

PATRONAGE, CONNOISSEURSHIP AND ANTIQUARIANISM IN GEORGIAN  
ENGLAND: THE FITZWILLIAM MUSIC COLLECTION (1763-1815)

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In eighteenth-century Britain, many aristocrats studied music, participated as amateurs in musical clubs, and patronized London's burgeoning concert life. Richard Fitzwilliam, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion and Thorncastle (1745-1816), was one such patron and amateur. Fitzwilliam shaped his activities – participation, patronage, and collecting – in a unique way that illustrates his specialized tastes and interests. While as an amateur musician he sang in the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club (the premiere social club dedicated to musical performance), he rose to the highest level of patronage by spearheading the Handel Commemoration Festival of 1784 and serving for many years as a Director of the Concert of Antient Music, the most prestigious concert series in Georgian Britain. His lasting legacy, however, was his bequest to Cambridge University of his extensive collection of art, books and music, as well as sufficient funds to establish the Fitzwilliam Museum.

At the time of his death, Fitzwilliam's collection of music was the best in the land, save that in the Royal Library. Thus, his collection is ideally suited for examination as proof of his activities, taste and connoisseurship. Moreover, the music in Fitzwilliam's collection shows his participation in the contemporary musicological debate, evidenced by his advocacy for ancient music, his agreement with the views of Charles Avison and his support for the music of Domenico Scarlatti. On one side of this debate were proponents of learned, ancient music, such as Fitzwilliam and Avison, whose *Essay on Musical Expression* of 1752 was a milestone in musical criticism. On the other side of the discussion were advocates for the more modern, "classical" style and genres, led by historian Charles Burney.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GMO .....	<i>Grove Music Online</i>
ODNB .....	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
ODNBA .....	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Archive</i>

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

The Georgian nobility loved music. Many British aristocrats studied music to a significant degree and were justly proud of their musical abilities. While they patronized composers and London's burgeoning concert life, they also expressed their passion for music by participating in musical groups as a new breed of amateur.<sup>1</sup> Richard Fitzwilliam, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion and Thorncastle (1745-1816), was one such patron and amateur. Famous as a benefactor and musical antiquary, today he is most renowned for the extensive collection he bequeathed to Cambridge University.<sup>2</sup> While his bequest included books and artworks, at the time of Fitzwilliam's death his collection of music (in print and in manuscript) was the best in the land, save that in the Royal Library. Thus, Fitzwilliam's music collection is ideally suited for examination as proof of his activities, taste and connoisseurship. Moreover, the music in Fitzwilliam's collection shows his participation in the contemporary musicological debate, evidenced by his advocacy for ancient music, his agreement with the views of Charles Avison, and his support for the music of Domenico Scarlatti.

Fitzwilliam came by his habits of patronage very naturally, building on the eighteenth-century propensity among the nobility to collect (art, books, and music), to construct (stately homes), and to sponsor (artists, writers, musicians, and designers). Within this context, three groups influenced Fitzwilliam: 1) noteworthy predecessors such as James Brydges, the First

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<sup>1</sup> Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 87-89.

<sup>2</sup> B.H. Blacker, "Fitzwilliam, Richard, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (1745-1816)," rev. John D. Pickles, in ODNB (accessed 10 November 2007).

Duke of Chandos (1674-1744), 2) patrons and gentleman-amateurs of his own generation such as the Earls of Sandwich and Exeter, and 3) his own illustrious relatives. Among the third category was his maternal grandfather, Sir Matthew Decker, Baronet. A confidant of Chandos and an influential figure in the financial world, Decker amassed the substantial fortune (inherited by Fitzwilliam through his mother) that enabled his grandson to rise to the highest levels of patronage and connoisseurship.<sup>3</sup> Also influential were the Earls of Pembroke, related to Fitzwilliam through his father's sister, Mary.<sup>4</sup> Fitzwilliam's uncle Henry Herbert, the Ninth Earl (1693-1750), was a leading proponent of the Palladian style of architecture in Britain, and the family seat of Wilton House near Salisbury remains a showplace of architecture, taste, and refined collecting.<sup>5</sup> Fitzwilliam was evidently very close to his Pembroke cousins, particularly the Eleventh Earl, to whom he left much of his estate.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, beyond the influence of these men of taste and prestige, Fitzwilliam shaped his activities in a unique way that illustrates his own specialized interests. These activities broadly divide into three areas – participation, patronage, and collecting – that help us construct a portrait of this otherwise illusive nobleman. Although some of Fitzwilliam's public activities are well documented, such as his involvement with the Concert of Antient Music, relatively little

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<sup>3</sup> The Dutch art collected by Decker probably formed the early basis of his grandson's collection. Fitzwilliam's own tastes (and purchases) tended more toward Italian paintings. See Paul Woudhuysen, ed., *The Dutch Connection: The Founding of the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1988), 14.

<sup>4</sup> The Ninth Earl of Pembroke, known as the "Architect Earl" (and discussed in Chapter 2), was married to Mary Fitzwilliam, sister to the Sixth Viscount Fitzwilliam. See *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>5</sup> T.P. Connor, "Herbert, Henry, Ninth Earl of Pembroke . . . (c.1689-1750)," in ODNB (accessed 9 March 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Excepting the items and funds bequeathed to found the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the remainder of Fitzwilliam's estate went to Pembroke.



evidence remains from his personal, day-to-day life (such as journals, letters, or household account and day books).

Viscount Fitzwilliam's participation as a gentleman-amateur is confirmed by his extensive musical studies and his membership in the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, the premiere social club dedicated to musical performance in England. His patronage included spearheading the Handel Commemoration Festival and serving for many years as a Director of the Concert of Antient Music (the most influential concert series in Georgian Britain), both positions of unparalleled prestige. Fitzwilliam's lasting legacy is evident in his bequest to his alma mater, Cambridge University, of his entire collection of art, books, and music. In addition to these materials, the bequest included over £40,000 from South Sea annuities for the construction of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Previous scholarship that evaluates important musical collections from the vantage point of the development of the collector's taste and patronage, or how they reflect the developing canon, is nearly nonexistent. This study shows that Fitzwilliam's collection is unique in that it evinces three distinct priorities. First is the collection's over-riding emphasis on antiquarian music, including musical "classics" by Handel, Corelli and Purcell that were central to the formation of an "English canon."<sup>7</sup> Second is the collection's strong correlation with the composers discussed by Charles Avison in his seminal *Essay of Musical Expression* (1752), indicating Fitzwilliam's agreement with Avison's views.<sup>8</sup> The third priority demonstrates Fitzwilliam's taste for the music of Domenico Scarlatti, his membership in the English "Scarlatti

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<sup>7</sup> While Fitzwilliam shared this interest with other collectors, such as the Ninth Earl of Exeter and Sir Samuel Hellier, he greatly surpassed them. See Gerald Gifford's study of the Exeter collection, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House, Stamford* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002); and Ian Ledsham, *Catalogue of the Shaw-Hellier Collection* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davis, 1753).

Sect,” and his support for other Scarlatti advocates. When Fitzwilliam’s collecting varied from these priorities, it was primarily to include music by composers he knew personally. This personal connection explains the presence of some music (especially keyboard works) that is in a more current style.

Fitzwilliam’s music library included hundreds of volumes. By confirming his overwhelming advocacy for ancient music, this collection stands as his contribution to the contemporary debate over the merits of ancient and modern music. On one side of this discourse were “ancients” such as Sir John Hawkins, Charles Avison and Fitzwilliam, who advocated the learned, Baroque style and promoted this music’s performance by groups like the Concert of Antient Music. The learned or “church” style was scholarly in approach and emphasized the use of counterpoint. On the other side of the discussion, supporting the more modern, “classical” style and genres, were the “moderns,” led by Charles Burney.<sup>9</sup> The moderns thought that music should be graceful and pleasing, and that to achieve this style music should be lighter, primarily homophonic, and freer in its treatment of dissonance.<sup>10</sup> By using Fitzwilliam’s music collection as material evidence of this debate – as opposed to consulting only intellectual evidence – this study makes a definitive contribution to musicological scholarship.

