

"THE LIFE, WORK AND INFLUENCE OF J.C.PEPUSCH"

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DECLARATION

The influence of Pepusch on Handel has been discussed briefly in my thesis entitled "The Influence of English Music and Society on G.F. Handel," which was submitted for the degree of M. Phil. at Leeds University in 1969.

ABSTRACT

J.C. Pepusch is remembered mainly because he arranged the music for "The Beggar's Opera." He is often regarded as a pedantic nonentity. Both his successful theatre works and his large repertoire of instrumental music are forgotten, although much is of high quality. His love of early music, and his interest in Greek musical theory establish him as the first English musicologist, and his part in the creation of the "Academy of Ancient Music" shows that this enthusiasm took a practical as well as academic form. He exerted a significant influence on the two great musical histories which appeared in England in the eighteenth century. Unlike most of his contemporaries he devoted much thought to teaching methods, and exerted a considerable influence as a teacher.

This thesis brings together the available information on Pepusch, and attempts a brief consideration of contemporary attitudes to music as epitomised by Burney, Hawkins and others. No apology is thought necessary for the amount of space devoted to this topic, as it is felt that the investigation gives greater insight into the original aspects of his work and the apparent lack of interest shown by his contemporaries. Chapters V-VIII attempt a critical appraisal of his work, teaching and influence; and examine a representative sample of his composition - something which does not seem to have been done before.

Apart from brief references in standard works, and in connection with "The Beggar's Opera," it would seem that the only information available on Pepusch in English is the article by C.W. Hughes, published thirty years ago in "Musical Quarterly," and the thesis by H.W. Fred on the instrumental music. The latter concentrates on only one aspect of the composer's instrumental writing.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the whereabouts of Pepusch's music.

British Museum. (B.M.)

Bibliothèque Conservatoire Royale de Musique, Brussels
(Brussels)

Library of Congress. (L.C.)

Royal College of Music. (R.C.M.)

New York Public Library. (N.Y.P.L.)

Pedagogische Hochschule, Potsdam. (Potsdam)

Universitäts-Bibliothek, Rostock. (Rostock)

Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek, Schwerin. (Schwerin)

St. Michael's College, Tenbury. (Tenbury)

Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala. (Uppsala)

Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. (Dresden)

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

My object has been to produce examples in the form which seemed most easily readable. I have, therefore, adhered to the following principles. Examples have been reproduced on as few staves as possible. When more than one part is written on a single stave, stems and rests have not been duplicated needlessly, but only when needed to clarify the movement of rhythmically independent parts. Time signatures, key signatures and notation have all been modernised, and note values halved when this appeared to lead to easier assimilation. Abbreviations for repeated notes have been avoided. Normal instrumental groupings of notes is employed in vocal parts, with slurs to indicate melismatic passages and the disposition of syllables.

The figuring from the original source has been retained, as this is not always complete. The two complete sonatas for recorder have been reproduced in a modern performing edition with a realisation of the continuo part, but in vol.II the other examples include only source material.

REFERENCES

My object has been to cite what appears to be the most convenient sources for material to which reference has been made. I have, therefore, referred to the modern Dover editions of the Burney and Hawkins Histories, rather than the first editions to which I have naturally had recourse. Similarly, the reader is directed to material which may be conveniently found in modern publications such as those by Tilmouth and Scholes, although original source references are normally included.

The British Museum Library is now the British Library (reference Division), but the larger part of this typescript had been completed before that administrative change was accomplished.

INTRODUCTION

My interest in Pepusch arose because I found myself fascinated by the sheer diversity of the man. Distinguished as theatre musician, musicologist, teacher and academic, he showed an unusual understanding of English society and musical style, and exercised a considerable influence on the development of music in this country. His subsequent neglect is both unfortunate and undeserved. I have attempted to realise three main objectives in the present work.

1. To bring together the available information on Pepusch and his music.
2. To examine his compositions, determining the scope and merit of his work in this field and including enough musical material for the reader to form some conclusions about his activities as a composer. (It should be borne in mind that little of this music is in print, and much not available in England.)
3. To determine the nature and extent of his influence on the subsequent development of music in England.

Chapter I summarises the available information on the life of Pepusch. Chapter II gives an account of the "Academy of Ancient Music," much useful information being found in the minute book of this body which has survived. Although Dr. Percy Scholes has already dealt with some aspects of this topic, it is covered fairly fully here, as the information not only affords a fascinating and at times amusing picture of the society, but useful data regarding the music which was performed. The Academy began a tradition which was to flourish

in the next century, and it is obvious that Pepusch was a real driving force in its creation and activities. He loved early music, concerned himself with Greek theory, but was able to compose successfully in contemporary style, and teach, using Corelli as his model. The oft-repeated suggestion that he was only interested in old music and was stiff and pedantic is simply not true. He was extremely clear-sighted, and one of a select band who appreciated the beauties of Renaissance music. How many of the others owed their appreciation to his influence?

Chapters III and IV indulge in a consideration of contemporary attitudes to music as epitomised by Burney, Hawkins and others. In spite of the fact that these authors have already received considerable attention, no apology is thought necessary for the amount of space devoted to this topic. It enables us to appreciate more readily some of the reasons for the criticism he received, and also the full significance of some aspects of his work including musical research. The attitude of Burney is of special significance in respect of subsequent appraisals of Pepusch. The former always seems to have regarded him as an unmusical pedant of the worst type.

Chapters V-VIII attempt a critical appraisal of his work and influence, and reveal that his music is far better than is generally supposed. That for the theatre is appealing and full of charm. Much of the instrumental music is of good quality - all competent, surprisingly little really boring. Although traditional in his structure, and stylistically typical of the age in which he lived, his work nevertheless

contains some interesting features, and is often quite imaginative. In both theatre and church music one may discern English style, and in this respect he seems to have exerted a noticeable influence on Handel. He had some distinguished pupils, devoted much thought to teaching methods, and was latterly regarded as the most distinguished academic musician in London. His "Treatise on Harmony," published prematurely and anonymously by Lord Paisley was revised by him. It was useful at the time it was written and seems to have been virtually unique. Both Hawkins, and more indirectly Burney were indebted to him in compiling their histories, although the latter would have been most reluctant to admit the fact! These two works were the first of their kind in English and provided the prime sources for subsequent works of similar type.

Pepusch has been remembered mainly for his involvement in "The Beggar's Opera." This is ironical, since his part in the project was a relatively small one - that of arranger. Yet we shall see that his contribution was more significant than is generally realised, and that his association with the work demonstrates that he was extremely shrewd, both socially and musically.

Apart from brief entries in standard works of reference, and in connection with "The Beggar's Opera," it would seem that the only information on Pepusch in English is an article by C.W. Hughes, published thirty years ago in "Musical Quarterly," and a thesis on his instrumental music by H.W. Fred. The former is merely an introduction intended to whet the appetite - in my case it proved most successful - and the latter deals with only

one aspect of his output. Fred adopts a most analytical approach, and while this is commendably thorough, it provides statistical information rather than giving a real idea of the music. It is, in any case, confined to a group of violin sonatas. Pepusch is mentioned briefly in various books on the history of music, but there seems to be no extended account of his activities. My justification for including so much musical material is that so little is available in print or indeed in England. The vast amount of material scattered in continental libraries can only be obtained by a slow and costly process. Much is available only on microfilm, and in separate parts. Many hours of copying is required before a realistic assessment can be attempted.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE

John Christopher Pepusch was born in Berlin in 1667, the son of a Lutheran minister. It appears that he had an early inclination to music, receiving lessons in theory from Gottlieb Klingenberg, the organist of the churches of St. James and St. John in Stettin; and organ lessons from Grosse. According to Hawkins,¹ this was probably Severus Grosse of Hildesheim, a bishoprick in the circle of Lower Saxony. Seemingly the lessons lasted for only one year, due perhaps to financial hardship.

Having acquired an early reputation as a performer, young Pepusch was summoned to court to accompany a lady who was to sing before the Queen, and apparently on the strength of this successful performance, he was appointed to teach the Prince to play the harpsichord. Here there seems some confusion.

Lydia Miller Middleton states:

"At the age of fourteen, he played at court, accompanying a singer, and was soon after appointed the teacher of Prince Frederick William. That post he held for six years, pursuing his own studies in the meanwhile." ²

There is no mention here of his sixteen year appointment "at the Court" which is referred to in "Grove's Dictionary," and which he retained until he was thirty.³ Fred states that he was fourteen when he was appointed court organist to Frederick the Great, and also that he was fourteen when he accompanied the singer and was appointed to teach the Prince; and obviously there must remain some doubt about the exact circumstances of the appointment (s.) It seems clear that the principal appointment was made at the age of fourteen,

and this no doubt included the teaching commitment specified.

When he was thirty he left the country, apparently as a result of witnessing a remarkable incident to which Hawkins refers:

"He continued at Berlin a Professor of Music, and in the service of the court, till about the thirtieth year of his age, when, being in the Royal Palace, he became an eye witness of a transaction which determined him to quit the country of his nativity. An officer in the service of his Prussian Majesty had at a levee made use of some expression which so exasperated the King, that he ordered the offender into immediate custody, and without a trial, or any other judicial proceedings, his head was struck off. Mr. Pepusch, who was present, conceived the life of every subject so precarious in a country where in the punishment of offences the forms of public justice were dispensed with, that he determined to abandon it, and put himself under the protection of a government founded on better principles." 4.

On leaving, Pepusch spent one year in Holland, where he began to publish his compositions, and arrived in London in 1700, aged thirty-three.

His first London appointment was as a viola player at Drury Lane, "but having convinced the managers that he deserved a better place, he was advanced to the harpsichord, about 1700." 5. To this statement by Burney, the "Dictionary of National Biography" adds: "with the privilege of fitting operas for the stage, and adding his own music." An example of this sort of adaptation is alluded to by Burney, who writes:

"In 1707, he had acquired English sufficient to adapt Motteux's translation of the Italian opera 'Thomyris' to airs of Scarlatti and Bononcini, and to new set the recitatives." 6.

Burney also mentions that in 1709-10 some of his works were advertised in the first edition of the 'Tatler' including flute

sonatas and cantatas. Some of his sonatas were published by Roger, and had obviously been composed before his arrival in England. Referring to the airs for two violins and the ground for harpsichord, violin and guitar, Fred speaks of them as "potboilers" for practice purposes, but Hawkins, perhaps surprisingly, refers to them without any derogatory remarks:

"At the time when Pepusch came to settle in England, he found the practice of music in a very low state; very few but professors being able to play in consort: with a view to the improvement of it he published twenty-four airs for two violins in all the varieties of measures that music is capable of: these seem to be but an introduction to Corelli's sonatas, which were then deemed much too hard to be put into the hands of learners." 7.

Pepusch was instrumental in founding the Academy of Ancient Music which had its early meetings at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand, and about which more will be said in due course. In this connection, Hawkins commented that Pepusch

"saw with concern persons who made pretensions to great skill in the science treat with indifference and contempt the music of the preceding century, and being himself persuaded of its superior excellence, he laboured to retrieve and exhibit it to the public view." 8.

Fred points out that the programmes of the Academy were not always so learned nor so ancient as might be expected by the name of the association, ⁹ and further details will follow.

In 1712, Pepusch was engaged by the Duke of Chandos as organist and composer, and it has been stated that Handel succeeded him in 1718. The implication seems to have been that "usurped" would be a better word, and this has been used to explain the dislike which Pepusch is said to have had for

Handel. The idea that Handel succeeded Pepusch is however false, and this has been pointed out by William C. Smith, who wrote:

"The suggestion that Handel succeeded Pepusch as the Duke's Kapellmeister in 1718 is... without convincing evidence, as Pepusch dedicated his six English Cantatas book II in 1720 to the Duke of Chandos, signing himself 'His Grace's most devoted and obedient servant,' and a letter of Pepusch's dated from 'Canons, 3rd Jan. 1722' exists in the British Museum. (Eg. 2159.) 10.

The mode of address to which reference is made would certainly not be convincing in itself, but confirmation beyond reasonable doubt is provided by the fact that when the Duke requested an inventory of his music and instruments in 1720, Pepusch supervised and helped with the task. A Mr. Noland catalogued the music, producing a list which Pepusch examined and signed; while Pepusch catalogued the instruments himself. It seems clear from the above that Handel was regarded as composer in residence and not as musical director. Deutsch confirms this impression:

"Pepusch, Master of the Music until 1732, drew a salary of £100 a year (first mentioned at Michaelmas 1719.) Nothing is known about Handel's fees." 11.

According to Burney, Pepusch composed anthems and services for the Duke's private chapel. Burney incorrectly states that he was appointed at Cannons after having been awarded his D. Mus. at Oxford in 1713, but this event occurred one year after his Cannons appointment. The award was made at the same time that Croft received his degree, and the exercise submitted by Pepusch was a setting of the "Ode on the Peace of Utrecht." 12.

Fred wrote:

"In an unprecedented practice, Pepusch had his

exercise performed by paid musicians brought from the London theatres. Not only did these musicians perform his exercise, but he had them perform concerts in Oxford for his benefit. The entire practice was censured as contrary to academic procedure, and caused no little annoyance to the University authorities."¹³.

Clearly his well-developed commercial instinct received no credit at all!

In 1714, Pepusch became musical director of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, arranging and performing "Venus and Adonis" and "Myrtillo" in 1715; "Apollo and Daphne" and "The Death of Dido" in 1716; "The Union of the Three Sister Arts" in 1723; and "The Squire of Alsatia" in 1726. These were followed by "The Beggar's Opera" in 1728, and "Polly" and "The Wedding" in 1729. He also arranged the music for "Perseus and Andromeda" of 1717 and "Dioclesian" of 1724. Of the music to the latter, Mrs. Delany wrote:

".....Instead of Purcell's music which I expected, we had Papuch's (sic,) and very humdrum it was; indeed I was never so tired with anything in my life."¹⁴.

Burney tells us that the first two works in our list were composed for Drury Lane, and comments that although not very successful, they were performed more frequently than any of his other original dramatic compositions. He also states that the "Union of the Three Sister Arts," alternatively

referred to as "Ode for St. Cecilia's Day" which had been set for the "concert in York Buildings" was published in 1723.¹⁵

As we have already noted, Burney, relying no doubt on memory, is not always accurate. In his account of Pepusch we find the following:

"And about the year 1724, Dr. Berkeley, Dean of Londonderry, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, having formed a plan for erecting a college in one of the Summer Isles, or Bermudas, among the several persons of distinguished abilities whom he had engaged to accompany him thither, fixed on Dr. Pepusch. But having embarked with his associates for the intended settlement, the ship was wrecked, and the undertaking frustrated.

Being returned to England after this accident, Dr. Pepusch married Margherita de L'Epine, who had quitted the stage, where she had acquired a fortune which was estimated at £10,000."¹⁶

As Pepusch had married de L'Epine in 1718, there is obviously some confusion. Hawkins also confused the date of Pepusch's marriage, and stated it in his history as 1718, 1722, and 1724.¹⁷ The situation is further complicated by the fact that Berkeley published his "Proposals for a College in Bermuda" in 1725, and according to "Historical Record" sailed in 1728 to Rhode Island! According to Hughes, Berkeley arrived safely and landed in Newport.¹⁸ Berkeley does not mention Pepusch in his letters, and neither does the "Historical Record" of 1728. Also relevant is the fact that "The Beggar's Opera" was performed in 1728, and that Pepusch worked on "Polly" in 1729. One can but concur with Hughes, who concludes:

"it seems likely, therefore that they were merely in London at the same time, and that Pepusch may have been approached, and may have been interested."

H.W. Fred points out that the marriage date may not be related to the topic at all; and that, putting this aside, it is conceivable that they did embark, but in the face of the conflicting evidence, he concludes:

"However, with conclusive historical evidence lacking, and circumstances obviously eliminating Pepusch from Berkeley's 1728 sailing, it would seem safe to assume that Pepusch never packed his seagoing bags for the picturesque adventure our early historians mention." 19.

It is appropriate here to devote some attention to the career of Margarita de l'Epine, which was both lengthy and colourful. Hawkins furnishes some interesting information, and it is to him that we turn in the first instance.²⁰ He tells us that Francesca Margarita de l'Epine was a native of Tuscany and performed in some of the earliest Italian operas to be given in England. Information regarding specific performances may be found in Grove sub "Epine." She came to England with Greber, a German who had studied in Italy and who apparently enhanced his image by calling himself Signor Giacomo Greber. Plenty of references to her are found in letters and in the press, conveniently recorded by O.E.Deutsch and Michael Tilmouth.²¹ Her early appearance in England makes her unique, and Hughes describes her as "a solitary forerunner of that great migration of Italian singers to England." Her isolation may be gauged by the fact that in 1692 the London papers identified her sufficiently as the "Italian Lady, (that is lately come over that is so famous for her singing.)"²² She apparently made her debut at Drury Lane on 29th January, 1704, singing Italian songs accompanied at the harpsichord by Greber. Her second appearance at Drury Lane, perhaps in the presence of her

future husband was not, it seems, an unqualified success. The disturbance was thought by some to be the work of the English singer Mrs. Tofts, since oranges were thrown by Anne Barwick, who was, or had been Mrs. Tofts's servant. The latter wrote a public denial; perhaps, Burney suggests, fearing the law of retaliation:

"Sir, I was very much surprised when I was informed that Anne Barwick, who was lately my servant, had committed a rudeness last night at the playhouse, by throwing oranges, and hissing when Mrs. L'Epine the Italian gentlewoman sang. I hope no one can think it was in the least with my privity, as I can assure you it was not. I abhor such practices; and I hope you will cause her to be prosecuted, that she may be punished as she deserves." 23.

Fiske comments that she found Mrs. Tofts "an unscrupulous rival," and suggests that "she was not sorry that her sister rather than she had to face Mrs. Tofts in "Rosamond." We shall refer to this sister presently. He continues:

"In 1712-13, she sang for Handel, notably in a revival of 'Rinaldo,' but this association collapsed when she became friendly with Pepusch, who regarded Handel with both dislike and jealousy." 24.

Whether this statement is based on definite evidence is not clear in the context, but the question of his relationship with Handel will be considered later.

In 1706, Sir John Vanbrugh designed and erected the Haymarket Theatre, which opened with a pastorage, "The Loves of Ergasto," set to music in the Italian style by Greber, and known also as "Greber's Pastorage." It was claimed that this was the first London opera sung completely in Italian.²⁵ It apparently elicited little comment, and this casts doubt on the suggestion. Fiske makes the interesting suggestion that

de l'Epine, and perhaps her sister were consulted by Vanbrugh and Congreve, as three other operas proposed were unavailable for various reasons. She probably suggested Greber's opera because of her association with him, which seems to have been extra-professional. As Italian singers do not seem to have materialised in sufficient numbers, it would appear likely that the work was sung in English.

Several advertisements of performances by Margarita with Greber as accompanist at places such as York Buildings and Chelsea College Hall as well as theatres remind us that she indulged in concert performances as well as stage work. The partnership seems to have dissolved about 1704. Due to her association with Greber, the public bestowed on her the gracious appellation of "Greber's Peg." Later she became involved with the Earl of Nottingham, which led a Mr. Rowe to produce the following imitation of an ode by Horace:

"Did not base Greber's Peg inflame
the sober Earl of Nottingham,
of sober sire descended?
That careless of his soul and fame,
to playhouses he nightly came
and left church undefended." 26.

The final allusion concerns the fact that the Earl had written against Whiston on the doctrine of the Trinity. There was also the following offering by Lord Halifax; referred to by Hawkins as a shrewd epigram:

"On Orpheus and Signora Francesca Margarita
Hail tuneful pair! Say by what wondrous charms,
One scap'd from hell, and one from Greber's arms?
When the soft Thracian touch'd the trembling strings,
The winds were hush'd, and curl'd their airy wings;
And when the tawny Tuscan raised her strain,
Rook furls the sails, and dares it on the main.

Treatise unfinished in the office sleep,
 and Shovell yawns for orders on the deep.
 Thus equal charms and equal conquests claim,
 To him high woods and bending timber came,
 To her shrub hedges and tall Nottingham."

Hawkins considered "tawny" to be "very characteristic of her." She was apparently swarthy, and "in general so destitute of personal charms, that Dr. Pepusch, who later married her, seldom called her by any other name than Hecate, which she answered to very readily." That she was successful in financial terms may be seen not only from the reference made by Burney, which has already been quoted, to the effect that she made at least £10,000 - a very satisfactory fortune for a musician at that time - but also by referring to a memo written by Heidegger, probably from 1713, the payments being, in all probability, the fees due in the normal course of events. Deutsch suggests that these were paid in two instalments, or "terms."²⁷ While it is not precisely clear how the amount was calculated, the amount, £400, is considerable, and if we ignore arrears, and consider only the sum received in respect of the first and second "divisions" and the benefit, we find that she seems to be doing as well as the others:

| | |
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| "Signora Margarita in the first division | £80.0.0. |
| In the second | £25.0.0. |
| Her benefit (15th April, 1713) | £76.5.8. |
| Remains due to her | <u>£218.14.4.</u> |
| | <u>£400.0.0.</u> |

Horner provides further confirmation of the fact that she was well paid.²⁸ He tells us that l'Epine and Tofts both received £7.10.0. per night, this apparently being in about 1712-13, and that the minor singers received between 10/- and 15/- per night. According to this account, Pepusch received

£1.5.0., as did Saggioni, Dieuport and Haym, all of whom were listed as being either librettists or composers as well as violinists. Several entries confirm the part she played in Pepusch's theatrical ventures, and she performed in "Venus and Adonis" with Mrs. Barbier. It appears that this work received at least nineteen performances in 1715, although not all were complete as they seem to have occurred during the intervals of plays. At least seven performances of the same type took place in 1718, with the same two singers. Indeed, however many low opinions of Pepusch's music we hear, the press notices confirm that it was performed, and that this particular work seems to have run well.

On 29th May, 1703, the "Daily Courante" carried an advertisement for "The Rival Queens" to take place on 1st June, at Little Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre; in which Margarita de l'Epine "will sing four of her most celebrated Songs, it being positively the last time of her Singing on the Stage whilst she is staying in England." However, she continued to sing on the stage until she married Pepusch in 1718, and it appears that even then she did not completely give up singing in public. According to the "Daily Courante" of 17th March, 1719, she sang at a benefit for "Mr. Vanbrugh" at Coignard's Great Room, and was on that occasion accompanied by her husband. To return, however, to "The Rival Queens" performance, it should be noted that according to the "Daily Courante" of 31st May, she was replaced by Maria Margarita Galli. "lately arrived from Italy, who has never yet sung in England," and who was to sing music by Saggioni. L'Epine's performance was deferred to 8th June, for which occasion Greber composed the instrumental music. This is

no doubt the source of Burney's statement which reads:

"This year, 1703, Signora Maria Margherita Gallia, sister of Marg. de l'Epine, and scholar of Nicola Haym, first appeared at the theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, as a singer."

Mercer comments, in his edition of Burney's History:

"The inclusion of the name Margherita is incorrect, Maria Gallia was the wife of Saggioni mentioned above." 29.

It should be noted that there was another singer in London at this time named Margarita Durastanti, who is also referred to as Margarita, and who was married to Casimiro Avelloni.

The press also provides interesting scraps of information about Pepusch himself. The "Daily Courante" of the 3rd. of April, 1704 makes the only reference I have discovered to Pepusch's brother. An advertisement for a performance at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on the following day of "The Cautious Coxcomb" also refers to:

"several new Entertainments of Musick perform'd in consorts by seven young men, (upon Hautboys, Flutes, and German Horns) lately brought over by their master the famous Godfrede Pepusch, Musician in Ordinary to his Majesty the King of Prussia. The Compositions being made intirely new for that purpose by his Brother, that Eminent Master, Mr. John Christopher Pepusch."30.

Apparently there were repeat performances of the music on 18th April and 22nd.

Occasionally, advertisements can give specific information on the dates of instrumental pieces, most of which cannot be dated with any certainty and here it may be noted that the publication which contains six sonatas by Croft and a flute solo by Pepusch belongs to 1704,³¹ not 1710 as suggested in the British Museum catalogue. Small human touches and moments of humour occur. We find the following advertisement in the "Daily Courante" for 14th December, 1711:

"J.C. Pepusch offers a reward for the recovery of a violin left in a Hackney coach between the-stage-door of the Haymarket Theatre and his house in Boswell-Court near Lincoln's Inn."

Unfortunately there seems no information to gratify our curiosity regarding its recovery! There also seem somewhat bizarre undertones to the entry which tells of the benefit of one William Douglas, "commonly called the Black Prince," who undertook the performance of a new trumpet piece by Pepusch.³²

Some insight is given into Pepusch's theatrical career in the surviving material in the British Museum.³³ It appears that Pepusch received eight guineas for the masque of "Apollo and Daphne," which does not seem excessive in view of the fact that one of the other items was a periwig to be worn by "Mrs. Margarita," which cost seven! Also included is the hire of "a couple of hounds from Knightsbridge (2/-)," and an item of 2d. "for blood." The account continues:

"For painting Apollo's Chariot in gold. Four horses, a glory, a bench of rushes, a sea, Daphne turned into a tree.....£7."

Remarkably good value, one feels; certainly better than another bill for copying and paper on which Pepusch wrote "I have examined this bill and find nothing unjust in it." Incorrect addition appears to make the total of £10.15.0, one shilling too much! Again we may assume that the periwig was worn by Margarita Durastanti, since the reference is to "Mrs. Margarita." The bill concerns "Myrtillo," and one would therefore expect it to date from about 1715 - three years before Pepusch's marriage. It is, of course possible that it referred to a later performance, but this seems unlikely in view of the fact that there is no evidence to suggest that Margarita l'Epine undertook this sort of engagement after her marriage.

Although he married into money, it would appear that this in no way blunted the worthy doctor's zeal. Burney commented:

"These possessions however, did not incline the Dr. to relax his musical studies or pursuits. He had always been a diligent collector of ancient Music and musical tracts, and he was now able to gratify this passion without imprudence." 34.

He obviously did so to good purpose. Their first home was at Boswell Court, Carey Street, but in 1730 they moved to Fetter Lane, where a large room was set aside for use as a library. His collection included two hundred items by Bull, and Latin treatises by Robert de Handl and others. He also possessed the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.³⁵ Burney tells us that he had a strong preference for the music of Bull:

"It has been said that the late Dr. Pepusch preferred Bull's compositions to those of Couperin and Scarlatti, not only for harmony and contrivance, but air and modulation: an assertion that rather proves that the Dr.'s taste was bad, than Bull's music good." 36.

He praises Bull, but comments that although difficult, there is nothing in his music to "excite rapture." He continues:

"They may be heard by a lover of music with as little emotion as the clapper of a mill or the rumbling of a postchaise."

Without knowing who made the original remark, one should not attach too much importance to it in respect of Pepusch; but it is interesting as an indication of contemporary attitudes about which more will be said in due course. The interest which Pepusch showed in earlier music frequently brought him contempt and ridicule. In spite of this, and his comparatively low rating as a composer, his participation in the production of "The Beggar's Opera" shows that he was well in touch with the current situation and had a fair understanding of the English temperament. This work will be considered later, but in passing we may again note a comment by Burney with interest.

"Soon after (1728) he was very judiciously chosen by Gay to help him select the tunes for The Beggar's Opera, for which he composed an original overture upon the subject of one of the tunes (I'm like a skiff), and furnished the wild, rude, and often vulgar melodies, with bases so excellent, that no sound contrapuntist will ever attempt to alter them." 37.

We will observe with interest that the test was attempted before long!

We now come to the curious matter of the "Short Treatise on Harmony" which appeared in 1730. It is thought that this anonymous work was published by Lord Paisley, Earl of Abercorn, and Pepusch is said to have been annoyed by the allegation that it represented his teaching. As the book could not be recalled, it seems that Pepusch adapted it, adding musical examples, and this second edition appeared in 1731. This work will be considered in more detail in chapter VII.

In 1737, Pepusch became organist of Charterhouse, on the recommendation of the Duchess of Leeds whom he had taught, and the family moved into quarters in the mansion. This move seems to have afforded a peaceful retreat, and he retained this post until his death. Burney tells us that he was:

"visited and consulted as an oracle, not only by young music students, to whom he was always kind and communicative, but by every master who modestly supposed that he still had something to learn. Here he greatly augmented his library, which consisted of musical curiosities, theoretical and practical, of all kinds."

He also adds in the form of a footnote:

"In one of my visits to this venerable master, very early in my life, he gave me a short lesson which made so deep an impression, that I long endeavoured to practice it. 'When I was a young man,' said he, 'I determined never to go to bed at night, till I knew something that I did not know in the morning.'" 38.

This produces a pleasing picture of a devoted scholar, and is more than usually convincing, since it comes from Burney, who did not like Pepusch and who criticises him severely in other contexts. Hawkins draws a restful picture of evenings of chat and chess with his friends, who at that time included John Immyns, John Travers, and Ephraim Kelner.

In 1739, the Gresham Professorship in music became vacant, but although Pepusch was interested, he did not apply, as he was apparently advised that being married was a disqualification. In the same year his son died, a boy "upon whose genius and disposition there was every reason to found the greatest expectations." 39.

1740 is the date generally accepted for the death of Mrs. Pepusch, but William Husk in his account disagreed.⁴⁰ He

regarded 1746 as the correct date, basing this on an entry in the manuscript diary of Benjamin Cooke, then a pupil of Pepusch, who wrote:

"Sunday, August 10th, 1746. I was at the Surry Chapel in the morning, but in the afternoon went to Vauxhall with the Dr., Mrs. Pepusch being dead."

Cooke does not state that the event was recent, but it does seem unlikely that he would have commented in this way if she had been dead for six years.

After the death of his wife, he spent much time in the study of Greek Musical theory; producing a paper which was read to the Royal Society in 1746, and published in "Philosophical Transactions" of that year. Soon afterwards, he was elected a Fellow. In 1751, a further paper was produced, illustrating the doctrines and prejudices of Isaac Vossius concerning the "rhythmus" of the ancients, and also an unpublished item - "A Short Account of the Twelve Modes of Composition, and their progression in every octave." ^{41.}

Pepusch died on 20th July, 1752, aged eighty-five, and was buried in the Chapel of Charterhouse; a full choral service being performed at his funeral by the Gentlemen and Children of the Academy and the Choristers of St. Paul's. ^{42.} A memorial tablet was erected on the south wall of the chapel by the members of the Academy, which reads:

"Near this place lye the remains/of John Christopher Pepusch/Dr. of Music of the University of Oxford/
He was born in Berlin/and resided in London, highly esteemed above fifty years/distinguished as a most learned master/and a patron of his profession/in the year 1737 he retired to the private employment/of organist to this house/where he departed this life, July 20th., 1752 aged 85/The ACADEMY OF ANTIENT MUSIC, established in 1710/of which he was one of the

original founders/and to which he bequeathed
a valuable collection of music/in grateful
respect to his memory/caused this monument
to be erected./1767." 43.

Hawkins furnishes the following information regarding Pepusch's library and possessions. It appears that these were left to Kelner and Travers. The latter survived only a short time, and his part was auctioned in 1766. Kelner, having no relatives, apparently intended to leave some of his effects to Cooper, his copyist, but failed to make a will. His landlady took possession, but finally Cooper managed to get himself declared a creditor by a legal manoeuvre, and took possession of two cartloads of material. Some of this was sold privately, and some auctioned at Patterson's, on Essex Street on Saturday, 26th March, 1763. Included was an antiphonary said to have been found in a Spanish man-o-war at the Armada, and also the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Some of the material went to Hawkins himself, who found it of little interest.⁴⁴ The collection of music said to have been received by the Academy is not mentioned by either Burney or Hawkins, and this statement may be misleading. Fred wrote:

"Whether the Pepusch collection in the possession of the Academy was the result of a bequest, or consisted of holdings acquired from Pepusch during his lifetime cannot be conclusively established." 45.

I can do no better than end this preliminary survey of Pepusch's life by quoting Hughes - one of the few people who seem to have taken much interest in him; and who shows appreciation of his influence, personality, and diverse activities:

"If biographers were a little more curious about the mental processes of their subjects, if they were less blinded by the crude fact of success,

they might well find much to interest them in Pepusch, who investigated Greek musical theory with the fervour of a scholar of the Renaissance but who was a successful and practical theatre musician, who stood almost alone in his love of the old polyphony but based his musical theory on Corelli rather than Palestrina; who served as an intermediary between the sixteenth and the present century, admiring what we have learned to admire." 46.

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32. "Daily Courante," 7th March, 1719; or Tilmouth, p.105.
33. B.M., Eg.2159.
34. Op. cit., p.986.
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36. Op. cit., pp. 95-6.
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CHAPTER II.

THE ACADEMY OF ANTIENT MUSIC

Considerable confusion has arisen in respect of the Academy of Antient Music and for some time it was thought that two institutions existed, the second one being referred to as the "Academy of Vocal Music." This situation seems to have arisen as a result of "An Account of the Academy of Antient Music" which Hawkins published in 1770, and which was reproduced by his daughter in her memoirs. Naturally enough this account was accepted as being accurate, certainly in respect of the foundation date; which is stated by Hawkins as 1710. On the other hand, the original minute book of the "Academy of Vocal Music," which was presented to the British Museum in 1840 establishes that this body was formed in January, 1725. Scholes discusses the matter in his book on Hawkins, and points out that the account given by Hawkins "appears to be strangely defective" in some of its information. He continues:

"If the reader cares to turn to any edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music from the 1st. (1879) to the 4th. (1940) he will find an article on this institution (by the Rev. Charles Mackeson) which is clearly based on the particulars supplied by Hawkins in his History and his pamphlet. The date of its foundation is given as 1710, and this date has been copied into all other books of reference which mention the Academy. But from Grove's 2nd edition to the 4th the article 'Academy of Ancient Music' is closely followed by one headed 'Academy of Vocal Music' (by a sound antiquarian musicologist, the late F.G. Edwards) which clearly applies to the same body under its primitive name (the same persons being mentioned as founders), and this gives its date of foundation as 1725/6: this article is

based on the minute book of the said Academy from its foundation to 1731, which is now in the British Museum." 1.

It is hard to see why Scholes speaks of the same persons being mentioned as founders. Grove's Dictionary ^{2.} cites the Earl of Abercorn, Henry Needler and Mulso as being among the founders of the Academy of Ancient Music, while the minute book of the Academy of Vocal Music does not show the Earl of Abercorn and Needler as subscribers until the sixth subscription, or Mulso until the seventh, (April, 1729.)

However, this apparent discrepancy does not seem important.

Both institutions are said to have met at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, both had the same objectives, and certainly the two bodies were said to have Pepusch, Greene and Gates in common. We must also bear in mind that in spite of the existence of the Minute book, neither Hawkins nor anyone else appears to mention the existence of the so called "Academy of Vocal Music," yet conversely there is a marked absence of any documentation regarding the activities of the "Academy of Ancient Music" mentioned by Hawkins. We may safely assume that Scholes is correct, and that two names existed for the same body.

Reference to the Minute Book gives an interesting insight into the workings of the Academy: ^{3.}

"Fryday Janr. ye 5th.1725."

Resolv'd: To meet every other Fryday (solemn days excepted) at the Crown Tavern against St. Clements Church in ye Strand.

Resolv'd: That the doors be shut, and non admitted (for the present) but the members of the Academy.

