a major step forward in early guitar scholarship and ought to be bought by anyone with a genuine interest in the four-course instrument.

Much more has been written about the five-course guitar than the earlier four-course – not only in books but in specialist journals. Nevertheless, Professor Page has mined rich new seams and uncovered much significant material to expand and add to our views of the instrument. The guitar seems to have played a significant role in seventeenth-century England and especially at the Restoration court – even more, perhaps surprisingly, than at the court of *Le Roi Soleil* – and Page elaborates on this in the early chapters of his latest book, *The Guitar in Stuart England.*

The five-course guitar, developed at the end of the sixteenth century, became astonishingly popular throughout most of Europe in the seventeenth and in some parts continued to be so even well into the eighteenth. In England the social revolutions of the time, the Commonwealth (and Stuart exile in France) and the Restoration had a peculiar influence and shaped much of the later usage of the guitar. In *The Guitar in Stuart England* Page identifies some relevant pictorial representations, literary works and archival materials to produce a story of the guitar in England from its early appearances in the Jacobean and Caroline courts, through the Interregnum, into its heyday at the Restoration court and finally on to its decline in the early eighteenth century. The seven chapters cover:

- some of the relevant background found in his earlier book on the Tudor instrument, which introduces the guitar in Jacobean and Caroline England. The guitar in early seventeenth-century England is explored especially focussing on the court masque and town fashion and on the particular suitability of the instrument for use in the simple chordal accompaniments of the new thorough bass. The Jacobean court was especially subject to Spanish influences, as found in some song settings, while the later, Caroline court more so by those from France, including the court masque and also reflecting Henrietta Maria's arrival and later when the guitar became *à la mode*. But the seventeenth century was a period of turmoil and the changes of monarch, the Commonwealth and Restoration certainly had a significant impact on the guitar in England which Page well, and interestingly, recounts;
- explorations of household accounts in England (principally London) and abroad showing payments for guitar lessons and the purchase of instruments and strings. Studying abroad also directly exposed Englishmen to foreign influences and this continued under the Commonwealth, especially for those wishing to distance themselves from the revolutionary conflict;
- a brief foray into the guitar during the Interregnum leading into a meaty chapter on the Restoration court which was guitaristically dominated for almost twenty years by the acclaimed Francesco Corbetta – the leading player and composer of guitar music of the age. Page, most appropriately, devotes much space to describing Corbetta's influences and music, even touching on his sadly neglected vocal works, as well as describing suitable performance spaces and general court repertoire;
- an exploration of paintings of women playing the guitar, in a novel exposition entitled 'Regarding the Female Guitarist', but, as Page also points out, it was by no means a woman's instrument alone and, indeed, was often associated with rakish men. The female sitters are invariably depicted strumming in a particularly elegant posture which perhaps suggests that playing the guitar with simple

strummed chords was considered particularly fit for displaying feminine charms.

- the use of the guitar on the London stage ('Guitars, Gallants and Gentlewomen') in which Page points out that the instrument was eminently suitable for being played on stage to accompany the action – either by playing a straightforward (generally strummed) dance or a simple song accompaniment. Unsurprisingly, very little of this repertoire has survived since there was already a large pool of suitable pieces available as required. Such relatively simple works also seem to have been a staple of gallants, were used by 'City Dames' and also at young gentlewomen's schools. One of these was the Chelsea boarding school where Josias Priest was dancing master and where, of course, Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* was performed – perhaps the 'Gittars' dances called for in the earliest libretto were played on guitar(s).
- Samuel Pepys' writings which include much on his involvement with the guitar and with his Italian guitar teacher, Cesare Morelli, who Pepys eventually commissioned to write out songs with guitar tablature – resulting in one of the largest collections of songs with guitar from this period. Pepys also knew Nicola Matteis who settled in England and wrote the best contemporary treatise about realising a thorough bass on the five-course guitar;
- the guitar book of 'Princes An' (later Queen Anne), dating from the 1690s but also containing music from earlier times as well as settings and adaptations of violin and vocal music of the period for solo guitar, which is considered in 'The Autumn of the Five-Course Guitar in England'. Page traces the last historical images of the instrument in England, such as a 1747 portrait of the Earl of Blessington in 'antick' historical dress with a five-course guitar – perhaps even then a sign of its obsolescence.