## 1.2 Chapters within This Study

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter 2, “A Connoisseur and His Developing Taste,” begins with Fitzwilliam’s biography and an overview of his music and its context. An

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<sup>9</sup> Thomas McGeary, “Music Literature,” in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 404.

<sup>10</sup> The conflict between the “ancients” and “moderns” escalated when both Hawkins and Burney published their histories, beginning in 1776. Due to his jealousy, Burney and his friends attacked Hawkins for his “ancient” sympathies and his pedantic writing style. See Kerry S. Grant, “Burney, Charles,” in *GMO* (accessed 12 August 2011).

examination of the tradition and practice of collecting and connoisseurship follows, showing the heritage of these pursuits that was already in place when Fitzwilliam came of age. This heritage included a critical shift in approach from the seventeenth-century virtuoso who was primarily fascinated with science and the natural world (highlighted with an excerpt from Thomas Shadwell's satirical play, *The Virtuoso*, from 1676), to the eighteenth-century connoisseur, who was absorbed with fine arts and architecture.<sup>11</sup> Themes in collecting and the types of items acquired, such as books, manuscripts, and artworks, are discussed. Regarding the latter, descriptions from the catalogue by William Key (1824) show how art objects in Fitzwilliam's bequest mesh with eighteenth-century trends.<sup>12</sup> The chapter concludes with an examination of Fitzwilliam's books, showing how these acquisitions provide clues to the development of his taste and connoisseurship. The collection reveals his engagement with topics that were relevant to the ongoing musicological discourse, such as criticism (from ancient times to the eighteenth century) and the aesthetic principles of the sublime and the beautiful.<sup>13</sup>

In Chapter 3, "Participation and Patronage: Clubs, Concerts and Canon," we look at Fitzwilliam's public activities as a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and as one of the directors of the Concert of Antient Music. Fitzwilliam regularly associated with like-minded aristocrats who reinforced the importance of "ancient music" in Britain and its place in

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso* (London: Printed for T.N. by Henry Herringman, 1676).

<sup>12</sup> William Key, *A Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, &c. Bequeathed to the University of Cambridge by the Late Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam in the Year 1816* (Cambridge (?): Printed by J. Smith, 1824). Also helpful was F. R. Earp, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902).

<sup>13</sup> Fitzwilliam's library included Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757).

guiding the public's taste.<sup>14</sup> With these other noblemen, Fitzwilliam shared an antiquarian outlook and a devotion to Handel, using these attitudes to influence the development of canonical concert music in Britain. Fitzwilliam was himself at the forefront, credited with instigating the first Handel Commemoration Festival in 1784 (confirmed by Charles Burney in his *Account* of the festivities).<sup>15</sup> An examination of the repertoires of the Catch Club and the Antient Concerts shows the types of music advocated by these prestigious and highly influential organizations.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, the many correlations between this repertoire and Fitzwilliam's collection evince his support for ancient music and its continued performance.

The vocal music in Fitzwilliam's collection contains examples of a wide variety of genres, from oratorios and motets to madrigals and works for the stage. Chapter 4, "Echoes of Avison's *Essay* in the Vocal Genres," demonstrates that Fitzwilliam's tastes in vocal music display a strong correlation with the composers discussed by Charles Avison in his seminal *Essay on Musical Expression*. In fact, the collection reveals Fitzwilliam's thorough familiarity with the views of that influential critic and composer. The chapter begins with a discussion of Avison, his *Essay*, and reactions to it such as William Hayes's critical *Remarks*.<sup>17</sup> Next we explore the second part of Avison's *Essay*, pointing out the numerous instances where music in the Fitzwilliam Collection corresponds to the composers espoused by Avison (whether more

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<sup>14</sup> Sources consulted for Chapter 3 include Rubin, *English Glee*; Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006); and William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances . . . in Commemoration of Handel* (London: Printed for the Benefit of the Musical Fund . . . , 1785).

<sup>16</sup> For the Catch Club's repertoire, see Edmund Warren, ed., *A Collection of Catches, Canons and Gleees*, 4 vols. (1762-1793; repr., Wilmington, DE: Mellifont Press, 1970). Extant program booklets for many years of the Concert of Antient Music can be found in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://www.gale.cengage.com>.

<sup>17</sup> The main study of Avison's *Essay* and its critics is Pierre Dubois' edition of *Charles Avison's 'Essay on Musical Expression,' with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

skilled at “air” or at “harmony”). This portion of the chapter culminates with the two composers whom Avison considered to be of the highest merit: Benedetto Marcello for vocal music, and Francesco Geminiani for instrumental music. Both Marcello and Geminiani feature strongly in Fitzwilliam’s collection, and specific compositions by each of them are examined in order to demonstrate the appeal of their music for the eighteenth-century audience.<sup>18</sup>

The remainder of Chapter 4 is devoted to other vocal music in the collection. Here we can discern Fitzwilliam’s interest in dramatic music, including stage works by Lully and Rameau. Music by Handel and Purcell, so important to the growing English canon, is also well represented. Volumes of madrigals, “cathedral music,” and the *grands motets* of Lalande demonstrate Fitzwilliam’s antiquarianism and his determination to preserve these works for posterity. Additionally, music by Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari – who was very popular during the eighteenth century – gives further proof of the alignment of Fitzwilliam’s taste with that of Charles Avison.<sup>19</sup>

Chapter 5, “Instrumental Music: A Passion for the Harpsichord,” shows that Fitzwilliam’s instrumental music, especially that for the keyboard, ranged from the antiquarian to the *au courant*. While evidence of the developing English canon of concert repertoire is present, the collection’s instrumental holdings more particularly show Fitzwilliam’s preference for the harpsichord and the influence of musicians within his orbit. That orbit was deeply entwined with the Scarlatti Sect in England. While this sect has been discussed previously, this study presents a more extensive network of advocates who supported the publication and performance of

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<sup>18</sup> Important studies on these two composers are Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *The Music of Benedetto and Alessandro Marcello: A Thematic Catalogue with Commentary on the Composers, Repertory, and Sources* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); and Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> Studies of Clari’s music include Jean Grundy Fanelli, *The Oratorios of Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari* (Bologna: Edizioni Pendragon, 1998).

Domenico Scarlatti's music in Britain.<sup>20</sup> Since Fitzwilliam himself was devoted to Scarlatti's music – so much so, that in 1772 he travelled to Spain in search of “new” sonatas to take back to England – his membership in the Scarlatti Sect is affirmed.

Although Fitzwilliam's keyboard music is dominated by the music of Domenico Scarlatti and the proponents of Scarlatti or his keyboard style, the collection shows that Fitzwilliam sometimes diverged from these composers. When he did diverge from this group, it was often for music by composers he knew personally, such as Domenico Paradies, Johann Christian Bach, or Jean Pierre Duport, the famous cellist who dedicated his Opus 2 cello sonatas to Fitzwilliam. As in his vocal music, Fitzwilliam's harpsichord works also show his interest in French composers, led by his teacher in Paris, Jacques Duphly. However, because the keyboard music that Fitzwilliam collected overwhelmingly affirms his preference for Domenico Scarlatti and devotion to antiquarian music, it serves as evidence of his position within the contemporary debate over the merits of ancient and modern music.

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<sup>20</sup> Previously, the main studies of the Scarlatti Sect have been Richard Newton, “The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti,” *Music and Letters* 20, no. 2 (1939): 138-156; and Gerald Gifford, “Viscount Fitzwilliam and the English ‘Scarlatti Sect,’” in *Italian Music and the Fitzwilliam* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1976).