- Resolv'd: That any Gentleman of His Majesty's Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrals be admitted of this Academy if they desire it, and no other person but such as profess musick and shall be approved by the majority.
- Resolv'd: To begin the performance at seven of the clock, and to end it at nine.
- Resolv'd: That every member hereafter admitted shall pay the last subscription, tho near the expiration of it.
- Resolv'd: That composers (by general consent) may be admitted, tho not vocal performers.
- Resolv'd: That a number of persons not exceeding seven be chosen to direct the performance in their turns.
- Resolv'd: If ever it be thought necessary to admit any more members, that ev'ry such person shall be proposed the night before he be elected. The election to be by Ballot, and a majority of two thirds at least of the members present is required for such admission. The time of the elections not to be till after eight, and before nine o'clock.
- Resolv'd: That there be 18 tickets given for the Gallery every night. Two to each member as they stand in the list, to be delivered after the performance for the night ensuing.

It was later resolved (April, 1738) that the seven managers should have the power to "make such laws for the Government of the Academy as they should think fit."

On 7th January, 1725, the first meeting was attended by Estwick, Baker, Husband, Carleton, Hughes, Chelsun, Freeman, King, Gates, Weely, Pepusch, "Green," and Galliard; and they were supported by the boys of St. Paul's. They subscribed 2/6 each, which in the account seems to have been incorrectly added up to £1.12.0. The following account is given for the expenses of the evening. Again we notice that the addition

music to be performed for ye next season.

5. That the managers do each of them deliver a score of a piece of music to Dr. Pepusch by ye latter end of August next for his Examination.
6. That Mr. Bishop be desired to write a Historical account for the academy, and that Dr. Pepusch and Mr. Galliard do supply him with materials.
7. That Dr. Pepusch do consider a method of inserting names of such boys that distinguish themselves in their performances.
8. That Mr. Galliard and Mr. Needler make a compleat list of all the members from the beginning with marks of distinction against them, as also a list of the managers with a mark against those who have left the Academy and those chosen in their room. Also a list of the present auditors.
9. That Dr. Pepusch be desired to demand of Dr. Greene the six motets ye Bishop of Spiga⁴ sent the Academy.
10. That a partition in ye library be locked up by ye secretary to keep all original papers and letters related to the Academy, and that some method be thought on to increase our correspondence abroad.
11. That all resolutions past present and to come and also the expenses of the common night and the Grand night be entered in a book or books as rules go by.

Later we read:

1. To give notice of ye Academy that the Publick night will be ye 13th May. That every member may introduce two friends that night, but no tickets being to be delivered he must introduce them in person.
2. That every member be in ye room at 6 o'clock.
3. The Performance to begin at half an hour after 6 o'clock.
4. That ye Gallery be opened that night for any of the auditory members that shall chuse to be there.
5. That a door be put up at the head of ye stairs and no body to be admitted but the members of ye Academy and those they are to introduce.

6. That Mr. Marshall and Mr. Beckingham be desired to attend at ye door with the lists of ye members names & to mark them & their friends as they come into ye room.

It is stated that a library and orchestra were founded, and that the gentlemen and boys of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's performed vocal music. The programmes of the Academy apparently included Handel oratorios which obviously confirm the presence of an orchestra, ad hoc or otherwise; while the minutes confirm the existence of the library, and as we have seen, refer to the conveyance of the "Children" by coach. All this suggests that much of what Hawkins tells us is in fact correct. It is interesting to note that he refers to Henry Needler leading the orchestra for many years.⁵

In 1728, Greene is said to have left the Academy, and established a rival organisation at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar; but we are told that this only lasted for a few years. In 1734, Gates withdrew, and the children of the Chapel Royal went with him. To remedy the lack of trebles, the Academy invited parents to send their children to be instructed by Pepusch and to participate in the performances. A subscription list was opened to finance the scheme, and this was supported by both Handel and Geminiani. The death of Pepusch in 1752 was a severe blow, but the Academy survived until 1792. Discussing the loss of Greene, Hawkins comments on the lack of animosity, and goes so far as to suggest that the event acted as a stimulus:

"The secession of Dr. Greene and his dependants, was not such an injury to the Academy, as was feared it would prove: They left it, it is true, but they left it in peace; and the members of which it was composed, in consequence of the loss they had sustained, became emulous to excel each

other in their endeavours to promote its interests, and to disseminate the love of harmony throughout the kingdom." 6.

Hawkins also makes the interesting suggestion that the Academy was largely responsible for Handel's adoption of the oratorio form; a suggestion which is, in fact, extremely plausible:

"In the interval between the secession of Dr. Greene, and Mr. Gates, viz. in the month of Feb. 1731-2, the Academy had given a signal proof of the advantages arising from its institution. The Oratorio of Esther, originally composed for the Duke of Chandos, was performed in character by the members of the Academy, and the children of the Chapel Royal; and the applause with which it was received, suggested to Mr. Handel, the thought of exhibiting that species of composition at Covent Garden Theatre; and to this event it may be said to be owing, that the public have not only been delighted with the hearing, but are now in possession of some of the most valuable works of that great master." 7.

Writing of the foundation of the choir school, Hawkins states that one season without treble voices convinced the members that they faced "increased expense or annihilation," and goes on:

"In this predicament they resolved upon an expedient that should not only make good the loss they had sustained, but convey a benefit to posterity.....Invitations to parents, and offers of such an education to their children, as would fit them as well for trades and businesses, as the profession of music, were given by advertisements in the public papers: these brought a great number of children, and such of them as were likely to be made capable of performing the soprano parts in vocal compositions, were retained. Dr. Pepusch generously undertook the care of their instruction for a stipend, the largest the Academy could afford, though greatly disproportionate to his merit, and succeeded so well in his endeavours to improve them, that some of the most eminent professors of the science owe their skill and reputations to his masterly method of tuition." 8.

The subscription was of two guineas, and it was resolved to admit "auditors" or non-participants. This enabled them to meet their additional expenses, and to increase their collection, which Hawkins suggests was perhaps the most valuable in Europe.

After the death of Pepusch, Hawkins tells us that some members thought it advisable to engage famous solo performers; to "derive assistance to it as a concert, from persons who might be apt to disregard it as an academy." However this plan had to be abandoned, for as Hawkins explains, the increased demand for performers for public concerts made it impossible to hire such players at a price which the Academy could afford. Having stated the problem, Hawkins goes on to appeal for new membership:

"The members of the Academy therefore find themselves reduced to the necessity of recurring to the principles of its first institution; and they desire, if possible, to perpetuate the existence of a society, calculated for the improvement of one of the noblest sciences, and the communication of rational and social delight; to which end they wish for the assistance of those, who profess to love and admire music, such as are susceptible of its power, such in short as are capable of distinguishing between the feeble efforts of simple melody, and the irresistible charms of elegant modulation and well studied harmony. The friends of this institution are sensible of the prejudices which its very name, 'The Academy of Antient Music;' may excite; and that those persons, who think no music can be good which is not new, will hardly be induced to join the support of an establishment professedly intended for the study and practice of that which is old." 9.

This section is quoted at length to draw attention to the type of criticism to which the Academy was subjected, and this is epitomised in the following comment by John Arbuthnot:

"As for that indefatigable society, the Gropers into antique music, and the hummers out of madrigals, they swoon at the sight of any piece modern, particularly of your composition, excepting the performances of their venerable president, whose works bear such vast resemblance to the regular gravity of the antients, that when dressed up in cobwebs and powdered with dust, the Philharmonic spiders could dwell on them and in them to eternity." 10.

In this context, Roger North asks rhetorically "What profit is there in finding out ye forms of urnes and antique drinking potts?" He goes on to answer his own question, saying that although not seeking to "amend" the "mode" of our own time the "meer knowledge rewards their paines and it may be satisfies them that their ancestors were not ideots, who had no thing good amongst them." 11.

. Our last reference reminds us that there were others at this time who saw virtue of research into the past, but the criticisms express something of the prejudice of the period in respect of early music. Although a generalisation, there is obviously a strong element of truth in the statement that up to about this time, the music of the present had been regarded as the best available - perhaps a very healthy state of affairs in some respects - and we find that growing reverence for work of the past is intensified in the following century, where a reawakening of interest is epitomised by the Mendelssohn revival of the St. Matthew Passion. Certainly Pepusch may be seen as one of the earliest musicians to take any interest in musicology, and even if he appears pedantic at times, we see not only devotion to a study of early theoretical work, but also a healthy and vital interest in securing the performance of half-forgotten masterpieces.

Hawkins then presents arguments to show the folly of the sort of prejudice he has outlined, pointing out that the Academy applied the word "antient" to compositions of the sixteenth century, not going back further than Palestrina. He waxes eloquent in respect of the collection of music possessed by the Academy, commenting that the "youngest person now living" might hope in vain to hear them all," and gives the following information about the library:

"...the general arrangement of these is into compositions for the church, the theatre, and the chamber; the first head includes masses, motets, anthems, hymns, and psalms; the second oratorios, masques, serenatas, overtures and concertos; the third, madrigals, trios, duets, and cantatas; to the true and just performance whereof, the Academy have hitherto been, and with the assistance which they now solicit, trust they shall yet be equal." 12.

Hawkins later cites the following as examples of composers who received attention - Palestrina, Tallis, Byrd, Carissimi, Colonna, Stradella, Purcell, Bassani, Gasparini, Lotti, Steffani, Marcello, Bononcini, Pergolesi, Handel, and Perez. This list is interesting, as it confirms the impression that the Academy was by no means as antiquated as might be supposed. Nine of the composers' names are contemporaries, and with the exception of Palestrina and Tallis, the remainder are all found in the preceding century. In the cases of Gasparini and Bassani, where in each instance Hawkins might have been referring to one of at least two musicians, the alternatives lived at roughly the same time.

"Esther" was repeated on 24th February, 1743, and on 22nd February, 1753; and other performances of works by Handel included the "Chandos" Te Deum, (23rd March, 1732), the "Feast of Alexander," (18th January, 1739), "Saul,"

(24th April, 1740), and the "Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline," (performed with Purcell's "King Arthur" on 4th March, 1741.)¹³. There were also at least three performances of "Messiah," the second of which apparently consisted of extracts only. These occurred on 16th February, 1744, 30th April, 1747, and 11th May, 1758.¹⁴. There is also an entry in the Earl of Egmont's Diary for 16th February, 1734, in which he states that he attended a rehearsal at the "Crown Tavern" of the Utrecht ¹/_{te} Deum, and "other music to be performed at St. Paul's on Tuesday next." Deutsch interprets this as being under the auspices of the Academy.¹⁵.

The interest in Handel dispels the idea that the Academy was interested solely in early music, or that Pepusch was biased unreasonably against Handel or his music. Following their practice of printing words of pieces which were regularly performed, they printed the text of Handel's "Acis and Galatea," "Alexander's Feast," "Esther," "Israel in Egypt," "L'Allegro," and "Messiah." In connection with "Israel," we should note the following quotation from Deutsch:

"Handel used the 'Funeral Anthem' of 1737 for 'Israel in Egypt,' adding 'Moses Song, Exodus, Chapter 15' between the 1st and 11th October, 1738. The 'Academy' arranged the parts differently, and Handel did not object."¹⁶.

We may also note with interest that the performances of the Academy were graced by some of the most distinguished performers and composers of the day. Hawkins alludes to the visit of "eminent foreigners," many of the opera singers and masters of the various instruments. He tells us that Tosi sang there, Bononcini played cello solos with a lute

accompaniment by Waber, and that Geminiani frequently played his own music.

Another useful aspect of its activity is illustrated by a rather sad story told by Hawkins, and concerning one Isaac Pierson, the son of a poor man who was master of the charity school in the Parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and who lived in the school house in Redcross St.. A music lover, he jumped at the chance of getting his son into the Academy when he was seven:

"A very few months tuition of the Dr. enabled him to sing his part; and in less than a twelvemonth he had attained a great proficiency on the organ, though his fingers were so weak that he was incapable of making a true shake, and instead thereof was necessitated to make use of a tremulous motion of two keys at once, which he did so well, that the discord arising from it passed unnoticed. In the instruction of this child, the Dr. took uncommon pains, and showed great affection, making him the associate of his own son in his studies. He endeavoured to inculcate in him the true organ style, and succeeded so well, that his pupil, before he was full nine years of age, rejecting the use of set voluntaries, began upon his own stock, and played the full organ extempore, yet with the learning and judgement of an experienced master. The circumstances of his parents cooperation with his irresistible propensity, determined him to music as a profession; he was therefore taught the violin, and soon became able to execute the most difficult of Geminiani's concertos with great facility. With these attainments, singularly great for one of his years, and a temper of mood in every respect amiable, he gave his parents and friends the most promising assurances of his becoming a great musician; but his death defeated their hopes before he had attained the age of twelve years." 17.

This sad event gives us a good idea of the sort of training available to entrants, and the efforts Pepusch would make for a boy able to absorb his teaching. The Academy was able, therefore, to exercise a good influence on children with a

musical potential, just as the Cathedrals have done; and in the same way, the opportunity did not depend on wealthy parents. The event reminds us that Pepusch's own son, of whom he had high hopes, died before he was thirteen.

In 1731 arose the unpleasant matter of the apparent theft by Bononcini of a Lotti madrigal. About this time, it was discovered that a madrigal to the words "In una siepe ombrosa," which had been submitted to the Academy as a sample of his composition, was in fact a transcript of one by Lotti. This has led to certain misconceptions. That the theft caused concern at the time is seen if we refer again to Hawkins.

"It was thought a very dishonest thing in him, to assume, and in terms so positive and express, the merits of a composition which he could not but know was the work of another." 18.

In this statement, it would seem that Hawkins gets to the heart of the matter. Borrowing at this time was, of course common practice, and appears to have caused little concern to either composer or audience; yet in this case there appears to have been considerable resentment. There are probably two reasons for this, the first being that the madrigal in question was not used for normal purposes, but presented as a sample of composition - obviously a very different case from the normal borrowing, which seems to have been generally done to save time. Secondly, people were naturally incensed by the fact that when taxed about it, Bononcini is supposed to have said that it was his own work and that Lotti had borrowed it from him! Even then, we may notice with interest that although the matter was investigated, it caused less of a scandal than is often implied. Lotti commented facetiously "At Venice and Vienna all is calm,"

and it appears that all remained fairly calm in England too! Although the affair apparently led to Bononcini's severance with the Malborough family,¹⁹ it can hardly be true that he was forced to leave the country in disgrace. Findings were published one year after the discovery in 1732, after which at least two revivals of Bononcini's operas took place before his departure in 1733.

P.H. Lang makes the interesting suggestion that Bononcini was innocent of the deception on the grounds that he was too good a composer to do such a thing, that the music was unsigned, and that Bononcini never claimed authorship. He suggests that pride explains this refusal to defend himself,²⁰ and that the confusion arose out of a misguided attempt by Greene to give Bononcini an advantage at Handel's expense. I personally find this implausible. If Bach and Handel were not above making use of borrowed material, there is no safety in the assumption that Bononcini was, and in the competitive professional life of London it is most unlikely that a composer would be too proud to argue if accused of professional fraud. The point remains uncertain, and in the context of the present account is probably not of great importance. We may be sure, however, that if the musical public was not greatly concerned, it must have ruffled the calm waters of the Academy.

One of the active members of the Academy was John Immyns, (d.1764). He was an attorney by profession who is said to have been guilty of some kind of indiscretion which proved professionally damaging. He became an attorney's clerk, copyist to the Academy, and amanuensis to Dr. Pepusch. We

are told that in addition to his alto voice, he played flute, violin, gamba and harpsichord, and that at the age of forty, with the sole aid of Mace's "Musick's Monument," he taught himself to play the lute so successfully that he was appointed lutenist to the Chapel Royal. It appears that he had little enthusiasm for contemporary music, but apart from this limitation, seems to have been versatile. He is of interest to us because he founded the Madrigal Society in 1741. This is obviously a further example of Pepusch's influence, since the idea surely grew as a result of his participation in the activities of the Academy. It is pleasant to note that save for interruptions in time of war, the Madrigal Society has functioned regularly ever since its foundation. It is unnecessary to consider the activity of this society in any detail here, as this has been dealt with by Reginald Nettel.²¹ Hawkins was a member, and gives us some interesting information about the society.

It should be noted in passing that although Hawkins is sometimes referred to as a founder member this was not the case. Scholes points out that he applied for membership in 1752, and Reginald Nettel supplied the additional information that he was first proposed on 15th June, 1748, apparently dropping out, and being proposed by Immyns for the second time on 27th September, 1752.

The initial impetus must surely have come from the Academy, and it is therefore worth illustrating that the interest was genuine, and was directed to authentic madrigals. For example, on 2nd October, 1745, madrigals by Byrd, Bennett, Bateson, Weelkes and Marenzio were performed, and if we compare this

with a programme of thirty-five years later, we find madrigals by Weelkes, Bennett, Kirby, Wilbye, Marenzio and Lufi. The society may, therefore not unreasonably be regarded as a living testimony to the taste and influence of Pepusch, and commenting on the consistency apparent in the programmes, Nettel wrote:

"This programme was sung on 24th January, 1770, after Immyns had been dead six years, but it will be seen that neither in taste nor technical difficulty was there any falling off in the members' choice of song. A tradition, as is well known, can survive the passage of its founders, and in the case of the Madrigal Society the Immyns tradition has been so faithfully upheld that even to this day the madrigals shown in the early records of the society form the main attraction at their meetings."

The significance of this society in the context of the Academy is not lost on Hughes, who wrote:

"The Society thus created flourished in the hostile eighteenth century, and survived in the equally hostile nineteenth century as the "oldest musical association in Europe." It kept the madrigal alive during the dark period until basic changes in musical taste and the cumulative labors of scholars in the field led to a real revival of madrigal singing, based on a broader scholarship and a more sensitive historical appreciation than was possible in the eighteenth century....But one must not forget that it was Dr. Pepusch who inspired Immyns with the enthusiasm that sustained him in his labors and endeavours." 22.

He also points out that the Sale catalogue of Thomas Oliphant, who was President of the Madrigal Society for a time near the end of his life includes collections of madrigals by Gesualdo and Renati, and motets by Byrd and others which had been transcribed by Immyns; and these show that Immyns, or perhaps Pepusch, had indeed got adventurous taste, and must

have copied and studied with enormous energy and dedication.

The exact relationship between the Academy of Ancient Music and the "Concert of Ancient Music" or "King's Concerts" founded in 1766 seems not quite certain. Vincent Novello endorsed the minute book of the former as follows:

"Original Documents relative to the first establishment of the 'Academy of Vocal Music,' which afterwards became the celebrated 'King's Concerts of Ancient Music.' Presented to the British Museum by Vincent Novello, 4 Craven Hill, Bayswater, 12th May, 1840."

F.G. Edwards remarked that the statement needed confirmation.²³ Whether the fact as stated is correct or not, it would seem that the two bodies had much in common, although the "King's Concerts" confined its attention to music over twenty years old. Obviously there was a considerable bias in favour of Handel, but music by Purcell, Corelli and Bach was also performed, and it could well be argued that it was stimulated and given initial momentum by the earlier society.

At the end of Chapter I, we quoted the tribute made by Hughes to Pepusch, particular reference being made to his appreciation of early music.²⁴ I conclude this chapter with a similar appreciation by H.W. Fred:

"Pepusch, the musician-scholar deserves the recognition which was not conferred during his lifetime. Against the current of contemporary opinion Pepusch and his circle of friends of the Academy of Music pursued the study of and performed sixteenth century music while everyone else in England was charmed by the pathos of Italian opera. Most other men of his time failed to recognise the worth of Elizabethan composers and the beauty of the sixteenth century polyphony. We, who, with the benefit of historical perspective, are in agreement with Dr. Pepusch, owe him posthumous recognition for seeing what other men of his time failed to see. His study of ancient tracts on musical theory and the music of preceding periods qualifies him as a worthy pioneer of the scientific study of music - musicology." 25.

CHAPTER II - NOTES.

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2. "Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians," 3rd Edn., 1928, vol.1, p.11.
3. "Orders agreed by the Members of the Academy of Vocal Music," B.M., Add.ms.11732.
4. Steffani, who submitted his own composition signed with the name of his secretary, Gregorio Piuu.
5. Hawkins, Sir J: "A General History of the Science and Practice of Music," Dover Publications, New York, 1963, vol. II, p.806.
6. Hawkins, Sir J: "An Account of the Academy of Ancient Music," see Scholes, op. cit., p.247.
7. Scholes, p.248. Hawkins, "History," II, p.886.
8. Loc. cit. See also Hawkins, "History," II, p.886.
9. Ibid., p.250.
10. Arbuthnot, J: "Miscellaneous Works," 1751, vol.III, pp. 34-5.
11. Wilson, J: "Roger North on Music," London,1959, p.284.
12. Scholes, p.253.
13. Deutsch, O.E: "Handel, A Documentary Biography," London, 1955, pp. 513, 737, 430, 474, 499, 513.
14. Ibid., pp. 584, 64, 801.
15. Ibid., p.358.
16. Ibid., pp. 484-5.
17. "History," II, p.886.
18. Ibid., p.862.
19. Grove, 3rd Edn., vol.I, p.416.

20. Lang, P.H: "George Frideric Handel," London, 1967,p.176.
21. Nettel,R: "The Oldest surviving English Music Club,"
M.Q.34,1948, p.97.
22. Hughes, C.W: "John Christopher Pepusch," M.Q.31,
1945, p.66.
23. Grove, 3rd Edn., vol.I, p.12.
24. See pp. 26-7.
25. Fred, H.W:"The Instrumental Music of Johann Christoph
Pepusch," Univ. of N.Carolina, D.Phil.,1961, Univ.
Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, pp.88-9.

CHAPTER III

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CRITICISM AND PEPUSCH

As we have already gathered, Pepusch was not highly rated as a composer, and it seems to have been fashionable to sneer at his musical researches. Some of his research into early music certainly is tedious; but while making no attempt to whitewash him, it is well worth giving some consideration to the contemporary comments made, not only for the sake of the man himself but to gain further insight into the views which were prevalent at the time. Initially we can do no better than consider the opinions of our rival historians Burney and Hawkins.

Let us consider Hawkins first. He refers to Pepusch's study of the "music of the ancients," commenting that he had greater knowledge of the "ancient system" than perhaps any theorist since the time of Salinas, and states that at last Pepusch reached the conclusion:

"that the science, instead of improving had for many years been degenerating, and that what is now known of it, either in principle or in practice, bears little proportion to that which is lost. Nevertheless, the persuasion wrought not so upon his mind, as to prevent him from the exercise of his inventive faculty, nor of directing his studies to that kind of composition which was best suited to gratify the public ear, as appears by the works published by him at different times." 1.

This raises a number of interesting points. The obvious question, assuming the report to be correct, is why, if Pepusch discounted contemporary music he continued to compose, and Hawkins, as we see, seems to anticipate this. One could of course, regard the last sentence as sarcasm on the writer's part, but both the historians seem to have taken

their accounts seriously, and in this context the popular eighteenth century technique seems to have been avoided. Another pertinent question is how long did Pepusch continue to compose? 1711 is the last date indicated in the bibliography of musical works published by J. Walsh for the publication of instrumental music, while his activities for the theatre seem to have extended from about 1715-29. Fred therefore concludes:

"Assuming that he continued composing anthems and the like for Chandos until he left his employ in 1732, we can probably establish this as the time after which he composed little or not at all." 2.

Grove's Dictionary states that he was studying the ancient Greek writers even while at the Prussian Court, which seems rather surprising - one would expect him to be busy enough at that stage with contemporary practice; but also states that he consulted Abraham de Moivre about 1707. We are also reminded that the Academy was founded in 1725. It is clear then that Hawkins is correct, and that his enthusiasm for early music in no way inhibited him as a composer. Bearing in mind his obvious limitations in the field of composition, we may suppose that he relinquished it when he had nothing more to say. That he wanted to compose seems also fairly obvious, since composition was at no stage more than a relatively small part of his professional activity, and there is nothing to indicate that he was ever obliged to compose to live. Although the point may seem laboured, it is worth establishing that his views on the relative merits of early and contemporary music can hardly have been as extreme as is sometimes implied. Perhaps, like many of us,

he sometimes tended to express himself rather extravagantly, since John Wesley gives another example of the same sort of statement:

"I spent an hour or two with Dr. Pepusch. He asserted that the art of music is lost; that the ancients only understood it in its perfection; that it was revived a little in the reign of Henry VIII by Tallys and his contemporaries, and also in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was then a judge and a patroness of it; that after her reign it sunk for 60 or 70 years till Purcell made some attempt to restore it; but that ever since, the true, ancient art, depending on nature and mathematical principles, had gained no ground, the present masters having no fixed principles at all." 3.

Although apparent rubbish, it is odd that the lapse of which he speaks is obvious enough in respect of English music. Perhaps, although an admirer of the Italian violin school, he resented the influence of Italian opera. If so, it would go far to explain the reservations he seems to have had about Handel. Certainly his own upbringing had been German rather than Italian.

Obviously Hawkins approved of Pepusch's interest in early music, as we have seen by his comments on behalf of the Academy. Speaking of the appeal which Italian opera had at this time, he refers to the cantatas of Pepusch:

"....Mr. Pepusch set to music six cantatas for a voice and instrument, the words whereof were written by Mr. John Hughes, and afterwards, six others by different authors. The several compositions contained in these two collections are evidently in the style of the Italian opera, as consisting of airs intermixed with recitatives, and he must be but very moderately skilled in music who cannot discover between them and the cantatas of Allesandro Scarlatti a very near resemblance. They were received with very much applause as the novelty of this kind of music could well entitle them to: but the remembrance of this work exists only in the cantata 'See from the silent groves,' which is yet heard with delight." 4.

It is interesting to note that Burney found them indebted to Gasparini rather than Scarlatti. Hawkins speaks of Pepusch's limitations as a composer, and implies, as we have suggested that he moved away from composition as a result of recognising his own limitations:

"The abilities of Pepusch as a practical composer were not likely to become a source of wealth to him; his music was correct, but it wanted variety of modulation; besides which, Mr. Handel had gotten possession of the public ear, and the whole kingdom were forming their taste for harmony and melody by the standard of his composition. Pepusch, who soon became sensible of this, wisely betook himself to another course, and became a teacher of music; not the practice of any particular instrument; but music in the strictest sense of the word, that is to say, the principles of harmony and the science of practical composition; and this not to children or novices, but in very many instances, to professors of music themselves." 5.

Burney speaks of Pepusch's compositions in much the same sort of vein:

"As a practical musician, though so excellent a harmonist, he was possessed of so little invention, that few of his compositions were ever in general use and favour, except one of his twelve cantatas, 'Alexis,' and his airs for two flutes or violins... Indeed, although only one cantata of the two books he published was ever much noticed, there is considerable harmonical merit in them all; the recitatives are in general good, and the counterpoint perfectly correct and masterly." 6.

Perhaps works of this type involving recitative appealed to the fashionable Burney more than some of Pepusch's other music. Hughes finds it strange that Burney did not know the Pepusch sonatas for violin, and comments:

"A careful examination of these works does not lessen one's respect for the composer. They reflect, as one would expect, the great admiration of the composer for Corelli. There is a tendency towards an excessive use of sequence, which at moments becomes tiresome." 7.

We should note in passing that when Burney refers to airs

for "two flutes or violins" he is incorrect. These pieces are too low to be performed on flutes.

To return to the cantatas, he expresses a preference for No. 5 of book II, suggesting that they are not in the style of Scarlatti "as has been suggested," (one of his many sly digs at Hawkins), but rather that of Gasparini, "whose melodies were simple and whose modulations timid." He suggests that Pepusch's most useful contribution was his "correct edition" of the sonatas and concertos of Corelli which was published in score in 1732. Earlier in the work Burney praises Gasparini's cantatas, and seems to suggest that Pepusch was indebted to them in at least one instance:

"They are graceful, elegant, natural, and often pathetic; less learned and uncommon than those of Alessandro Scarlatti; but for that reason, more generally pleasing, and open to the imitation and pillage of composers gifted with little invention. There is a movement in his second cantata which would remind all who are acquainted with Dr. Pepusch's celebrated cantata Alexis of the air 'Charming sounds that sweetly languish.'" 8.

It should be realised that "Alexis" and "See from the silent grove" refer to the same cantata.

On the other hand, when reviewing, very unfavourably, an opera by Bononcini in 1720, Burney wrote:

"The most elaborate air in this act seems Mi veggo solo, in which the tenor and violoncello are playing in division and in octaves through the whole movement; but there is little melody in the voice part, and the violins only mark the accents of each bar. The base to the last movement of Dr. Pepusch's Cantata, 'See from the silent grove,' seems to have suggested this accompaniment." 9.

However, since this opera seems to have been a revival, having been performed in Rome in 1714, and as the accepted

date for the cantatas is 1716, the suggested influence would seem to be unlikely, although it is not impossible that new material was added to the production.

Obviously Burney had a very low opinion of Pepusch as a composer, and regarded him as being without talent; so much so, that in his account of other musicians he persistently drew parallels, using Pepusch as a yardstick of what to avoid. Referring, for example to Galliard, he summarises his work in the following way:

"This worthy musician who died in 1749 was certainly an excellent contrapuntist, but with respect to his compositions in general, I must say that I never saw more correctness or less originality in any author that I have examined of the present century, Dr. Pepusch always excepted." 10.

Poor old Pepusch!

Yet there seems to be some inconsistency, since a little later he observes:

"As to compositions for our national theatres, Pepusch and Galliard seem to have been wholly unrivalled till the year 1732." 11.

He suggests that after this they were replaced by Lampe and Arne!

His reference to the Pepusch edition of Corelli is interesting in the light of the fact that in 1726, Geminiani took solos and sonatas by Corelli and adapted them as concertos for his own use. Burney, not surprisingly, disapproved, stating that the transformation was made by:

"multiplying notes, and loading, deforming, I think those melodies, that were more graceful and pleasing in their light original dress." 12.

He continues with other derogatory remarks about Geminiani

as a composer and arranger. Perhaps the Pepusch edition may have been prompted by abuses of this sort.

It seemed to Burney that in later years Pepusch sought only the reputation of a profound theorist, and perhaps this is fairly accurate. Yet the emphasis is oddly placed, as one might expect from a man of his time - artistic and scholarly, but with a strictly limited interest in past music. He speaks of Pepusch seeking help from De Moivre and George Lewis Scott, and comments that Pepusch bewildered himself and some of his scholars with everything that was "dark, unintelligible, and foreign to common and useful practice;" although he admits that Pepusch's knowledge in the field was extensive. He tells us that Pepusch only liked antiquated music, but concludes with a rare compliment:

"Yet, though he fettered the genius of his scholars with antiquated rules, he knew the mechanical laws of harmony so well, that in glancing his eye over a score, he could by a stroke of his pen, smooth the wildest and most incoherent notes into a melody, and make them submissive to harmony; instantly seeing the superfluous or deficient notes, and suggesting a base from which there was no appeal." 13.

In this context, Hughes remarks that "the compositions of a theorist start life with a handicap." This, of course is scarcely true in the case of Pepusch, since most of his compositions were produced before he seems to have made much of a reputation as a theorist. One may however agree that they have suffered subsequently as a result of the Pepusch image. It is not surprising to find a fairly violent reaction to Pepusch in Burney's writings. Commenting on the music of the seventeenth century, he speaks of "Gyles" and Ravenscroft,

wishing in "pure pedantry" to "revive the old perplexities," and likens them to Pepusch; while later, considering a formidable list of composers including Bateson and Pilkington, says that he will spend little time on them, describing their work as "unmarked, unmeaning, and vapid!" He goes on:

"It would be as vain for a cultivated and refined ear to hope for amusement in them as a plagiarist to seek for plunder." 14.

Naturally one does not expect sympathy for Pepusch's research activities from someone holding views of this sort, particularly when, in the same work, we find much time and space devoted to the inadequacies and "crudities" which Burney discovers in the harmony of John Blow; followed by a mitigation of similar crimes by Purcell on the grounds that "errors of the press are innumerable, which must not be charged to his account." I would stress that these comments do not really represent a criticism of Burney so much as a reminder that the whole spirit of the times tended to be against this sort of research. Occasionally, however Burney becomes even less tolerant.

It has often been suggested that Pepusch was basically hostile to Handel, and if so, one would presumably attribute this to the fact that he was eclipsed by the master in terms of composition. A closer examination of the situation however reveals that this is less plausible than might be supposed. Pepusch, as we have already noted seems to have realised his limitations as a composer, and abandoned serious composition relatively early in his career; and at no time does it appear to have been his mainstay. Hawkins wrote:

"The conduct of Pepusch was very different from that of Greene. Upon Mr. Handel's arrival in

England, he acquiesced in the opinion of his superior merit, and chose a track for himself in which he was sure to meet with no obstruction, and in which none could disturb him without going out of their way to do it." 15.

This would seem a correct assessment, except that Pepusch obviously continued to compose for a little longer than the statement might suggest. Burney however, comments:

"Nor is it true, as has been asserted 'that he readily acquiesced in Handel's superior merit.' Handel despised the pedantry of Pepusch, and Pepusch, in return, constantly refused to join in the chorus of Handel's praise." 16.

Once again, Burney is unable to resist the opportunity to criticise Pepusch, with the added bonus of being able to contradict his arch rival. He adds the following footnote:

"After playing a lesson of Handel to him at the Charterhouse in the year 1747, I was sufficiently young and ignorant of the world to ask him how he likes that master's works? When all the answer I could obtain from him, to my silly question, was that he thought him 'a good practical musician.'" 17.

However, instead of concentrating on what might easily be regarded as nothing more than a fit of pique, let us look at one or two facts. The fact that the Academy performed so much of Handel's music might be thought significant in view of Pepusch's influence in this organisation, while perhaps equally important is the fact that Pepusch subscribed to editions of Handel's music. For example, he appears in the subscription list for no less than seven copies of "Atalanta," which was published on 5th June, 1736. He also subscribed to "Arminio," 12th February, 1737, and "Giustino," which was published on 30th March, 1737. When "Faramondo" was published on 4th February, 1738, we find that Pepusch not only purchased a

copy, but that one was obtained for "Master Pepusch" - presumably Pepusch's son. 18.

The two musicians must have collaborated at Cannons to at least a limited extent, and we shall show that it is probable that Handel learnt something from a perusal of Pepusch's cantatas. P.H. Lang also makes an interesting point concerning J.C. Smith. Speaking of Pepusch, he writes:

"He was a good, if not highly original composer, his influence on music of the Georgian era was considerable, and he was the first English musicologist - and one of the first in modern times anywhere - whose example undoubtedly spurred Burney and Hawkins in their efforts in musical historiography..... The two composers were not on friendly terms, but that Burney goes too far in his judgement of that relationship, and that Handel esteemed Pepusch's qualities is proved by his entrusting part of the musical education of John Christopher Smith, Jr., whom he regarded almost as a son, to Dr. Pepusch. But more than that, he studied his quasi-rival's music." 19.

It also seems that on at least one other occasion the two collaborated as joint teachers. We see evidence of this in a letter written by Chandos to the Bishop of London on behalf of George Monroe in respect of the post as organist of the Chapel of the converted banquetting hall of Whitehall. 20. Here, the Duke speaks of Monroe's success under the joint tuition of Handel and Pepusch, and unless one assumes that he was indulging in a name-dropping exercise on the applicant's behalf, the point would appear to be clearly established.