Finally, there are four substantial appendices covering: Conspectus of Musical Sources and Selected Inventories; Guitars in Probate Inventories of the Seventeenth Century; The Letters of Samuel Pepys concerning the Guitar; The Dupille Manuscript. The checklist of sources is a particularly useful appendix identifying sources of relevant printed books, some appropriate staff notation sources, and guitar tablature manuscripts.

Again, as with his earlier book on the Tudor guitar, the only significant concerns I have about Page's otherwise generally excellent work, are his assertions and assumptions for the stringing of the five-course instrument (Introduction, 10–11). Page readily accepts that this is 'contentious field' and that he has therefore usually only employed the stringings recorded in English sources (except, he says, where a clear Italianate influence seems apparent). Since there is only one (just) pre-Restoration source which indicates any tuning in England for the five-course guitar (a note of 1660 by Richard Toward), which Page unequivocally (if questionably) interprets as requiring an instrument with no bourdons whatsoever, this is something of a hostage to fortune for he is then committed to this one tuning for the earlier seventeenth-century musical examples – even for music in the simple strumming ('thrumming') style. However, there is still some ongoing debate and the situation is less clear cut than this with continued foreign influences suggesting that a range of tunings were probably employed on the five-course guitar in England (as, indeed, elsewhere) – thus the pre-Restoration guitar may have equally well had bourdons as none. Nevertheless, Page is certainly right in suggesting that, after the Restoration, Corbetta's tuning with a bourdon only on the fourth course and the high octave on the thumb side (and with no nonsense about a high octave on the third) became popular – although perhaps still not universal.

Like Page's earlier book on the Tudor guitar, this on the five-course instrument is a truly outstanding work which should be read by all serious players of the period guitar and, of course, procured by all academic institutions, public libraries and other bodies with any interest in the social and musical history of instruments and their performance.

[1] <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/professors-and-speakers/professor-christopher-page/>.

Recent Publications Relating to Performance Practice

Compiled by James Hume

Ad Parnassum, Vol.16/no.33 (April 2018)
Articles
Graham Pont, Handel's Extempore
Susan Wollenberg, A Look (Back) at Clementi's *Sonatinas* for Piano, Op. 36 (1797)

Cambridge Opera Journal, Vol.29/3 (November 2017)
Article
Markus Rathey, Setting the Stage: Drama, Libretti and the 'Invention' of Opera in Leipzig in the 1680s

Review Article
Natasha Roule, Bodily Narratives in French Baroque Opera

Early Music, Vol.46/2 (May 2018)
Articles
Uri Smilansky, Machaut and Prague: A Rare New Sighting?
Seishiro Niwa, Pierluigi Farnese's Musical Project in Piacenza
Olga Gero, Text and Visual Image in the Sacred Vocal Works of Dieterich Buxtehude
Andrew Woolley, New Light on William Babell's Development as a Keyboard Composer
Sonia Wronkowska, Newly Discovered Works for Viola da Gamba by Carl Friedrich Abel: The Maltzan Collection
David Hunter, The Beckfords in England and Italy: A Case Study in the Musical Uses of the Profits of Slavery
Jon Banks and Marieke Lefeber, A Mechanical Source of Turkish Music from 18th-Century London
John Milsom, The T-Mass: *quis scrutatur?*

Book and music reviews of
Andrew R. Walkling, *Masque and Opera in England, 1656–1688*
Michael Robertson, *Consort Suites and Dance Music by Town Musicians in German-Speaking Europe, 1648–1700*
David Kimbell, *Handel on the Stage*
English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition, ed. William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts
The Anne Boleyn Music Book (Royal College of Music MS 1070), intro. By Thomas Schmidt, David Skinner and Katja Airaksinen-Monier

Early Music, Vol.46/1 (February 2018)
Articles
Christopher Page, Being a Guitarist in Late Georgian England
Taro Takeuchi, Rediscovering the Regency Lute: A Checklist of Musical Sources and Extant Instruments
Jelma van Amersfoort, 'Extra fine Guitars after the newest Fashion': Guitar- and Cittern-making in the Northern Netherlands, 1750–1800
Paul Sparks, The Mandolin in Britain, 1750–1800
Panagiotis Paulopoulos, The Impact of François Chanot's Experimental Violins on the Development of the Earliest Guitar with an Arched Soundboard by Francesco Molino in the 1820s
Erik Stenstadvold, Long or Short? The Appoggiatura in the Early 19th-Century Guitar Tradition, with Special Reference to the Music of Fernando Sor
Daisy M. Gibbs, England's Most Christian King: Henry VIII's 1513 Campaigns and a Lost Votive Antiphon by William Cornysh
Samantha Arten, The Origin of Fixed-Scale Solmization in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*