## CHAPTER 2

### A CONNOISSEUR AND HIS DEVELOPING TASTE

#### 2.1 Introduction

Fitzwilliam's pursuits and developing tastes reflect his background and the tradition among members of "polite" society to become patrons and collectors during the Georgian era. In Britain, a heritage of collecting and connoisseurship was already in place by the time Fitzwilliam came of age. This heritage included a shift in concentration and attitudes from the seventeenth-century virtuoso, who was primarily fascinated with science and the natural world, to the eighteenth-century connoisseur, absorbed with fine arts and architecture. Themes in collecting are apparent in the types of items that collectors pursued, such as artworks, books and manuscripts. Besides music, Fitzwilliam's collection included a substantial amount of art and an extensive library of books. His library acquisitions provide clues to the development of his taste as well as to his engagement with the topics of aesthetics and criticism. Moreover, Fitzwilliam's interest in these specific topics indicates his participation in the contemporary musicological debate pursued by such writers as Charles Avison and Charles Burney.<sup>21</sup>

Fitzwilliam built his activities on a long-standing tradition of collecting and patronage, used by the nobility in Western Europe as an indication of status. In England, patronage of the arts was firmly in place by the Renaissance, led by the example of Tudor royalty and continuing into the Baroque era under the Stuarts. Amassing a significant family library or collection of art and music became a quest of noble families, viewed as a measure of their importance, their position within polite society, and their stature in comparison with other collectors. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw many of these collections sold at auction – some as

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<sup>21</sup> Avison and his *Essay on Musical Expression* are discussed below in Chapter 4. See Chapter 5 for Burney's views on the music of Domenico Scarlatti.

complete entities, others dispersed into the possession of various connoisseurs, private collectors and university libraries.<sup>22</sup> However, a number of illustrious accumulations were conserved, wholly or in part. The intact collections became important building blocks for the great research archives at the British Museum and at the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge Universities.<sup>23</sup> Fitzwilliam's music collection was the only truly great British one developed by a single individual that has remained intact.<sup>24</sup> One of the largest still complete, it is renowned for its overall size and its depth in both manuscripts and early printed music. Fitzwilliam's entire collection – music, artworks, and books – demonstrate the formation of his connoisseurship and his concern for important contemporary issues such as taste, criticism and aesthetics.

## 2.2 Viscount Fitzwilliam: A Brief Biography

Richard Fitzwilliam, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion and Thorncastle, was born on 1 August 1745 at Richmond in Surrey.<sup>25</sup> The eldest of three brothers, his parents were Richard Fitzwilliam, the Sixth Viscount and Catherine Decker, eldest daughter of Sir Matthew Decker, Baronet. Upon his father's death in 1776, Fitzwilliam inherited the Irish titles of viscount and baron as well as extensive estates in both England and Ireland.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Examples of these collections, sold and/or largely dispersed in the eighteenth century, include those of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1752), William Boyce (1778), John Stanley (1786), and Dr. Thomas Bever (1798). See King, *British Collectors*, 15-22.

<sup>23</sup> Collections surviving intact include those of Henry Aldrich (to Christ Church, Oxford, upon his death in 1710), Samuel Pepys (to Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1724, after the death of his nephew), Sir John Hawkins (shared by the British Museum and the King's Music Library, between 1777 and 1789), and Brownlow Cecil, the Ninth Earl of Exeter (remaining at his country residence, Burghley House, since his death in 1793). See *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>25</sup> Blacker, "Fitzwilliam," ODNB.

<sup>26</sup> B. H. Blacker, "Fitzwilliam, Richard, Seventh Viscount of Meryon (1745-1816)," in ODNBA (accessed 10 November 2007). Although English, this line of Fitzwilliams took root in Ireland during the twelfth century through an ancestor attached to Prince John during his tenure as chief governor.



While Fitzwilliam's general education was typical for an eighteenth-century nobleman, his musical education was much more extensive and guided his lifelong activities as an amateur and music collector. His musicianship began with the study of harpsichord, organ and figured bass in England; his teachers included John Keeble (1711-1786).<sup>27</sup> He attended the Charterhouse School and then Trinity Hall at Cambridge University, graduating with an M.A. in 1764.<sup>28</sup> After graduating from Cambridge, Fitzwilliam went to Paris to study with Jacques Duphly (1715-1789), a composer and harpsichord virtuoso. Fitzwilliam travelled in Europe many times, including a visit to Spain to find compositions by Domenico Scarlatti, whose music he espoused.<sup>29</sup>

Fitzwilliam was able to spend liberally as a collector, indulging his passionate tastes – especially for music.<sup>30</sup> Funds for satisfying his appetites came from his inheritance of the Decker fortune through his mother, Catherine (b. ca. 1710). Her father, Sir Matthew Decker, had risen considerably in both wealth and influence, raising his family in an elegant part of London. Despite his being a Dutch immigrant, Decker rose to prominence in Britain as an economic advisor and director of the East India Company. Upon his death in 1749, Catherine, as the eldest of four daughters, was the primary heir to the sizeable fortune he had amassed in commerce.

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<sup>27</sup> This paragraph is based on Rumbold and Fenlon, *Short-Title Catalogue*, xi-xiv.

<sup>28</sup> The famous portrait of Fitzwilliam, by Joseph Wright (“Wright of Derby”), dates from this year. Other likenesses include two group portraits, one with his brothers (now at Wilton House) and another with his cousin Lord Pembroke and their friend, Edward Onslow (at Clandon Park, the Onslow country estate).

<sup>29</sup> Blacker, “Fitzwilliam,” ODNB.

<sup>30</sup> This paragraph is based on Rumbold and Fenlon, *Short-Title Catalogue*, xi.

Fitzwilliam inherited some works of art, but he also added to them himself, using Henry Walton as his art consultant.<sup>31</sup> His most important activities, however, relate to music. A connoisseur of French Baroque music, he was a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, a steward for the Sons of the Clergy Festival, a director of the Concert of Antient Music, and also an instigator of the Handel Commemoration Festival of 1784.<sup>32</sup> A member of the Royal Society, Fitzwilliam served as Vice-Admiral of the province of Leinster (Ireland); he was also Member of Parliament for Wilton (England) from 1790 until 1806, although he was not overly interested in day-to-day politics.<sup>33</sup>

Very little is known about Fitzwilliam's private life; although he never married, it has somewhat recently come to light that he had a mistress in Paris (a ballet dancer known as Mademoiselle Zacharie) with whom he had three children.<sup>34</sup> Fitzwilliam died in London on 4 February 1816, and was buried at Richmond. As specified by his will, the majority of his property went to his cousin, George Augustus Herbert, the Eleventh Earl of Pembroke. His brother, John Fitzwilliam, inherited the titles (which became extinct upon his death in 1833).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> William T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968): ii, 346.

<sup>32</sup> Blacker, "Fitzwilliam," ODNB.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Fitzwilliam's connection to Wilton (near Salisbury) was a strong one, since Wilton House, the country estate of his cousins the Earls of Pembroke, lies there. Although the *Oxford DNB* states that he was an M.P. until 1816, this is corrected to 1806 in *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland . . .*, ed. George E. Cokayne (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2000), 529.

<sup>34</sup> Blacker and Pickles, "Fitzwilliam," ODNB. Fitzwilliam's relationship with the young Mademoiselle Zacharie, who danced for the Paris Opéra, had begun by 1784. See John Huskinson, "Mademoiselle Zacharie: La Fidelle Amie et l'Amie la Plus Tendre et Sincere," in *French Music and the Fitzwilliam* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1975), 39. Since Fitzwilliam was attending French opera in the 1780s, he was hearing works by younger composers such as Gossec and Grétry. However, this experience is not reflected in his music collection, where the most "modern" French operas are those of Rameau.

<sup>35</sup> Blacker, "Fitzwilliam," ODNBA.

### 2.3 Fitzwilliam's Music and Its Context

We can trace the formation of Viscount Fitzwilliam's collection, and the shifting trends in his taste, thanks to his habit of signing and dating each work in his own hand as he acquired it. Thus, even though the Fitzwilliam Museum has increased the size of its music collection in the years since his death, it is still possible to identify those items accrued by Fitzwilliam himself.<sup>36</sup> However, since we have little information on Fitzwilliam's private life, we can only guess at the places he procured much of his music.<sup>37</sup> Certain items stand out, like the keyboard sonatas (Op. 5) of Johann Christian Bach, because they were presented to him "by the author." We also know that Fitzwilliam purchased music from the libraries of other collectors as they became available, including those of Dr. Thomas Bever (1725-1791) and the composers William Boyce (1711-1779) and Domenico Paradies (1707-1791).<sup>38</sup> Since Fitzwilliam had extensive musical training, he presumably made the most of the musical experiences available to him during his travels on the Continent, acquiring scores for his library along the way.<sup>39</sup>

Much of the Fitzwilliam Collection's continuing fame stems from the eponymous *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. This manuscript, once owned by Johann Christoph Pepusch, was a

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<sup>36</sup> Of primary assistance was the recent *Short-Title Catalogue* of Rumbold and Fenlon, which includes individual listings of the printed music by composer, as well as an important preface. It supersedes the earlier description of the printed music in the *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, ed. by John Alexander Fuller-Maitland and Arthur Henry Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893). The latter volume also includes Fitzwilliam's manuscripts, but errors in some of its information have been pointed out in the intervening years. Additional literature on Fitzwilliam and the collection is rather sparse, consisting primarily of a series of publications issued by the Museum in the mid-1970s in conjunction with exhibitions and concerts related to specific aspects of the collection, such as French, Italian, and English music as well as Handel. However, these publications do include valuable essays pertaining to topics like Fitzwilliam's antiquarian tastes and his participation in the English "Scarlatti Sect." See the Bibliography for these publications.