So far we have considered the opinions of the two leading historians of the day, but we now turn with some amusement to two pamphlets which illustrate the malicious pleasure taken in satire at this time. The first pokes fun at the

large quantity of music produced by Pepusch, at its relatively low appeal, and also at his academic aspirations. It appeared anonymously as a pamphlet in 1724, and according to Deutsch is a parody on Sir John Suckling's "The Session of the Poets" of 1637. The following extract is relevant:

"First P(e)p(us)ch enter'd with majestick Gait,
Preceded by a cart, in solemn State;
With Pride he view'd the Offspring of his Art,
Songs, Solos, and Sonatas load the Cart;
Whose wheels and axletree, with Care dispos'd,
Did prelude to the Musick he compos'd.
The Gods soon own'd that if a num'rous Race
Could claim in any Art the highest Place,
His Quantity would never be despis'd,
But Quality alone in Sounds was priz'd,
He should be satisfy'd with his Degrees
For new Preferment would produce New Fees." 21.

The second item for consideration is the famous or infamous pamphlet which was advertised in the "Daily Journal" of 18th March, 1734, which was entitled "Harmony in an Uproar." Although purporting to come from "Hurllothrumbo Johnson," the pamphlet is not by Johnson, and remains anonymous. It is, however a witty if rather laborious exercise written by an obvious supporter of Handel. A mock trial is included, with a satirical condemnation of Handel, who is charged with having "bewitch'd us for the space of twenty years past," and the most relevant portion is given below. Clearly both Greene and Pepusch come under fire.

"First then, Sir, - Have you taken your degrees?
Boh! - ha,ha,ha! Are you a Doctor, Sir? ah, ah!
A fine composer indeed, and not a graduate; fie,
fie, you might as well pretend to be a judge,
without having been ever called to the Bar; or
pretend to be a Bishop, and not a Christian.
Why Dr. Pushpin and Dr. Blue laugh at you, and
scorn to keep you company; and they have vow'd
to me, that it is scarcely possible to imagine
how much better they compos'd after the
Commencement Gown was thrown over their

shoulders than before; it was as if a musical - had laid hands upon them, and inspired them with the enthusiasm of Harmony.

Secondly, Sir, - I understand you have never read Euclid, are a declar'd foe to all proper Modes and Forms, and the Tones of Musick, and scorn to be subservient to, or Ty'd up by Rules, or have your genius cramped. Thou God and Vandel to just Sounds! We may as well place Nightingales and Canary-Birds behind the scenes, and take the wild Operas of Nature from them, as allow you to be a Composer: An ingenious Carpenter, with a Rule and Compass, will succeed better in composition, thou finished Irregularity."

Later we read:

"Dr. Pushpin affirms that you are no Mathematician; and Dr. Blue roundly asserts in all Companies, that you are quite void of the Spirit of Invention."

The allusion to Modes, Euclid and Mathematics are obviously designed to pin-point the unusual interests of Pepusch. The later attempts of the writer to comment effectively on "The Beggar's Opera" seem, however less convincing - no doubt he was severely hampered by the success of the work:

"Indeed they made another small push, in bringing upon the stage one of the most execrable low Entertainments that ever was heard; it was received according to its merit, which enhanced the value of mine the more." 22.

CHAPTER III - NOTES

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3. "Wesley's Journal," 13th June, 1748.
4. Op.cit., II, p.831.
5. Loc. cit.
6. Burney, C: "A General History of Music," Mercer Edn., Dover Publications, New York, 1957, vol.II, pp.987-8.
7. Hughes, C.W: "John Christopher Pepusch," M.Q.31, 1945, p.68.
8. Op. cit., II, p.635.
9. Op. cit., II, p.709.
10. Op. cit., II, p.990.
11. Op. cit., II, p.1001.
12. Op. cit., II, p.993.
13. Op. cit., II, p.989.
14. Op. cit., II, p.262.
15. Op. cit., II, p.884.
16. Op. cit., II, p.988.
17. Op. cit., II, p.988.
18. Deutsch, O.E: "Handel, A Documentary Biography," London, 1957, pp. 410, 425, 430, 450.
19. Lang, P.H: "George Frideric Handel," London, 1967, p. 272.
20. Deutsch., pp. 161-2.
21. Ibid., pp. 165-6.
22. Ibid., pp. 348-9, 352, 356.

CHAPTER IV

BURNEY AND HAWKINS

In connection with our examination of the merits of certain criticisms made by Burney, and Hawkins's attitude to early music, we may be justified in devoting more thought to their relative merits as critical historians. Initially one may tend to feel sympathy with Burney. He was a musician and scholar who had travelled far both literally and metaphorically in pursuit of his quest. He was a man of his time, and had a refreshing confidence in and enthusiasm for contemporary music and taste which contrasts sharply with the uncertainty and uneasiness of our own time. He was also possessed of considerable personal charm. In contrast, Hawkins lacked any professional musical training, and was not an easy person to get on with. We gather that he was only too apt to be subject to fits of temper and prejudice. In spite of this, we notice with interest that his assessment of earlier music has much in common with our own. Burney seems to have been a conscientiously fashionable man, which clouded his judgement in certain respects.

It may not be generally known that Burney wrote a lengthy and at times vicious satire on Hawkins, although this was never published, and a brief consideration of some parts of it should prove both amusing and informative. Certainly it shows Burney in a somewhat unexpected light. There must have been some element of rivalry between them, and their opinions show that there was bitter disagreement. Clearly Burney's feelings ran high, although one must make allowances for the conventions of eighteenth century satire which were vitriolic, merciless,

sometimes tasteless and often very funny.

The satire survives in the original - a 74-page book in Rylands Library, Manchester, and it is called "The Trial of Midas the Second, or Congress of Musicians." We may remind ourselves that Apollo decorated Midas with a pair of asses ears for liking the music of Pan better than the Lyre. A brief account and discussion of the content has also been provided by the former assistant librarian, W. Wright Roberts,¹ who commented:

"Little wonder that Burney wrote his satire. Here in 1776, four months after his own first volume, there came at a blow these five tomes of Hawkins, praising what he despised, attacking his most cherished predilections. In the name of Italian art, if only in private, he must lash this Goth, this dusty antiquarian of music." 2.

Hawkins is described as "eager with fire and faggot to pursue whate'er is graceful, elegant and new." He is attacked at a personal level, and allusions are made to the fact that he is not a musician by profession, that he has independent means as a result of his marriage, and that he is a magistrate.

"Let him by Laws of Harmony be tried
No, no! He's no musician one and all reply."

Lest this subtle allusion be lost on the reader, we find on the facing page the following footnote:

"A History of music by any but a professor of the Science, may possibly be looked on as a bold undertaking: and it may appear not a little strange that one, who is perhaps better known to the world as occupying a public station, than as a writer, should choose to be the author of a work of this kind, and for which the course of his studies can hardly be supposed to have in any degree qualified him." 3.

We see the aforementioned allusion to the money which came from his wife in the following extract, which also refers

writers is significant not only in respect of their assessment of Pepusch, but in respect of the insight they give us of the attitudes which were prevalent at the time.

As stated, Hawkins received a considerable fortune from his wife, and when her brother died in 1759, a second one was added. According to Hawkins' daughter, a sister who was alienated was left only £500:

"Who by representing the injustice of this act, and by adding entreaty to argument prevailed on him to make a more equitable distribution of his property, and an equal division was the consequence. We lost by this more than £1,000 a-year; but our gain is inestimable, and we can ride through a manor gone from us with exultation." 6.

This seems to ring true. Expressed in those terms, it does not sound like a self-opinionated person trying to impress. Not only does it seem to belie the mean image of Hawkins which survives, but this response from his daughter does not suggest a mean upbringing either. Similarly, one may contrast the references which are made to his work as a magistrate: Burney says:

"And now the work whereon his thoughts grew serious
Was interrupted by a post imperious
for not alone a whipping post, but stocks
He now presided over all the locks.
And had he shown indifference or dislike
To lay the lash well on or terror strike
To sorry girls who Letchers substance waste,
It might evince for powr, a want of taste." 7.

We may contrast this with the following quotation from the 1853 edition of the Hawkins History:

"Here his independant spirit and charitable disposition were manifested. Acting as magistrate, he first refused the customary fees, but finding that this generous mode of proceeding rather increased the litigious disposition of the people in his neighbourhood, he altered his plan, took what was his due, but

kept the amount in a separate purse, and at fixed periods consigned it to the clergyman of his parish, to redistribute at his discretion." 8.

While this might not be thought inconsistent for a man who loved power for its own sake, it would appear that his efforts could be seen to have been directed to good ends. His "Observation on the state of the highways, and on the Laws for keeping them in repair" included the draft of his proposed act of Parliament, which was afterwards passed, while his work on behalf of his Parish of St. Andrew's Holborn led to his being presented with a silver cup valued at £30. 9.

That he declined to stand for Parliament when pressed suggests that he was not as "subservient" as Boswell suggests. Whether supremely popular or not, he had a distinguished circle of friends, which included Handel, Stanley, Cooke and Boyce, and was on intimate terms with Dr. Johnson. From the literary point of view there is surely some significance in the fact that he was asked by Oxford University to provide notes for the new edition of Sir Thomas Hanmer's Shakespeare, and later for the Johnson - Stevens edition of 1773. This accords ill with the oft-repeated statement "Sir John Hawkins, it is true loses nothing; and for the best of reasons. Sir John has nothing to lose." 10. The impression we always receive from contemporaries is that Hawkins was an exceedingly unattractive person, and this is summarised by Scholes, who tries to redress the balance:

"Hawkins was not, as was his acquaintance and rival, Burney, a lovable character. 'Anything but' - to judge by the pungent verdicts left by those who knew him best. 'As to Sir John,' said Johnson, 'why I really believe him to be

an honest man at the bottom; but to be sure he is penurious, and he is mean, and it must be owned that he has a degree of brutality and a tendency to savageness that cannot easily be defended.' Malone spoke of his 'malignancy,' and so did Dyer. Reynolds called him 'mean and grovelling.' Percy said he was 'detestable.' His neighbour, Walpole, more generously maintained that he was 'a very honest moral man,' and then spoilt it with a 'but' to the effect that he was 'obstinate and contentious.' Jeremy Bentham, an early friend, lived to say, 'Sir John was a most insolent, worthless fellow.' Yet with all this when we come to collect the evidence we find Hawkins to have been a man of considerable public spirit, and certainly a hard and conscientious worker.....There was at least something good about a man whose list of acquaintances was as long as his daughter shows it to have been, and of whom a secretary of State could assert that he was 'the best magistrate in the kingdom.'" 11.

Having commented on Hawkins's office as a magistrate, and accused him of vindictiveness, Burney then draws the obvious musical parallel:

"On Laws of Science, Taste and Wit you've
trampl'd
with fury fell, and malice unexampled;
the dearest sons of fame have tried to slay
In such Felonious, such a murd'rous way,
Thats precedents no human Laws provide
(The Romans long had none for parricide.) 12.

Wright Roberts alludes to this when he speaks of the passage where "Fair Renown" burst into tears as she recalls the fate of her sons at the hand of Hawkins, who is accused of defaming certain composers. He continues:

"Today the list reads strangely; half these names sleep undisturbed in Grove; rarely indeed do we hear a note of the music of those who bore them. And the names of course are mostly Italian, or belonging to the Italian schools." 13.

The composers named in this context are Allegri, Palestrina, Boccherini, Haydn, Vanhall, Abel, Bach, (presumably one of the sons) Giardini and Fischer. The author also complains that Hawkins is scanty in his treatment of the Scarlattis, and that of Vinci, Graun, Durante, Stamitz, Ferrari, Schobert and Mondeville "he never heard, or hearing could not feel." Earlier, Hawkins is accused of slandering Stillingfleet and Gay and of attacking Hasse and Adami! One sees the force of Wright Roberts's comment when considering this list, although perhaps one should make some allowance for the possibility that the choice may also have been suggested by the metre and rhyme of the piece! So the author, like "Fair Renown" is:

"Complaining of a certain scribe Malign
Unlicens'd by the God or Muse Divine;
Unauthoris'd by judgment, Talents, Taste,
Unprincipled in present lore or past;
Without an ear to hear or soul to feel,
without a mask his malice to conceal." 14.

We see, however a more serious criticism of those who would condemn contemporary music in Burney's History which may well have been specifically directed against Hawkins:

"Specimens of the difficulties abounding in the compositions of the Golden age of Queen Elizabeth, shall be laid before the musical reader, in order to invalidate the vulgar cant of such as are determined to blame whatever is modern, and who, equally devoid of knowledge and feeling, reprobate as trash the most elegant, ingenious, and often sublime compositions, that have ever been produced since the laws of Harmony were first established." 15.

Although not strictly pertinent to the present discussion, one can but include the conclusion, reached by the author with

obvious relish, that Hawkins could have been forgiven for ignorance and stupidity if only he had been nice about it!

"Had you for social virtues been beloved
Your Book, tho' bad, a milder fate had prov'd.
And, tho' your Frailties long have been reveal'd,
A noble work your pardon would have seal'd:
Learn hence, ye scribes! The World can never
brook
At once a hated Man, and worthless Book." 16.

Briefly the narrative is as follows. Apollo is besieged by a crowd who complain of a "malign scribe," and he directs that a trial be held. Boyce is elected judge, and the witnesses are "personified abstractions,"¹⁷ such as the aforementioned "Fair Renown," and "Science," an old woman who says that Hawkins has no real knowledge of her laws, - "chaos is come again." Only the Psalmist and the Antiquarian witnesses offer him any support. He is, of course, found guilty, and sentenced to be drowned in effigy along with his book in the Fleet Ditch. The satirist unwilling to miss such an opportunity, comments:

"Tho' hard it seems such buoyant things to drown,
(no reader ever yet could get them down)
Yet spite of Cobwebs, Sweepings, Idle Stories,
Foundations weak of Midas' future Glories,
with so much lead about him & his work,
They must have sunk in jackets made of cork." 18.

It is interesting to note that in our final quotation Burney apparently indulges in a little wishful thinking.

"Some critics say with taunting insults bitter
That both his head and work are in a litter;
and yet of Tales Antique no one Recorder
Did e'er so bravely combat with Disorder.
Witness the Books, the Chapters, and Divisions,
The proofs, Revivals, Changes, Circumcisions.
Witness what want of sleep, as waste of oil
Precede the Consummation of his Toil!
But 'tis a world incurably diseas'd
Thus, by His Rules, will ne'er be taught or
phras'd,

So, let 'em perish! He'll no more admonish
or try again the learned to astonish.
No new Impression of his Volumes Five
Shall e'er be seen by Mortals now alive;
Nor shall their offspring e'er be plagued
or teas'd
with what their ancestors so much displeas'd -
At you, My lord he'll now for Judgmt. look -
Do what you will with Him, his Fame, and Book." 19.

The suggestion that the book had no future is interesting. Initially it appears that the Burney history had a very damaging effect on the sale of Hawkins's book. Half a century later things had changed in a surprising way. If the evidence of the 1853 edition of the Hawkins History is to be believed, the publication of Burney's first volume proved disastrous to his rival, and the effect of the catch which appeared at the time was even worse - like many examples of topical trivia it appears to have caught the imagination of the public. The music was by Dr. Callcott, and the origin of the words is unknown.²⁰ In the 1853 edition, the narrator of the life of Hawkins suggests that the fact that Burney was a "Professor" meant that the work of the amateur was subsequently ignored and continues:

"The fate of the work, however, was decided at last, like that of many more important things, by a trifle, a word, a pun. A pun condemned Sir John Hawkins's sixteen years of labour to long obscurity and oblivion."

Having quoted the catch, the writer then continues:

"Burn his history was straightway in everyone's mouth; and the bookseller, even if he did not literally follow the advice, actually 'wasted' as the term is, or sold for waste paper some hundred copies, and buried the rest of the impression in the profoundest depths of a damp cellar, as an article never likely to be called for; so that now hardly a copy can be procured undamaged by damp and mildew." 21.

The writer goes on to say that the book was regaining

popularity. As to the truth of the last quotation, we may consider that such a statement might not be considered a selling point, and could well be correct; while the assertion that popularity was regained is borne out by the fact that a new edition was considered a viable commercial proposition. Only the first volume of Burney ever reached a second edition until our own century, while the Hawkins book had its first edition in 1776, a second in 1853, and a third in 1875. What in fact are their relative merits? Wright Roberts gives us a lead. He sees Burney as a fashionable man and therefore pro-Italian. A man who saw the music of his own time as the best - a healthy attitude in a musician but less desirable in a historian. He points out that Burney devotes about three hundred pages to Italian opera but gives only a bare list of Handel's oratorios. The choruses in the oratorios are regarded as survivals of a bygone era. Choral polyphony was "Gothic and outworn." He slights the madrigalists and praises Purcell while lamenting that the latter lived in barbarous times. Bach receives only a few sentences. Roberts points out that in contrast Hawkins included "a decent account" of Lully, a better proportioned account of Handel, although less rich in detail, and that he was "more coherent" on Bach, quoting from his work. In fact, he comments quite correctly that in mass and quality his musical quotations put Burney in the shade.

To redress the balance it is appropriate to point out that as an amateur, Hawkins seems at times to get hold of the wrong end of the stick. He states in connection with his consideration of Handel's anthems that Handel "disdained all

imitation," and looked with contempt on the "pure and elegant" models of Palestrina and Allegri; as well as the chamber cantatas of Cesti or Agostino, "for these he thought and would sometimes say" were stiff, and lacked "sweetness of melody." Even less, he continues, did this composer imitate "those milder beauties" to be found in the anthems of Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Wise, Humfrey, Blow or Purcell. In view of the way in which Handel was influenced by a mixture of English and continental styles, it is clear that this is a most misleading statement. In the context of Bach, we may also notice that the aforementioned quotation is part of the theme and two variations of the Goldberg Variations, and that this marathon of ingenuity is dismissed with the comment: "The following composition is among his lessons above mentioned." Since no further light is shed on it one wonders what the reader is supposed to gain from its inclusion. It should be pointed out for the benefit of the reader who refers to the Dover reprint of the 1838 edition of the Hawkins "History" that in this later edition only the theme is quoted. However, Roberts comments that Hawkins explores some of the highways and byways more thoroughly than Burney, and summarises the man's insatiable curiosity as follows:

"In leisured ease he wrote a history of the art he had always loved, not with his rival's busy professional devotion, but with the dogged fondness of the enlightened amateur who has strong antiquarian instincts. He did not travel, but acquired valuable texts and authorities from the dispersed music library of Dr. Pepusch." 22.

The 1853 edition states that he bought the theoretical books from the library of Pepusch, and that after publishing his

history, he presented them to the British Museum. The above quotation enables us to think of him as an enlightened student with none of Burney's prejudices, although no doubt this is a somewhat unrealistic picture. However, true to his calling, he tries on occasions to concentrate on the less well known aspects of music. Of "Rinaldo" he comments simply:

"It is needless to point out the beauties of this excellent composition, as the overtures and airs are in print; the applause it met with was greater than had been given to any musical performance in this kingdom: in a word, it established Mr. Handel's character on a firm and solid basis." 23.

He does not waste time on that with which his reader is familiar, and in this instance we see that he certainly did not despise opera in the Italian style, although he does not show any enthusiasm to discuss it. Perhaps this tendency highlights the difference between the two - Hawkins has the historian's approach, unlike Burney who would feel the compulsion of a musician to discuss standard works.

In general, Hawkins appears to have found opera unsatisfactory. He condemns empty virtuosity in singing or playing, and describes opera as "the mere offspring of luxury...of all entertainments the most unnatural and absurd." We should, however remember that it was a fashionable entertainment which could not be disregarded by a composer who wished to succeed, and that other contemporaries such as Johnson and Addison reacted against it in the same way. One is reminded that the English with their strong theatre tradition were better equipped than most to appreciate the absurdities of the Italian operatic

convention.

We have already referred to the fact that Burney dealt very unsympathetically with composers of early music.²⁴ This is particularly true in respect of the "Triumphs of Oriana." Weelkes, Wilbye, Morley and others are all lumped together - they are all, it appears much of a muchness, "and no one towers above the rest sufficiently to give a modern ear the least idea of invention or originality." He does, however admit that what now appears dull, vulgar and common was comparatively ingenious, elegant and new at the start of the seventeenth century! He speaks of such works being entitled to "examination and respect, however the revolutions of taste and fashion have diminished their favour." In other words, he respected but he did not like. In connection with the madrigalists, he comments:

"The harmony of these minor musicians, or second class of English masters of the sixteenth century, is pure and regular; but however well received, and justly admired by their contemporaries, they are in general, so monotonous in point of modulation, that it seldom happens that more than two keys are used from the beginning to the end of a movement; which renders the performance of more than one or two at a time, insipid and tiresome. 'If,' says a worthy nobleman, and enthusiastic admirer of Handel, 'some of that great master's oratorio choruses were well performed by voices only, in the manner of madrigals, how superior their effect would be to the productions of ye Bennets, Kirbys, Weelkes's, and Wilbye's.' The idea was so just that I wish to hear it put into execution: as there is doubtless more verve, more science, and fire, in the worst of Handel's choruses, than in the greatest efforts of those old madrigalists." 25.

This attitude might be forgivable for a musical amateur of the day who acknowledged with enthusiasm the qualities he appreciated in a familiar style. Burney's agreement, on the other hand seems shocking from a musician who had studied the earlier works; while the notion of performing Handel's choruses shorn of their orchestral accompaniment seems barbarous. The entertaining and stimulating writers on music are not always the objective and scholarly ones, but there really seems no excuse for a slovenly statement of this sort. Having despatched the big names in this contemptuous fashion, he deals briefly with the lesser mortals:

"The best English musicians of the early part of the seventeenth century have been included in the end of the sixteenth. There are many names come down to us of others who published works that were still born, and can hardly be said ever to have existed. With accounts of these and their authors I shall not long detain the reader: The history of men who have done nothing cannot be too short, as they can neither be made profitable nor pleasant. Batson, Anmer, Lichfield, Pilkington, and Ward, published madrigals, and other vocal Music, about this time; Jones, Corkine, and Adson Ayres; but all so much alike, so unmarked, unmeaning, and vapid, that there is not sufficient difference of style, melody, or modulation in them to enable the most penetrating critic to assign them to one composer more than another." 26.

An extended comparison of the two historians would prove very illuminating in respect of the period in general, but we must confine ourselves to only one or two aspects of this in the interests of relevance and space.

Burney praises Morley's "A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke" but rightly complains bitterly that

it has not been replaced by a more up to date work. He suggests that an examination of later music would be of greater benefit to the student, and to illustrate this commendable suggestion gives an interesting list of composers who might be studied with profit. For fugue the student is directed to Corelli, Handel and Geminiani; for symphonies and chamber music to Haydn, Vanhall, Boccherini, J.C. Bach, Abel and Giardini; for harpsichord and piano music to Scarlatti, Emmanuel Bach, Schobert, Eichner, Haydn and Kozeluch; for vocal compositions to Pergolesi, Hasse, Jomelli, Galuppi, Piccini, Sacchini, Paesiello and Sarti; and for organ and choral music to Handel. In respect of the organ, it would seem that he knew little of the North German organists of Bach's era, but in any case it is clear that he despises highly contrapuntal music. He tells us that the terms canon and fugue imply restraint and labour, that the only great fugue writer exempt from pedantry was Handel, and goes on:

"Sebastian Bach, on the contrary, like Michael Angelo in painting, disdained facility so much, that his genius never stooped to the easy and graceful. I have never seen a fugue by this learned and powerful author upon a motive, that is natural and chantant; or even an easy and obvious passage, that is not loaded with crude and difficult accompaniments." 27.

Mercer queries how much Bach Burney knew, pointing out that the Clavierbung included the six partitas, the Italian Concerto, the B minor Partita, the Goldberg variations and the "Musikalisches Opfer." He also refers to the Emmanuel Bach selection of chorales from the cantatas, and the "Art of Fugue." Certainly the view seems extreme, and in addition to the works mentioned, we may remind ourselves that the

great triple fugue in E-flat which we have come to know as the "St. Anne" was to be found in part III of the aforementioned collection. It appears that Burney visited C.P.E. Bach in 1772, and it is interesting to note that apparently none of J.S.Bach's music was played.

We find Burney voicing the same sort of opinion in connection with the early Baroque:

"At the latter end of the sixteenth century, during all the rage for fugue, elaborate contrivance, and the laboured complication of different parts, without rhythm, grace, melody, or unity of design, the lovers of poetry were meditating the means of rescuing her from musical pedants, who, with a true Gothic spirit, had loaded her with cumbrous ornaments, in order, as was pretended, to render her more fine, beautiful, and pleasing, after having fettered, maimed, and mangled her." 28.

In the same way, the appeal of the metrical freedom of the sixteenth century eluded him completely. It was generally dismissed as incompetence. Perhaps this is not surprising, and certainly we should not place undue blame on one who was a product of his own time. On the other hand it would seem that the merits of early music did not elude Hawkins or Pepusch, or indeed the other members of the Academy of Ancient Music. Speaking of the difficulty of performing Morley's canzonets, Burney writes of "the broken phrases and false accents of the melody, in which there is so total a want of rhythm, as renders the time extremely difficult to keep with accuracy and firmness." Here we see that the word "rhythm" is misunderstood by modern standards - he really means regularity of metre. He does, however go on to praise the burial service. Later on he agrees with the *Wm.* Mason, who, in an essay, censures Tallis, Byrd and others for "inattention

to prosody, accent and quantity in setting English words; and indeed, besides the negligence in that particular, common to all the composers of their time, the accentuation of our language has received such changes since the time of Tallis, Byrd, and our other best church composers, that it seems absolutely necessary for the words to be newly adjusted to the melodies by some judicious person...constantly taking care to place the accent of each word upon the accented part of each bar in the music." 29.

Similarly in connection with Elway Bevan, he comments that the accents "as usual with the old masters are often erroneously placed." ³⁰. He quotes Byrd's title: "Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets: Some Solemne, others joyfull, framed to the life of the words" of 1611, and comments, in a footnote:

"Notwithstanding this boast, he does not seem to have been more attentive to accent, or successful in attempting at expression, in these songs than elsewhere. Indeed among his 'Songs of sundrie natures,' the obvious imitation of the words, by musical intervals in setting the 130th Psalm, From Depth of Sinne; and that of the trussing, or soaring and stooping of the falcon, in 'The greedy Hawke with sooden Sight of Lure,' have not escaped him. But imitative and picturesque Music, and such beauties as proceed from light to shade, and variety of effect, were not in contemplation until some time after the musical Drama was cultivated; so that, deficient as the compositions of our coutrymen of the sixteenth century may be, in these particulars, they are not more deserving of censure, than those of the best masters of Italy, France, and Flanders, of the same period. After pointing out, therefore, the general inattention at this time to prosody, accent, and quantity, in setting to music every language, ancient and modern, it would be more candid to others, and, perhaps, kind to ourselves, to examine the compositions of old masters by such rules as were at that period established, than by ex post facto laws. We should then find a grateful purity of harmony, such as the age

allowed, in which a sparing use was made of such discords only as were least offensive; an ingenuity of design and contrivance; a solemnity of style, and a sober modulation; which, though not appropriated to Ecclesiastical Music only, in the time of Tallis and Byrd, renders its performance peculiarly grave, and the sensations it excites totally remote from all those which are now produced by modern Music of any kind, ecclesiastical or secular." 31.

The suggestion that we ought to consider the criteria which were then accepted in any assessment of early music seems startlingly naive. It reminds us that in Burney's day this was a novel idea to many people, and it causes one to wonder whether in this context we should regard Burney as a liberal minded pioneer or musically deaf! However it shows the work of Hawkins and Pepusch in a new light, and reveals its significance. His attitude to the word setting technique of the sixteenth century shows the usual misconception of this time - the idea that only monody and simple clarity could make the text genuinely dramatic, when in fact this was often the one thing it didn't do! Similarly the idea that the Tudor composers never reached beyond word painting to the heart of the text is another fallacy arising from the pursuit of an ideology rather than as a result of listening to the music.

Scholes makes a series of useful comments in his assessment of the two works. He points out that they were the first significant histories of music to be written in English, since Anthony Wood produced merely a series of biographical notes, and North's "Musical Grammarian" and "Memoirs" do not really fall into this category. The scope is identical - a history of music from the Greeks to the present. However, in spite of the fact that the first

volumes appeared within four months of each other, Burney's final volume did not emerge until 1789. This means that for him, the present is up to 1784, as opposed to Hawkins who stops at 1759. He therefore mentions Mozart, and discusses Haydn's early output. An interesting point is that although Hawkins appreciates early music more than Burney, neither show any interest in folk music. The relevance of the above information lies in the fact that Burney was obviously indebted to Hawkins for some of his information regarding early music, and that he came to a greater appreciation of some of it in his old age. It would seem that his further study may have been influenced by Hawkins, who in turn was fired with enthusiasm by Pepusch. Burney, of course would never have admitted such a thing, and resentfully comments on the necessity of duplication when he writes:

"In pursuing the history of the English Minstrels, I am frequently obliged to recount circumstances which have lately been rendered familiar to many of my readers; but these circumstances are such as seem so naturally to belong to my work, that those who pursue it would have cause to complain should they be put to the trouble of seeking them elsewhere." 32.

Welch states that Burney borrowed from Hawkins without acknowledgment, although he is not specific, and Charles Cudworth writes:

"Hawkins dogged pertinacity in ploughing through the mustiest tomes of musical learning and reducing them to readable synopses was appreciated even by his rival Burney, who did not scruple to borrow as heavily from Hawkins as Handel did from Telemann, and with as little acknowledgment." 33.

Scholes comments:

"One merit the book can decidedly claim - its many reproductions of old compositions (nearly 150 of them), a very few indeed of which were at that time, or for a long time afterwards, available in any other form." 34.

Scholes points out that Burney became enthusiastic about Bach's music when in his eighties, and refers to his rediscovery of Josquin des Pres, Fevin, and R. White. His admiration for sixteenth century music is referred to by Lonsdale:

"Burney had spent a great deal of time in scoring the works of the composers of the period, such as Josquin des Pres, Okegham and Taverner (see B.M.Add.mss.11581-91, for C.B.'s copies and scores of these and later works used in the last three volumes of his History of Music), and he found himself discussing them at much greater length, and defending them much more warmly than he had ever intended." 35.

In the year of Pepusch's death, 1752, appeared Avison's "Essay on Musical Expression," a pioneer work of its type in which the author attempts to get to grips with some of the critical problems associated with music. Here was another man who helped to perpetuate some of the ideas which originated from Pepusch. Although on the basis of his own compositions Avison might be regarded as a sort of musical reactionary who was dissatisfied with some of the music which was becoming popular in his day, we may discern a more enlightened and genuinely critical attitude than normal.

Section I of the first part is concerned with "too close an attachment to air and neglect of harmony," while the following section discusses the direct opposite - "too close attachment to harmony and neglect of air." In the first section he places leading composers in three categories,

the worst in this respect being Vivaldi, Tassarini, Alberti and Locatelli. Speaking of their use of "unnatural modulations" he describes their compositions as "equally defective in various harmony and true invention," and "fit only for children." As an admirer of his teacher Geminiani, there would appear to be a partisan undercurrent in his choice of Vivaldi. However, his other categories are more interesting. He continues:

"Rising above the last mentioned in Dignity, as they pay somewhat more regard to the principles of harmony, may be ranked several of our modern composers of the opera, such are Hasse, Porpora, Terradillas and Lampugniani. Though I must take the liberty to say, that besides their too little regard for the principles of true harmony, they are often defective in one sense, even with regard to air; I mean an endless repetition of their subject, by wearing it to rags and tiring the Hearer's patience.

Of the third and highest class of composers who have run into this extreme of modulation are Vinci, Bononcini, Astorga and Pergolesi; the frequent delicacy of whose air is so striking that we almost forget the defect of harmony under which they often labour." 36.

This is a very different attitude to Burney's rather slavish acceptance of opera composers, and in spite of some rather odd choices of composer, seems quite enlightened. Later we read:

"Having noted the reigning defect of the modern composers, arising from their superficial use of modulation to the utter neglect of all true harmony; the next thing that offers itself is the very reverse of this. I mean the too severe attachment of the ancients to harmony and the neglect of modulation. The old masters generally discover a greater depth of knowledge in the construction of their harmony. Their subjects are invented and carried on with wonderful art, to which they often add a considerable energy and force of expression. Yet we must own that with regard to air and modulation, they are often defective." 37.

He goes on to suggest that the old cathedral music instead of being solemn, becomes formal, sounding artificial and

contrived. Like his contemporaries, this quotation reveals that his appreciation of the harmonic aspects of early music is rudimentary, yet this is a far sounder and more balanced criticism than was common at this stage. Continuing his theme, he stresses anxiously that not all "old masters" fall into this category.

"Some of them have carried musical composition to that Height of Excellence, that we need think it no Disgrace to form our taste of counterpoint on the valuable plans they have left us. The force of their genius, and the wonderful construction of their fugues and harmony have excited the admiration of all succeeding ages. Among these, Palestrina (sic), the first, not only in Point of Time, but of genius too, deserves the high Title of Father of Harmony. And the style of our great old master Tallis evidently showed that he had studied the Works of this great composer..."³⁸.

Avison cites Allegri as Palestrina's logical successor, and it is interesting to compare the above with the comments which Burney made about Tallis. In the second class, Avison names Carissimi, Stradella, and Steffani as being less excellent in harmony and less defective in air.

Corelli, Scarlatti, Caldera and Rameau are said to combine the best of old and new. They saw the defects of their predecessors (neglect of air),

"and have adorned the noblest harmonies by a suitable Modulation, yet still so far retaining the style of the more ancient composers, to make the Harmonic Construction the leading characteristic of their work, while the circumstances of modulation remain only as a secondary quality. Such are the chaste and faultless Corelli, the bold and inventive Scarlatti, the sublime Caldera, and the graceful and spirited Rameau." ³⁹.

CHAPTER IV - NOTES

1. Wright Roberts, W: "Music and Letters," 1933, vol. 14, pp. 303-312.
2. Ibid., p.306.
3. Burney, C: "Trial of Midas II," (Unpublished satire,) Rylands Library, Manchester, Eng.M.S.648, p.34. This is a quotation from Hawkins's preface. See Scholes: "The Life and Activity of Sir John Hawkins," Oxford,1953, p.126.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.4.
6. Hawkins, Sir J: "A General History of the Science and Practice of Music," Dover Publications, New York, 1963, I,p.ix. See also Hawkins, Laetitia: "Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs," p.139.
7. Op. cit., p.35.
8. Op. cit.,I, p.ix.
9. The City of London wished to move Fleet Prison to the site of Ely House, and Hawkins was instrumental in preventing this. See Hawkins, op.cit.,I, p.ix.
10. Macauley: "Essay on Coker's Edn. of Boswell's Life of Johnson."
11. Scholes, P: "Sir John Hawkins," Oxford,1953,p.xii-xiii.
12. Op. cit., p.38.
13. Op. cit., p.308.
14. Op. cit., p.2.
15. Burney, C: "A General History of Music," Mercer Edn., Dover Publications, New York, vol.II, p.97.
16. Burney, C: "Trial of Midas II," p.41.
17. So described by Wright Roberts.