Book and music reviews of
Rodolfo Baroncini, David Bryant and Luigi Collarile, eds., *Giovanni Gabrieli: Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition*
Markus Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio: Music, Theology, Culture*
Robert Riggs, ed., *The Violin*
Martin Peerson, *Complete Works IV: Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique,* ed. Richard Rastall; and, Walter Porter, *Collected Works*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright
Richard Dering, *Motets and Anthems*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright; and Philips and Dering, *Consort Music*, ed. David Smith
Benedetto Marcello, *Il trionfo della Poesia, e della Musica*, ed. Michael Burden; and Marcello, *Cassandra*, ed. Talya Berger

Early Music, Vol.45/4 (November 2017)
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Richard Robinson, *Syrena*, *ciecòla, monocordum and clavicembalum*: The Case for Stringed Keyboards in Late Trecento and Early Quattrocento Italy
Stefan Menzel, 'Ach herlich Ampt in figuris': Sacred Polyphony at St. Marien in Wittenberg 1543/44
Margarita Restrepo, A New Genre Arrives in Spain: The Madrigal in vihuela Collections
Ben Byram-Wigfield, Antonio Lotti: Born in Venice to a Family in Hanover?
Alexander Dean, The Magic Square of Olocin Ozzaniugnas
Paul Miller, A New Collection of Viola d'Amore Music from Late 18th-Century Bohemia
Natassa Varka, 'Departed ghosts in living forms appear': Abiathar, Doeg, and Jennens's Conception of *Saul*
Peter Holman, Worth 1000 Words: Edward Francis Burney at Drury Lane in 1779
Christopher Holman, Rhythm and Metre in French Classical Plainchant

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Sandra Mangsen, *Songs Without Words: Keyboard Arrangements of Vocal Music in England, 1560–1760*
Francesco Foggie, *Masses*, ed. Stephen R. Miller
Pierre Nicolas La Font, *Premier Livre de Pièces de Clavecin*, ed. Jonathan Rhodes Lee

Early Music History, Vol. 37 (October 2018)
Articles
Geneviève Bazinet, Singing the King's Music: Attaingnant's Motet Series, Royal Hegemony and the Function of the Motet in Sixteenth-Century France
Gregorio Bevilacqua, David Catalunya and Nuria Torres, The Production of Polyphonic Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris: New Evidence for Standardised Procedures
Anne Heminger, Music Theory at Work: The Eton Choirbook, Rhythmic Proportions and Musical Networks in Sixteenth-Century England
Stephen Rose, Protected Publications: The Imperial and Saxon Privileges for Printed Music, 1550–1700

Early Music Review (August 2018)
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Daniele Torelli and Giulia Gabrielli, *Madrigali in Seminario: Musiche vocali profane da una miscellanea storica a Bressanone*

Early Music Review (May 2018)
Book review of
Martha Cook, *L'art de la fugue: une meditation en musique*

Early Music Review (April 2018)
Review of
Recercare: Journal for the Study and Practice of Early Music XXVIII/1–2 (2016)

Eighteenth-Century Music, vol. 15/2 (September 2018)
Articles
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Book and music reviews of
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Eighteenth-Century Music, vol. 15/1 (March 2018)
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Maria Virginia Acuña, Love Conquers All: Cupid, Philip V and the Allegorical Zarzuela During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714)
Katelyn Clark, 'Of the Temperament of Those Musical Instruments': Considering Tiberius Cavallo and the Scientific Observation of Musical Sounds in Late Eighteenth-Century London

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Galpin Society Journal, Vol.LXXI (March 2018)
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Bonnie Gordon, Cipriano de Rore and Ariosto's Clamour
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Peter Phillips, 'Heaven and Earth': A Performer's Guide to Josquin's Masses

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Georg Corall, The Lilien Partbooks in the Sonsfeld Collection (D-HRD Fü 3741a): A Reconsideration of the Role of Eighteenth-Century Prussian *Hautboisten* and their Engagement in 'Art' Music

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