<sup>37</sup> We can assume that imprints from English publishers were probably purchased in England.

<sup>38</sup> Chancellor of Lincoln and Bangor, Bever amassed a "very choice and valuable musical library" that was sold in 1798. See "Literary Intelligence" in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxviii (1798): 517.

<sup>39</sup> Some of this music, such as Benedetto Marcello's *Psalms* and sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti, is discussed below in Chapters 4 and 5.

gift to Fitzwilliam from the composer and publisher Robert Bremner (c.1713-1789).<sup>40</sup> Italian music is an important part of the collection, especially vocal music by such composers as Steffani, Stradella, Marcello, and the now forgotten Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari (1677-1754). Fitzwilliam's tastes were also varied enough to include a sizeable amount of French music which comprises not only a large amount of keyboard music, but also vocal works by Lully, Lalande, and Rameau. More typical for Fitzwilliam's time was music by Handel. However, Fitzwilliam's acquisition of Handel was exceptional, as exemplified in his purchase of twelve volumes of Handel's autographs.<sup>41</sup> (Table C.1 lists the primary manuscripts by Handel in the collection; all tables are in Appendix C.) Although we do not know the manner in which Fitzwilliam came by these manuscripts, we can see his strong preference for this composer in the total number of manuscripts and prints by Handel in his collection, his programming choices for the Concert of Antient Music, and through his association with the Handel Commemoration of 1784 (discussed further in Chapter 3).<sup>42</sup> Fitzwilliam stands out amidst other collectors, making the most of his extensive contacts and apparently intent on forming a music library that was superior in both size and content.<sup>43</sup> However, while operating within the milieu of collecting and connoisseurship that was prevalent in eighteenth-century Britain, his music acquisitions and patronage evince a decided taste for ancient music as opposed to modern composers and genres, thus placing him on the "ancient" side of the "ancients" vs. "moderns" controversy.

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<sup>40</sup> We return to Bremner in Chapter 5.

<sup>41</sup> Fitzwilliam was probably not old enough to have met Handel, his "chief musical hero." However, he ably rectified this through his patronage and collecting. He may have acquired the Handel autographs, now in fifteen extensive volumes, circa 1799. See Charles Cudworth, "Fitzwilliam and Handel," in *Handel and the Fitzwilliam* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1974), 7.

<sup>42</sup> King, *British Collectors*, 36-37.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

## 2.4 The Tradition and Practice of Collecting and Connoisseurship

In assembling an outstanding collection, Fitzwilliam was building on a well-established heritage of collecting and connoisseurship that, due to social and economic changes, had become widespread in Britain.<sup>44</sup> While the acquisition of works of art, books, and music was not new, it became more refined and elevated as the eighteenth century progressed, reflecting the informed taste of the connoisseur. Prominent collections regularly included an assortment of standard items, such as artworks (paintings, sculpture, and antiquities) as well as printed books and manuscripts. Many collectors also built or remodeled homes, often with galleries in which to exhibit their treasures. An early example of this type of connoisseur is the Duke of Chandos, for whom Handel worked in the 1710s. Chandos is important not only for his musical patronage, but for his extensive approach to collecting a wide variety of materials and the conspicuous display of his wealth and taste.<sup>45</sup>

The early eighteenth century was a critical time in the development of collecting and connoisseurship. Current scholarship on these matters emphasizes social and cultural topics, consumption, and the analogous issues of “luxury, taste, connoisseurship and ‘politeness.’”<sup>46</sup> The era witnessed a flowering of significant writing about connoisseurship, with a spreading philosophy regarding good taste and the appropriate manner for spending one’s wealth. The gentleman-connoisseur was expected to develop an informed knowledge that he could use in his pursuit of a “right taste.”<sup>47</sup> One popular guide was Henry Peacham’s *The Compleat Gentleman*.

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<sup>44</sup> This paragraph is largely based Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: the Patronage and Collecting of James Brydges, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Chandos (1674-1744)* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 11-12.

<sup>45</sup> Although Chandos was a dedicated patron and collector, contemporary evaluations of his activities were mixed, due in part to his extravagant display. See Chapter 9 of Jenkins, *Chandos*, 153-171.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

First published in 1622, it continued to serve young men of good background, helping them become well educated in the arts. Fitzwilliam had a copy dating from 1661.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a dynamic period of immense importance for the ranking of taste and connoisseurship as crucial social traits. A number of collectors, such as the Duke of Chandos, welcomed visitors to their homes and gardens, simultaneously stimulating a growing public fascination with art and an awareness of the hosts' own superior taste.<sup>48</sup>

Concurrently, an increase in visits by the public to collections such as that maintained by the Royal Society ultimately led to the creation of public museums later in the century, setting an important precedent for the founding of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

In Fitzwilliam's case, his willingness to display his library and art collection to the public – even before the founding of the museum at Cambridge – was confirmed by William Playfair in 1810 in his *British Family Antiquity*:

His lordship possesses . . . feelings alive to the sufferings of his fellow beings, with a warmth of sincerity which an excellent heart alone could dictate . . . with a liberality which we would gladly see more generally imitated [he] readily permits every respectable person to view his noble library and capital collection of valuable pictures: setting a good example to those connoisseurs who, like misers, hoard their curiosities for their own private amusement, without benefitting or enlightening the public in any shape whatever!<sup>49</sup>

Playfair's evaluation appeared six years before Fitzwilliam's death. While confirming Fitzwilliam's altruistic attitude, it also implies that not all connoisseurs shared Fitzwilliam's vision. Those that did, like his predecessor the Duke of Chandos, allowed the public to view a wide variety of materials such as paintings, sculpture, books, manuscripts, coins, medals, and antiquities.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, vol. 5 (London, 1810), quoted in Rumbold and Fenlon, *Short-Title Catalogue*, xi.

Following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, a climate propitious for collecting emerged due to several factors. These factors – including the expanding British economy, a growing appreciation of connoisseurship and examples of good taste, and an increase in foreign travel due to political peace on the Continent – resulted in both expanded access to works of art in London and a growing interest in collecting.<sup>50</sup> Many collectors were members of the Royal Society, established shortly after the Restoration of Charles II to the British throne. While this learned society for science nurtured collecting, connoisseurship, and access to the fruits of these endeavors, there was a concurrent vogue among the nobility to enhance their sons’ education by sending them on what was commonly known as the Grand Tour.

The Grand Tour typically involved the major capitals of Europe, usually with an extended stay in Italy.<sup>51</sup> Preferably, travelers planned their itineraries so that they could attend popular events, such as Carnival in Venice, Naples or Rome.<sup>52</sup> Rome itself was the primary goal, where they would study both antiquities and the finest artistic masterworks under the guidance of a knowledgeable antiquarian.<sup>53</sup> In essence, the Grand Tour functioned as a sort of finishing school for young aristocrats, where they acquired social polish like a facility in foreign languages and elegant conversation.<sup>54</sup> The young men were encouraged to collect art objects along the way, such as antiquities, paintings, and statuary, to serve as tangible proof of their foreign sojourn.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 6.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), 66.

<sup>52</sup> Brinsley Ford, “The Grand Tour,” *Apollo* 114 (1981): 394.

<sup>53</sup> Several of these antiquarians were Britons who had permanently relocated to Italy. See Jules David Prown, “A Course of Antiquities at Rome, 1764,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 90.

<sup>54</sup> Jeremy Black, “Fragments from the Grand Tour,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (1990): 337.