18. "Midas," p.39.
19. Ibid.,p.37, and footnote, p.7. For further quotation and discussion, see Scholes,op.cit., pp.140-148.
20. See Vol.II, Ex.1.
21. Hawkins,op.cit.,II, p.xiv. The quotation originates in the "Harmonicon" of 1831. Scholes suggests that it is rather too late to merit absolute reliance. See "The Great Dr. Burney," I, p.304.
22. Op. cit., p.306.
23. Op. cit., p.814.
24. Note his comments on Bull quoted in chap.I, pp.22-3.
25. "History," II, 112.
26. Ibid., p.262.
27. Ibid., p.96.
28. Ibid., p.508.
29. Ibid., p.125.
30. Ibid., p.263.
31. Ibid., p.75.
32. Ibid., I, p.650.
33. See Introduction to Dover Edn. of Hawkins "History," Vol.I, p.vi.
34. "The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins," Oxford, 1953, p.130.
35. Lonsdale, R: "Dr. Charles Burney," Oxford,1965, p.265.
36. Avison, C: "An Essay in Musical Expression," London,1752.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE VOCAL MUSIC

It is now generally accepted that English music and society exercised a considerable influence on Handel, both in respect of the forms he employed, and in actual music. What is less generally realised is that in this context Pepusch seems to have been an important mediator. Lang made this interesting point when he wrote:

"It is perhaps significant that at this late stage of the masque, its early eighteenth-century librettists, led by John Hughes, attempted to go beyond the 'English' or 'semi'-opera and create a sort of national opera by utilizing and assimilating the principle elements and devices of Italian opera. To their chagrin, they could not find English composers to realise this ambitious plan - the successful composers of even the masques were mostly foreigners, among them Germans. This is not difficult to understand. Italian musicians would not and could not make the necessary adjustments to English and the English stage, while English musicians had a very limited experience with Italian opera. Humphrey and Purcell would perhaps have been successful, but both were dead. On the other hand, the German immigrants were experienced musicians, thoroughly acquainted with Italian opera, but since this was to them an acquired form and style, they could adapt it to other purposes.

Thus it happened that Handel's models for his genuinely English masque-pastoral were the works of another German, a well-trained, and well-educated musician, John Christopher Pepusch, (1667-1752), whom we have already encountered but who now looms as an important figure in Handel's career." 1.

It seems very likely that some of the English mannerisms which Handel acquired came from a knowledge of Pepusch's music. It is possible that Pepusch caught on to the essential features of English taste more rapidly than Handel, and

certainly he appreciated some of the flaws of Italian opera from the English point of view. His own music shows that he assimilated aspects of English style with remarkable promptitude, and although certain works by Handel, such as the Utrecht te Deum are closely modelled on Purcell, we may recall that he struggled on almost suicidally in his pursuit of Italian opera when this was proving unacceptable. Let us now attempt to assess the importance of this influence.

In addition to the John Eccles setting of "Acis and Galatea" of 1701, Handel almost certainly knew the four settings of "The Judgement of Paris" produced in the same year by Weldon, Eccles, D. Purcell and G. Finger. Four prizes were offered in 1701 for settings of the Congreve libretto, and of the four winning entries specified above, those by Eccles and Purcell were published - something which was unusual at this time. The fact that these settings were published is indicative of considerable interest; and as this happened a mere nine years before Handel first arrived in England, it would seem probable on purely circumstantial grounds that he knew them, particularly since Walsh was the publisher. Masques of this type were performed at Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre at the time when Pepusch was musical Director at the latter establishment between about 1715 and 1718, and it will be remembered that he composed the music for "Venus and Adonis," "Myrtillo," "Apollo and Daphne," and "The Death of Dido" during this period. The works appear to have been successful, and most of the people involved would have been known to Handel. It is interesting to notice that

the Gay libretto for "Acis and Galatea" which Handel used is based firmly on the earlier one by Hughes for "Apollo and Daphne," which was set by Pepusch and performed at Drury Lane in 1716. A full score of "Apollo and Daphne" survives in the Library of the Royal College of Music, and although one might have expected some interesting comparisons, the similarities are not striking. It is however, fruitful to compare Handel's "Acis and Galatea" of 1719 with Pepusch's "Venus and Adonis" which appeared four years earlier. Much of Pepusch's music reminds one strongly of the Handel setting, and is also indebted to Purcell and other English composers.

"Cease your vain tiezing" from Pepusch's setting is reminiscent of Purcell, and it is interesting to note the similarity between this air and "How Engaging" from Handel's "Semele," which is quoted here for ease of comparison, (Ex.2). The rhythmical and robust duet "Let every tender passion feel" sounds English, with its lively minor writing and bold shift to the relative major, (Ex.3). Perhaps the best comparison of all is between "Chirping Warblers" from "Venus" and "Hush ye pretty warbling choir" from "Acis." The "flagelleta" obligato in the former reminds one in general style of that for recorder in the latter, and although the music differs considerably, the two seem to have sprung from the same root, (Ex.4).

Pepusch, Handel and Hughes were all associated with Cannons at the same time, and no doubt Handel knew the "Six English Cantatas" which Pepusch produced in 1716, and which were probably composed for performance at Cannons. Winton

Dean makes a very plausible suggestion of direct influence when he writes:

"Handel had known Hughes as early as 1711, when the latter sent him some poems to set, among them, perhaps, the short cantata 'Venus and Adonis,' of which William C. Smith discovered the music in the British Museum before the war. It would, therefore be natural that when Handel was invited to set an English Pastoral libretto based upon, (and perhaps partly written by) Hughes, he should seek his model in Pepusch, who had set Hughes' libretto, and several others of the same kind two or three years earlier, and was, moreover his own colleague at Cannons." 2.

The six cantatas, like another set of six dedicated to the Marchioness of Kent, consist of two recitatives and two arias, and this is interesting, since the "little known cantata" alluded to by Winton Dean, so far as can be ascertained, consists of the same scheme of recit-aria-recit-aria. One of the songs in this cantata, "Dear Adonis," reminds one in general style of "Ah sweet Adonis" from Pepusch's setting of "Venus." The springy bass and leaping vocal parts in quavers and semiquavers is similar in a general way, and the two songs have a similar type of sequence, descending a tone. (Ex.5) A more interesting comparison may be made between Handel's second song, "Transporting Joy," which shows interesting similarities to "Gay charmer" from No. 5 of "Six English Cantatas. Both are in 6/8 time and C-minor. If one compares the opening sections of the songs, it may be seen that Pepusch composed a 14 bar introduction, followed by a first phrase of 6 bars, a 7 bar interlude, followed by a further phrase of 6 bars to G-minor. The proportions of the Handel song are correspondingly 15, 6, 5 and 6 bars to E-flat, both interludes being irregular. Clearly the similarity in respect

of vocal phrases is not unrelated to the fact that the metre is similar, yet there are still plenty of other ways of setting the same text. In the first phrase, Handel writes a two-bar sequence which moves up a third, and rounds it off with a descending scale figure. (Ex. 6 (a) and (b)). Pepusch does the same, except that although he uses a melodic sequence of the same type, the phrase is harmonised in C-minor. In this instance it would seem that a more natural harmonisation would have been one moving to E-flat. Later in the Pepusch song, (Ex. 7 (a) and (b)), a two-bar sequence is used, descending a tone from C to B-flat, and sure enough Handel uses a similar sequence through F and E-flat. In both cases the phrase is rounded off with a further two bars revolving around the interval of a third and the leading note. The middle section of both da capo arias is based on the same sort of material as the outer parts - there is no attempt to provide much contrast; both songs again employ sequence in this section, and the middle parts are about the same length. It is easy to attach too much importance to similarities of this sort in view of the recurring formulae which are found in the eighteenth century, but in this instance the comparison would seem worth making.

Another song in the Pepusch setting is "How pleasant is ranging the fields" - a typical galloping 6/8 type of hunting song. Handel was undoubtedly influenced by English folk song, possibly even by street cries, but the Adlington Hunting Song, written for the Leigh family of Adlington Hall, Cheshire, in 1751, might have been influenced in a general way by this Pepusch setting. Both are in 6/8 time, make extensive use

of sequence, and include fanfare-like passages for the voice. In the case of Pepusch there is also an effective bit of word painting on "mount," - something which would have appealed to many an English composer, and which resembles many of Handel's word settings (Ex.8 (a) and (b)). If Handel ever knew this song, he presumably did so before 1720, while the Adlington Song was composed about 1751. The suggestion may therefore appear rather far-fetched, yet the similarities are interesting, and perhaps Handel's song is more like the Pepusch setting than an English Hunting song.

Since it is clear that Handel and Pepusch were at Cannons at the same time, there is little need to pursue the question of contact further, but before moving on, let us trace one more instance.

That Handel met Pepusch at Thomas Britton's seems almost certain. P.M. Young states that Handel visited Britton in 1711 and met Pepusch there,³ while both Flower and Abdy Williams tell us that Handel visited Britton's and played the organ.⁴ Hawkins testifies that Pepusch often played at Britton's.⁵ It is, therefore rather disappointing to note that in spite of these firm assertions, there seems no evidence to confirm that Handel was ever there, and Lang summarises the position neatly:

"Handel's presence at these meetings seems inevitable; he knew many of the persons who were regular participants at Britton's concerts, yet, strangely, even Otto Erich Deutsch was unable to run down a single positive document attesting such attendance. It would seem perverse to question the accuracy of the assumption that he did attend, and it was undoubtedly at Britton's that he met Pepusch and others including John Hughes." ⁶

Handel was well acquainted with many of the people who attended, and it is interesting to note that Britton's library included English items which seem to have had a particularly strong influence on him, such as Purcell's "Dioclesian," "St. Cecilia Ode," and the Te Deum and Jubilate in D. Let us now turn to some of Pepusch's vocal settings to determine the extent to which he assimilated English influence, starting with the "Six English Cantatas."

It is interesting to note that according to the preface, these cantatas represent the "first Essays of this kind, written for the most part several years ago, as an Experiment of introducing a sort of composition which has never been naturaliz'd in our language." The writer goes on to discuss the disadvantages of settings in Italian - a language which is not generally understood, and the desirability of the "sister arts" being more closely allied. It concludes:

"He (Pepusch) is desirous that the Publick shou'd be inform'd that they are not only the first he has attempted in English, but the first of any of his works publish'd by himself, and as he wholly submits them to the Judgment of the Lovers of this Art, it will be a pleasure to him to find that his endeavours to promote the Composing of Musick in the English Language, after a new model, are favourably accepted." 7.

These pious and apparently unpretentious comments were no doubt very carefully conceived. The chief selling point - that this sort of chamber cantata had not been done in English, may well be true; but the elements of recitative and aria were not new to the language. Already the anonymous writer is playing on the disadvantages of performance in Italian, and as Pepusch presumably concurred with the sentiments even if he did not write the Preface, it

illustrates that he was shrewd and sensitive to this aspect of English taste even at this early stage when "The Beggar's Opera" was still a long way off. Certainly a foreigner who apparently spoke English imperfectly, yet had the wits to make a virtue out of his English settings was very shrewd indeed!

An examination of the set reveals that whatever his limitations in actual speech, Pepusch was capable of setting an English text very well - if these really are his initial efforts they reflect considerable credit on him - and they often succeed in sounding genuinely idiomatic, and at times Purcellian. In general we may observe his tendency to write melismas on key words in a similar way to Purcell, words which in this set include "fav'rite," "enchanting," "happy," "passion," "blow," "charming," and "blessing." Sometimes we find obvious examples of word-painting, including treatments of "hovering," and "flowing" (Ex.9) A somewhat more subtle example of this is found in his treatment of the word "chain," with ponderous, dragging syncopation, and long slow notes. (Ex.10 (a)). Perhaps he found this word particularly evocative. Certainly we find another setting of the same word in the fifth cantata of the second set which is particularly effective, the leaping nature of the passage, and the way in which the A-sharp and G-sharp are pressed down chromatically to F providing quite a vivid image. (Ex. 10 (b)). Other features which seem characteristically English include drooping pairs of notes of the sort found on "gently" in Ex.11, and expressive intervals such as the augmented fourth on the words "ease the pain," which are reminiscent not only of Purcell,

but of other English composers including Pelham Humfrey.

It seems clear that Pepusch derived quite a lot from his knowledge of the music of Purcell, Blow and Humfrey. Melismatic settings of key words are, of course quite international, yet he seems characteristically English in his choice of words and their treatment. One may derive the same type of example from the second set of cantatas. Notice the similarity of style between Ex.12 (a) by Pepusch and 12 (b) by Handel, and consider their resemblance to many a Purcell setting. Exs. 12 (c) and (d) illustrate two instances where Pepusch also singled out "fly" as the appropriate word for this treatment. Ex. 12 (e) illustrates another favourite choice - the word "joy," and the rather deliberate anticipation of the final B-flat may also remind us of Purcell. It must however be pointed out that Handel and Purcell choose the same word rather more frequently than Pepusch; so while we may feel certain that on arrival Handel picked up a number of characteristics from Pepusch, this does not alter our impression that the former became well-acquainted with a considerable amount of English music. Pepusch is therefore a partial intermediary for the first few years after Handel's arrival.

The argument that the choice of the same word is a significant indication of influence between two composers may appear unconvincing, since common sense often determines the word on which emphasis will be placed. The existing evidence is by no means conclusive, but we may note that while Purcell and Handel often tend to treat "fly," "glorious," "joy,"

"warbling," and "wonders" melismatically or by repetition, Purcell tends, for example to avoid writing melismas on the word "praise;" whereas Handel often chooses to do so. Such an example serves to remind us that there are often plenty of alternatives, and that similarity of treatment in this context may, after all be of some significance.

One stylistic feature often found in Handel's music is the hemiola, and this is such a favourite device with English composers that one is tempted to regard it as an example of English influence. That one hesitates to do so is due to the fact that it occurs frequently in continental music. Chronologically, however, the first impression may be correct, and the matter has been examined by H. Wintersgill, who refers to it as Handel's "Two length bar." ⁸ It appears that Handel did not use this device before his first visit to England in 1710. On his return to Hanover he composed thirteen chamber duets, said to show the influence of Steffani. Similar works by Steffani contain the device, but to nothing like the same extent, and Steffani's music was known to Handel before his English visit. The implication would therefore appear to be that Handel picked up the device in England, and Wintersgill suggests that the examples in Steffani's music served to remind Handel of the use of it in England. The suggestion is borne out by the fact that from 1713 onwards we find that it occurs in practically everything Handel composed. Wintersgill points out that Italian and German composers used it mainly as a means of lengthening the cadence rather than as a "feature" rhythm - or an essential rhythmic element in the phrase. He suggests that it does not

occur often enough in continental music to be considered as an idiomatic point of style, but that English music is full of it. The argument is endorsed in general terms by Winton Dean.

The use of this device in the two sets of cantatas composed by Pepusch is consistent. The English Cantatas contain four arias in triple time, while the second set has three. In every case hemiolas occur. While it is possible that the use of this device influenced Handel, the facts as stated above suggest that he knew English music in which it occurred some years before. It would, however seem likely that Pepusch was influenced by English music in respect of his use of this device.

Although the Pepusch cantatas do not afford many specific comparisons with Handel's music, it is not hard to accept that they were known to him. A comparison of two pieces of recitative, one from No.5 of "Six English Cantatas," the other from Handel's "Acis and Galatea" show similarities of style and feeling, and both are expressive and effective settings of English. (Ex.13 (a) and (b)). Let us now turn from the question of influence to a more comprehensive account of these cantatas.

The six English Cantatas all have titles, and with the exception of Number 3 which has no initial recitative, all consist of recit.-aria-recit.-aria. The scoring varies, and is as follows:

No.1 - "Island of beauty," continuo.

No.2 - "Alexis," continuo.

No.3 - "The Spring," with violins.

No.4 - "Miranda," with violins.

No.5 - "Corydon," with Flute.

No.6 - "Chloe," with strings and Oboes.

The second set are unnamed, and all follow the scheme already mentioned, except that Nos. 1 and 5 do not begin with a recitative. The first four are for continuo and flute, while Nos. 5 and 6 use strings and trumpet. With one exception, all the arias are in D.C. form. Like much of his secular vocal music, these are most attractive works, his arias displaying a genuine melodic gift. The style varies, from the ornate aria in "Alexis" which is alluded to by both Burney and Hawkins, (Ex.14 (a)), to simple melodies which seem more indebted to the English tradition. The short-winded sprightly minor writing found in an aria from No. 3 of the second set, which makes effective use of ten-bar phrases sounds very English, (Ex.14 (b)). One may also compare the rhythm and character of "Shepherd, this I've done to prove thee" from "Chloe" with "Fear no danger" from Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas." We see Handel responding to the same influence in "Queen of Summer" from "Theodora," (Ex.15 (a) - (c)). The recitatives are generally most competent - no mean achievement in a foreign language - but lacking the eloquence found in the work of some English composers. We may, however note a few exceptions. Ex.16 from No.1 of set 2, with its diminished seventh harmony, its use of tonal changes, expressive intervals and contrasts of movement, catches the text very well, and may remind us of Blow, Purcell or Humfrey. That Pepusch was influenced by different styles, and shows awareness of the distinctions is partly borne out by the fact that other features like structure and scoring are

consistent in this respect. For example, cantata No.5 from the second set uses strings and trumpet - typical of the Purcell - Croft ode, and the final aria, (Ex.17,) uses just the sort of vocal part and word setting that we would expect in this context. The feel of it is quite different from say, "Alexis" which both in vocal style and scoring is more like an Italian cantata. This impression is borne out by another set of cantatas or odes which survive in manuscript in the Royal College of Music. The eight are as follows:

"No no, vain world."

"Wake Thy Harmonious voice."

(Words by J.Hughes, for the marriage of Ld.Cobham to Anne Halsey.)

"Brittanicus."

"Vorrei scuoprir."

"Menaleas once."

"S'io peno e genu."

"Twas on the Eve."

"To joy the Triumph's Ode."

(Prince of Wales's Birthday,1715-16.)

The first seven display more variety in both scheme and style. Nos. 1 and 2 have a duet-aria-aria-duet pattern, while Nos. 3 - 6 each have two arias and No. 7 three. In every case these are interspersed with recitatives, which sometimes begin the work. Apart from one duet, and an aria where the indication seems to have been omitted in error, all the items in Nos. 1 - 7 employ D.C. form. Nos. 1, 2, and 7 employ two sopranos, the rest one. No.7, is scored for continuo only, while the rest use strings, generally with oboes and sometimes with flutes as well. No. 3 includes a trumpet. Further variety is employed within the works, for example No. 2 uses strings in the opening

duet, an oboe solo in the first aria, a flute solo in the second, and both oboes in the final duet.

As suggested, the style-consciousness of the composer is particularly noticeable in this set, since the two with Italian texts consist only of two arias and recitatives, and confine themselves to a string accompaniment. Most with English texts employ other instruments, and tend to use duets and a varied structure - more like the English ode. The music tends to be more English in character. Consider the dotted melisma of Ex.18 from cantata No.1, or Ex.19 from the opening duet of number 2. Here the treatment of "triumph" and the writing in thirds seems to resemble Purcell quite strongly. The impressive introductory spread of Ex.20 is followed by the smooth falling patterns which fit the text well. Compare this with Ex.21 from cantata No.4, where the accommodation of the words and the nature of the chromatic writing seems quite different. We may incidentally note another effective example of irregular phrases in the final aria of the other Italian cantata, (No.6) (Ex.22).

We have so far made no reference to the last cantata of this set, but from our present point of view, it is perhaps the most interesting of them all. The precise order of events in this work is not at first apparent, since the manuscript pages are incorrectly bound in the wrong order, but in spite of this certain structural features emerge clearly, and the work is obviously a copy of a Purcell Ode. It is on a larger scale than the other items in the set, and catches the rather bombastic character of this sort of work well. It begins with an effective duet - "To joy, to triumph dedicate the day,"

and Ex.23 shows the simple but effective character of the voice parts, which is like many a Purcell duet. It is particularly interesting to note that this material is subsequently repeated on two occasions, providing a unifying factor. This is followed by two duets, then a repeat of the opening material; after which two arias interspersed with recitatives lead to the final repeat. A summary of the scheme and content of this work is given at the end of the chapter. Both structure and music seem based on English models, as illustrated by Ex.24 from the aria "Rise Goddess of immortal fame," and Ex.25 from the duet which follows immediately afterwards - "Over Cambria's distant hills." A novelty is found in "Heavenly muses," where a harp is employed with the orchestra, and is used not only in arpeggio writing, but also doubling the tune. Unlike most of the other items in the set, the piece is through-composed, not being divided into separate numbers, and we find, consequently, that an interesting structure is further enhanced by good continuity.

We now move to the "Songs and Symphonies in Venus and Adonis." This music is charming and of real merit. It is forgotten, one feels largely on account of the text and content, and some of these songs seem worthy of Purcell on one hand and Arne on the other. The English influence is combined with the composer's good grasp of German and Italian style, and he has the same sort of cosmopolitan approach as Handel.

The work has an attractive overture which will be considered later, and in which we find, as Fiske points out the first use in England of the word "Trio" to mean a centre section.⁹ After this we find the hunting song and "Ah sweet Adonis," to which

reference has already been made. The reader is referred to the scheme given at the end of this chapter, which shows the layout of the work, and which makes it possible to grasp the overall plan and identify the numbers to which reference is made without undue repetition. Two other songs, "Cease your vain tiezing," and "Chirping warblers," have also been mentioned in connection with Handel. "With her alone I'll live and die," is charming, and also English in style, with its long melisma on "fly," (Ex.12c) and the repetitions of "Pursue." It has something in common with Arne's "When daisies pied" in terms of general style and feeling. An aria of more spirited and fiery type is "Cupid bend thy bow," which like a number of others we shall consider contains an effective and fairly elaborate instrumental accompaniment, (Ex.26). Consisting of rhythmical string writing, this provides effective support for the leaping and dotted voice part; and a good contrast is found in the adagio middle section, (Ex.27). Similarly, "How silly's the heart of a woman," makes effective use of a good deal of unison writing which abandons the continuo altogether for longish sections, (Ex.28). The same device is found in "Thus the brave." The following duet, "Farewell Venus" is simple but very effective with its overlapping entries, and it flows from the composer's pen with ease and charm, (Ex.29). The solo for Mars, "Beauty now alone shall move him" makes use of three-bar phrases, and we find Pepusch using the same device on other occasions, an example being "What heart could now refuse him," where it occurs with much greater persistence. The song "How pleasant the Sailor's life passes" in "Perseus and Andromeda," which

is sometimes said to be by Pepusch also has the same basis, but Fiske suggests that this is not by Pepusch at all.¹⁰ "Gentle slumbers," in contrast, is extremely regular and static. Several sections of about ten bars occur which are confined to tonic harmony. This attempt to catch the static nature of the text is potentially a good idea, but seems a little boring, (Ex.30). As may be seen from the summary in the appendix, all these movements are in D.C. form, even the duet, although in this case the repeat is written out. The vigorous duet "O believe me," (Ex.31) has the same sort of leaping parts as "Cupid bend Thy bow," and leads to a fine contrast with "O welcome gentle Death," with its rather pathetic duet between flute and voice, which seems to have echoes of Blow and Purcell, (Ex.32). The end of the work, however, is strikingly different from Blow's setting of "Venus and Adonis," and consists of a vigorous and bitter aria "Let ev'ry tender passion feel hence forth like mine the Lover's Hell," (Ex.33). The minor key, the vitality of the rhythmical accompaniment with its unison sections, and the leaping voice part combine to produce an effective aria. The work as a whole contains some of the composer's most satisfactory music, and illustrates his flair for the theatre very well.

There is also a full score of the work, to be found in the Royal College of Music, and this contains some extra material and information, although the main bones of the work are found in the printed songs and symphonies. Perhaps the most important omission in the latter is the final chorus, and an instrumental ritornello. The former makes a most satisfactory conclusion to the work and is important. Some of the songs in the manuscript version are in different, generally lower keys,

and there are more indications given for performance, which are helpful and interesting. They make it clear that when oboes and strings were used there was a solo-tutti arrangement to alternate between strings with and without oboes, and it also appears that the solo violin was similarly used. Directions indicate the use of a solo oboe, and indicate that on one occasion the flute is to double the voice part. *f* - *p* markings occur in profusion. These indications suggest that the scoring was much less haphazard than the printed songs and symphonies might suggest, and as the work is presumably typical, this version gives useful indications about performance at this time. The solos of Mars are transcribed for bass in this version, and there is a short ensemble. There are many other minor differences, but nothing else of material significance. A point of interest is found in "O welcome, gentle death." Fiske comments ¹¹ that the obligato "appears to be a recorder part," and although in this context it does not lie well for the instrument, this would seem a reasonable assumption. However, as he later points out, the part in the manuscript score is marked "Flute Almain."

The final chorus makes a satisfactory conclusion and the extract shown as Ex.34 may be compared with Ex.35 (a) from another piece of simple chorus work which was either composed or arranged by Pepusch. These items are generally similar to the chorus writing found in the odes of Purcell, and Ex.35 (b), from the same chorus, with its dotted points of imitation, is even more idiomatic. These examples contrast well with the complexity of Pepusch's motets, and confirm the impression that he was style-conscious and versatile.

"Apollo and Daphne" begins with an overture in two movements, and is composed of a sequence of recitatives and arias with two duets and no choruses. It is interesting to note that on two occasions he makes use of accompanied recitative, and this attempt at eloquence is quite effective. The general quality of the arias is high, and one of the best would appear to be "How happy are we," which is also used in "Myrtillo." Ex.36 illustrates the delightful freshness of this item. Another most successful aria with the same sort of charm is "Fair blooming creature," which might not have disgraced Handel. The E-flat of the first bar is most effective, and Fiske points out that Bach employs virtually the same device in the minuet of the first Brandenburg concerto, (Ex.37). It is interesting to note that when the voice enters, the continuo is abandoned, and only voice and violin are heard - a device which Pepusch employs with considerable success on other occasions. Perhaps the fresh simplicity of these items did have some influence on Handel -certainly "As when the dove" from "Acis and Galatea" has something of the spirit if not the letter of Ex.37, and one might make a similar comparison between "O ruddier than the cherry" and "Where Cupid's bow is failing" from "Apollo and Daphne." Certainly the Pepusch items do give evidence of English influence, and one example of this is the duet "No more deny me," (Ex.38), with its springy quality and running thirds on "fly." The aforementioned "Cupid's Bow" also contains a melisma of broken thirds on "triumph" which is also characteristic.

The work contains some effective contrasts of style, in spite of the domination of aria and recitative. The

piquancy of the text of "When I was a maiden of twenty," (Ex.39), is not thrown away by the composer; and contrasts well with, for example, the beauty of "Tender hearts to ev'ry passion," (Ex.40), which is nevertheless equally direct, and appealing. Later in the work, after a short instrumental interlude, the aria "Fairest Mortal" affords a pleasing example of obligato technique between solo violin and voice. The final duet is like many a movement by Purcell in terms of key, implied tempo, rhythm and the style of the accompaniment. It creates much the same impression as, for example Purcell's chorus "Come ye sons of art" and "Blessed be the day" from Handel's "Susanna." (Ex.41).

The reader is here referred to p.10, and reminded that according to Burney, airs by Bononcini and Scarlatti were employed in "Thomyris." How far these were "arranged" is not clear, but in this context we need not in any case discount the contribution of Pepusch. Handel's great choruses in "Israel in Egypt" are not denigrated because the actual material is taken from another composer, and it is clear that at this time the concern lay in producing something apt rather than original. The material has, in any case been removed from its original context and appropriately wedded to new words in a different language. We may pose the interesting question of whether this occurred in any other theatre works by Pepusch. Apart from works of the "Beggar's Opera" type, there seems no evidence of this, and perhaps the fact that the debt is known and acknowledged in this work and the pasticcios renders further borrowings improbable.

Eight "additional songs" from "Thomyris" have survived, two

of which are duets. The two songs with continuo accompaniment, "How blest is the soldier" and "No more let sorrow pain you," are similar in general style and rhythm - foursquare but effective, with leaping parts, and melismas on words like "joy" and "glory," (Exs. 42 and 43). Variety is provided by some sort of tonal shift on each new phrase which fits the text well. The other items deserve attention and are delightful music; although true to the period, formulae encountered elsewhere tend to recur. For example, "Rouze ye brave" contains the same sort of rhythmical string accompaniment and unison sections as "Let ev'ry tender passion feel" from "Venus and Adonis," while "To live and know the joys of love" has much in common with "Ah sweet Adonis" in terms of rhythm and texture. The duet "When duty's requiring" seems particularly effective. The flowing 12/8 accompaniment, with its well-grouped parts forms a delightful background to the vocal dialogue, and the tonal scheme works well. For example, (Ex.44 (a)) the way in which the first phrase drops from G to E-minor on the repeated words at the end of the phrase, the answering phrase adopting a similar procedure from C to A. Notice also the effectively interlocked parts in the following phrase, which wind up in the dominant (Ex.44 (b)). These and other deft touches combine to make up a piece of writing which is highly professional. But technical considerations apart, this music has the additional catalyst which identifies it as music as opposed to a display of technical competence, and much of Pepusch's other music is of similar merit. According to Burney, Pepusch composed recitatives to "Thomyris," which are apparently lost.

The surviving songs from "Myrtillo" are another group which show English characteristics. The charming "How happy are we," which we have mentioned and quoted in connection with "Apollo and Daphne," (Ex.36), is much more English than Italian, and reminds one of Arne in both style and quality. "Soft desires" contains the crotchet-minim rhythm often associated with English music, and also contains an example of the abrupt shift from minor to major often found in English folk songs such as "The Miller of the Dee." Ex. 45 illustrates that this item is quite a gem. The appoggiaturas found in the latter part of this song are rather similar to those found in "Prepare, O Love" from the same work, (Ex.46 (a)), and with its rather slow triple time, this in turn may remind one of some English hymn tunes, such as Henry Carey's "Surrey," which belongs to the same period, (Ex.46 (b)). Although not necessarily significant in respect of Pepusch, we may notice the same characteristics found in Handel's music written in England. "O Father, whose Almighty Power" from "Judas Maccabaeus" has quite a lot in common with "Surrey," (Ex.46 (c)) while Handel's hymn tune known as "Cannons" has in it the abrupt minor-major shift already illustrated. (Ex. 47).

"The lover for the favour presses" is interesting because it bears an obvious similarity to "Tis woman that seduces all mankind" from "The Beggar's Opera." (See Ex.48 (a) and (b)). According to Kidson, the latter is an "Anglo-Scottish song," the tune being thought to be by J. Clarke. It is in volume three of "Pills to Purge Melancholy," of 1719, four years after "Myrtillo" and nine before "The Beggar's Opera." The similarity is not sufficiently strong for us to question the

origin, but the two are, perhaps similar enough for us to see again an early echo of English style.

Of the other songs which survive, "Save me" from "Camilla" has a lively and effective accompaniment which uses solo instruments in contrast with the orchestra, and a simple but effective voice part, which contrasts well with the animated string writing. "Royal George to Brittain hasting," a song by Dr. Pepusch "on the happy return of His Majesty," gives us another glimpse of Pepusch the opportunist - cashing in on a topical event as so many other composers had done before him. It is nevertheless worthy of attention, being well-written, with a robust vocal line, and a well-contrasted minor middle section which is very much in the tradition of the ceremonial ode. (Ex.49 (a) and (b)).

Attributed to Pepusch in the British Museum Catalogue, the song "Hear me mourning" is described in the printed copy as "in the Mask of Dido and Eneas." Fiske states that nothing survives from this piece,¹² but this would appear to be one item. In the absence of the composer's name one might question whether it is by Pepusch, but there seems no mention in the press of any other setting save that of Purcell. Fiske mentioned only two later ones - by Arne in 1734 and Hook in 1771. Two other surviving songs, "O Happy Myrtillo" and "Now come Love's plagues" from "The Sequel to the Play of Love" are attractive, but of no special interest here.

We may remind ourselves that Pepusch also produced catches, including "Long live our King and Queen," "Enlivening Music" and "Aeternum Patrem." They are attractive, and apparently of little significance to us, but we may note out of interest

that "Enlivening Music" begins with the same harmonic formula as the keyboard ground. (Ex.50).

It seems reasonable to assume that the influence of Pepusch on Handel was largely that of English music, the only element of his style with which Handel was unfamiliar; although the latter was also acquainted with the music of Purcell, Blow, Croft and others. Some evidence of the English influence on Pepusch is seen in his piece for St. Cecilia's day - "An Entertainment called the Union of the Three Sister Arts." It is a copy of the sort of ode popular at the time and bears interesting similarities without being in any way slavish. The reader is referred to the summary of contents given at the end of the chapter. After a fine overture, we find an assortment of recitatives, arias and ensembles which correspond to the traditional concept quite well. Two of the items in this piece, the introductory "Behold from my celestial throne" and "Now rise we to the mansion of the Blest" may be best described as arioso. The first, of thirteen bars, four bars of which are introduction, and accompanied by continuo only, progresses from E-minor to B-minor, with the following aria providing a bright contrast in A. The second example is accompanied by strings, (Ex.51). The initial aria is both attractive musically and traditionally appropriate, with lively melismas on "harmony" and "joy," and the sympathetic repetition of "echo," (Ex.52). It is followed by "When the batt'ring Graecian thunder" in which the simple, direct and robust style seems typically English, (Ex.53). It lacks the smoothness of the Italians and perhaps has something of the feeling of Purcell's "Arise ye subterranean winds" from

"The Tempest," or "Ye blustering brethren" from "King Arthur," or even Handel's "O ruddier than the cherry." The middle section of this aria makes a smooth contrast, and is worked sequentially to a good climax. "Conq'ring heroes" and "Life and nature," (Ex.54) resemble many a Purcell setting with their sprightly vocal lines, while the other duet "By Great Caecilia's influence fired" contains much writing in thirds which is also similar. This item has a ritornello-type accompaniment which swings along in fine style, (Ex.55 (a) and (b)). Even more typical is the chorus which follows, "Poetry and Painting with Musick joyn" which is basically harmonic in character, chorus and solists being used antiphonally, (Ex.56)). We can think of many examples in which a solo is followed by a chorus on the same material, but this is the slightly more unusual type in which the soloists are actually integrated with the chorus. This is a method which was used by both Purcell and Handel on many occasions, and in this sort of context it is a genuine English characteristic. We see Purcell using it in "Whilst music and verse" from "Ye Tuneful Muses" of 1686, and in "Heaven's great rugwith" from "Bonduca;" whilst Handel employs a similar technique in "O Fatal Day" from "Saul," and "To Dust his glory" from "Samson." Again there is the interesting possibility that Pepusch may have been a partial intermediary, although in view of the relative incidence of this device in Purcell and Pepusch, the probability does not seem great. It does however help to illustrate our point about Pepusch's adoption of English style.

Another interesting similarity is found in the sort of quick simple homophonic chorus which is often in triple time

and D-major. The parts tend to be simple, often doubling the voice. None of these attributes are unique to England, but if we bear in mind the difference between this simple chorus writing and the sort found in German music, and remember that the Italians made little use of the chorus in the context of the theatre, it is not unreasonable to regard the point as significant. Lully used simple choruses, but England was nearer and more familiar than France for both Handel and Pepusch. An interesting triple comparison may be made between Purcell's "Come ye Sons of Art " from the 1694 ode, "Blessed be the Day that gave Susanna birth" from Handel's "Susanna," and "In grateful chorus let us raise" from the Pepusch "Entertainment," (Ex.57 (a) - (c)).