<sup>55</sup> Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), 9.

Upon their return to Britain, the travelers became part of a valuable network of fellow “tourists” who shared an elevated social prestige.<sup>56</sup> Fitzwilliam probably went on such a tour. While such a tour cannot be confirmed, his tastes – especially for Italian art and music – closely resemble those of other documented “tourists” (such as his Pembroke cousins).<sup>57</sup> The experience of a Grand Tour would also help to explain the large amount of Italian vocal music in Fitzwilliam’s collection, since many of these purchases date to the 1760s (when he would have been on the tour itself or shortly after his return).

The first truly great art collection in England was the Royal Collection of Charles I, who reigned from 1625 to 1649.<sup>58</sup> After the Restoration in 1660, it was surpassed by collections belonging to individuals and learned societies. After the turn of the century, the most prominent collectors included self-made men (the Duke of Chandos), bibliophiles (Edward Harley, the Second Earl of Oxford), scientists, aristocrats (Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington), and esteemed connoisseurs (Sir Andrew Fountaine). Joined in a sort of network, these collectors tracked each other’s progress and competed for important acquisitions.<sup>59</sup> It is significant that two of these arbiters (Burlington and Oxford) along with Fitzwilliam’s uncle, the Ninth Earl of Pembroke, were among the five earls considered by James Lees-Milne to be the most influential

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<sup>56</sup> Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 68. In 1732, a number of them formed the Society of Dilettanti; membership required having visited Italy.

<sup>57</sup> We do know that Fitzwilliam’s friends and cousins, the Tenth and Eleventh Earls of Pembroke, each went on a “grand tour” during their youth. See below, Chapter 5, for details regarding their music study while in Italy.

<sup>58</sup> Fitzwilliam owned a descriptive catalogue of this collection. See George Vertue, *A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First’s Capital Collection of Pictures, Limnings, Statues, Bronzes, Medals and Other Curiosities* (London: printed for W. Bathoe, 1757).

<sup>59</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 111.



art patrons of the century.<sup>60</sup> Burlington was one of Handel's earliest patrons in England, and Fitzwilliam may have been inspired by his Pembroke relatives, with whom he was close.

#### 2.4.1 The Virtuoso

The taste and collecting habits of men such as Burlington and Pembroke during the early eighteenth century reflect a combination of influences. First was an appetite for art and antiquities from Italy, inherited from the reign of Charles I in the seventeenth-century. Added to this was a more recent fascination with science and the natural world developed by their immediate predecessors, the virtuoso collectors. While we are now more accustomed to the term virtuoso as applied to highly skilled musicians, in seventeenth-century Britain it indicated a student or collector who was especially interested in natural science or antiquities.<sup>61</sup> A number of virtuoso collections were critical to the founding of museums and other institutions, such as the British Museum (1753) and the Royal Academy (1768). The formation of these groundbreaking institutions during this period depended on a coincident increase in interest amongst the public at large in seeing works of art. Likewise, the difference between the virtuoso, a seventeenth-century man interested in science and its manifestations, and the enlightened eighteenth-century connoisseur equates with the ideological distinction between the concepts of "ancient" and "modern."<sup>62</sup>

When it came into popular use earlier in the seventeenth century, the term virtuoso indicated an antiquarian; however, even then it was not necessarily a compliment. Over time, it

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<sup>60</sup> See James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation: Five Great Patrons of Eighteenth-Century Art* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962). The remaining two patrons he examines are the First Earl Bathurst and the First Earl of Leicester. All five were close contemporaries, born between 1684 and 1697.

<sup>61</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 113.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

became more pejorative, implying that the collector was inanely excessive in his pursuits.<sup>63</sup> It was these eccentricities of virtuoso taste that Thomas Shadwell brought to notorious attention in his popular comedy, *The Virtuoso* (1676), where he aimed his satire specifically at members of the Royal Society.<sup>64</sup> In one example taken from this play, the absurdities of *The Virtuoso* – Sir Nicholas Gimcrack – are made very apparent through his conversation with the characters Longvil and Bruce (previously identified by Shadwell as “gentlemen of wit and sense”):<sup>65</sup>

LONGVIL.

Have you observ’d that delicate spider call’d tarantula?

SIR NICHOLAS.

Now you have hit me; now you come home to me. Why I travel’d all over Italy and had no other affair in the world but to study the secrets of that harmonious insect.

BRUCE.

Did you not observe the wisdom, policies, and customs of that ingenuous people?

SIR NICHOLAS.

O by no means! ‘Tis below a virtuoso to trouble himself with men and manners. I study insects, and I have observ’d the tarantula does infinitely delight in music, which is the reason of its poison being drawn out by it. There’s your phenomenon of sympathy!

LONGVIL.

Does a tarantula delight so in music?

SIR NICHOLAS.

O extravagantly. There are three sorts: black, grey, and red, that delight in three several sorts and modes of music.

BRUCE.

That was a curious inquisition. How did you make it?

SIR NICHOLAS.

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<sup>63</sup> Marjorie Hope Nicolson and David Stuart Ross, eds., introduction to Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), xvii.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, xv.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso* (1676), *Dramatis Personae*.

Why I put them upon three several chips in water; then caus'd a musician to play, first a grave pavan or allemande, at which the black tarantula only mov'd. It danc'd to it with a kind of grave motion much like the benchers at the revels.<sup>66</sup>

This excerpt shows the kind of single-minded, obsessive behavior associated with the virtuoso (in this case related to music, although that was not typical). This sort of excessive pursuit, associated with a lack of good judgment, caused the virtuoso to be ridiculed. During the course of the eighteenth century, the virtuoso aesthetic was transformed into connoisseurship, due in part to the increased censure the virtuosi received at the hands of numerous writers. Besides Shadwell (whose work was indebted to Ben Jonson's play, *The Alchemist*, from 1610), these included Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, Joseph Addison, and Mark Akenside – whose poem, *The Virtuoso*, appeared in 1737.<sup>67</sup> Fitzwilliam would have been all too aware of this topic, since his library contained works by all of these writers, including the collected works of Ben Jonson.<sup>68</sup> However, since Fitzwilliam concentrated his pursuits on the arts (as opposed to a focus on science and the natural world), the stigma of being a virtuoso did not attach itself to him.

#### 2.4.2 The Connoisseur

Due to various social shifts (such as changes in class mobility and consumerism) as well as an extended period of peace and political cohesion, during the early eighteenth century the focus of collecting moved away from the natural world and toward the fine arts and

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<sup>66</sup> Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso* (1676): III.iii.82-101.

<sup>67</sup> Daniel L. McCue, Jr., "Science and Literature: The Virtuoso in English Belles Lettres," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 3, no. 3 (1971): 138-156.

<sup>68</sup> While Fitzwilliam did not acquire the collected works of Shadwell until 1801, he had long been familiar with the playwright through his early purchases of Henry Purcell's settings of *The Libertine* and *Timon of Athens*. Works by other writers concerning the virtuosos include Pope's *Essay on Criticism* and Addison's writings in *The Tatler*, both owned by Fitzwilliam. We revisit most of these writers later in this chapter.

connoisseurship. Guidelines emerged which promoted a “new canon of taste,” espoused by the writer and philosopher Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury.<sup>69</sup> Shaftesbury’s publication *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (first published in 1711) was a sensation and became part of every connoisseur’s library (Fitzwilliam had a copy of the fifth edition, published in 1773).<sup>70</sup> Shaftesbury felt that an educated person must develop true taste, and that this could only take place in Italy.<sup>71</sup> He also suggested that gentlemen-connoisseurs had an obligation to demonstrate their elevated taste – such as by collecting artworks – for the good of the public. Thus, a man appropriately educated to have discriminating taste “had both the civic responsibility and the moral obligation to provide a good example to society, which he should demonstrate by the activities of collecting and building magnificent houses.”<sup>72</sup> This further encouraged the great collectors to open their collections for public viewing.

Others besides Shaftesbury took up this theme. Writing in 1721, the philosopher George Berkeley felt that “those noble arts of architecture, sculpture and painting do not only adorn the public, but have also an influence on the minds and manners of men, filling them with great ideas and spiring them up to an emulation of worthy actions.”<sup>73</sup> The writer and portraitist Jonathan Richardson senior joined the continuing discussion. Richardson espoused building an art collection, and Fitzwilliam acquired Richardson’s *Essay on the Theory of Painting* in 1760

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<sup>69</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 115. There was extensive popular discussion regarding what comprised a proper taste. For more on this topic, see John Steegman, *Rules of Taste, from George I to George IV* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968).

<sup>70</sup> Fitzwilliam had a number of volumes dealing with taste and aesthetics, such as William Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty* (1753). Others are discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>71</sup> Ford, “The Grand Tour,” 390.

<sup>72</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 115.

<sup>73</sup> George Berkeley, *An Essay Toward Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, in *The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne*, vol. 6, ed. by T. E. (Thomas Edmund) Jessop (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1953), 80. Fitzwilliam had the collected works of Berkeley in his library.

while he was still a teenager. Richardson was a pioneer in conceiving a “theory” of connoisseurship; besides requiring taste, this connoisseurship was important for the public at large. Because of Richardson’s influence, collecting became the type of activity that could increase one’s status. He also fostered the competition between collectors to display their treasures as evidence of their connoisseurship and elevated taste.<sup>74</sup> This attitude motivated private collectors early in the century, laying the groundwork for the emergence of later collections like Fitzwilliam’s. From Fitzwilliam’s apparent familiarity with the topics of taste and connoisseurship, it seems reasonable to deduce that he was intent on accumulating the sort of collection that would demonstrate the highest degree of discernment.

#### 2.4.3 Themes in Collecting and Collections

As the eighteenth century progressed, the urge to develop a significant collection grew steadily among the elite, as did the competition between collectors and their desire to become true connoisseurs. One of the most informed connoisseurs was Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676/8-1753), a friend of both Chandos and Henry Herbert, the Ninth Earl of Pembroke (c. 1689-1750).<sup>75</sup> Pembroke (Fitzwilliam’s uncle) – known as the “Architect Earl” – was famous for his various building activities and his advocacy of the Palladian style. Also important was Richard Boyle, the Third Earl of Burlington; as a great patron and champion of Palladian architecture in England, he was responsible for its profound effect on taste for several decades.<sup>76</sup> These early eighteenth-century collectors, and their collections, are critical for establishing the milieu in

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<sup>74</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 116-117. See the second of Richardson’s *Two Discourses, II. An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur* (1719).

<sup>75</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 117.

<sup>76</sup> James Lees-Milne devotes chapters to Pembroke and Burlington in *Earls of Creation*. Handel lived with the young Lord Burlington at Burlington House from 1713-16. Fitzwilliam’s library included *The Designs of Inigo Jones: Consisting of Plans and Elevations for Publick and Private Buildings*. Published by William Kent in 1727, it includes designs by both Kent and Lord Burlington.

which Fitzwilliam and his contemporaries operated later in the century. Within this environment, they displayed a certain amount of similarity, typically purchasing the same types of works (paintings, books, etc.) on a massive scale.<sup>77</sup> There was a certain rivalry between collectors as they knowingly competed for the same works of art, and some willingly displayed their treasures to the public as an overt sign of their status, taking on a role previously performed by the monarchy.<sup>78</sup>

#### 2.4.4 Collecting: Pictures, Books and Manuscripts

Fitzwilliam's collection of artworks was sizeable. Consideration of a few of these items demonstrates his discernment and connoisseurship.<sup>79</sup> Patterns of collecting developed during the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup> For pictures, Italian paintings dominated English collections, followed in popularity by French, Dutch and Flemish pieces. Richardson's advice stressed collecting Italian Old Masters; the works of Raphael were particularly prized, but some collectors actually favored Dutch and Flemish artists. In Fitzwilliam's case, the latter (along with family portraits) comprise the greater share of the 144 oil paintings in his bequest to Cambridge University, and he inherited many of them from his maternal grandfather, Sir Matthew Decker, who was born in Holland.<sup>81</sup> Examples of these Dutch and Flemish paintings by highly regarded artists include Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Man in Military Costume* as well as *Dutch Courtship* by

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<sup>77</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 124.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> While he was seriously interested in art, it seems that Fitzwilliam pursued his music collection with more vigor.

<sup>80</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 129.

<sup>81</sup> F. R. Earp, Preface to *Descriptive Catalogue*, viii.

Franz van Mieris.<sup>82</sup>

When the Duke of Chandos purchased *The Schoolmaster*, by the Dutch artist Gerrit Dou – one of Rembrandt’s most famous pupils – it was Decker, his financial agent, who handled the transaction.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, making use of agents to purchase art was very common. Employing an agent, however, also meant that one often had to depend on the agent’s taste and knowledge of art and, occasionally, suffer from his errors in judgment.<sup>84</sup> In the case of the painting by Dou, Decker himself acquired it (as well as Willem van Mieris’s *The Market Stall*) upon Chandos’s death.<sup>85</sup> Fitzwilliam ultimately inherited these pictures, and they are in his museum.

Collecting French art was more complicated because the War of the Spanish Succession disrupted travel there. However, certain French artists were sought-after, especially Nicolas Poussin. Fitzwilliam had one painting by Poussin, *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well*, among his small number of French works. Considering how knowledgeable he was about French music, it seems surprising that French art makes up such a small part of Fitzwilliam’s collection.

The same war also meant that many collectors purchased Italian paintings in Amsterdam, rather than directly from Italy. Here again, Matthew Decker was an important resource. Since he was a director of the Dutch East India Company, he made frequent trips to Holland, purchasing art for various collectors like Chandos and Sir Andrew Fountaine.<sup>86</sup> The Fitzwilliam Collection contains a number of Italian works, such as two oils by Canaletto from ca. 1756: *St. Marks’s*,

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<sup>82</sup> William Key, *Catalogue of Paintings*. Artworks listed by Key have been verified by consulting the Fitzwilliam Museum’s website, <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk>.

<sup>83</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 134-135.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

*Venice and Interior Court of the Doge's Palace*. The most celebrated Italian acquisitions, however, are paintings that Fitzwilliam purchased when the French Revolution caused the Orleans Gallery to be dispersed.<sup>87</sup> These include masterpieces by Palma il Vecchio (*Venus and Cupid*), Annibale Carracci (*St. Roch and the Angel*), and Veronese (*Hermes, Herse and Agraulos*) – the latter two purchased for £105 each.

Developing an impressive library of valuable books and manuscripts was also typical of the time. Many collectors sought books dealing with antiquities, archaeology, architecture, and the current trend in Britain for classicism – particularly that dealing with the Roman Empire.<sup>88</sup> In Fitzwilliam's case, he made numerous annotations in his copy of *A View of the Various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics* by Edward Harwood.<sup>89</sup> Obtained in 1778, Fitzwilliam probably used this volume as a guide to his literary acquisitions on the topic. Books that dealt with art collecting and connoisseurship, useful for advice regarding purchases and their display, also were typical of the time.<sup>90</sup> One example from Fitzwilliam's library is a collected edition of *The Connoisseur* by George Coleman, a weekly periodical originally published between 1754 and 1756.

Fitzwilliam's development as a collector and connoisseur was rooted in a deep tradition of these pursuits in England. This tradition included a number of themes for collecting items such as artworks, books and manuscripts – the sorts of items pursued by Fitzwilliam. A deeper look into Fitzwilliam's library of books shows their influence upon his taste and his interest in

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<sup>87</sup> Earp, *Descriptive Catalogue*, viii.

<sup>88</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 145.

<sup>89</sup> Fitzwilliam possessed the second edition, published in London that year.

<sup>90</sup> Jenkins, *Chandos*, 144-146.



two topics that were central to the contemporary musicological dialogue: criticism and aesthetics.