Let us now turn to another Pepusch ode, "Britannia and Augusta," An examination of the scheme provided in the appendix reveals that after the overture we have a combination of arias and duets, almost all of which are in D.C. form which Pepusch, like his contemporaries, used a great deal. This is a much less direct copy of Purcell. Structurally it is far less interesting since the chorus is not used at all and there is little variety of structure. The recitatives seem much less distinguished than some of those in the cantatas, and are competent rather than inspired. Some of the actual music is, however quite effective.

The first aria seems of particular interest on account of the way the music fits the text, and it shows that Pepusch was quite receptive in this respect, (Ex.58 (a) and (b)). The stylish opening with its three-bar effect, cool minor writing and springy rhythm catches the spirit of the thing well, while

the change of feeling at "turn to tender sighs thy joy" is reflected in the change to the relative major and the smoother line. The drooping pairs of notes on "tender sighs" fit well, and like the imitative treatment of "gentlest echoes" reminds one of earlier English composers. A nice touch in connection with this phrase is the following imitative echo on "fainting dying" which is a tone down and touches on B-flat minor, and this is closely followed by an expressive diminished fourth on "sorrow."

"Lands remote" has a bass which seems rather dry, based on the same sort of falling fourth figure which was used at the beginning of the previous aria, and far more attractive is the duet "To shade his peaceful grave," in which voices and instruments share the material in imitation. Here "growing" and "hovering" are set to the same music, which helps to illustrate that this is the sort of piece in which the composer is basically more interested in the music than the text, (Ex.59). Apart from the imitation, the interest lies mainly in the way that rising scales are answered by falling ones, and musically the movement is most pleasing. "Lofty birth and honour shining" makes a good contrast with its lively accompaniment over a quaver bass which recurs in a ritornello-like manner between the vocal phrases, (Ex.60). After "Preserve O Urn" - a simple, short aria in E-flat, there is a duet, "Gently smooth thy flight" - a long movement with some good antiphonal writing between the voices with continuo, the strings and the oboes, (Ex.61).

Compared with the theatre music, the church music which Pepusch composed is rather uneven in quality, and at times it

is difficult to conceive that it came from the same pen. The large scale work which survives is the orchestral magnificat which was presumably composed for the Duke of Chandos. On what was it modelled? The two works of this sort which we may assume that Pepusch knew are the Te Deum and Jubilate in D by Purcell and Croft's Te Deum. The techniques employed are naturally similar, but since the text is different it is vain to seek the sort of comparisons which can be made between the Purcell and Croft settings and Handel's Utrecht Te Deum.

The Pepusch Magnificat begins with 105 bars of introduction for strings and oboes - rather nondescript in character with much writing in thirds. The following section, "My soul doth magnify" adds chorus and trumpet, and here the groupings and imitations are well-organised. The general style reminds one of both Purcell and Handel, and with its short-winded block harmonic contrasts and melisma on "rejoice," it is English rather than German, (Ex.62). "For he hath regarded" is a soprano solo, the accompaniment of which, for violins with interlocked suspensions, is reminiscent of a Corelli trio sonata. The chorus which follows uses an active accompaniment - a device which contrasts well with that already experienced which was mainly homophonic with interspersed sections of imitative writing. The obvious weakness in this section is the monotonous repetition of one pattern of accompaniment, (Ex.63). The alto solo "For He that is mighty" alternates voice and violin duet writing over continuo accompaniment. The following chorus, with its fanfare-like passages of dotted rhythms for

strings and block chorus parts alternating with fairly elaborate imitative writing (Ex.64) shows that Pepusch had learned the same lesson from the English composers as Handel; namely the free interchange of textures within the chorus for variety and dramatic contrast. The seventh section for alto and bass is a most successful unit in which, as in his theatre works, the composer exploits the contrast and dramatic appeal of unison writing. The drop of a diminished fourth on "put down," backed up by the string descent is most apt, as is the broad spread on "exalted," (Ex.65). The sequential treatment of "humble and meek," with the apparently hesitant steps is very effective. Interest is then increased by a new figure which tends to reverse the movement but is nevertheless appropriate. This is used in close imitation against a whole series of descending string scales, (Ex.66). This intensification sustains the interest very well. An interesting feature of the work, examining it as we do here after a long series of D.C. arias in the theatre works, is that it is naturally through-composed and that the scheme is both well-balanced and appropriate. The duet "He remembering his mercy," with its cello solo is most appealing, (Ex.67), while the final chorus, with its massive opening followed by elaborate imitative writing again suggests that Handel and Pepusch reached similar conclusions as a result of their study of English music. (Ex.68 (a) and (b)).

The Magnificat emerges as a more than competent updated copy of earlier settings of the same type, and it is a pity that the level of inspiration is not consistently high. How much church music he actually produced cannot be determined, but it does seem that on occasions his heart was elsewhere.

Three verse anthems and two motets survive. Two of the anthems have an accompaniment for continuo only, and do not contain any verses involving more than a single voice. Clearly therefore no use is made of the elaborate counterpoint and groupings found in the anthems of Purcell. The solo parts contain some attractive and florid writing which, however compares very badly with the quality of material found in the anthems of Purcell. The opening verse of "I will magnify Thee, O God my King" is 119 bars long, and has an overall ternary structure. The material of the opening occurs twice more, and although this provides a unifying factor, it does tend to be monotonous. Modulation occurs frequently to D and also E-minor, but the depressing fact is that the prevailing tonality - G-major - is the same in every section. This is surprising, and may be thought to indicate a very low level of interest on the part of the composer. Little use is made of the full choir, but then this is not untypical of the English verse anthem. It is hard to see why Pepusch was so unenterprising in respect of the tonality of "I will magnify Thee." He was obviously well-aware of the importance of a good key scheme; and we must conclude that he categorised these works as potboilers. This explanation is not however fully satisfactory, since it is as easy to write in one key as another, and a few tonal contrasts can help to improve music which is lacking in inspiration.

Occasionally we find places where the words seem awkward or badly accentuated, such an example being the anacrusic setting of "I will magnify" at the start of the anthem. The emphasis is placed on "and" at "and I will praise Thee for

ever and ever," and on "of" at "and talk of Thy power." Once again the anacrusic setting of "Praise" at "Praise Him in the firmament of His power" seems rather unnatural, as does the accent on "of." (See Exs. 69 (a) - (c)). Apart from the few examples cited, however, his settings of the English text seem appropriate, even in the context of recitative. In addition to being repetitive, some of the material of "I will magnify Thee" seems rather trivial, but the recitatives are quite stylish. The fifth section with fanfare - like dotted passages to depict praise and its breaks in the vocal line which seem to imply imitation and dialogue with the organ, comes off well, (Ex. 70). The writing for full choir, although simple, is dignified and appropriate, and the preceding alleluias are sprightly and successful (Ex.71).

There are in fact two anthems by Pepusch which begin "O Praise the Lord." Let us consider first the solo anthem of that name. It begins very effectively, and the melismatic treatments of "praise" "gracious" and "glory," as well as the hemiolas are obviously based on the tradition of the English anthem. Again one may feel that there is far too much use of triple time. It is used for the two long verses which follow and tends to be rather dull and lacking in dignity. The other anthem is far superior in quality and is much more typical of the verse anthem than the two already considered. It was composed for the Duke of Chandos. The full choir is used effectively at the opening of the work, (Ex.72) and the harmonic opening quickly gives way to some good voice grouping which is also typical. A short recitative leads to a trio, which affords a change of both tonality and style (Ex.73).

After a further recitative, this is followed by a verse in A-minor based on springy dotted rhythms, (Ex.74). The final chorus comes off well, and the opening of this section may well have influenced Handel, (Ex.75). It seems organised on the same basis as some of the material encountered in the Chandos anthems. Obviously this sort of texture and contrast is widespread, but the works were for the same patron and situation, composed at a time when Handel would certainly be looking out for models on which to base his anthems.

Pepusch wrote at least two motets, "Beatus wir" and "Laetatus sum," which are of beauty and merit. They are indebted to traditional motet style, and the reader is referred to examples 76 and 77 which are typical of their content. It may be, however that they tell us more about the composer than one might at first suppose. As we study Pepusch, the feeling grows that he had little love for Italian operatic style, although it is clear that he admired the work of the Italian violin school very much. We may also assume that he knew and loved the music of Carissimi - perhaps these two works help to confirm the impression. The conclusion regarding Italian opera is reached for several reasons. Firstly, as we read of his reservations about contemporary music¹³. we may think of the oft-repeated suggestion that he was not an admirer of Handel. If this is true, we need not necessarily assume it to have been based purely on spite and jealousy. Secondly, it is clear that his music for the stage is generally an imitation of English theatre music, and that he makes little attempt to imitate Italian style. His earliest essays in recitative in this country, the English cantatas, were in English, and the accompanying arias were just as often English as Italian.

Thirdly we should consider his ultimate association with "The Beggar's Opera" which may or may not have been pure opportunism, but which in any case shows an awareness of the deficiencies of Italian opera for the English. Finally we see that his imitation of the English verse anthem, which was indebted to both French and Italian influence was to say the least of it half-hearted, while comparatively speaking his motets seem to have been written with both care and skill. They reveal both love and understanding of the old motets and may be regarded as a tribute to the Renaissance. They are much less rigidly based on modern tonality and show more modal characteristics than most Restoration anthems of the same type, and the cadence formula and use of suspensions seem idiomatic of earlier music, even though he does not limit himself by observing strictly the former restrictions of harmony and progression.

"To joy the triumph's Ode."

(2 sop, ob., fl., str., harp)

Duet: "To joy to triumph dedicate the day." C.4/4.

Duet: "Rise, Goddess of immortal fame." A-min.4/4.

Duet: "O'er Cambria's distant hills." F.3/4.

Repeat of item 1.

Recit: "Fame."

Aria: "Happy morn such gifts bestowing." B-flat.3/8.

Recit: "Cambria."

Aria: "Heavenly Muses." G.4/4. (This movt. with fl. & harp)

Recit. Accomp. "Fame" & "Cambria."

Repeat of item 1.

"Songs and Symphonies in Venus and Adonis."

(B.C. indicates continuo without str. D.C. form unless otherwise stated)

Overture: Allegro/Adagio/Minuet and Trio.

"How pleasant is ranging the fields." B-flat.6/8.

"Ah sweet Adonis." D.4/4.

"With her alone I'll live and die." A.3/8.

"Swain thy foolish sport give over." E.3/8.

"Cease your vain tiezing." C-min.3/8.

"Cupid bend Thy bow." F.4/4.

"How silly's the heart of a woman." A.4/4.

Duet: "Farewell Venus." C.3/4. Mainly B.C.

"Beauty now alone shall move him." B-min.3/8. B.C.

"Gentle slumbers." B-flat.2/4.

"Chirping warblers." D.4/4. With "Flagelletto." No. D.C.

"What heart could now refuse thee?" A.3/8.

"Thus the brave from war returning." B-flat.4/4.

"On love what greater curse can fall?" C.4/4.

Duet: "O believe me." F.4/4.

"O welcome gentle death." E.min.3/2. B.C. & Fl.

"Let ev'ry tender passion feel." C-min.4/4.

"Apollo and Daphne."

(Between each of the items listed below is a recitative.)

Overture. (Strs.) D.4/4 & 12/8.

"How happy are we." D.3/8.

"Feeble Cupid, vain deceiver." G.4/4.

"Fair blooming creature." F.3/4.

"Cease to sooth thy fruitless pain." B-flat.4/4.

Duet: "No longer try me." G.4/4.

"Where Cupid's bow is failing." G-min.4/4.

"When I was a maiden of twenty." F.4/4.

"Tender hearts to ev'ry passion." F.3/4.

Instrumental interlude. D-min.3/4.

"But fairest mortal." A.4/4-3/4.

Aria. (Words apparently omitted.) E.4/4.

Duet: "Nature alone can love inspire." D.3/4.

Additional songs in "Thomyris."

"How blest is a soldier." A-min.2/2.B.C.

"Cares on a crown attending." A-min.3/4.

"Rouze ye brave for Fame and Glory." G.4/4.

"No more let sorrow pain you." G.2/2.B.C.

"Fop with Monkey graces." D-min.4/4.

Duet: "To live nor know ye joys of love." D.4/4.No.D.C.

Duet: "When Duty's requiring, how sweet is obeying." G.12/8.

"Save me." E.6/8.

"Union of the three sister arts."

Overture: (Slow)/(Quick)/largo.

Arioso: "Behold from my celestial throne." E-min.4/4.B.C.

"Now my darling sons rejoice." A.6/8.

"When the battering Graecian thunder." D.2/2.

Duet: "Conqu'ring heroes." G.4/4.

"Life and Nature." A.6/8.

Duet: "By great Cecilia's influence fired." F.6/4.

(D.C. not specified, but probably intended)

Chorus: "Poetry and painting." C.3/4.B.C.+ soloists.

Arioso: "Now rise we." A-min.4/4.

"There all cares and fears are ended." E-min.4/4.

Chorus: "In grateful chorus." D.3/4. Binary.

"Britannia and Augusta."

(Between each of the items listed below is a recitative)

Overture: Adagio/(Quick)/adagio.

"Queen of Cityes." C-min.4/4.

"Lands remote ye loss will hear." G-min.4/4.

Duet: "To shade his peaceful grave." C-min.3/2.

"Lofty birth and honour shining." F.2/2.

"Preserve, O Urn." E-flat.4/4. No D.C.

Duet: "Smoothly wing thy flight." C.4/4.

"Magnificat."

(Scored for strings unless addition stated)

Vivace.3"2.C. Instrumental Intro. + Ob. 104 bars.

"My Soul doth magnify." C.6/4.Chor.+ Ob.& Tr. 52 bars.
"For He hath regarded." 4/4. A-min.Sop.45 bars.
"For behold from henceforth." 6/4.F.Chor.+ tr.& Ob.63 bars.
"For He that is mighty." 4/4.F.Alto.60 bars.
"He hath showed strength." 6/4.C.Chor.+ Tr.& ob. 93 bars.
"He hath put down the mighty." 4/4.G-min.A. & B. 73 bars.
"He hath filled the hungry." 6/4.D-min.Chor.+ tr.& ob.15 bars.
"He rememb'ring His mercy." 6/8.A-min.S.T. B.C.& cello.70 bars.
"Glory be to the Father." 6/4.C.Chor.+ Tr.& ob.74 bars.

"O Praise the Lord."

Chorus: "O Praise the Lord." 4/4.D.32.
Recit:Alto. "Ye that attend." 4/4.D.5 bars.
Verse: "O praise the Lord for he is gracious." 3/2.G.80 bars.
Rec:Alto. "For I know that ye Lord is Great." 3/4.A-min.9 bars.
Verse:Alto. "For Thou, O Lord endureth for ever./ 3/4.A-min.
76 bars.
Chorus: "Praise the Lord O ye House of Israel." 4/4 - 2/2.
D. 3+83 bars.

CHAPTER V. NOTES.

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2. Dean, Winton: "Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques," London, 1959, p.158.
3. Young, P.M.: "Handel," London, 1947, p.24.
4. Flower, N: "Handel," London, 1947, p.111 and Williams, A: "Handel," London, 1901, p.46.
5. Hawkins, Sir J: "A General History of the Science and Practice of Music," Dover Publications, New York, 1963, Vol.II, p.790.
6. Op cit., p.121.
7. B.M., Printed Music, G222 (1).
8. Wintersgill, H.H: "Handel's Two Length Bar," "Music and Letters," 17, 1936, p.1.
9. Fiske, R: "English Theatre Music of the Eighteenth Century," Oxford, 1973, p.56.
10. Ibid., p.86.
11. Ibid., p.57.
12. Ibid., p.58.
13. See Chapter 3, pp.50 and 52.

CHAPTER VI

THE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Pepusch produced a surprisingly large volume of instrumental music, consisting of over 120 violin sonatas, 23 duos, 15 flute sonatas, 30 trio sonatas, 11 works of concerto type plus assorted items of chamber music, and a few harpsichord pieces.

It is pertinent here to refer to the contents and scope of the thesis by H.W. Fred to which reference has already been made. The author deals briefly with the life and influence of the composer, and devotes a short section to the Treatise of Harmony. The rest of the work is devoted to the instrumental music, and he gives much useful information regarding the whereabouts of the material, with a thorough analysis of Pepusch's instrumental style as seen in a sample of the surviving music. About half the space is devoted to a thematic index of the music.

It may be thought that this approach is the only way to tackle a set of over 100 sonatas, but although conducted in a commendably methodical way, and informative in statistical terms, it is not always helpful musically. This is partly due to the fact that in no instance is a complete movement produced as a sample of the composer's work, and partly because many of the characteristics which emerge are features which were typical of the period in general, and which are therefore of no special significance in respect of Pepusch. It is also clear that one could be quite familiar with the incidence of technical features in a composer's output without

having much conception of the most important factor - the actual quality of the music.

According to Fred, 105 of the 127 surviving sonatas have a four-movement scheme, on a slow-fast-slow-fast basis. First and third movements often conclude with Phrygian cadences, while third movements are frequently very short - rather like introductions. Similarly, it is demonstrated that 85% of slow movements are in simple triple time and that the sonatas make no distinction between "da chiesa" and "da camera." Since this thesis is available in print, it is relatively accessible for anyone requiring data of this kind. It is, therefore my intention to take what seems to be the other logical approach - that is to illustrate his output of instrumental music by an examination of selected examples which will be reproduced in a complete, or more complete form. Since Fred gives an account of the layout and condition of the surviving material, this is not dealt with here, and the music quoted is presented in what is intended to be the clearest manner for the modern reader. Modern notation and key signatures are used, and the note values have been halved when this appears to lead to easier assimilation. Although quite a lot of the instrumental music was published, a large number of the violin sonatas were produced for specific patrons, and have therefore remained in manuscript. The significance of this is not lost on Fred who writes:

"Whereas only 42 different sonatas of the 127 were published; it should be noted that 80 of these were written for patrons - 16 each for Mrs. Litton, John Hamilton, Mr. Butler, Mr. Slater and Madam Greggs of Durham. Assuming that these sets, except for Mr. Hamilton's, (11 of which were published), remained in the private libraries of the patrons and were not available for publication, one finds only 16 "available"

sonatas in manuscript which never reached publication. It would appear that Dr. Pepusch enjoyed a fairly high ratio of published versus unpublished works - 42 contrasted to 16. 'Mr. Pepusch's airs for two violins' and 'Dr. Pepusch's Ground with variations' were also published, but these are musically barren pages of training material which are best forgotten." 1.

The fact that there were several editions of some sonatas would indicate that these achieved a popularity which exceeded expectations - the bulk of the material which was actually printed also helps to confirm the impression that his music must have been more popular than some sources appear to indicate. Between 1704 and 1720 many advertisements appear for items by Pepusch, and even more significant is the fact that in 1710 such an advertisement refers to a "pirate" edition of eight sonatas by Pepusch. If the material had not been saleable, it would not have been appropriated, particularly when there was nothing to stop the theft of the music of much more distinguished composers. ² Perhaps the attitude of Burney and the satirist who produced the material quoted on p.60 has coloured our impression of the contemporary attitude to his music. The low opinion of him held by Burney may not have been shared by the silent majority!

Fred points out that, due perhaps to the association of Pepusch with "The Beggar's Opera," one tends to forget that he was somewhat earlier than Handel. Although the following statement regarding the "mainstream of sonata history" may seem a little far-fetched, the following remark by Fred is relevant:

"Although this study indicates that Pepusch cannot be regarded as a Handel or Bach, (who are really of the succeeding generation), his talent as a composer cannot be completely discounted. His refreshing and energetic music, though sometimes pedantic, is not

without merit, and stands in good stead in its position in the main stream of sonata history." 3.

The conclusions which Fred reached at the end of his labours are that Pepusch's violin sonatas were above average in quality for the time and place in which they were written, namely Holland&London, c.1698-1711, that the composer had a good grasp of structure and counterpoint and at times a good melodic sense. He continues:

"The sonatas are frequently based on a single idea, the melodies being ornamented, and supported by harmony in rapid rhythm, which employs suspensions and dissonances, non-harmonic tones, deceptive cadences, and judicious use of altered chords, are well-balanced, energetic and refreshing. The effective bass line, driving rhythm, and contrapuntal texture contribute to the forward impulse and logical purpose in the melody." 4.

It is pointed out that the sonatas represent a fusion of the da chiesa and da camera types, generally follow the traditional four-movement scheme, and that the movements are united by tonality only, all being on one key, save for the third which may also be in the tonic or dominant minor. Form is generally binary or "single" - that is to say, continuous expansion without direct repetition of previously stated material. He states that the sonatas contain no strict fugal writing, and that variation form is used infrequently. Commenting that the sonatas are generally shorter than those of Corelli, Vivaldi or Handel, he suggests that they seem unlikely to attain concert performance very often nowadays, but remarks with some truth that they are suitable for youngsters of limited ability. This is obviously true, and the versatility of these pieces should be borne in mind - some would, for example make good sonatas for descant recorder,

which has a much more limited solo repertoire than the violin. Making some attempt to assess the merit of the music, Fred considers the composer as a melodist, commenting:

"If melodies in any way portray the feelings and character of the composer, we would be inclined to deduce that Dr. Pepusch was of a temperament that was at times sentimental and perhaps even passionate." 5.

He speaks of examples being strong, warm and expressive, and of long singing lines "consisting of free successions of similar and contrasting motives," which result in melodies of energy and feeling. Later we read:

"The contrapuntal texture itself, in consistent rhythmic patterns with its avoidance of repose is what provides the generating source of rhythmic vitality." 6.

Reminding us that slow movements were freely ornamented in performance, he suggests that this accounts for the fact that some of the movements appear rather barren on paper.⁷

We have already read Hughes' comment regarding the "excessive use of sequence," which, he says sometimes becomes tiresome. (p.53). This is undoubtedly true, but pointing out that Pepusch usually avoided long sequences, Fred writes:

"Although shorter sequences are not as tiresome as long ones, we find that Pepusch often took care to further veil the inherent obtrusiveness by slight alteration of the motives in the bass line." 8.

As already suggested, the chief snag with many of the above comments is that they could equally well apply to much of the other music of the period, and one could continue along these lines for some time without really getting much idea of the composer's output. Let us turn to an examination

of the instrumental music with more specific attention to individual items.

The concertos are ten in number if one counts the works bearing this title, although some other items not so-called seem to fall into this category. Fred was unable to obtain the six from Dresden, so these important works are considered for what seems to be the first time. In the discussion which follows, the reader is referred to the summary at the end of the chapter which indicates the scheme, length and scoring of the works discussed.

The concerto in A-minor, found at Tenbury is certainly one of his finest examples, and as it merits discussion in some detail, it is reproduced in full as a sample of the composer's work in this field.(Ex.78). It may be seen to be in three movements, the first of which is in ritornello form with three entries of the main theme, the middle one being in E-minor. The actual material is quite impressive, the initial statement being typical of the period, although the rising tenths in the lower parts which accompany the theme add strength and power which elevates the statement above the typical baroque unison. Similarly, the Neapolitan touch in bar 17 enhances the character of the music, as do the chromatic harmonies of bars 58-60. Of particular interest is the skilful "false entry" of the theme in G immediately before its final appearance in the tonic. (Bar 50). The structure is well-proportioned, and although the material given to the soloist in the episodes is never the same, the work is given unity by the predominance of the offbeat accompanying figure first heard in bar 5. This is heard in dialogue later in the movement.

The slow movement is but 12 bars long, for violins only, and makes an effective chamber-like contrast. The initial tonality is interesting, as it may be seen that the first movement ends on a half-close in A-minor; and that the initial bars of the slow movement proceed to G, F and D-minor before moving back to the half-close in the tonic before the finale.

The last movement swings along in fine style, and a study of the first 19 bars indicates that although it may appear to be a rather boring application of sequence, it is in fact most effective. The initial 4 bar statement is repeated a tone down on G, and begins again on F before breaking into a shorter sequence on a one-bar motive. From this, a one beat figure is taken to provide a further extension. From bars 21 and 75, the violin part is indicated merely as a chord, and it is assumed that the pattern already started was to be continued by the player. I have suggested an appropriate mode of performance in the violin part. The ritornello theme appears five times, in A-minor, E-minor, C, D-minor and A-minor, with four solo sections and a short coda. These sections are all contrasts, but it will be noted that the second and third are united by the presence of fragments of tune in the accompaniment; and that in the latter, as in the first movement, these are used in dialogue between the ripieno violins. Another feature of interest is that there is no continuo bass for the various solo sections. It would appear that Pepusch was by no means slavish in his use of this sometimes inhibiting device. Although no doubt historically

incorrect, the entire work would go well on strings without keyboard. The work seems most satisfactory in terms of content and structure, and well worth performing.

The concerto in G, found at Uppsala and Dresden, for solo violin and strings has the normal four movement scheme. On the whole, one is bound to regard it as one of his less successful works in this genre. The slow movements are attractive enough, but the second and fourth, although containing some quite attractive material, tend to ramble in a rather restless way without being very well balanced in terms of phrase structure. Both are in ritornello form, the first having three complete repeats of the ritornello theme, and a total of five main cadence points in G, D, E-minor, C and G. The overall structure of the movement, as opposed to the phrases, is therefore sound and appropriate. Ex.79 shows how the invention of the composer seems to lapse, descending into rather dry and mechanical writing.

The two concertos found in the Library of Congress are similar to each other in structure, scoring and general quality. Both have four movements and are for strings with no separate solo parts and few solo indications. The first movements are slow and expressive, these being followed by movements of fugato type, similar in style to the overture of the period. (See Ex.80 from the A-minor concerto) The third movement of the A-minor is harmonic, with block contrasts between the orchestra and the two soloists - rather similar in concept to the slow movement of Bach's fourth Brandenburg concerto; (Ex.81) while the slow movement of the D-minor consists of expressive dialogue between the violins over a

quaver bass in the manner of a trio sonata. The finale is dance-like in each case, the second half of the movement being lost in the case of the D-minor.

The fourth of the Dresden concertos, in F, for two solo violins, has its interest centred in the two longish quick movements. These are based on attractive material which lends itself well to dialogue between the two soloists. This may be effectively illustrated by Ex.82, which is the opening of the second movement. The work succeeds quite well in spite of the fact that the episodes are rather dull, consisting of semiquaver figuration which seems to lack genuine inspiration. There are, however five recurrences of the ritornello material, producing a movement which is balanced and coherent. The last movement is similar in structure to the first, while the two slow movements, which are orchestral items are so short that they serve merely as introduction and link.

Some confusion exists in respect of two of these works, since on the microfilm received, a title page for concerto No.6 for solo violin and strings is followed by a similar title for concerto No.7, for two violins, viola, 'cello, bassoon and continuo. Following this is one movement in score for strings, followed by separate parts for four movements which employ the latter six part ensemble. Identification is further complicated by the fact that the musical quotation on the title page for No.6 refers to the first of the six-part movements. Since this apparently identifies the six part work, I have referred to it as number six. The odd movement in score would appear to belong to another work, of which the rest is missing, and which I refer to as number 7.

No.6 is quite different in character to the other items in this set, and dispels any idea that the composer always adopted the same structure and style and traditional scoring. The latter is obviously unusual, with independent parts for bassoon, 'cello and continuo. This ensemble results in some unusual spacings and varied groupings of instruments, and the material ranges from the elaborate to the simple. Ex.83 from the second movement illustrates the way in which elaborate part writing and good grouping combine to provide an interesting texture. Ex.84 from the opening of the third movement shows in contrast the appeal of a simple homophonic texture, which depends on rhythmic vitality and clearcut contrasts.

No.5 in D major begins, after the briefest of introductions with a spirited allegro, (Ex.85). Although the solo-tutti markings imply a grosso type rather than a solo violin concerto, this is not borne out by the dominance of the first violin. More tonal variety might have been provided - all the entries of the main theme appear in the tonic - and again more resource might have been shown in the episodes, but this is still unmistakably "real" music, which comes off well in performance. The slow movement, quoted here as Ex.86 is very short, but like many of his others has great dignity and feeling; while the finale, in the style of a jig, would not disgrace Arne or Boyce. The Arne Jig in G, so often played by embryo pianists, and the finale of Boyce's second symphony are in much the same vein. As shown in Ex.87, this movement is enhanced by clearcut solo-tutti contrasts, and although repetitive, is light-hearted and effective.

The E-minor concerto, (Dresden, No.1), for two solo violins, has much in common with No.4. Once again a short introduction leads to an extended allegro with much dialogue. The second and third movements both contain some striking if predictable examples of chromatic harmony, while Ex.88 illustrates the vitality of the finale.

At Rostock one may find the concerto in D for trumpet and strings, which makes effective use of the natural trumpet in its favourite key of D-major. Here, if the music seems simple, one must bear in mind the limitations of the instrument, and the function of the music which was obviously intended for light entertainment. In style, the piece has quite a lot in common with the Clarke trumpet suite which is often heard nowadays, and once again one gets the feeling that Pepusch deserves more recognition than he receives. The work seems of comparable quality with the Clarke item, and certainly as interesting as the enjoyable Capel Bond and Richard Mudge concertos which have recently been recorded, or some of the indifferent continental trumpet concertos which have latterly been revived. Although basically very simple, the opening movement has considerable nobility, (Ex.89) and is succeeded by a spirited allegro - a long movement containing some effective trumpet writing. Pepusch wisely abandons his trumpet in the slow movement, after which the work concludes with a march and minuet.

We now come to certain other pieces of instrumental music which may for convenience be considered under the general heading of concertos. These are chamber items, very much in

the category of "Performers' music" - a function which generally speaking they fulfil well. The "Sinfonia a 5" is a short three-movement piece for two flutes, two violins and continuo. The first movement is based on imitative dialogue, and seems rather uninspired. The initial imitation results in a static use of tonic harmony for six bars which, coupled with imitation at the same pitch for two equal instruments is boring for the listener. The second movement has far more merit, and makes effective use of block contrasts between the two pairs of instruments. It is a dotted movement, reminiscent of both overture and concerto, and works well, (Ex.90). The finale is a lively movement which is a jig in all but name.

The "Partie Englitaire" employs the unusual combination of three oboes and violin with continuo. Again the first movement seems the weakest - it is march like, rather bombastic and sterile, yet typical of this sort of piece at that time. A six-bar link leads to the 6/8 finale, which has an additional bass part which produces some unusual and interesting crossings and spacings.

The concerto in F (No.2 of the Dresden set) makes use of two flutes and two oboes with continuo and belongs in the category of chamber music rather than concerto. The title is, however still apt because the piece depends for its effect largely on block contrasts between the two pairs of instruments, and is musically very simple. The conventional four-movement scheme concludes with a jig, and the first section of the movement is quoted here to give some idea of the charm and simplicity of the piece, (Ex.91). Once again the piece is musically very simple, and biased towards the performer; and this in the

context of chamber music in the eighteenth century may well be regarded as a virtue.

There is also a charming quintet in F, from the private collection of, and edited by the late Thurston Dart, which is published by Schott. This four movement piece for two recorders and violins plus continuo consists of delightful music. Like No.2 of the Dresden concertos, it makes effective antiphonal use of the two instrumental groups.

I have devoted some attention to all the works available to me in this category, since they are few in number and have not been considered by Fred. We may draw some conclusions from this examination before leaving this group of works. Like some of his other music, his output in this area was of mixed quality, but the best items most certainly do not deserve the neglect they have received. Perhaps the uneven nature of his work was in some measure responsible for the lack of attention his music seems to have received. When movements are unsatisfactory, this is generally due to lack of invention, which prevented him from building on good material with real success. There is much sequence - typical of the best composers of the period, but sometimes he pursues the technique too literally and for too long, and sometimes the progressions seem a trifle crude and square. He assimilated with intelligence the work of preceding composers, and shows variety and imagination in his own work. He ranged from very simple, charming works to items like the F-major concerto (No.7, Dresden) with its complex part writing; and from works for standard combinations of violins to others with interesting combinations of winds. Nos.1 and 7 from Dresden and the

Tenbury concerto seem the ones most likely to interest us today.

The surviving overtures composed by Pepusch can be conveniently examined as a group, as they have features in common, and too much merit to be forgotten. Perhaps the best-known example, that from "The Beggar's Opera," like most of the others is of the French type; although like that of "Messiah," it only has two movements. The jig character of the tune on which the second movement is based gives it a jaunty quality, and although contrapuntal in character it is in no way strict. In spite of the dignity of separate staves in the printed edition, the oboes double the strings. That of "Britannia and Augusta" is of similar type, but it is in four movements, the adagio and fugue being followed by a further slow movement in triple time, and then a presto. All except the fugue are in binary form. This item is apparently for strings alone, although it is probably that in line with normal practice oboes would be employed if available to double violins 1 and 2. "The Union of the three sister arts" ("Ode for St. Cecilia's Day") also has a French overture, this time in three movements.

Of greater musical interest is the overture to "The Wedding." Following the binary dotted opening, there is a fugal movement in which the episodic material consists of independent oboe parts, the instruments running in thirds. It is therefore one of those attractive movements which combine the interest of fugue with the contrast of the concerto. The last movement, Ex.92 is particularly attractive with its falling sequences of scales which are reversed in the second part.

It would seem that the best of the overtures is that of "Venus and Adonis." This has a three-movement scheme, an allegro being followed by a slow movement and then a minuet and trio. Each movement makes effective use of solo oboes, and the general effect is of a concerto. The first movement is typical of a concerto, and the oboes have all the interest in the slow movement. Only the finale reminds us that the piece is an overture, and even then the oboes are featured in the trio section. We have already noted (p.101) that according to Fiske this is the earliest use of the word "trio" to mean a centre section. Exs. 93 (a) - (c), which comprise an extract from the first movement and the whole of the second and third, give a good idea of the piece and demonstrate its high quality.

The trio sonatas, like the concertos, reveal Pepusch as a composer who could produce works of real merit. As one might expect in view of Pepusch's admiration for Corelli, this composer's influence is apparent. Hawkins refers to his love of Corelli, and the reader is referred to chapter VII, p.161. The view is also supported by the fact that Pepusch also produced an edition of Corelli's sonatas.

At least six of the twelve sonatas found at Schwerin have been made available in modern edition, and it appears that the editor, Hoffman-Erbrecht has chosen wisely, selecting the best items in the set. Similarly the A-minor sonata which survives with a number of others at Dresden has been made available by the same editor. In general, attention will be devoted to the items not available in this way.

Again one is reminded of the fluctuations which one finds in his music, which ranges from the dull to the highly

successful. Perhaps, as we have already suggested, he was a man of moods, and like many others did best that in which he was interested. This is suggested by the marked difference in quality between the theatre music and that for church use. As a contrapuntist, it would be reasonable to assume that he would regard church music as a challenge, while dismissing theatre music as frivolous, but this is not borne out by an examination of his output, and in this context we can certainly not accuse him of being obsessed by academic matters. On the other hand, the fact that the trio sonatas are interesting and rewarding is due in some measure to the scope they gave him in respect of counterpoint. Although indebted to Corelli, there are obvious differences, one being that the scoring is more varied. It was no doubt his commercial instinct which encouraged him to suggest on occasions that violins may be replaced by flutes or oboes. As we shall see in the violin sonatas, it is not impossible that this may have had an inhibiting effect on his string writing. In other instances however alternatives are not suggested. He distinguishes between crossflute and "flute" by which one assumes that he means recorder, although it would appear that this often makes little difference to the part, and generally the two appear to be interchangeable, as is the case in respect of oboes. Some of the sonatas involve a solo part for viola da gamba in conjunction with flute and violin, and in another, viola d'amore is specified. Whether in view of the unusual prescription we assume a real interest in this instrument, or whether it was to satisfy a specific patron we cannot tell.

The stereotyped four movement scheme is employed, and he follows the traditional style in a fairly predictable way.

The first movements often involve dialogue and much writing in thirds over a quaver bass, in which case they are in common time. Some of them, and most third movements are in triple time. The second movements are often in common time with much semiquaver movement and imitation, while the finales are often in jig style. In the manner of Corelli, extensive use is made of binary form, and this is by no means confined to the quick movements. The fourth of the Rostock sonatas has a five movement scheme, and in this sonata the last two movements are named as dances - "Bourree" and "Minuet tempo" - this fact and the irregular scheme almost suggesting that the composer was preserving something of the sonata da camera of Corelli. Handel used a similar scheme in Op.2 No.5, although his last two movements are not actually named as dances.

We have already mentioned in connection with the 5-part sinfonia the tendency of the composer to indulge in identical dialogue between the parts, and sometimes we find this in the trio sonatas. Sometimes, too he tends to be rather unenterprising in respect of harmony, using a good deal of tonic and dominant, relieved only by sequence and changes of tonality. One illustration of this is found in the first part of the first movement of the second of the Schwerin sonatas, (Ex.94). Here the use of I and V is made even more square by the fact that both are in root-position. One can have little doubt that inspiration was running low when this passage was written!

In contrast, other sonatas generate much energy and interest and are obviously good music for both performers and listener. As in other areas, we see that the composer is also good at

writing expressive slow movements. A few examples will give a general idea of the content of these sonatas. Consider, for example the charming freshness of the bourree and minuet which conclude the G-minor Rostock sonata. (Ex.95 a and b). Although simple, the music is not inferior to many dances penned by much more illustrious composers. The "aria siciliana" from the fourth sonata of the same set, with its expressive dialogue (Ex.96) is also of good quality, as is the slow movement of the sixth of the Schwerin sonatas.(Ex.97). The second movement of the same sonata has considerable vitality, and although simple works well in performance, (Ex.98), and the quick fire humour of the last movement is both typical of the composer and appealing, (Ex.99).

The reader who desires a more complete picture of the composer's output in this realm is directed to the existing printed editions, which have been avoided here. To pursue the topic in more detail would involve too much extended quotation and discussion to be justified in this context in view of the availability of the music. Perhaps, however, the fragments referred to are sufficient to show that some of these sonatas are of considerable merit.

Pepusch produced well over 100 violin sonatas - Fred computes 127, and this collection represents the largest group of pieces in the whole of his output. Let us first try to decide why this was so, and what result the reasons had on the music and on his subsequent assessment. The assumption that this emphasis is from choice seems unlikely and dangerous. The dedications which are given with some of the sets, composed for patrons like Gregg and Litton would suggest that these were

commissioned - composed to order as the result of a specific request. It was never necessary for Pepusch to "compose to live," but he emerges as a fairly shrewd business man, and no doubt sought a definite return for his efforts. This opinion is strengthened by an examination of the rest of his output. His concertos, for example, show that he liked variety in terms of scoring, and much of his music though predictable in structure is enterprising in other respects. It seems therefore that he would be unlikely to concentrate on this medium to this degree from choice.

Not all the sonatas are of high quality, although they are all most competent, and the general level is surprisingly good for such a large collection. The occasional lapses of quality are not surprising - who, even in this age of recurring patterns, themes and schemes could really be meaningful in this many sonatas? Pepusch obviously did not possess the ability to produce inspired music indefinitely. Neither for that matter did Handel, who seems to have made most use of borrowed material when in poor health or short of time. The fact that Pepusch abandoned composition many years before his death helps to confirm this view. It is therefore quite likely that he would write himself out of ideas in such a large output, and this explains some of the duller items, while at the same time we marvel that the generally good quality is maintained so consistently.

If this is true, and bearing in mind the remark in the satirical poem mentioned on p.60 , which implies that quantity as opposed to quality was the most noticeable characteristic discernable in his music, we may reasonably ask to what extent

the evaluation may have been the result of this large collection. While contemporaries say little about his sonatas, the remark must surely refer to them, since in no other area would his output be large enough to justify the comment. Certainly it is true that the only published work dealing with his music in our own time, the thesis by Fred, bases an appraisal of his music more or less solely on violin sonatas. It may also be that his business acumen detracted from the actual music. We shall note in connection with the keyboard music the suggestion that some of the sonatas for violin could be played as harpsichord solos, (p.156), which helps to account for their publication in score. Might it not also be possible that the restricted compass of many of the sonatas from about middle C to A a thirteenth higher was the result of a deliberate attempt to make them also available for oboe or even flute? Another possibility to be explored is that some were intended to form a progressive set for someone learning the instrument. The above comments may suggest that these sonatas are of little interest - it is hoped that what follows will show this assumption to be quite wrong.

Let us turn first to the four books of sonatas found in the British Museum, which contain a total of 36. We find that as already mentioned many of the early sonatas are restricted in both compass and technique, while the later ones are more expansive and difficult. Perhaps if they had also been intended for wind this would have been mentioned on the title pages - Pepusch was not a man to miss a good selling point - but whether this is true or not, the increase in difficulty seems too consistent to be accidental, so it may be that they

were intended to have a pedagogical function. Generally the traditional slow-quick-slow-quick scheme of four movements is used, but there are some exceptions. Some of the latter ones contain named dances, often with a variation, and sometimes the scheme is varied by the presence of short sections in contrasted tempi and more rhapsodic writing of fantasia type. We noted the same sort of variety and the presence of dances in the trio sonatas, and these facts suggest that Fred is not wholly correct when he states that the composer makes no distinction between da chiesa and da camera. There would seem to be two distinct types of sonata present in these sets - the traditional four movement one, and another with dramatic contrasts of tempo, generally in the first movement, a more variable overall scheme, and named dances, often with variations. At best we have delightful music, and at worst rather dull results, often caused by the excessive use of sequence, sometimes based on rather square progressions such as I-II. Looking through the sonatas, one feels the structure to be stereotyped, with too consistent use of, for example the jig-type finale. On the other hand, the criticism cannot be wholly valid, since no one would ever conceive performing these sonatas as a set. Sometimes one feels, the composer places undue reliance on the use of rhythmical dialogue between the parts. This is seen in Ex.100 from the second movement of sonata No.31.

To redress the balance, the reader is referred to Ex.101 and 102 from sonatas 23 and 19, two contrasted examples, one of which is contrapuntal, and the other more dance-like. While they are not in the least original, both are attractive and worthwhile. Plenty of tonal variety occurs in the sonatas,

E-flat minor and G-sharp minor occur, both rather extreme for this time, the latter leading to written D-sharp! The quick movements are basically either imitative, or based on dialogue, or dance-like, and as we have already seen the composer writes expressive slow movements.

Sonatas 19 and 20 in this set afford good examples of a more varied structure. No.20 begins with a movement based on contrast between adagio and presto, (Ex.103). This is followed by a named gavotte with variation, (Ex.104) a short slow movement, and then a quick triple movement in ternary form with variation. As one might expect these variations consist of continuous semiquavers in the violin part, and are executed as deftly as one would expect considering the interest in this technique which is apparent in the teaching material which has survived. No.19 has much the same scheme, with a somewhat more contrapuntal second movement and a gavotte finale without variation, which has already been quoted, (Ex.102). The quality of the music seems high, and it may be that the unevenness of the sets and the unpromising nature of the earliest examples have proved off-putting. I am constantly compelled to revise my impression of these pieces, and attempts to convince myself that this is the result of familiarity, an obsession for music of this sort and vested interest have so far proved unconvincing.! I make this point because it is impossible to illustrate comprehensively such a large body of music. Having referred to the limited technical requirements of some of these items, I conclude with Ex.105 from sonata 27, which illustrates that the violin writing is not always pedestrian. The movement

which follows is an attractive allegro of 81 bars which has no repeats - unusually long, and less economical in terms of thought and effort than some of the others. (Ex.106).

In Brussels is to be found a set of 23 sonatas. This set seems more uniform in quality and difficulty than the works just considered. Nos. 1, 3, 5, 10 and 21 are also found in the Library of Congress and Schwerin for flute or recorder, and are available in this form in modern edition edited by Giesbert. The two versions tend to confirm our impression that the composer thought of them as "general purpose" works. Some of the other movements were arranged by Pepusch for harpsichord, with additional "filling," and in our discussion later we shall see that it is probable that all were intended to be treated as keyboard pieces if so desired.

Once again we find that he adopts the standard four movement scheme with a 2/2 2nd movement and a jig type finale. No.4 has an example of a first movement with contrasts of tempo as already noted, while No.10 contains another example of gavotte with variations. No.13 is unusual in having six movements, starting with a movement of chaconne type, "The Grove," presumably of moderate tempo. This charming music is reproduced here as Ex.107. A little echo movement provides additional variety in this sonata, although the idea was common enough at this stage. As in other sets, the composer shows considerable contrapuntal skill, and this is naturally seen to best advantage in the second and last movements. This may, in some measure be illustrated by Exercises 108 and 109. The former is a section of the second movement of sonata No.12, and the latter is the finale from sonata No.19.

Even when the interest is less equally divided, this type of finale often has considerable vitality and interest, and this may be seen in Ex.110, the first section of the last movement of No.12.

Turning to the 16 sonatas composed for Mrs. Litton, available in manuscript in Brussels, we may also be surprised at the generally high quality of the music, and reach the conclusion that the British Museum sets contain items which were certainly not the best to choose for publication. There is greater variety here in respect of the character of the individual movements, and their relative positions in the overall structure. We find, for example that sonatas 13-16 have third movements which are dotted in character. That of No.14, (Ex.111) is unusually attractive for a movement of this kind. Similarly the finales show greater variety - 1-8 use da capo form, and out of the set only four are of the jig type. Four others have the style of bourrees, although they are not named as such, and four of the second movements also fall into this category. The last four finales are in triple time.

It seems in fact that the composer, no doubt wishing to avoid monotony, systematically set about ringing the changes with Teutonic thoroughness! It is, for example certainly no coincidence that the first movements of sonatas 1-8 are in common time, and 9-16 in triple time; whereas the 3rd movements are in triple time for sonatas 1-12, while the last four employ common time. We can see a similar pattern in respect of the quick movements. Nos. 1-8 have second movements in duple time, whereas 9-12 resemble allemandes with their anacrusic starts and semiquaver movement. The last four have

movements which resemble bourrees in general style. The grouping of the finales is equally interesting, 1-4 being in duple time, 5-8 resembling bourrees, 9-12 having jig characteristics, while the last four are in triple time. Although Fred assessed the incidence of particular time signatures, this point seems to have been missed, or was perhaps not regarded as significant, but it nevertheless provides some insight into the composer's methods. He obviously devoted more time and thought to organisation than is at first apparent, and the quality of the best of the music suggests that this businesslike approach in no way inhibited him as a composer. In the same sort of way, he worked through the range of keys in normal use, taking care, however to provide variety by mixing majors and minors. The sequence used in this set is as follows: C, D-minor, E-minor, F,G, A-minor, B-minor, C-minor, D,E, F-minor, G-minor, A, B-flat, B and E-flat. The same sort of sequence is found in the initial sonatas in the British Museum Collections, while the Twenty-three Brussels sonatas show no such pattern. In the case of the former it is not surprising that he tired of this particular game in a set of 36, while the absence of such a scheme in the latter may be due to the fact that some of these sonatas occur in other contexts.

The Litton sonatas have the same attractive features as we have already noted in the other collections, and in Ex.112 and 113 from sonatas 9 and 13, we see again evidence of his ability to write charming and well-balanced allegros. How did he get such a bad reputation? The movements quoted, like many of the others, are attractive and light - not, for example

significantly inferior to Stanley's organ voluntaries which are much performed nowadays, and which were highly regarded at the time. Admittedly the requirements of a violin sonata are different from an organ voluntary, and Pepusch made only half-hearted attempts to peddle these pieces as keyboard items, yet the quality remains good. It is, of course foolish to assume that tastes in the eighteenth century were identical to ours, but one is tempted to reach the conclusion that the real reason for his lack of recognition as a composer may well have been the prejudice of Burney and others, as well as the limited nature of his own interest in composition. Even here one must take care, since his theatre works met with considerable success, and much of his instrumental music was published. We have little data on what was played in private at this time, and it is perfectly possible that more of his music was performed more often than is usually assumed.

The Hamilton sonatas show a similar sequence of keys, but are somewhat less interesting than those we have just considered. Whether the charms of Mrs. Litton provided a catalyst lacking in the case of Mr. Hamilton, or whether Pepusch was preoccupied with other work we cannot tell. Ten of the sonatas in this set also occur in the British Museum collection, which according to the catalogue is thought to derive from 1707-8, and since he could hardly sell Hamilton items which had already been published, we assume that the printed edition came later. It would seem that the original dedication was forgotten unless permission was sought at the time.

There are three other sets of violin sonatas, dedicated to

Mr. Slater, Mr. Butler and Madam Gregg of Durham, each containing sixteen items. These are arranged in the same sort of key sequence already noted. All have a four-movement scheme, and while more limited in terms of variety, give some evidence of the same sort of groupings in the style of the movements employed. In view of the amount of space already devoted to this large volume of sonata material, it is not thought profitable to devote more time to them in the present context. It should, however be noted that, like all the sets they include some very attractive music.

The surviving sonatas for wind are mainly for flute and recorder, and nine of the fifteen occur elsewhere as violin sonatas. At least eight have been printed in modern edition, but the rest have remained unknown. This is a great pity, because from the twentieth century viewpoint, they suit the limitations of the recorder better than the violin. They would form a useful addition to the repertoire of the modern amateur recorder player, who does not find existing material limitless. They lie well for the instrument, and are pleasing music. The works are not discussed in much detail for three reasons. Firstly, because they are mainly transpositions of violin sonatas in sets already discussed; secondly, because some are available in modern editions, and thirdly, because it has been decided to include two complete sonatas here. It is thought desirable to include them as being representative of this bulk of sonata material, and at the same time I have chosen recorder sonatas, or the recorder version of the sonatas because it is in this area that his sonatas are most likely to be useful. The reader can, therefore form his own

opinion of their worth. The two sonatas included as Ex.114 and 115 are Nos. 1 and 6 from the second set, and to give as complete a picture as possible, they have been arranged for modern performer, with a realisation of the continuo part. All slurs are editorial, save those in the slow movements which are marked *. Staccato suggestions have not been made since there are so many different ways of adding to the charm of the pieces by the judicious use of staccato that this should be left to individual choice. In view of the dynamic limitations of the instrument, no such marks have been added, and all those in this edition are to be found in the eighteenth century copy. All decorative notes in small type, and all alternatives are editorial, as are the trills.

At first sight, the "Airs for two violins" appear to represent Pepusch at his worst as a composer. There are 23 in all, and many are very boring and repetitive in respect of harmony. The first three, for example are based on a descending sequence of four notes from A to E, and the solos suffer from the boredom which inevitably ensues when two instruments of equal pitch exchange the same passage every four bars. It appears that the composer is indulging in mere note-spinning, and working out to his own satisfaction the conventional patterns used in very simple variations - something pursued rather laboriously in the Treatise of Harmony, which will be examined later.

A closer inspection reveals that these exercises are not quite as depressing as one might at first suppose, although they are clearly much less interesting than much of his other music. This kind of piece always will tend to be performer's

music - this is the purpose for which it is written, and it will usually contain this kind of dialogue. The material is useful enough as teaching material, although it could, one feels have been made much more interesting. Confined to first position, the pieces tend to become more difficult and more interesting as the set proceeds. Once again this collection poses the interesting question regarding how much of his music was generally known at the time and which items. Hawkins refers to this set, (see p.11), and so does Burney, who wrote:

"As a practical musician, though so excellent a harmonist, he was possessed of so little invention, that few of his compositions were ever in general use and favour, except one of his twelve cantatas, Alexis, and his airs for two flutes or violins, consisting of simple easy themes or grounds with variations, each part echoing the other in common divisions for the improvement of the hand." 9.

Obviously Burney is wrong about these pieces being for flutes or violins, as they descend to the lowest note of the violin, and unlike much of Pepusch's music are not amenable to change. What is more interesting is that neither Burney nor Hawkins offer serious specific criticism of these pieces, and they mention very little of his other music. If this set was the example of his work with which most people at the time were familiar, no wonder his reputation was low! It seems then that many of his more interesting instrumental flights were ignored, that the pieces people tended to know were not his best; and although this is obviously not true as regards his music for the theatre, it is possible that this aspect of his work tended to be discounted in view of the onslaught of

Italian opera in the early years of the century.

Like those of Pleyel, Mazas and others who came later, these duets seem to have been suitable for two pupils rather than the typical pupil-teacher duet with contrasted parts. Certainly they are no worse than much other teaching material which waste to follow. Once again the composer shows a certain flair for adapting the style of whatever he undertakes, whether for church or theatre, chamber or orchestra, and he does so in this case. Like much music for amateurs to practice, some of these contrive to be quite fun to play in spite of the simplicity of structure and poverty of invention. Ex.116 and 117 from numbers 16 and 18 will illustrate the general style of these "airs."

"Dr.Pepusch's Ground with variations for Harpsichord, violin and guitar," which was published in about 1780, is referred to in derogatory terms by both Fred and Hughes.(Ex.118)

The latter comments; with obvious feeling:

"However useful for purposes of instruction, it need hardly detain us for its musical merits. Surely Pepusch nodded when he penned this barren page."10.

An examination of the piece confirms that it is of little interest. It is, therefore unfortunate that while this example was published, the fine ground for harpsichord to be found in manuscript in the British Museum seems to have been ignored. Rather confusingly, this is also referred to on the manuscript as "Dr.Pepusch's Ground." In some respects, the piece may seem stereotyped, but precisely the same criticism may be made of most ground basses and

chacottes of this period, including the famous example in Handel's fifth harpsichord suite. The piece is reproduced here as example 119 so that the reader may form his own conclusion regarding its merits. Based on a conventional but satisfying baroque formula, the item exploits the figurations typical of this type of variation in a spirited fashion, and it lies well for the keyboard. Although sounding distressingly thick when played on a piano, it suits the harpsichord well, and exploits the instrument with charm and brilliance. This brings us naturally to the other keyboard items.

Also surviving are four dance movements described in the British Museum Catalogue as "Suite in D-minor." The prelude and allemande are spirited little pieces, and the sarabande, although extremely simple, has real charm. The final movement of the set, the "Jigg," starts well but rambles badly, deteriorating into a series of broken chords so long-winded and irrelevant that it is hard to believe that they belong to the same piece. I admit to being puzzled by this item, which lapses suddenly in quite unaccountable way.

Much better are the two movements called "aire," which are described in the British Museum Catalogue as "Allegro and Vivace in D." The former contains good idiomatic keyboard writing, and the latter, in minuet and trio form, would go well on an organ or two manual harpsichord which provides the necessary contrasts. The "lesson with variations" is attractive and unassuming music, fresh in character, and eminently suitable for someone with limited technique, while the minuet in C is too trivial to merit attention. There is

also an "overture in D-minor" which is obviously intended as a keyboard piece, which consists of a dotted opening and fugal section. The written-out ornaments in this piece are of interest, as they are presumably typical of ornaments at this time.

For me the most satisfying item which survives is the little "Aria in F", which is reproduced as Ex.120.

Clearly the brilliance and transparency of the harpsichord is required to make these pieces live. The ground, like the famous passacaglia by Handel, sounds distressingly thick when played on the piano.

Two other pieces survive in the British Museum which are apparently intended for harpsichord, and these are interesting because they are also found in the 23 sonatas for violin. The reader is referred to the title page of these sonatas, reproduced as Ex.121. The wording is ambiguous. What we expect would be violin, bass viol and harpsichord, but we find "or" instead of "and," and the changes of style in the lettering is also significant. The two additional instruments may be seen as alternatives, but on the basis of the layout, one might assume that the sonatas are for strings or harpsichord. In practice we feel sure that when performed as violin sonatas, the normal ensemble prevailed, and the inclusion of figured bass makes it clear that this was the composer's intention. It seems clear, however, that the wording and layout was designed specifically to remind the customer that these could also be performed as keyboard pieces - it is, in fact an additional selling point.

The Giga in G is also found in the key of F, without ornaments and in a slightly simpler form, as the last movement

of the fourth of the Brussels sonatas, which is, incidentally one of the group which are also available as recorder sonatas. Similarly, the "Allamanda" in G occurs as the third movement of the eighth sonata in the same collection. Again it occurs in two parts without written ornaments, and without the terms "Largo" and "Allemanda." Its position in the sonata identifies it as a slow movement. These two pieces are therefore of particular interest, as they give an insight into the sort of performance the composer envisaged if these sonata movements were played as keyboard pieces, and show, for example the extent to which they ought to be filled in. The "Allemanda" in its keyboard version is reproduced as Ex.122. Obviously careful selection would have been necessary, as some of the violin movements would make very boring pieces if performed in this way. An additional snag crops up, when for example the soloist is silent, and the written piece is reduced to a single line.

H.W. Fred also quoted thematic material from two fugues said to be available at Brussels, but these were not available on request. He also includes in his index a largo and presto which I have been unable to trace.

THE CONCERTOS

(When no indication of tempo is given in the source, I have made an appropriate suggestion in parentheses. The number of bars in each movement is also indicated to give some idea of overall proportions. B.C.= Basso continuo).

Concerto in A-minor. Solo Vn. & Strs. Tenbury.

Allegro.82./Adagio.12./Allegro.168.

Concerto in G. Solo vn. & strs. Uppsala & Dresden.

Adagio.56/Vivace.80./Adagio e piano.5./Allegro.61.

Concerto in A-minor. 2 vns.va,B.C.Lib.Cong.

Moderato.15.Allegro.35./Andante.62/Presto.37.

Concerto in D-minor. 2 vns.va.B.C.Lib.Cong.

(Slow)40./((quick)49./((slow)36./((quick)22.(Last movt.
incomplete.)

Concerto in F. 2 solo vns. & strs. Dresden (No.4)

Adagio.7./Allegro.68./Adagio.12./Allegro.103.

Concerto in F. 2 vns.va.vc.bsn.B.C.Dresden (No.6)

Allegro.34./Adagio.19./Presto.34./Allegro.70.

Concerto in F. Solo vn. & strs. Dresden (No.7) One movement
only.

Concerto in D. Solo vn. & strs. Dresden (No.5)

Adagio e stacc.4.Allegro.73./adagio.14./Allegro.59.

Concerto in E-minor. 2 solo vns. & strs. Dresden (No.1)

(Slow)16./Allegro.73./((slow)23./Allegro.99.

Concerto in D. Trumpet & strs.Rostock.

(Slow)61/((quick)74./((slow)19./March.33/Menuet.16.

"Sinfonia a 5." 2 fls.2 vns.B.C.Rostock.

((quick)63./Grave.23./((quick)63.

"Partie Englitaire." 3 obs.vn.B.C.Schwerin.

((quick)62/Adagio.6/Allegro.164.

Concerto in F. 2 fls.2 obs.va.B.C. Dresden (No.2)

Largo.15./Allegro.34./Adagio.26./Allegro.26.

Quintet in F. (Thurston Dart.) 2 recs.2 vns.B.C.Schott.Edn.

Largo.26.Allegro.31./Adagio.37./Presto.20.

CHAPTER VI - NOTES

1. Fred, H.W: "The Instrumental Music of Johann Christoph Pepusch," Univ. of N.Carolina, D.Phil.,1961,
Univ.Microfilms Inc.,Ann Arbor,Michigan,p.24.
2. See Smith,W.C: "A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by J. Walsh during the years 1695-1720," Oxford,1948.
3. Op.cit, . p,88.
4. Ibid., p.87.
5. Ibid., p.41-2.
6. Ibid., p.51.
7. Ibid., p.46.
8. Ibid., p.40.
9. Burney, C: "A General History of Music," Mercer Edn.,
Dover Publications,New York,1957,vol.II.p.988.
10. Hughes, C.W: "John Christopher Pepusch," M.Q.31,1945,p.68.

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICIAN AND TEACHER

Pepusch seems to have become increasingly preoccupied with musical theory as he grew older. It is therefore ironical that his main contribution to the teaching of theory seems to have been made involuntarily through the action of the Earl of Abercorn, who, in 1730 apparently published the "Treatise of Harmony." Speaking of his method of teaching composition, Hawkins wrote:

"His manner of inculcating the precepts of musical composition, and the method he took with his pupils to form their style, was somewhat singular: from the time that the works of Corelli first became known to the public, he entertained a most exalted opinion of their merit, and conceiving that they contained the perfection of melody and harmony, he formed a kind of musical code, consisting of rules extracted from the Works of this his favourite Author: and the exercises he enjoined his disciples were divisions on, and harmonies adapted to, basses selected from his works..." 1.

This statement may be supported by the fact that Pepusch published an edition of Corelli's sonatas, and it coincides with what we know of Pepusch's composition and teaching. He seems to have been essentially practical in his approach to the problems of harmony, whatever his feelings regarding earlier music and systems. However, before considering in detail the extent to which the treatise matches up to the statement we have just read, we must consider the more immediate problem of how far the work represents his teaching.

The book was published anonymously, without musical examples, and is thought to be the work of the Earl of

Abercorn, who is said to have based it on Pepusch's teaching. Burney states that Pepusch published the "corrected" edition in 1731, "which the late Earl of Abercorn is supposed to have assisted him in putting into English." He goes on:

"This work contains many elementary rules of composition that are practical and useful, but it likewise contains many prejudices and exploded doctrines, which, to revive, would shackle genius and throw the art back into Gothic times." 2.

In view of the elementary nature of the work, this statement seems improbable. In a footnote, the writer adds that the Earl has been such a perennial student of Pepusch that he could express the principles better in English than Pepusch himself. Our subsequent consideration of the two editions will suggest that this, too, is by no means certain.

Hawkins states that Pepusch regarded the first edition as "injurious both to his character and interest," but that this did not lead to any permanent rift between master and pupil. The similarity of general content in the two editions tend to lead us to a similar conclusion. With unerring accuracy, Hawkins, the 'non-musician' puts his finger on the main fault - the absence of actual music:

"The book, as published in the manner above related, was of very little use to the world. It wanted the illustration of examples, and was in other respects obscure and most affectedly perplexed; besides all which, it was written in a style the meanest that can be conceived..." 3.

The latter statement is of interest in respect of the comparison made later between the wording of the two editions. Hawkins tells us that Pepusch had a poor command

of spoken and written English, and doubted that the lessons were ever "digested in the form of a treatise." He tells us that since the book could not be recalled, and was generally attributed to Pepusch, he published the second edition, retaining the language of the former, but altering and enlarging the work. We shall see, however, that the original wording was considerably altered. If the new text was the work of Pepusch himself, then it would appear that his command of English was better than Hawkins implied. His assessment of the work makes an interesting contrast with that of Burney:

"The precepts delivered, and the laws of harmonical combination contained in this book, are such only as are warranted by the practice of modern composers; and the rules of transition from key to key are evidently extracted from the works of Corelli; but the most valuable part of the book is the chapter treating of solmisation, which practice is explained with the utmost precision and perspicuity." 4.

Hughes refers to an interesting edition of the work which survives, and gives the following description:

"An interesting eighteenth century manuscript version of this treatise now in the possession of the New York Public Library corresponds to the edition of 1731, although the musical illustrations are introduced at appropriate points in the text instead of appearing together in a supplement as in the printed volume... The exercises are also more copious in the manuscript version, and include scales for the violin with diagrams of the fingerboard, showing the placement of fingers for each scale, as in many a modern manual." 5.

He makes the interesting point that the advertisements found in the manuscript would be meaningless unless the book

were for publication, and one must agree with his conclusion that it is the draft of an unpublished third edition. The final page of the manuscript begins:

"The following treatises of Music may be had of Mr. Wood in Brownlow Street, Long-acre at the prices affixed to each article."

The list of works includes the following:

"A Treatise of Harmony by the Earl of Abercorn (revised by Dr. Pepusch, and commonly called his.)"

This is of interest as it definitely attributes the work to Abercorn and the revision to Pepusch.

Other items in the list help us to date the manuscript. Included are "Lamp's Thorough bass," "Grassineau's Dictionary," and "Six solos for the violin... by T. Wood, organist of St. Giles in the fields."

Reference to Lampe's work places the manuscript after 1737, while Grassineau's Dictionary did not appear until 1740. The seventh Earl of Abercorn died in 1744. If he were alive when the list was prepared, and since he was not referred to as the "late" Earl, this seems possible, then the manuscript would appear to date from 1740-43. The Wood solos are dated as c. 1760 in "British Union Catalogue of Early Music," but there seems nothing to suggest that this date is other than conjectural.

Fred tells us⁶ that he was unable to consult this manuscript, being advised that the library did not possess it, but I am glad to be able to confirm its existence, and particularly thank Mrs. Susan T. Sommers of New York Public Library for transcribing the material from f. 100 to which I have had recourse. A complete copy could not be obtained because of the poor condition of the item, which was too tightly bound to allow full reproduction, and I was advised

that the system of colour coding employed would not be visible on monochrome film. Since I have examined the second edition which incorporated revisions by Pepusch, it seems unlikely that this manuscript would provide much additional information relevant to the present discussion. It is mainly of interest because it contains the statement which confirms authorship.

The first edition, published in 1730 by J. Watts contains, in addition to the title page and table of contents, 88 pages, including 4 pages of charts; and this was expanded in the second edition to 99 pages of text, the charts and 128 pages of musical examples. There are minor differences in the wording of the chapter headings, and the position of the last two chapters is reversed. The first edition to be found in the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester, in which chart no. 4 is misplaced between one and two, was the property of Warren Horne, a member of the Madrigal Society, and handwritten comments on the fly leaf by Thomas Oliphant provide information about the owner, quoting from Hawkins. Part of the inscription reads:

"This treatise was the work of Dr. Pepusch, written for the use of Lord Paisley, afterwards Earl of Abercorn, and printed without the author's knowledge."

It would appear, therefore, that the first edition was written by Abercorn, who in view of his indebtedness to Pepusch, preferred to remain anonymous, that the second edition was the work of Pepusch, who may have prepared a third edition which was never published. Hughes concludes:

"Since Burney, whatever the role of the Earl, implies that he was simply expressing his teacher's doctrine,

we shall discuss the treatise as a work by Pepusch." 7.

Perhaps it is fair to do this for the even better reason that Pepusch in his second edition did not find it necessary to change the main substance of the text. We may, therefore assume that he was not materially dissatisfied with the contents.

The work is generally concise, and bearing in mind the subject matter, readable. The approach, though unwieldy and at times apparently laborious would lend itself to a student of limited ability who learned by rote. In the introduction, the author "teaches how to make use of the Concorde and the Discords in a proper manner; so as the Union of the Parts shall make Good Harmony." His description of thirds and sixths as "Imperfect Concorde" seems dated now, and when he uses the term "false relation," he means the tritone and "semidiapante" or flat fifth. Then follow some definitions, which are satisfactory as far as they go.

Chapter I, "Of plain counterpoint" concerns the building of triads, and an accompanying table, along with several others at the back of the book make the various note combinations clear. After this are rules for melodic progression, one such being that the leap of a major sixth is forbidden, apart from which they are sound and might equally well occur in a modern textbook. The explanation for the avoidance of consecutives seems rather odd:

"There are several reasons given for this Rule, the best whereof is, that by repeating immediately the same Perfect Concord, the ear would be cloy'd."

One might have expected some comment regarding the strident and crude effect of fifths, or at least the fact that octave

writing is not really part writing at all. He does, however bother to point out that consecutives cannot be produced by repeated notes, something forgotten by a surprising number of students of elementary harmony today.

Chapter II, "Of sharp keys, particularly the key of C" introduces first inversions, referring to "supposed basses," that is to say the third of the chord, as opposed to "Fundamental Basses." Examples in this and the following chapter are confined to two keys only in the interests of space, and one cannot help feeling that in an elementary book of this sort the student would need more practice in a wider range of keys. One might suppose that additional examples could be provided by a teacher, but we shall see later that Paisley did not apparently see the book in this light.

Chapter III, "of flat keys, particularly the key of A," introduces the minor scale, and this is what the writer means when he speaks of a "flat" key, just as sharp refers to a major one. He introduces the leading note in what seems a rather laborious way, but does, however isolate the difference between the two modes by specific reference to the third and sixth. A further table is provided "for making a Bass or a Treble or Upper Part in any key." This is plate 3, which is reproduced on the next page to illustrate the system which is applied. Again it is well suited to the less bright pupil, but one mourns that there is little attempt to encourage the pupil to appreciate the underlying principle and work it out for himself. As stated the table reproduced enables the student to supply a bass for a given treble, while plate 2 does the reverse.

| Key | C | | D | | E | | F | | G | | A | | Key |
|-----------------|---|------------|----|-------------|---|------------|---|-------------|----|-------------|----|-------------|-----------------|
| 8 ^{ve} | C | 86 CE | D | 86 DF | E | 86 EG | F | 86 FA | G | 86 GB | A | 86 AC | 8 ^{ve} |
| 7 th | B | 368 GDB | C# | 368 AEC# | D | 68 FD | E | 368 CGE | F# | 368 DAF# | G# | 368 EBG# | 7 th |
| 6 th | A | 38 FA | Bb | 38 GBb | C | 38 AC | D | 38 BbD | E | 38 CE | F | 38 DF | 6 th |
| 5 th | G | 53 CE | A | 53 DF | B | 538 EGB | C | 53 FA | D | 53 GB | E | 53 AC | 5 th |
| 4 th | F | 863 FAD | G | 863 GBBE | A | 86 AC | B | 863 BbDG | C | 863 CEA | D | 863 DFB | 4 th |
| 3 ^d | E | 38 GE | F | 38 DF | G | 38 EG | A | 38 FA | B | 38 GB | C | 38 AC | 3 ^d |
| 2 ^d | D | 538 GBD | E | 538 ACE | F | 38 DF | G | 538 CEG | A | 538 DF#A | B | 538 EG#B | 2 ^d |
| Unison | C | 86 CE | D | 86 DF | E | 86 EG | F | 86 FA | G | 86 GB | A | 86 AC | Unison |

Chapter IV, "Of descant or figured counterpoint, and of the preparing and resolving of discords" seems a little laborious, but the table provided illustrates the points reasonably well, although the desirable answer would clearly have been to include proper musical examples.

Chapter V, "Of discords, as passing notes, particularly by suppositions, etc," is concerned with accented and unaccented passing notes, and with variation technique. A rather amusing comment which sounds as if it came straight from Pepusch and has a professional ring about it concerns the advisability of avoiding ornate variations in very low basses:

"But this error is daily run into, by giving Divided Basses to be play'd by the Violone or Double Bass, which makes a Horrid Rumbling; whereas, if the Violoncellos and other such Bass Instruments only played those Divided Basses, and the Violone or Double Bass

play'd a Fundamental Bass under them, made up of what the Italians call NOTE SOSTENUTE, a much finer and more agreeable Harmony would ensue, for every Note would be clear and distinct in every part of the Composition."