## 2.5 Fitzwilliam's Books and His Developing Taste

The English population was very literate, and Georgian society had a strongly informational bent. A cultured person like Fitzwilliam enjoyed fine literature, poetry, and a wealth of newspapers and periodicals. Additionally, men of Fitzwilliam's class were grounded in the classics due to the nature of their public school education. The content of Fitzwilliam's extensive library attests to his wide-ranging interests as a well-read nobleman of his era. As in his music collection, we can track his acquisitions because he signed and dated his books as he accumulated them; however – as with the music – few have any annotations that might specifically guide our interpretation of his reading habits.<sup>91</sup>

Fitzwilliam's library contained books on numerous subjects that were typical choices for bibliophiles of his time. A great many of them deal with topics that were very popular in Georgian England, such as travel and exploration, history, natural history, geography, and astronomy. Others suggest the interests of an informed connoisseur. They concern such topics as art and art history, antiquities and monuments, archaeology, ancient history (both by ancient writers and contemporary works like Edward Gibbon's *History of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*), and architecture, the latter shown by James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728) and the multi-volume *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725). Religious books include bibles, missals, a torah, concordances, commentaries, and sermons. Viscount Fitzwilliam's facility with foreign languages is suggested by volumes in French, Italian, Latin, and Greek, along with a few

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<sup>91</sup> All of the specific authors and books discussed in this chapter were purchased by Fitzwilliam himself.

in Dutch – the latter probably part of his inheritance from his grandfather. These foreign-language works range from antiquity (Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Cicero, Euripides, Homer and Sophocles, to name but a few) to recent writers like Rousseau, Beaumarchais, Montesquieu and Metastasio. There are books on philosophy (such as Locke and Hume), theatrical works (Shakespeare, Racine and Moliere), collected letters and memoirs, dictionaries of all sorts, and books dealing with music (like the histories of Hawkins and Burney, and Burney's *Present State of Music in France and Italy*).

Fitzwilliam's attraction to fine literature is readily apparent. Antiquarian choices appear in English (Chaucer, Dryden, and Milton), French (Rabelais), and in translation (Cervantes), with many in Italian (Boccaccio, Dante, Galileo, Macchiavelli, Petrarch, and Tasso). There are works by eighteenth-century writers like Henry Fielding, Daniel Defoe (*Robinson Crusoe*), and Samuel Richardson (the popular novels *Clarissa* and *Pamela*, although these are exceptions to Fitzwilliam's typical choices). Fitzwilliam also acquired the trendy *Fingal* and *Temora*, James Macpherson's "translations" of Ossian's epic poems in Scots Gaelic.<sup>92</sup> The poetry of Thomas Gray and Alexander Pope, however, helps demonstrate Fitzwilliam's personal engagement with literature as part of his developing taste.

### 2.5.1 Thomas Gray

One of Fitzwilliam's friends was the poet Thomas Gray (1716-71), famous for his masterpiece, the *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (pub. 1751). Fitzwilliam became acquainted with Gray at Cambridge (where the latter was a professor), and had several editions

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<sup>92</sup> The authenticity of these poems has been continually contested since Macpherson's "translations" appeared in the 1760s.

of Gray's poems in his library.<sup>93</sup> We know that in 1764, Fitzwilliam's harpsichord resided with Gray at Peterhouse in Cambridge, this being when Fitzwilliam first went to France to study with Jacques Duphly.<sup>94</sup>

In addition to being a poet, Gray was also a classical scholar, amateur musician, and music collector.<sup>95</sup> He began to amass a large amount of Italian music when he was living in Florence in 1740. Emphasizing "operatic airs in score," Gray continued to add to this collection after returning to England, eventually binding it into ten volumes.<sup>96</sup> Gray's attraction to collecting Italian opera, and knowledge of classical literature, may have influenced Fitzwilliam's interest in these areas, but this influence cannot be confirmed.

### 2.5.2 Alexander Pope

Fitzwilliam owned a substantial number of works by the eminent poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744). These include Pope's own works, his scholarly translations of foreign texts, and essays that discuss his writings and "genius."<sup>97</sup> The fact that this regard for Pope endured for Fitzwilliam's entire adulthood, from 1762 to 1814 (two years before his death), demonstrates Pope's abiding influence on him. Most dramatic are the early acquisitions from 1762, when Fitzwilliam was just seventeen; these are *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, with commentary

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<sup>93</sup> These editions include memoirs of Gray written by William Mason. Gray and Mason were friends of Charles Avison and are discussed with Avison's *Essay* in Chapter 4.

<sup>94</sup> King, *British Collectors*, 36. Fitzwilliam also had a chamber organ, which he left to his cousin the Earl of Pembroke; it was at Wilton House for many years.

<sup>95</sup> Gray's music collection came up for sale in the 1850s. See King, *British Collectors*, 49.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. See also Charles Cudworth, "Thomas Gray and Music," *The Musical Times*, 112, no. 1541 (1971): 646-648.

<sup>97</sup> Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (London: printed by Thomas Maiden, 1806).

by William Warburton (1698-1799), and Pope's famous translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>98</sup>

Although suffering from ill health and deformity throughout his life, Pope nevertheless achieved success as a poet and social critic. His earliest publications date from 1709; soon to follow were *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), the first version of *The Rape of the Lock* (1713), and the first edition of his collected *Works* (1717).<sup>99</sup> In 1712, Pope and other writers formed the Scriblerus Club, a group of friends that included Jonathan Swift, John Gay, John Arbuthnot and Thomas Parnell. Their intention was to satirize the educated populace for abuses in "science, medicine, law, philosophy, and religion."<sup>100</sup> Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), Pope's *The Dunciad* (1728), and Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) all grew out of this project.<sup>101</sup> Since Fitzwilliam's library included works by all of the aforementioned club members (such as the collected writings of Swift), it seems likely that he was receptive to their satires. When not yet twenty years of age, he had the plays of John Gay, a collection of miscellaneous work of Arbuthnot, and Parnell's *Poems upon several occasions*, which were published by Pope.

Beginning in 1731, Pope wrote a number of poetic epistles to various friends, also intending them for his public audience. He grouped four of these together, first as *Ethick Epistles* (1735) and later as *Epistles to Several Persons*.<sup>102</sup> Written between 1731 and 1735, the set

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<sup>98</sup> Fitzwilliam also had the collected works of Warburton, who was Bishop of Gloucester.

<sup>99</sup> The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (completed between 1715 and 1726) gave Pope financial independence, enabling him to live comfortably and become a leading advocate in the field of landscape gardening.

<sup>100</sup> Paul Baines, *The Complete Critical Guide to Alexander Pope* (London: Routledge, 2000), 16-17.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>102</sup> Their full titles are *An Epistle to Sir Richard Temple, Lord Cobham: Argument of the Knowledge and Characters of Men*; *An Epistle to a Lady: Of the Characters of Women*; *An Epistle to Allen Lord Bathurst: Argument on the Use of Riches*; and *An Epistle to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington: Argument of the Use of Riches*. Some editions contained further epistles (such as to Joseph Addison, Lord Bolingbroke, and Dr. Arbuthnot), calling the grouping *Moral Essays*.

presents epistles to Viscount Cobham, a Lady, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Burlington.<sup>103</sup>

These four verse letters deal with several topics, particularly matters of taste and the appropriate use of riches.<sup>104</sup> As an informed connoisseur, Fitzwilliam would have kept abreast of these widely discussed topics. The presence of Pope's epistles in his library – in the collection purchased during his teenage years – confirms his familiarity.

### 2.5.3 *The Spectator* and Critical Writing

It was due to his *Essay on Criticism* (1711) that Pope became known to Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Richard Steele (1672-1729), just as their periodical *The Spectator* began to circulate.<sup>105</sup> *The Spectator* (1711-12, 1714) presented “moderately humorous essays on topics of current concern, literary, philosophical or moral, eschewing (ostensibly at least) party politics for a notion of well-bred tolerance.”<sup>106</sup> When its first collected edition appeared in 1712-13, its list of 402 subscribers included many aristocrats, prominent persons like Sir Isaac Newton, directors of the Bank of England, and directors of the East India Company like Sir Matthew Decker,

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<sup>103</sup>Pope deliberately chose to publish the set in this order, even though it is not the order in which he wrote them. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Bathurst and Burlington, along with Fitzwilliam's uncle the Ninth Earl of Pembroke, were considered among the greatest art patrons of their time. Pope originally called his *Epistle to Burlington*, a longtime friend, “Of Taste.” In it, Pope contrasts Burlington's virtues with examples of extreme tastelessness that were thought to be pointed at the Duke of Chandos. See Baines, *Guide to Pope*, 33. Regarding Lord Cobham, his country estate at Stowe was famous for having the premiere landscape garden of the time. The house and gardens there maintained their reputation for decades, and Fitzwilliam had George Bickham's guidebook in his library: *The Beauties of Stow, or, A Description of the Most Noble House, Gardens and Magnificent Buildings Therin [sic] of the Right. Hon. Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham* (London, ca. 1756). The “lady” in the *Epistle to a Lady* is unnamed, but for a time she was thought to be Margaret, Countess of Pembroke (mother of the Ninth Earl of Pembroke, who married Fitzwilliam's aunt). See Alexander Pope, *Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays)*, ed. F. W. Bateson (London: Methuen and Co., 1951), 47n. Current thought identifies the “lady” as Martha Blount (1690-1753), Pope's primary female friend. See Baines, *Guide to Pope*, 100.