Chapter VI, "Of cadences" is clear enough and illustrated by diagrams which are incorporated in the text, but chapter VII tends to be a little confusing for the modern reader since he uses the terms modulation in an odd way:

"Besides that sort of modulation" (transition from one key to another) "there is another that is Plainer, which is the modulation in any one key, without going into any other, but though this affords great Variety, still it is not so agreeable as the other, for the Ear grows tyred at last with Hearing Harmonies, which tho' varied, are very near the same."

By modulation in this sense he means the use of secondary triads, which are approached by encouraging the reader to convert the "Imperfect Concords" or first inversion triads on the third and sixth into secondary triads by making them "Fundamental Bases." Apart from the fact that the term is misleading to the modern reader, the approach to the use of secondary triads by regarding them as substitutes for related primary triads is obviously very good, and in line with modern practice. The consideration of genuine modulation follows, and provides a useful scheme for a complete movement, which may be obtained by reference to the appropriate chart:

The eighth chapter, "Of solmisation and solfaing" was the section thought by Hawkins to be the most useful, and although the concept of applying this technique to harmony seems alien now, it was obviously helpful at the time. The author is anxious to inform us that he has not been diverted from his

right and proper course; and speaking of the tetrachords,

he writes:

"By these fourths and fifths the modes as well Authentic as Plagal are best demonstrated; but we do not intend to say anything of the Modes, because they are chiefly of use in melody, whereas this short Treatise treats only of Harmony."

The contribution of Pepusch to solmisation may, however be thought of as significant, even if the application here seems ponderous. Guido of Arezzo used the six names, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la; and a system of overlapping two hexachords to embrace the scale. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, the first two names, and "si" which had been added later, had fallen into disuse in England. Pepusch insisted on the importance of solmisation, refuting "a very ingenious author who in 1721 published a treatise of music, (and) concurs with others in running down the hexachords, which 'tis plain he did not perfectly understand the use of." Pepusch was in favour of restoring the two abandoned names, and devotes considerable care to describing the transition from one hexachord to another. Burney referring to the syllables ut and re comments:

"And Dr. Holder, Dr. Wallis, and every writer on the subject of music in this kingdom, were unanimous in excommunicating these two syllables, till the arrival of Dr. Pepusch, who endeavoured, and not unsuccessfully, to have them again received into the pale of the church." 8.

Chapter IX, "Of transposition" is carefully thought out with a table for calculating key signatures, and which shows how transposition may be effected by a change of clef. Once

again it seems needlessly complicated. Chapter X, "Of canons, fugues and imitations," recurses to solfa to work out fugal entries:

"Therefore before we begin a Canon or a Fugue, we must in the first place consider whether the leader can be answered by the same Sillables in solfaing in the Fourth above or below, in the Fifth above or below, or in the Eighth above or below."

The writer's conviction regarding the importance of this device is driven home thoroughly:

"By what has been already said we may Observe of what great use the True Solmisation is; and in the Case of Canons and Fugues, how necessary it is even in the Harmony, as well as the Melody; for as they may be in Two, Three, Four or more Parts, we are obliged not only to make all the Parts to Solfa alike, but also to contrive them as that the Union of all those Parts shall make good Harmony."

Whatever we may feel about solfa in this context, it would appear to have been standard practice. Burney wrote:

"It is upon the hexachords that Dr. Pepusch has founded all his rules of fugue: Treatise of Harmony; Mr. Marpurg, Traite de la Fugue, has likewise had recourse to solmisation, a la Francoise, for explaining his precepts; and Padre Martini, in his learned and admirable Saggio di contrapunto, recommends syllabic demonstrations to students in church music, where fugue and canon have still, and will ever have, their champions among the friends of masterly composition, and local propriety." 9.

Hughes interprets the remark about the same syllables being used for the different parts as demonstrating a distinction between the hexachord method and the octave methods and observes that this seems a very theoretical issue indeed when viewed from the present, but leaving aside the interpretation, which may not be the correct one, we should remember that

solfa is still used a lot in the teaching of music, and that Pepusch's restoration of the names which had lapsed was a step towards the modern system which is undoubtedly less unwieldy than the hexachord method.

The whole impression of the chapter is, however one of sketchiness. What assumptions were made by the writer at the outset? Certainly that the reader was unacquainted with scales and intervals. 84 pages and 4 diagrams later, the fortunate recipient is apparently in a position to compose fugues, and this without recourse to a note of actual music! Relevant to this appraisal is the following from chapter IV:

"This little treatise being but a forerunner of a larger that may in Time appear, though in it we will advance nothing but what is Right and True, because Examples in Notes would be necessary to make what might be added be clearly understood. The only intention of this Treatise is to stimulate and excite the lover of the agreeable and Delightful Science, not only to retrieve what of it may have been Lost or Neglected, but also to encourage Them so to exert themselves, as to attain a greater Perfection in it."

This is interesting for several reasons. The reference to what is lost or neglected rings very true and sounds like Pepusch in one of his antiquarian moods, while one wonders whether the passage represents a face-saver after a loss of confidence on Paisley's part. Perhaps he realised his inability to go into more detail - if not, why did he not add "notes" if really necessary? The allusion to the book being a forerunner makes one wonder if Pepusch had mentioned the possibility of his writing such a book, or whether this is merely wishful thinking, while we find again that the avowed intention of the author is not fully realised. As a harmony

textbook, it is not unworthy of its time, provided one assumed the inclusion of actual music, but as a book to "stimulate and excite the reader" the assessment is less favourable. If it represents either Pepusch or Abercorn with this endeavour then one can only offer up a fervent prayer that one was not privileged to encounter them in a dull mood! It does not emerge as this sort of book at all.

So far we have confined our attention to the first edition of the treatise, working on the assumption that it is fully representative of the teaching methods of Pepusch. An examination of the second edition reveals that in general principle, this is true. Apart from the inclusion of musical examples, the alterations do not seem to be of great significance. However, this addition in itself is enough to make the difference between a book which is effective and one which is not, and an examination of the examples tells us something about the preferences and priorities of the author. 184 examples are added, the first 33 being concerned with progressions in 2 parts, apparently relating to the first 3 chapters. The following 63 concern suspensions as discussed in chapter IV, after which there are 12 to illustrate unessential notes, (chap.V), and a further 12 which relate to chaps. V-VIII. The last 24 concern solmisation. We find then, that partly due to the requirements of the text, most attention is given to suspensions and solmisation, which is perhaps what one would expect. Generally the examples seem musicianly and appropriate, although there does seem to be a lot of painstaking repetition. The point is driven home thoroughly in each case, and one might think that only a

particularly dense pupil would require this degree of repetition. Ex.123 shows one of the examples of part writing, where we see that Pepusch eventook the trouble to write it out in more than one time-signature. Similarly, Ex.124, (119 in the original) illustrates the use of unessentials in variations, and repetition of this type of exercise by the student would obviously produce considerable facility in this respect. Finally, Ex.125, (originally No.54) illustrates a progression involving a suspension which nowadays would be regarded as an example of consecutives.

While the basic content is similar, there is much rewording, and Pepusch chooses to expand certain points more fully than Paisley. Hawkins's comment regarding Pepusch's limited knowledge of English has been mentioned, but it is interesting to note that on occasions he seems to manage better than the original author! If one accepts that the wording of the second edition is the unaided work of Pepusch, one feels tempted to discount the comment altogether. For example, in the first edition we read:

"Two Unisons and Two Octaves may be allow'd to follow one another provided the Parts keep in the same place, that is to say, repeat the same Notes; for then the repeating the same Notes may be look'd upon as a division of One Note of a large sort into Two of less value." 10.

Compare this with the second edition:

"This rule does not take place when the Parts repeat the same Note, because this is in effect no more than the dividing a long note into two or more short ones." 11.

The style is better, the meaning clearer, and there are 32 words instead of 54! One cannot be sure that Pepusch himself

was responsible for the re-wording, but it nevertheless seems a reasonable assumption. The second edition also tends to break up the material with spaces and subheadings to a greater extent than the first.

We have already noted Pepusch's recommendation that in a canon or fugue "we must consider whether the leader can be answered by the same Sillables in Solfaing." A slight problem is posed by the addition in chapter IX of the second edition of the following:

"Though these examples are only in C, yet we may by them see how we are to do when we begin by any other Note, or in any other key. The Syllable annex'd to each Scheme shews, that D in the key of D is called Re, & is answered by A, which is then called re, or, vice versa, that A is called Re is answered by D call'd Re; That in E key, E & B are called Mi, and may reciprocally answer one the other."

The subject-answer aspect of this is clear enough, but the wording implies a peculiar cross between the normal method and a fixed doh system.

Apart from the rewording of the book, which includes minor alterations to chapter headings, chapter one is expanded to almost double its original size with additional rules concerning progressions. Otherwise the contents are generally similar to the first edition. One may note with satisfaction that the aforementioned paragraph referring to the "little treatise" being "a forerunner" is advisedly cut out, the space being put to better use!

The suggestion that the book represents Pepusch's teaching methods with reasonable accuracy is borne out by an examination of some other surviving material. In the Library of the Royal College of Music is some manuscript material described in the catalogue as "Exercises in Harmony, Composition, Canon etc, by Benjamin Cooke, probably when studying under Johann Christoph Pepusch, who is probably the composer of the Canon headed 'The Doctor's.'"^{12.}

A glance at the layout and content of this material leaves little doubt that it stems from Pepusch, as it is very similar in layout and content to the Harmony Treatise, and to other autograph notes which will be considered later. As a record of his teaching it is, however much less helpful than one might suppose since for most of it there are no mistakes indicated and no corrections. Perhaps Cooke copied up a corrected version afterwards for subsequent reference, or perhaps much of the material was simply copied from models supplied by the teacher. Inevitably attention is given to hexachords and solmisation, the intervals so formed being written out with the intervening notes filled in - something found in other theoretical papers by Pepusch to be considered. The patterns of sequences found in the harmony treatise are pursued very laboriously, and carefully written out, resulting in rather dull writing which was nevertheless good

practice. Certainly Pepusch seems to have practiced what he preached, as a recurring fault in the instrumental music is a rather excessive and mechanical use of sequence. That Cooke learned from him may be seen in some of his organ music where the same characteristic is apparent - Cooke, too seems to have lacked inspiration at times, yet the teaching itself was sound enough. Later work is less neat and dated at rather irregular intervals. It gives the impression of being written in one hand, but solfa names have been added in red to some of the exercises. After the exercises in motet style, there are some fugal ones which suggest that in this instance the course of lessons bore fruit.

Also surviving in the British Museum are "Various Papers written by and in the autograph of Dr. Christopher Pepusch. Related to Harmony and the scales and modes of the ancients."¹³. This collection is quite substantial - about 46 pages, including the double page diagrams, and although it is written on manuscript paper over the lines, it is nevertheless very neatly and carefully laid out. The effort involved seems to discount the possibility that these are idle jottings, and much of the material would seem to be his teaching notes. The material accords well with the two sources already discussed, and the section related to Greek Musical theory ties in well with his letter on the subject to be considered later. In

addition to this material are definitions of such terms as chord and concord, and examples of scales, intervals and progressions. In view of the space devoted to the other sources which embrace similar material it is not profitable to consider this source in detail, but we will note one or two passages of interest. In line with the other teaching material, he spends much time on the preparing and resolving of discords. Once again when discussing intervals he laboriously writes out examples of the intervals filling in the intervening notes. It is interesting to note that in the first section, "Of Cords," he deals with different arrangements of notes by numbers and not musical examples. Bearing in mind that this was written on manuscript paper, it would seem that he did prefer to express himself this way when teaching, perhaps because numbers were necessary even if the chord were written out if the pupil were to grasp the point. In the formal context of a textbook, he included musical examples, but the papers suggest that Paisley's edition does reflect his normal method accurately. When he returns to Greek Theory, his personal enthusiasm, we find him trying to explain why microtones no longer found favour, although obviously missing the point:

"But why the Moderns have no Demi-Semitones or Quarter-Tones, and no more but a Single Sharps and a Single Flats. The reason

seems to be: Not to say, their neglecting ye Niceness of the Ancient Grecians in Composing and Playing: But ye number of New invented Instruments Whereon some of these Instruments: ye only violin, as ye most perfect of all excepted: it would be with the greatest Difficulty; and on ye others, quite impracticable to hit, to touch, and to play these intervals; or even to bring these intervals in a Set, or Row of Keys, of Holes or Fretts in any sort of wind instruments. Besides of more quick music of ye Modern, as Allegroes: when these intervals; if they could be taken, and were played: would in account of ye quick playing be scarcely be perceived and distinguished by the Ear & yet at ye same Time produce an obscure and confused sound of the Rest of the Intervals. For which reason, those intervals of ye Graecians cannot be explored or taken in ye organ or ye harpsichord: the most imperfect instruments any otherwise than in ye following manner. Tho in itself is quite a paradox and inconsistent to reason that a flat or a natural must be taken for a # or # in ye ascending and a natural or sharp for a flat or double flat in the descending."

The notes are carefully prepared, and the quality of English in this extract may suggest that Pepusch's command of the language was severely limited. This is not borne out by the letter which is considered next, and it may merely suggest that the writer was thinking out the problem as he wrote. Alternatively one may regard it as evidence that he received assistance in his more formal writings.

What of Pepusch's preoccupation with Greek musical Theory? Again we find that he was criticised by many for what was regarded as academic mumbo-jumbo. Burney describes him as "the oracle of his time," who equalled at least that of Delphos by the darkness of his decrees, and readily jumped to any conclusion that would involve a musical question in mysterious and artificial difficulty. Occasionally we also

find him employing rather heavy sarcasm about this aspect of Pepusch's work:

"Dr. Pepusch has asserted in his letter to M. de Moivre that Salinas had discovered the true harmonic genius of the ancients. How much it is to be lamented that neither Salinas nor Dr. Pepusch has obliged the longing world with enharmonic compositions in counterpoint to confirm their converts in the faith, and not only renovate, but extend the use of this long lost genius! As it is, the discovery of Salinas, and the positive assertions of Dr. Pepusch remain, to vulgar ears as useless and as much a matter of faith, as the Music of the spheres." 14.

Although Burney is obviously out of sympathy with research of this sort, he devoted time and space to a consideration of ancient music, and to the work of Salinas. Of the latter he wrote:

"However, by his long study of Boethius, as well as the ancient Greek theorists, his doctrines seem to have been chiefly speculative, and confined to calculations of ratios, divisions of the monochord, systems of temperament, and the musical pedantry of the times, without bestowing a thought upon harmony, modulation or even melody; except such as the ecclesiastical modes and species of octave supplied." 15.

There follows a paragraph in which he comments that although of no practical value, the study would suit those with boundless curiosity!

It would appear that the path of our ardent musicologist was not always strewn with roses. We are told that Abraham de Moivre with whom he communicated described him as a "stupid German dog." 16. However, others including Roger North did consult him and displayed a good deal more than passing interest in his researches.

Scholarship has progressed considerably since the eighteenth century, and his work in this area is interesting to us not for

its content, but for other reasons. In addition to appreciating the significance of his interest at a time when few pursued the study, we should also consider his understanding of the problems and his subsequent influence.

Of interest in this context is the letter which he wrote to Abraham de Moivre which was read to the Royal Society and published. A copy is to be found in the British Museum. Here it is pointed out by reference to page numbers that passages from the work are used in Sir John Hawkins's "History." As this book was one of the two main sources of information on musical history for a considerable time afterwards, Pepusch's indirect influence was clearly not inconsiderable. The letter is preoccupied with matters of temperament, the initial part referring to the Pythagorean scale, the term "Limmar" referring to the hemitone. This had a frequency ratio of 1.0535 as compared with half a Pythagorean tone, (1.0606) or a semitone in equal temperament, (1.0505). The name is his version of "leimma" - a "remnant" of the perfect fourth after the two tones had been allowed for. After commenting on the unsatisfactory nature of the scale, Pepusch continues:

"These errors would make their scale appear much out of tune to us. This I readily grant and add, that it appeared out of tune to them, since they expressly tell us, that the intervals less than the diatessarum or fourth, as also the intervals between the fifth and eighth were dissonant and disagreeable to the ear. Their scale which has been called by some the scala maxima was not intended to form the voice to sing accurately, but was designed to represent the system of their modes and tones to give pure fourths, a fifth of every key a composer might choose. Now if instead of tones major and Limmas we take the Tones major and minor

with the semitone Major, as the moderns contend we should, we shall have a good scale indeed, but a scale adapted only to the concinnous '(concinnus)' constitution of one key; and whenever we proceed from that into another, we find some fourth or fifth erroneous by a comma. This the Ancients did not admit of. If to diminish such errors we introduce a Temperature, we shall have nothing in tune but the octave. We see then that the scale of the ancients was not destitute of reason; and that no good argument against the accuracy of their practice can from thence be formed."

This seems to ignore the fact that one of the chief snags about the Pythagorean scale is that one cannot modulate within it since the scale contained no semitones; and these could not be readily created since two hemitones did not equal a tone. Much depends, therefore on the standpoint of the writer. Hughes comments:

"What he sought for most ardently eluded him. The cloudy structures he built in the writings of the ancients were foredoomed to collapse. He was among the last of the scholars who attempted to rear a usable structure on the groundwork of ancient Greek theory." 17.

Quite seriously however, one may reasonably question whether he ever intended to. He was also a practical musician and must have realised that the Greek system was never subjected to the problems resulting from polyphony, harmony and constantly changing tonal centres. Rather perhaps he found the subject of scientific and historical interest and wished to clarify the situation. Further, it is important to remember that the Greek theorists were generally no more concerned with practical considerations than perhaps Pepusch was. Isobel Henderson comments that terms of theory seldom

referred to musical facts, and continues:

"With the notable exception of Aristoxenus, the purpose of Greek theorists was not to analyse the art of music, but to expound the independent science of harmonics; and ultimately the transmission of this harmonic science has no more to do with the history of musical art than the transmission of Greek astronomy or medicine." 18.

Later we read:

"Some account of Greek harmonic theory has been necessary for a negative purpose: to prevent unprofitable searching for musical significance in mathematical concepts." 19.

Much confusion appears to have been caused by the fact that we have apparently been slow to realise that the mathematical contemplation of harmonics was a satisfying study in itself. Undoubtedly there has been confusion arising from the fact that the study of harmonics from a philosophical standpoint continued to be known by the name of music long after practical music had lost its intellectual prestige. To assume that Pepusch was aware of this would seem to assume too much - at least from the available material, yet there is perhaps some indication of this in the passage quoted from his letter where he points out that the scale was "not intended to form the voice to sing accurately" but to "represent the system of their modes and tones." Certainly the automatic assumption that he "wished to rear a musical structure" out of it seems ill-founded.

The letter continues with a passage concerning ascending and descending scales which may be found verbatim in Hawkins, and which is contested by Burney, and then an extended account of the "Species" which may also be found in Hawkins and which

seems of little interest here.

The difficulties arising out of a tone based on a 9-8 ratio as in the Pythagorean scale soon became obvious. Lasos of Hermione in the sixth century overcame it, or perhaps sidestepped it by observing that notes had "breadth," but the discovery that musical space was irrational caused much speculation, and an attempt was made to solve the problem by splitting up the continuum into the smallest intervals which were audible! (pyncnomata). Isobel Henderson writes:

"There was no question of realising equal temperament on physical instruments. The intention was to reduce all intervals to common numerical terms on a theoretical gamut of atomic microtones.... Aristoxenus had to explain to his raw students that the pyncnomata (beside being logically absurd) were practically inept, since nobody could sing more than two consecutive microtones." 20.

Later we read:

"When the ancient theorists measured intervals - whether by ratios or by units - they did so for no practical purpose, but because numerical formulation was expected of an exact science. Textbooks were infested with tables of all possible scales, which never coexisted in musical history; and while some of the measured intervals might coincide with some current tunings, they were not direct descriptions of music. The unitary measurement of intervals, by a historical irony, was later attributed to Aristoxenus himself who exploded it." 21.

It is with the above question that Pepusch seems to get bogged down in the latter part of his letter, and he does appear to be trying to relate the division of the octave into 31 parts to the problem of Temperament.

Pepusch obviously undertook a considerable amount of private teaching, and seems to have had a considerable influence on a number of distinguished pupils as a result, including nonentities, nobility, and well-known professionals. Burney's comment that he was "visited and consulted as an oracle by every master who realised that he did not know everything" is borne out by Hawkins who tells us that "professors of music" sought his guidance. Burney also testifies to his skill in part writing.²² We have already mentioned that Handel entrusted J.C. Smith to him for lessons, and that Handel and Pepusch apparently collaborated as teachers in the case of George Monroe.²³ It would appear that his most distinguished pupils were Travers, Boyce and Cooke.

All three had distinguished records, Travers ultimately becoming a Chapel Royal organist, composing and publishing church music, canzonets and organ voluntaries. Trained as a chorister at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, he was articled to Maurice Greene. Grove's Dictionary tells us that he "soon afterwards" made the acquaintance of Dr. Pepusch, who "assisted him in his studies to great advantage." Perhaps the most significant surviving item in this context is an autograph manuscript by him containing four melodies in the ancient Greek modes for four voices with an instrumental accompaniment. Obviously Pepusch succeeded in interesting him in this aspect of his work, and the fact that he inherited half of Pepusch's library testifies to the closeness of their relationship.

It seems that Benjamin Cooke was taught by Pepusch from the age of nine, and that in three years he had made

sufficient progress to be able to deputise for John Robinson the organist of Westminster Abbey! He composed a good deal of music, including a number of odes, and became Abbey organist, taking his Cambridge Mus.D. in 1782. Obviously he was taught to good purpose, but more interesting is the fact that he succeeded Pepusch as conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music. This is indicative of his interest in early music, and that this interest was generally acknowledged.

The career of Boyce is too well known to require any detailed exposition, but certain aspects are relevant to the present discussion. He was articled to Greene, and when his articles expired in 1734, and he was appointed organist of Oxford Chapel, Vere Street, Grove tells us that he "pursued his studies under Dr. Pepusch." This would seem to indicate that Pepusch was thought to be a better teacher than Greene, although the latter was eminent at the time. Perhaps this was related to the fact that his notes suggest that he devoted time and thought to the problems of teaching when others may have treated it more incidentally.

It will therefore be understood from the foregoing discussion that the influence of Pepusch on the rising generation was of some importance.

CHAPTER VII - NOTES

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18. "The New Oxford History of Music," Vol.I, London, 1957,p.336.
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21. Loc.cit.
22. Refer to p.56.
23. See p.59.

CHAPTER VIII -

"THE BEGGAR'S OPERA"

The influence of Pepusch as a teacher was obviously confined to a small minority, while his interest in early music and the Academy had only a limited influence during his life. In general, his career as a theatre musician was successful rather than meteoric. The exception to this last statement is of course "The Beggar's Opera," and this seems something of a paradox, since his contribution to it, with the exception of the overture was merely that of arranger. It is, however, the work which ensured that his name would not be completely forgotten.

There does not seem to be any specific information about the way in which Pepusch was approached, but as already suggested, it is notable that, as a foreigner, he understood the English well enough to realise that a work of this type was likely to succeed. One may, of course argue that he didn't - that he accepted the commission merely as a job of work - yet few men associate themselves with something they see as a potential failure, and at that stage the work must have inspired considerable confidence or none at all.

Although Gay may have been influenced by a play of 1725, "The Prison Breaker, or the Adventures of John Shepherd," the opera seems to have been the first of its type, and it is interesting to notice that the former was subsequently converted into a ballad opera.¹ That the immediate influence of "The Beggar's Opera" was considerable may be seen from the fact that between 1728 and 1837 thirty-seven similar works were produced.

The reasons for the ultimate failure of the Italian opera in London are complex, and I prefer to think of the work as the effect rather than the cause. It does, however seem to have been the final blow, and it obviously exercised a considerable influence on subsequent operas of the same type. The work itself has had countless revivals since, and its conviction, humour and panache have given it universal qualities which have made it timeless in spite of its crude simplicity.

In view of the many books, articles and references to the work, it is obviously pointless to indulge in any detailed general consideration of it, but a number of important points connected with Pepusch ought to be considered. What was the extent of his contribution? Did he, for example have any say in the selection of the music?

Frank Kidson is certain that Gay must have possessed the six volumes of "Pills to Purge Melancholy," and that this work, with William Thompson's "Orpheus Caledonius" and Playford's "Dancing Master" provided the source from which he selected much of his material. He is of the opinion that Pepusch had no part in this:

"Dr. Pepusch, a German musician, scholarly and dry was chosen to put basses to the airs and to compose an overture. It is doubtful if he had any hand in the selection of the tunes. He does not appear to have been able to speak very good English, and it is noticeable that, while there are a number of French tunes employed, there are none of German origin, if we exclude Handel's march from 'Rinaldo.' Surely Pepusch, seeing popular airs were in request

would have introduced one or more German folk songs into the opera if he had the duty of finding simple melodies for Gay's verses. As there are several French tunes interspersed Gay had no doubt access to a French collection, which I have not yet been able to identify; or else they have been noted down from songs sung by some of his friends." 2.

This may well be correct, although it is interesting to note that Burney refers to Pepusch having been chosen by Gay to "help him select the tunes" for the work.³ Again we have another allusion to Pepusch's academic mien. It should, however be remembered that Gay did choose Pepusch, no doubt because he was a distinguished practising theatre musician with successful stage works to his credit. Another consideration might also be the immediate success of the work.

The point about Pepusch introducing German songs seems quite unconvincing. Logically it seems to be based on the assumption that Pepusch was naive and stupid! Surely one of the appealing features of the work, apart from the elements of political, social and musical satire, its earthy humour and the fact that it was in English, lay in the tunes chosen; which were easy to appreciate and remember and generally familiar to the audiences. A foreigner would reasonably be expected to be most careful in this sort of situation to make sure that his music would appeal to the taste of the audience, and surely an excellent method of doing so would be to make it indigenous. One should also bear in mind that he had worked in London theatres for about 27 years prior to "The Beggar's Opera." The only tunes which Kidson acknowledges as being French are Nos. 13, 14 and 19 - a small number in an opera of 68 items on which to base such a conclusion. The suggestion

that Gay chose his own material is, however borne out by Professor Dent, who commented that this must be the case since the words are written to fit them, and in some cases are a parody of the original words of the songs.⁴ As stated, however, there does not seem to be specific information on how or at what point Pepusch was approached. Dent continues:

"There is some evidence that Gay's first intention was to have the songs sung without any accompaniment, like those in 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle,' and that it was only at one of the last rehearsals that some of his friends persuaded Rich, the manager, that he ought to have 'music,' i.e. instrumental music, and Dr. Pepusch was hastily called in to supply an overture and accompaniments to the songs. This seems extremely probable in view of the fact that in the first edition of the music (1729) the songs are provided with the very simplest possible basses and with indications of a violin part here and there; only the overture is set out in full score for a small orchestra."

This seems very plausible and may well be the case, although one should bear in mind that simplicity could have been choice rather than necessity, and that many such works must have been laid out in a rather sketchy way.

Stating that Pepusch was knowledgeable in respect of "antiquarian" music, he comments that it evidently did not occur to Pepusch to verify the accuracy of the tunes as given by D'Urfey, or their original harmonisations, and continues "although learned in the ancient modes, he showed no understanding of the modal characteristics of the British folksongs included among them." 5.

There are two distinct points here. The first, regarding verification of the tunes assumes that the original version was wanted! In the edition from which this note is taken, the airs have been presented in their original versions, and

with original harmonisations when these were available.

One might contend that it would be better to perform the opera as originally intended by Gay and Pepusch. On the other hand, Dent's solution may perhaps be best for a modern audience who no doubt know the original version of "Greensleeves" better than the eighteenth century one. However, the assumption here seems to be that Pepusch was too short of time to check the sources. Much more likely, surely, is the contention that as a contemporary theatre composer, he wanted the contemporary and no doubt popular version. Hughes has some interesting comments which are helpful here:

"The presence of English tunes in the score of 'The Beggar's Opera' is of special interest in view of the known predilection of Pepusch for the music of the period. Indeed the tune of 'Packington's Pound' is to be found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book which rested on the music rack of Mrs. Pepusch's harpsichord. However, the obvious conclusion that Pepusch had obtained the tune from a source so near at hand turns out to be false. A comparison of the two versions shows very marked differences in both the melody and the bass. The tune was perhaps still current among the people, and Pepusch may have used a popular version that had survived till the eighteenth century. It must have been well received, for it reappeared in 'Musical Miscellany' of 1831 in a version identical with that in 'The Beggar's Opera,' save for a transposition from G minor to A minor. The other Elizabethan tune is 'Greensleeves' which must have survived among the ballad singers - it appeared in a coarsened and inferior form." 6.

Here Hughes gives us some useful information without drawing any further conclusions, but the inference seems obvious. Pepusch had the source of one of the tunes in his own house, must have known he had it, and could scarcely have been so

short of time that he was unable to refer to his own library for a fundamental matter like the correct version of the tune he was arranging! It seems quite clear that he used the version he wanted to use - the popular one, which illustrates that whatever his enthusiasm for early music, he was certainly not pedantic about it in the theatre. This attitude is summarised by Hughes when writing about ten songs in "Musical Miscellany," which he describes as "pert, graceful, amusing, with occasional melodic dryness but far from pedantic." He continues:

"It is quite clear that the Doctor has shown again the curious duality of character that is one of his most striking traits. He did, indeed, believe that his beloved Salinas had recovered the enharmonic mode of the ancients. He struggled to revive the twelve Ecclesiastical Modes like a musical Don Quixote. But if theatre music was desired or bright little songs for English soubrettes, he understood very well what was necessary and could easily assume the required style. His years at Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields had not passed in vain." 7.

There is no real evidence for or against the suggestion that Pepusch was short of time when the work was completed, but if this were the case, it is safe to assume that he would not have been inhibited. Burney tells us of his facility in writing and correcting harmony "instantly,"⁸ and it is safe to assume that his work on the opera need not have detained him long. In terms of part writing, he was obviously very fluent indeed, and if Handel could produce "Messiah" in a matter of weeks, surely Pepusch can be credited with the ability to dispose of these arrangements quickly!

Now let us consider Dent's second contention - that Pepusch did not show any understanding of the modal character

of the British folksongs. The first answer to this charge is found in Hughes's article. He compares Pepusch's treatment of "Greensleeves" with the version generally credited to Arne. The two versions are quoted for comparison, (Ex.126 (a) and (b)) and Hughes makes the following comments:

"The Arne bass is more elaborate than the primitive line supplied by Pepusch. But it may be suspected that the Arne bass would somewhat impede the free movement of the melody. It will also be noted that Arne feels obliged to begin in G minor in conventional style. Pepusch, on the other hand, starts boldly in B flat and uses the modal minor chord at the half close where Arne used the major dominant of G minor. In short, the Pepusch bass, though primitive, seems to fit both the movement and the tonality of the tune better than does the more elaborate one by Arne." 9.

Hughes may be misled when he speaks of the "modal minor chord" being used at the half close. He obviously means a D-minor chord instead of the normal dominant, but one wonders what basis he has for the assumption. If he deduces it from the fact that there is no sharp figured beneath the chord, the fact is offset by the absence of figuring anywhere else in the third edition which presumably constituted his source. It should also be noted that in the available sources of Pepusch's music the figuring is often far from complete. It is very tempting to assume that Pepusch intended an F-natural, but in my opinion it is by no means certain that he did. Hughes's other comments are, of course quite valid.

It is sometimes forgotten that new basses were provided to "The Beggar's Opera" some fifty years later in the Arne edition, and similarly people tend to forget that modern editors of the work do not feel bound to adhere to the original. In this

connection, we have already noted the subsequently amusing comment by Burney that no sound contrapuntist would ever attempt to alter Pepusch's basses.¹⁰ This is glowing praise indeed from Burney, who, as we have seen, had no great respect or admiration for Pepusch, and in connection with the comments already mentioned, it will be well worthwhile to consider the two versions in more detail. We shall see that Pepusch had a far better understanding of the characteristics of the melodies and the requirements of the theatre than is sometimes supposed. We shall, in the interests of simplicity refer to the Arne edition and the Arne basses, although it will later emerge that the origin of the actual basses is far from certain.

The Arne edition follows the scheme of the original work very closely. The only variations are that Arne adds a hornpipe in the third act, and omits four of the original tunes.¹¹ Three overall features emerge from a general comparison.

1. Pepusch's basses are generally simpler than Arne's, and for that reason alone seem generally more appropriate for simple songs of the type included. Pepusch is not afraid to write several bars of static harmony, often with no indication of movement in the parts. He realised, no doubt that folksongs are not orientated towards harmony, and that this is the most natural treatment for a tune which may well have had no original accompaniment. Arne on the other hand, clutters his basses with extra notes so that at times the effect is extremely laboured. Sometimes there are simply too many chords per bar. On other occasions, the movement

is attained by "note spinning," through arpeggios of the basic chord and octave leaps. This sort of thing might have been added to the original by an enterprising continuo player, but here the effect tends to be rather sterile - active without being very interesting.

2. Pepusch seems to have a much better idea of an appropriate accompaniment to a modal tune than Arne, who tends to force them into what appears to be the appropriate key by modern standards.
3. While Arne's accompaniments are generally gracious and attractive, they are largely homophonic in character and in this sense a product of their own time. Pepusch tends to work in a certain amount of imitative writing. If sometimes less easy on the ear than those of Arne, they tend to be more satisfying from the contrapuntal point of view. Arne tends to move voice and accompaniment together, while Pepusch is more willing to leave the voice alone, particularly in the case of an anacrusis. Arne seems to make far too much use of consecutive 3rds or 6ths between bass and melody. We shall now examine some instances of the above generalisations.

Hughes has already cited the version of "Greensleeves" as an instance in which Pepusch scores through his simplicity. There are many similar examples. Consider the comparison afforded by Exs. 127 and 128. The term *allegro* was added in the Arne edition as are all the Italian terms applied to quotations in the present discussion, and the tunes were surely

meant to swing along two-in-a-bar. Compare the Pepusch versions with the overactive lumbering bass provided in the later edition. In Ex.128 the Arne bass works quite well, apart from the slight awkwardness in the last bar, but leaving the tune to float over the tonic as Pepusch does seems a lighter and more appropriate solution. Ex.129, "Pretty Polly say" is another instance where Pepusch writes a strong simple bass line while Arne indulges in rather restless quaver writing which is more active than interesting. In this item we see that Pepusch does not scruple to use the chord on the flat seventh. In the second part, Arne accompanies the flowing quavers of the voice part in thirds which seems somewhat unimaginative. An interesting example of harmonic overcrowding rather than just writing too many notes is seen in No.33 "If you at an office," (Ex.130). Pepusch realised that the quick tempo suggested by the tune demanded a two-in-a-bar treatment, and modelled his bass accordingly. We must assume that Arne also considered the tune a quick one, since his edition gives "Vivace" at the opening of this number, yet he implies many more harmonic changes than Pepusch, some in awkward places, such as on the last crotchet of the bar. No.37 "Cease your funning," (Ex.131) is another example in which the Arne bass, although pleasing counterpoint seems needlessly laborious, and this is true in spite of the slower tempo. He seems reluctant to avail himself of rests, and this contrasts sharply with some of the Pepusch versions, where this device is often used to let a breath of fresh air into the music. This point is well illustrated by Ex.132, while

Pepusch adopts a similar light and open texture in No.47 "I'm like a skiff," which in this respect compares favourably with the otherwise effective Arne bass. Perhaps the best example of the judicious use of rests by Pepusch is found in No. 28: "How cruel are the traytors." (Ex.133).

In respect of modal tunes, one must be careful not to overstate the case. What Hughes would refer to as the "Modal minor chord" (Ex.133), could well be considered by the writer of textbooks of elementary harmony as resulting from the descending melodic minor. One might contend that one ought to try to determine how Pepusch would have viewed it. However, in view of the impracticability of a musical seance to this end, we must confine our attention to what he actually wrote. Looked at broadly, most musicians would consider that Pepusch's harmonisation caught the spirit of the modal tune better than Arne's. We have already suggested that Hughes's assumption that an F natural was intended at the cadence in Ex.126 is open to question. We may however be sure that Arne intended this, since it is present in his version of the melody. The same type of progression occurs in No.26, "Man may scape from rope and gun," (Ex.134). Another more interesting example is found in number 46, "In the days of my youth," (Ex.135). Notice that Pepusch uses the dominant with the flattened leading note in the 3rd bar. As the C natural is in the melody; this is not open to question, although someone far more pedantic than Pepusch might prefer to regard the chord as the mediant! Arne shies at this solution, and wriggles through IV-V-VI in F. It is interesting to speculate on what was played in the first half of the next bar. Did Pepusch really want a false

relation with C sharp? Another minor chord would surely have been the most natural thing in the world.

Two more examples are cited. No.48, (Ex.136) shows how Pepusch's use of the chord on the flat seventh, as opposed to a dominant chord with a minor third, can enhance certain types of tune. The example is of special interest, since the phrase is firmly couched in G minor, and the chord is not used, as is so often the case, as a step through to relative major tonality. The Pepusch version of Ex.137 has the same harmonic characteristics as Ex.136 and this, coupled with the skilful use of rests, produces a rather stark treatment which is far more suitable to the text than Arne's ' **more commonplace** version.

We come now to the suggestion that Pepusch's basses were sometimes more genuinely interesting than those of Arne. No.2, "Tis woman that seduces all mankind" is a particularly good example of this, and is quoted in full, (Ex.138). Pepusch's version contains plenty of imitation of a non-exact nature. Arne, however tends to move his bass in quavers when the melody moves, and his bass is certainly lacking in interest at the start of the second part. Notice too, the deft touch of the E natural in the fourth bar of Pepusch's version. In No.32, Pepusch starts his bass one bar late, with a vague suggestion of imitation, which makes a striking contrast with the rather restless Arne bass, (Ex.139). The last example quoted in this context (Ex.140) is from the opening of No.7, "Our Polly is a sad slut," which Pepusch begins with a point of imitation.

Arne's bass, although using a different chord, seems to have a similar point, but he obscured it by the presence of the first three notes, and didn't even bother to duplicate the rhythm of the tune in bar two! This confirms that the original basses were not to Arne's taste, and that we are commenting on the result of his choice, rather than lack of skill. It does not, however alter the fact that in many respects, we find the Pepusch version more acceptable, or that even after fifty years it proved difficult to make any real improvement on Pepusch's work.

So far the whole emphasis has been on the superiority of the Pepusch edition. It would, of course be quite unfair to leave the impression that this is always so. Three examples are included as samples to show that on occasions some of the more elaborate later versions do enhance the work and add a considerable amount of interest. The melody of Ex.128 seemed liberated by the simple static accompaniment of Pepusch, but this is not so in respect of Ex.141. Here the Pepusch bass is frankly boring, and the later addition of appropriate jigging patterns, although not exciting, nevertheless affords some interest. In Ex.142 Arne provides a much more shapely bass than Pepusch, and gives definition to a rather tricky vocal line. Ex.143 merely illustrates that some of Arne's basses seem more sophisticated than the earlier ones.

So far we have based our discussion on the assumption that the Arne addition is in fact by Arne, and we have repeatedly referred to him as the composer; yet it appears that this is far from certain. The assumption is denied by Addison in about 1728, who in his preface to a new vocal score of "The

Beggar's Opera" stated that the edition "purporting to have new bases composed by Dr. Arne, is a gross imposition, and to receive it as his, would be to libel both his taste and judgement." Roger Fiske provides us with a most probable explanation for this apparent contradiction, drawing our attention to the title page of the edition, which reads:^{12.}

"As it is Perform'd at both Theatres, with the Additional Alterations by Dr. Arne, for the Voice, Harpsichord, and Violin. The Basses entirely new."

He suggests that this is an unauthorised edition, that the wording is intended to deceive, and that the key to the matter is found in the full stop - that in fact the basses are not stated to be by Arne. Similarly one cannot assume from this statement that the work was performed at both theatres with the given basses! The fact that later publishers claim Arne as the composer may mean nothing more than that they were similarly misled by this piece of sharp practice. Arne's alterations are summarised by Fiske, and included cuts, transpositions, minor alterations and additions of material, and the addition of tempo indications. This seems a highly probable explanation, and it appears that the work remained a firm favourite in its original form. Addison continues:

"Until the year 1777 the orchestral music to the airs consisted of merely the melodies and a base, at which time Mr. Linley.... composed some very ingenious and effective accompaniments: notwithstanding which, the prejudice in favour of the former continued till within a few years, when Mr. Arnold revived it at the English Opera-House, and (with some exceptions) restored Mr. Linley's accompaniments, which have since been generally adopted, and to which I owe great obligation in the following arrangements."

Roger Fiske points out that this was not quite accurate, and that J.A. Fisher in the previous year had attempted some

renovation. The "Morning Post" speaks critically of his accompanying the airs with "first and second fiddle, and Merlin's new Forte Piano." It is interesting to note that the writer condemned this as absurd, although referring to the "old style of overpowering the voice with the full force of a large band." In this context, Fiske writes:¹³.

"It follows from this that another innovation in 1759 had been to have all the strings playing in the airs; Fisher reverted to the previous practice of having only one or two players to a part, so that the rather unobtrusive tone of the early piano might be heard. Indeed, it seems to follow that solo strings were used, both in 1729 and 1776. Fisher's version does not survive; no doubt his piano accompaniments were improvised."

This would seem to be yet another illustration of the suggestion that significant improvements on the deceptively simple version of Pepusch did not come very quickly. It is appropriate to consider the songs in a little more detail, and once again Roger Fiske is a mine of information.

If one assumes that the songs were printed complete, then clearly there would be no introduction, and the singer would merely be given a note during, or at the end of his last speech. Fiske assumes, therefore that the accompaniment would be for continuo only, since a conductorless orchestra would have difficulty in following the singer, at least in the initial bars. This is borne out by the practice of Purcell, who confines songs with no introduction to the continuo. Alternatively, the continuo player might improvise an introduction using the material of the song itself. The third possibility is that the introduction and possibly a conclusion were provided, but that these were simply not printed - any more than the basses themselves. We may remind ourselves that

overtures are found in printed editions in only four cases, two of which are "The Beggar's Opera" and "The Wedding." The fugue of the former is based on "I'm like a skiff," but is otherwise unconnected with the work, while the latter is apparently totally unconnected. It was the last overture to be printed in a work of this type, and as Fiske comments, "either publishers preferred to avoid the expense of printing overtures, or theatres saved money by using music already in print." Clearly then, Pepusch's overtures might well have formed models for subsequent works, or might have been performed in the context of other productions. Opera airs were often printed in the form of an appendix to the text, but later, if included at all, are found incorporated in the text but without introductions. Again we find that in only five cases were they printed with basses, and two of the five are "The Beggar's Opera" and "Polly." It may therefore be seen that Pepusch's theatre pieces gained more attention than most, partly because of the novelty of this type of work, and in terms of availability through publication were advantageously placed to exercise subsequent influence. Surviving material suggests that written introductions were normal, and that these have simply been omitted from the short printed editions. This is borne out by the problems which are found in "The Beggar's Opera" regarding keys. Numbers 7, 16, 18 and 20 have out-of-key endings. Discussing the problem, Fiske writes:

"The question of key is especially teasing when there is a succession of airs with no intervening dialogue. One would expect

conventional key relationships between one air and the next for the sake of both listeners and performers, but no such relationship is to be found in the succession of airs Macheath sings in the 'Condemn's Hold' (Airs 58-67). The first nine are incomplete fragments, the last a complete version of 'Greensleeves,' and the sudden and frequent switches of key, time signature and tempo in the course of uninterrupted music must have made this scene of the greatest practical difficulty. In our own century much ingenuity has been exercised on it by Dent and Britten....the same problem exercised Thomas Linley in the 1770's. With the addition of intervening bars for the orchestra, and a few changes in note values and keys, it can be made wonderfully effective. But how did Thomas Walker manage in 1728? He must have made a good job of it, for the scene was much imitated, and in general these imitations pay some attention to key sequence." 14.

Thomas Walker? Or Pepusch? Certainly one would assume that this scheme would not have been chosen without the composer having a reasonable clear picture in his mind of how it would be worked. The rather haphazard printed editions certainly go far to explain some of the variants such as the inferior alternative basses. Theatre musicians at this time must have been necessarily fairly self-sufficient in preparing performances. Certainly "the work seems to have been an odd combination of care and carelessness." Pepusch's arrangements of the March from "Rinaldo" - "Let us take the road" does not use the correct harmonies - or even the correct tune, and Fiske attributes this to his dislike for Handel. However, the real motivation - or lack of it seems hard to determine, since we have seen that Pepusch subscribed to Handel's operas, and presumably knew this piece. Yet the version is not a very obvious parody either. Conversely we see that "Polly" contains eight tempo indications at a time when they are almost unknown in ballad opera. Fiske suggests that they arose because there was a tendency to sing some

items too quickly. This is confirmed by the choice - "not too fast," "slow" and "very slow" - the last being applied to a normally lively tune, "Buff Coat," sung here as a dirge.^{15.}

Obviously in the case of "Polly," Pepusch attained a certain indirect notoriety, as the work was one of the very few which were banned by the Lord Chamberlain! The reasons for this seem obscure, and are not relevant here. The work has limitations and had nothing like the success of "The Beggar's Opera." The ban generated considerable interest in it, however, and Fiske comments:

"Financially the ban was a godsend to Gay. Published by subscription, 'Polly' enjoyed enormous sales, though readers must have been disappointed at finding nothing in it to offend. The Duchess of Malborough paid £100 for her copy." 16.

Notoriety indeed! Pepusch wrote basses to the airs, although Fiske suggests that he never completed the overture, although it is alluded to in the libretto.^{17.} The material of the airs is most attractive, and the basses skilful and effective.

Little seems to be known about "The Wedding," of 1729, and I assume that this work made little impact. If this is true, it must have been due to the poverty of the plot, which has none of the impact and satire of the works previously discussed. It is another obvious example of a pasticcio, with an interesting and apt selection of music.

Fiske also refers to "Achilles," the third and last ballad opera staged by Rich. It is interesting from our point of view because air 34 is called "Beggar's Opera Hornpipe." He concludes that it was originally the "Dance of the Prisoners in chains" before the scene in prison, and assumes that Pepusch composed it. This seems most probable.^{18.}

CHAPTER VIII - NOTES

1. "The Quaker Opera." See Kidson, F: "The Beggar's Opera, its predecessors and successors," Cambridge, 1922, p.100.
2. Ibid., p.66.
3. Burney, C: "A General History of Music," Mercer Edn., Dover Publications, New York, 1957, vol.II, p.986.
4. Dent, D.J: Edn. of "The Beggar's Opera," Oxford, Preface, p.iii.
5. Ibid., p.5.
6. Hughes, C.W: "John Christopher Pepusch," M.Q., 31, 1945, p.61.
7. Ibid., p.69.
8. See p. 56.
9. Op. cit., p.62.
10. See p. 23.
11. Nos. 11, 43, 45, 56.
12. Fiske, R: "English Theatre Music in the eighteenth century," Oxford, 1973, p.401.
13. Ibid., p.402.
14. Ibid., p.120.
15. Ibid., p.119.
16. Ibid., p.109.
17. Ibid., p.111.
18. Ibid., p.114.

CONCLUSIONS

It is hoped that the *raison d'etre* of this account has now emerged. I have endeavoured to make the existing information on Pepusch available under one cover, to clarify some aspects of the relationship between him and his contemporaries, to assess his influence, and to examine a representative amount of his music which is little-known.

We are left with a picture of a versatile and astute musician, who was keenly interested in all aspects of his art. His output and influence are both considerable, and we may ask ourselves why, "The Beggar's Opera" apart, he has received such scant recognition. Was it a result of his supposed relationship with Handel that he seems to have been regarded by some as a figure of fun, or was it due mainly to Burney's dislike? On what was this dislike based? If on his music, we must bear in mind that Burney does not appear to have known very much of it, and certainly refers mainly to uninspiring examples!

One factor which emerges beyond doubt is that his output varied sharply in quality and interest. There can be no doubt that his least interesting works are boring, and that he appeared to lapse on occasions through lack of interest in what he was doing. I sense this at times in the church music, in the violin duos (cited by Burney as examples of his composition), and in some of the sonatas. The effect of these lapses of quality may have been quite far-reaching. Burney obviously had little time for Pepusch, and gives him

scant credit in the "History." He assassinates Galliard in much the same way. From his comments have largely sprung the conception that Handel and Pepusch disliked each other. No doubt Pepusch was jealous of Handel, although since he had only a passing interest in composition, which was only one of his many interests, it may be that envy would be a better word. It also seems inevitable that Handel could only have had limited respect for Pepusch. We have, however produced evidence to suggest that the two were on far better terms than one might suppose - the collaboration at Cannons, Pepusch's subscription to Handel's works, the fact that he was appointed to teach J.C.Smith, and so on. Handel must have had nothing to fear from, and little time to contemplate Pepusch, and Pepusch, for all his churlish comment to Burney - (how much had this to do with Burney's opinion?) must have recognised Handel's merits. It could surely not be otherwise! If in certain respects this was not the case, then we may think that it tends to confirm my supposition that Pepusch did not have unqualified admiration for the Italian operatic convention and all that went with it. His love of early music, of Corelli's style, and even aspects of the English style is evident, but he showed no interest in Italian Opera even in the early days when it might have paid him very well to do so. He apparently found himself at odds with it just as Avison did with the superficialities of early classical style, and while this is a form of blindness, posterity has not completely negated the opinion of either. How much more balanced a view than that of Burney, who one must admit was infatuated with

the operatic flights of his day so that he was blind to other things.

The inability to see the beauties of older music was a corporate one, and Pepusch's interest in it immediately branded him as unusual - as an oddity who was fair game for the humorists of the period. An academic is in any case a pretty good target, although it is obvious that many musicians and educated people had considerable respect for his endeavours. The members of the Academy and the pupils who were indebted to him were a fairly select band. Hence, one feels the rather "dusty" image, and the aura of respectability rather than excitement. Let us now try more specifically to summarise the significance of his activities.

As a composer he was versatile - chamber music, concertos, and vocal music for theatre, church and chamber. Although as a good business man, he was encouraged to produce violin sonatas which could be played on flutes, and transcribed violin pieces for the keyboard, he nevertheless showed himself to be style-conscious and able. His vocal music falls into distinct styles. The motets are a beautiful and personal tribute to Renaissance music. His anthems are modelled, admittedly with less inspiration on those of the Restoration composers. The Magnificat is presumably based on the Te Deum and Jubilate in D of Purcell, which was also the model for similar works by Croft and Handel. His music for the theatre is based on the style prevailing on his arrival, obvious influences being Purcell and minor composers such as Eccles. Let it not be forgotten that at least two of these styles were basically unfamiliar to him, and that the characteristics

were assimilated quickly and with fairly good results.

The cantatas are varied on content and scoring, and once again distinguish clearly between Italian and English idioms. Those in English style are modelled on Purcell, as in some measure are Pepusch's odes. Once again he faces an unfamiliar problem - the construction of recitatives for an English text, and working in a strange language he acquits himself very well. His skill in grasping what was required is confirmed by the fact that Handel found him worthy of attention in respect of English style, and this seems particularly apparent in Handel's Cantata "Venus and Adonis."

In the context of "The Beggar's Opera" it is generally assumed that he had a fairly disinterested role as arranger, providing a hack accompaniment which was adequate for the purpose. His participation is, however more significant to us than that. He was not at that stage short of money, and nothing in our examination suggests specifically that he was unduly modest or unconcerned with his public image. The idea that he accepted the commission merely as employment is therefore unconvincing. It is much more likely that, wishing to avoid being associated with a failure, he would have refused unless he had some faith in the work and thought it likely to succeed. If so, then this confirms his shrewd understanding of the situation prevailing in London, and that his association with a piece which helped to change history was a conscious one. His basses, which we are told were produced hurriedly, were so successful that they sustained the work effectively to the present day, and they proved difficult to enhance or replace. They have just the right degree of restraint and simplicity for the tunes, many of which are of

folk type, and these from a man who was supposed to be pedantic and academic, and who spent his spare time with such contrasted activities as the perusal and composition of motets.

That he met with success cannot be doubted. The number of performances of items by Pepusch in the London Theatres indicates clearly that whatever criticisms Burney may make, these were successful. Eventually even Burney had to admit that Pepusch and Galliard were "unrivalled" in this context until the arrival of Arne and Lampe, (see p. 55). This statement is hard to equate with the assumption made in other contexts by Burney that Pepusch was a composer of negligible merit. Perhaps however this assumption hinges on the fact that for Burney music in the theatre began and ended with Italian opera, and he tends to discount some of the English theatre music.

His versatility is also illustrated by his ability to compose worthwhile sonatas and concertos in the Italian style - a result of his admiration for Corelli. "Few of his compositions were ever in general use and favour except..... Alexis," wrote Burney, yet publishers were not without acumen, and Burney's suggestion is belied by the amount of instrumental music which was published during his life. My impression from this information is that his music sold and was much used, but that it probably found an amateur market and did not hit the headlines. This supposition is borne out by the character of much of the instrumental music which would seem likely to appeal to that section of the community, but which

was none the worse for its accessibility. The evidence lies partly in the general simplicity of many of the violin sonatas, and the fact that the chamber items seem to be music for performer rather than listener. Included are works of real merit, and also some which are not stereotyped, but which display genuinely original features. We must not, however fall into the trap of placing too high a premium on originality. Handel and Bach represent a fusion of styles, and indeed borrow extensively - something which we may note that Pepusch does not appear to do. The almost obsessive preoccupation with originality which one encounters today appears to be a relatively new phenomenon.

Many Mathematicians have shown a flair for the art of music, although the reverse seldom seems to be the case! Certainly Pepusch was sufficiently well-educated to become absorbed in the problems associated with Greek musical theory, and in spite of the difficulties he encountered, and the epithet of "stupid German dog" which was lovingly disposed on him, he seems to have appreciated the philosophical beauty of this study as did the Greeks themselves. The assumption that he was trying to apply it in practical terms and devise a workable system from it may possibly be naive. It seems probable that he was interested in the knowledge and the problem for its own sake. It must also be borne in mind that like Dr. Johnson's lady violinist, we may think that the merit lies not in the fact that he did it well, but that he did it at all.

What of the Academy of Ancient Music? How significant was the part played by Pepusch? At very least he was one of the

thirteen founder members - certainly, one feels a "moving spirit," whose advice, as a distinguished professional would be eagerly sought. Later the esteem in which he is held within the organisation becomes quite apparent. We find that he trained the boys for an insignificant fee. Of the founder members, we may be excused for thinking it most probable that the initial concept was Pepusch's own. This would be a logical result of his interest in early music which apparently began early in his career, (see p. 51). Neither is there anything to suggest that the others had much prior interest in this area. The impact of the association is however marked, some members making subsequent contributions to this cause which were very valuable. The best example on the practical side is of course Immyns, while we may feel sure that the enlightened view of Hawkins to early music, and his subsequent influence as historian sprang from his association with the Academy and Pepusch.

"The Treatise on Harmony" must be assessed in the context of its time. Nowadays the methods seem rather laboured and unwieldy, and the examples occasionally rather stereotyped. Yet the eighteenth century was not a period when the student was overwhelmed with good teaching material - very far from it! The book having been published without examples, Pepusch revised it, although it did not bear his name and he might simply have disowned it. Material is carefully graded and arranged, and the carefully thought out tables for the calculation of simple chords, while laborious by modern standards, and perhaps somewhat unmusical as well, are ingeniously contrived. Much thought must have gone into the logical presentation of the

subject matter by this accessible diagramatic method. His distinguished pupils, and the advice he gave freely to those who sought it represent the other practical side of his teaching activities which were extensive enough to exert considerable influence on future musicians.

Pepusch was versatile - it was this quality, illustrated by the diversity of his activities and the amount he accomplished which first attracted me to him. He emerges as a distinguished performer and composer, who later found time and energy to make a significant impact as a teacher and who was also a devoted scholar. In his latter days, he was materially well-off, and without the spur of necessity, he pursued his research activities consistently in the face of some ridicule. In the particular, he may have thrown off a sonata or piece of chamber music hurriedly, without sufficient thought; but in general terms it is clear that his interest in music was all-embracing, and that he was quite single-minded about it. Nothing indicates that his interest ever waned.

C.W. Hughes and H.F. Fred obviously warm to their subject as I have done, and conclude by praising him in ringing phrases which I cannot hope to emulate. I can do no better than end by quoting the "short lesson" which Burney received from Pepusch and which he "long endeavoured to practice:"

"When I was a young man, I determined never to go to bed at night, till I knew something that I did not know in the morning."

Nothing known about his long life suggests that he broke faith with that high youthful objective.

The Music

This list is intended to enable the reader to assimilate as easily as possible the extent of the composer's output. Duplicates or different editions have not, therefore been listed as separate items. In many instances there are several copies of printed items available in Britain, and as these are listed in the "British Union Catalogue of Early Music," I have noted only the continental sources which I have encountered, or if appropriate, whatever other British Library contains a unique exemplar, in addition to the British Museum. Bracketed numbers immediately after the title indicate the number of items in the set. For much of this information, I am indebted to H.W.Fred.

Some of the collections contain isolated sonatas or groups of sonatas which are used in other collections; and such duplications, including instances where sonatas have been transposed, are summarised in the notes which follow.

eg. 17(3)=12(5) indicates that sonata 17 in item 3 is identical to sonata 12 in item 5.

Fred lists two fugues for harpsichord at Brussels, (no.27.061) which I have excluded since they appear to be lost and could not be obtained. Similarly, I am advised that the concerto grosso listed by Fred at Potsdam (M.Th.174) has been destroyed. Listed in Eitner as being in the Joachim Stalchen Gymnasium in Berlin, this may have been lost during the second world war before the collection was moved. To his list I have added six concertos and seven trio sonatas from Dresden which he apparently could not obtain, and the ground for harpsichord in the British Museum. Also included is the

vocal music, which was outside the scope of Fred's thesis, and which has not previously received any overall attention.

This list reveals that Pepusch's music is scattered far and wide, and it is stressed that although I have naturally included all the music which it has been possible to trace, this does not purport to be a complete list. It is impossible to be certain that no other examples have survived. Copies of almost all the items listed are in my possession and have been carefully examined. The scope of the present work is to assess the composer's output and influence, and to provide representative examples of his music, most of which is little known and not easily obtained. It is felt, however, that the material which has been scrutinised is adequate and representative.

Terminology employed in some of the original manuscripts and printed copies is naturally somewhat unsystematic. In the interests of simplicity, the bulk of the instrumental works have been grouped under the headings of sonatas, trio sonatas, and concertos.

I. Solo Sonatas.

(a) Violin.

1. "Sonates a violon seule..." Bk. 1. (8), Amsterdam, Roger, 1706. (2nd. edn. 1710). B.M., Schwerin. 1-8-1-8(5).
2. "Sonates a violon seule..." Bk. 2. (8), Amsterdam, Roger, 1706. (2nd. edn. 1710). B.M., Schwerin. (Note A)
3. "X Sonates a violon seule..." Bk. 3, Amsterdam, Roger, 1710. B.M., L.C. (Notes B & D).
4. "X Sonates a violon seule..." Bk. 4. Amsterdam, Roger, 1710. B.M.
5. "XXIV Solos for a violin..." London, Walsh, c. 1707. B.M., L.C. (Notes A, B, C, F, H).
6. "Solos for violin..." London, Walsh, c. 1706. L.C. (All in item 5).
7. B.M. Add. ms. 31466. 8 sonatas included in this set of 66 by various composers. (Note C).
8. B.M. Add. ms. 31531. 2 sets of 16 sonatas, dedicated "Slater" and "Butler."
9. B.M. Add. ms. 31532. 16 Sonatas dedicated "Greggs."
10. Brussels ms. 15455. 16 sonatas dedicated "Litton."
11. Brussels ms. 26.477. 66 "solos or sonatas" dedicated "Hamilton."
12. Brussels ms. 26.478. 23 "solos or sonatas" (Notes C, E, G).
13. Rostock Mus. saec. XVII-37⁷ "Sonata a violino solo..."
14. Uppsala. Instr. Mus. h. d. s. k. r. vols. 6 & 7. "Sonate da camera" (26) Note F.
15. "Mr. Pepusch's Aires for two violins..." London, Walsh, Randall & Hare, c. 1709. L.C. Walsh & Hare, c. 1715, B.M.

(b) Wind.

16. "Six sonatas of two parts... by Mr. Williams Croft, to which is added an excellent solo for a flute and bass by Seignr. Papus." (Pepusch). London, Walsh & Hare, c. 1704. B.M.
17. "VI Sonate a flauto solo..." Amsterdam, Roger, 1695-1705. L.C., Schwerin, pub. by Schotts.

18. "Six sonatas or solos for the flute..." London, Walsh & Hare, 1707. King's College, Cambridge.
19. "A second set of solos for the flute..." London, Walsh Randall & Hare, 1709. B.M. (Note H).
20. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37⁹. "Hoboe solo." (As per item 14, with different bass in third movement.)
21. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37¹⁰. "Solo sur la flute allemande."
22. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37¹¹. Flute solo.

II. Trio Sonatas.

23. "XII Sonates a deux violons, deux hautboys ou deux flutes traversieres..." Amsterdam, Roger, Schwerin.
24. "Harmonia Mundi," London, Walsh, Hare & Randall, 1707. (One sonata included in a set of six.) B.M.
25. R.C.M. ms. 1198(1) "Sonata for one violin, one bass viol and Tho. bass."
26. R.C.M. ms. 1198(2). Sonata for flute & vn.
27. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37². Sonata for flute & vn.
28. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37³. Sonata for fl. or vn. & va.
29. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37⁴. Sonata for 2 fls. or obs.
30. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37⁵. Sonata camera, fl. or ob. & vn.
31. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37⁶. "Symphonia a tre," fl. & vn. or v. d'amore, with "cembalo or lut."
32. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37⁸. fl. & vn.
33. Rostock, Mus. saec. XVII-37¹³. ob. & vn.
34. L.C. M422-A2 P42. Ob. & vn.
35. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/6. Sonata for fl. & vn. in G.
36. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/6. Sonata for fl. & vn. in D.
37. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/6. Sonata for ob. & vn.
38. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/1. Sonata for 2 vns.
39. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/2. Sonata for vn. & fl. (part).

40, Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/3. Sonata for vn. & V. da gamba.

III. Concertos.

41. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/6. Concerto no. 1 in E min. (2 solo vns.)

42. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/4. Concerto no 2 in F. (2 fls. 2 obs.
va. basso.)

43. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/1. Concerto no. 3 in G. (solo vn.) Also
at Uppsala, Mus. h. d. s. k. r. 57.3.

44. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/5. Concerto no. 4 in F. (2 solo vns.)

45. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/2. Concerto no. 5 in D. (solo vn.)

46. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/3. Concerto no. 6 in F. (2 vns. va, vc.
bsn. basso).

47. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/3. Concerto no. 7(?). One mvt. only.

48. Rostock, Mus. Saec. XVII-37¹². Concerto in D. (solo trumpet).

49. Tenbury, Eng. ms. 1131 ff. 11-19. Concerto in A min. (solo vn.).

50. L.C. M196-P41. Concerto in A min. (Str. orch.)

51. L.C. M196-P41. Concerto in D min. (str. orch.)

52. Rostock, Mus. sec. XVII-37¹⁴. "Sinfonia a 5." (2 fls. & 2 vns.).

53. Schwerin, Mus. 4162. "Partie Englitaire..." (3 obs. & vn.).

54. Quintet in F. From the private collection of Thurston Dart.

Pub. as Schott Edn. 10688, ed. Dart.

55. Dresden, Mus. 2160/Q/5. "Sonata a 4." (v. da gamba, fl. trav. 2 vns.).

IV. Harpsichord.

56. "Dr. Pepusch's Ground, with variations for the harpsichord,
violin and guittar." London, Straight, c. 1780. B.M. N.Y.P.L.

57. B.M. Add. ms. 39569. f. 007v. "Dr. Pepusch's Ground." Harpsichord
solo, not the same as item 56.

58. B.M. Add. ms. 31577. f. 19. "Aria in F."

59. B.M. Add. ms. 35040. f. 3. n. 1. "Minuet in C.
60. B.M. Add. ms. 35040. f. 6b. n. 9. "Lesson with variations"
61. B.M. Add. ms. 40139. Jig & Allémande.
62. B.M. Add. ms. 47446. Tune from "Myrtillo" included in a collection once owned by Wm. Pitt, 1722.
63. B.M. Add. ms. 31467. f. 58. n. 31. "Allegro and Vivace in D." (Both referred to on ms. as "Aire.")
64. B.M. Add. ms. 31467. n. 49. 80b. "Prelude, Allemande, Sarabande & Gigue in D minor."
65. B.M. Add. ms. 27932. f. 19b. n. 22. "Overture in D minor."

V. Church Music.

66. B.M. Add. ms. 34072. ff. 66-37b. "Magnificat."
67. B.M. Add. ms. 37072. f. 32. Anthem: "I will magnify thee."
68. B.M. Add. ms. 37072. f. 74b, & Add. ms. 17819, f. 13b. Anthem: "O Praise the Lord."
69. R.C.M. ms. 810. Anthem: "O Praise the Lord." (Another setting).
70. B.M. Add. ms. 5054, f. 139. Motet: "Beatus vir."
71. R.C.M. ms. 660. Motet: "Laetatus sum."

VI. Other Vocal Music.

72. "Six English Cantatas..." London, Walsh, Randall & Hare, 1710. B.M.
73. "Six English Cantatas... book ye second." London, Walsh & Hare, 1720. B.M.
74. R.C.M. ms. 1097. 8 Cantatas.
75. R.C.M. ms. 975. "Venus & Adonis." (fullscore). See also "The Songs and Symphony's in the Masque of Venus & Adonis.." London, Walsh & Hare, 1716. B.M.

- 76.R.C.M.ms.976."Apollo & Daphne."(full score).
- 77."An Entertainment of Musick call'd the Union of the Three Sister Arts..."London, Walsh & Hare, 1723.Also referred to as "Ode for St.Cecilia's Day."B.M.
- 78."The Beggar's Opera."London,Watts,1728(1st.edn.),1729 (2nd.edn.,with basses).See B.U.C.E.M.for subsequent edds.
- 79."Polly:An Opera."London,printed for the author, 1729 (1st.edn.) See B.U.C.E.M. for subsequent editions.
- 80.R.C.M.ms.2104.Chorus from "Polly."
- 81."The Wedding:a tragi-comi-pastoral opera..."London, Mears,1729. B.M.
- 82."The additional songs in the opera's of Thomyris & Camilla.. " London, Walsh & Hare, 1719.B.M.
- 83."The God of Love has lost his bow." Cantata.London,1720.B.M.
- 84.B.M.Add.ms.5052. Ode:"Britannia & Augusta."
- 85."The City ladies & country lass."Song.London,c.1730, King's College,Cambridge.
- 86."Dido & Eneas."Song:"He~~er~~ me mourning Princess." London, 1716.B.M.
- 87."Myrtillo." London,1716.B.M.
- 88."Perseus & Andromeda." "Comic tunes in the entertainment of Perseus & Andromeda"(By Pepusch), & "The Rape of Proserpine" (by Galliard). London,Walsh,c.1740.B.M.("How pleasant the sailor's life passes,"London,c.1728."In London town there lived well known."c.1730.
- 89."Royal George to Brittain hasting."Song,London,c.1732.
- 90.R.C.M.ms.221. Chorus:"Io triumphe accede plausibus." (By, or adapted by Pepusch.)

VII. Miscellaneous.

91. Corelli: "The score of the four sets of sonatas...for two violins & a bass, vol. 1st." & "The score of the twelve concertos.. vol. IIId...the whole carefully corrected by several most eminent masters & revis'd by Dr. Pepusch." London, printed for Benjamin Cooke, 1732. See B.U.C.E.M. for subsequent edns.
92. "A short Treatise on Harmony..." London, Watts, 1730 & 1731.
93. B.M. Add. ms. 5060. ff. 37. Examples of 2 & 3 pt. harmony. (pre 1760).
94. B.M. Add. ms. 11732. ff. 18. "Orders of the Academy of Vocal Music, commonly known as the Academy of Ancient Music. List of members."
95. B.M. Add. ms. 29429. f. 13. "Papers related to the theory of music."
96. B.M. Add. ms. 27679. vol. 29, ff. 13b-32. "Letters of Instrumental tuning." (By Stanhope, Pepusch and others.)
97. B.M. Add. ms. 27648. Discussion of Pepusch's views. (18th. & 19th C)
98. B.M. Eg. 2159. f. 15-40. "Papers relative to Drury Lane Theatre." (Referring to "Venus and Adonis.")
99. B.M. Add. ms. 27674. 68b p. 243. Letters of Egerton & De Moivre.
100. R.C.M. ms. 822. Benjamin Cooke's harmony exercises when Pepusch's pupil.

Note A.

9(2) = 9(5)
10(2) = 10(5)
11(2) = 11(5)
12(2) = 13(5)
13(2) = 14(5)
14(2) = 20(5)
15(2) = 21(5)
16(2) = 22(5)

Note B.

17(3) = 12(5)
18(3) = 13(5)
19(3) = 14(5)
20(3) = 25(5)
21(3) = 6(5)
22(3) = 17(5)
23(3) = 18(5)
24(3) = 19(5)

Note C.

2(7) = 15(5)
3(7) = 17(5)
6(7) = 15(12)

Note D.

5(10) = 28(4)
7(10) = 30(4)
8(10) = 31(4)
9(10) = 32(4)
10(10) = 33(4)
11(10) = 34(4)
12(10) = 35(4)
13(10) = 36(4)
14(10) = 25(3)
16(10) = 26(3)

Note E.

8(12) = 12(5)
10(12) = 19(5) & 6(17)
14(12) = 29(4)

Note F.

2-4(14) = 2-4(11)
5(14) = 28(4) & 5(11)
6-10(14) = 29-33(4)
7(14) = 7(11)
8(14) = 8(11)
11-18(14) = 1-8(5)
20(14) = 11(5)
21(14) = 12(5)
22(14) = 13(5)
23(14) = 14(5)
24(14) = 15(5)
25(14) = 16(5)
26(14) = 9(5)

Note G.

1 in C(17) = 3 in A(12)
2 in D(17) = 1 in A(12)
3 (17) = (12)
5 in B-flat(17) = 4 in F(12)
6 in B-flat(17) = 10 in G(12)

Note H.

3 in F(18) = 21 in E(5)
4 in C(18) = 5 in G(5)
6 in F(18) = 1 in C(5)

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