<sup>104</sup> Pat Rogers, ed., introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Alexander Pope* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. In the following year, 1712, an entire issue was devoted to Pope's *Messiah*. This work was called a “‘sacred eclogue’ based on Isaiah and Virgil's *Pollio*.” See Baines, *Guide to Pope*, 13.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

Fitzwilliam's grandfather.<sup>107</sup> Fitzwilliam himself acquired a number of items written by Addison and Steele; besides collected editions of *The Spectator* and their other periodicals, *The Tatler* (1709-11) and *The Guardian* (1713), these included Addison's *The Free-holder, or Political Essays* and Steele's dramatic works.

The topic of criticism, and specific critics, appeared in *The Spectator* many times, often including writers from Ancient Greece and Rome. For example, writing in December 1711, Addison suggested that the best of the Latin critics were Horace, Petronius, Quintilian and Longinus – all of whom appear in Fitzwilliam's library.<sup>108</sup> The Viscount especially admired Horace: he had sets of Horace's works in three different languages (French, English, and Latin) acquired between the ages of fifteen and nineteen. He also had Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in both Latin and French. A few years later, Addison wrote "I have a great esteem for a true critick [sic], such as *Aristotle* and *Longinus* among the *Greeks*, *Horace* and *Quintilian* among the *Romans*, *Boileau*, and *Dacier* among the *French*."<sup>109</sup> The presence of all of these writers in Fitzwilliam's library indicates his agreement with Addison and his interest in criticism. It also suggests that *The Spectator*, with its plentiful discussions of ancient literature, helped shape his antiquarian tastes and contributed to his interest in the topical discussion of aesthetics.<sup>110</sup>

#### 2.5.4 The Sublime and the Beautiful

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<sup>107</sup> Donald F. Bond, ed., introduction to *The Spectator* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965): lxxxviii.

<sup>108</sup> *The Spectator*, 253 (20 December 1711).

<sup>109</sup> *The Spectator*, 592 (10 September 1714). Addison goes on to bemoan the stupidity of many current critics.

<sup>110</sup> Fitzwilliam had a valuable copy of the *Opera Omnia* of Aristotle (in Greek and Latin), published in 1619; he also had the *Treatise on Poetry*, translated by Burney's friend Thomas Twining. Fitzwilliam also acquired André Dacier's French translation of Horace's works and his *Bibliothèque des anciennes philosophes*.

Today, most people associate the aesthetic concepts of the sublime and the beautiful with Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, published in 1757.<sup>111</sup> However, this tradition of aesthetic discourse goes back much further. Its modern discussion began in earnest with Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux's *Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours traduit de grec de Longin*, published in Paris in 1674. His translation of the ancient Greek treatise by Longinus (first century A.D.) initiated several other translations along with evaluations of Longinus' text and its view of the sublime as the ultimate in elevated expression, awe-inspiring in its powers of persuasion. Fitzwilliam had Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* and the works of Boileau-Despréaux, as well as William Smith's English edition of *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime*, all purchased between 1760 and 1764 while he was still a teenager.<sup>112</sup>

In England, writers such as Thomas Hobbes and Sir William Temple (whose relevant works Fitzwilliam acquired in 1763) were already discussing the sublime in the later seventeenth century.<sup>113</sup> The idea of contrasting the sublime with the beautiful soon followed, endorsed and amplified in *The Spectator* by Joseph Addison's multi-part "Essay on the Pleasures of the Imagination" (1712). Other writers built on the foundation laid by Addison, such as Mark Akenside in his lengthy didactic poem (1744).<sup>114</sup> John Baillie, in *An Essay on the Sublime* (1747) went a step further, adding the category of the pathetic.

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<sup>111</sup> Several concepts of this discussion were suggested by "Charles Avison's 'Stiles in Musical Expression'" by Roger B. Larsson, *Music & Letters* 63 (1982): 261-275.

<sup>112</sup> Many years later (1797), Fitzwilliam also added a Latin and Greek version of Longinus's *De Sublimatate* to his library.

<sup>113</sup> Fitzwilliam had Temple's *Works* and *The moral and political works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*.

<sup>114</sup> Akenside published "The Pleasures of the Imagination" in 1744. Fitzwilliam purchased a collection of works by Akenside in 1789.

Use of aesthetic terms in reference to musical compositions was not unusual. Writing in 1753, Charles Avison used all three terms (sublime, beautiful and pathetic) to classify the expressive style of Benedetto Marcello's *Psalms*.<sup>115</sup> Both Sir John Hawkins and William Coxe referenced Handel's oratorios regarding their achievement of the sublime.<sup>116</sup> In his *Anecdotes of Handel* (which included Fitzwilliam among its subscribers), Coxe writes that Handel's "pen was never debased to the disgraceful practice of an effeminate or seductive style of composition: it is entitled to the first attribute of praise.—It is sublime, affecting, animated, and devoted, without the gloom of superstition, to the service of God."<sup>117</sup> Aesthetic terminology later widened to include the ornamental or picturesque, with the suggestion that this term might be appropriate for music by Domenico Scarlatti or Joseph Haydn.<sup>118</sup> When William Crotch published his *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* in 1831, he used a trio of aesthetic terms – the sublime, the beautiful, and the ornamental – and, like Avison before him classified composers within each.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> In 1778, Fitzwilliam bought a first edition of these *Psalms*, published in Venice (1724-26). They are discussed below in Chapter 4.

<sup>116</sup> Rosamond McGuinness and H. Diack Johnstone, "Concert Life in England I," in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 84.

<sup>117</sup> William Coxe, *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith* (1799; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 34.

<sup>118</sup> Peter LeHuray and James Day, eds., *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 431. One of the originators of the idea of the picturesque was William Gilpin (1724-1804). Fitzwilliam had Gilpin's *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape*.

<sup>119</sup> Todd Decker, "'Scarlattino, the Wonder of His Time': Domenico Scarlatti's Absent Presence in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2, no. 2 (2005): 293-294. Although published in 1831, Crotch's work was based on lectures presented in the early 1800s. See William Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (London, 1831); excerpts appear in LeHuray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 427-42. For more on Crotch, see Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999).



It appears that Fitzwilliam took the content of his library very seriously. Its extensive size and wide scope show the breadth of his intellectual interests. While his books reveal many subjects that were topical for an eighteenth-century collector, specific items demonstrate his antiquarianism and his engagement with the contemporary discussion of taste, aesthetics and criticism. Fitzwilliam's concern for these subjects shows his engagement with issues that were at the heart of the contemporary musicological debate.

## 2.6 Conclusion

Viscount Fitzwilliam was famous as a patron, collector and antiquarian. Due to his inheritance, he was able to develop an outstanding collection of art, books and music that was superior in both size and content. Through his bequest to Cambridge University, he ensured that this collection would be available to the public at the Fitzwilliam Museum. The establishment of this museum preserved Fitzwilliam's legacy. However, the fact that he made the fruits of his collecting available for study – and in an academic setting – is evidence of the historical intent with which he shaped its contents.

During Fitzwilliam's lifetime, a climate conducive to collecting and connoisseurship was in full flower in Britain. Nurtured by both personal interest and perceived expectations for spending one's wealth, members of the nobility pursued collecting and display to reinforce their status and influence the public's taste. Due to his class, wealth, family and social sphere, Viscount Fitzwilliam was superbly poised to become the epitome of the informed collector and patron, demonstrating the development of his refined taste.

Fitzwilliam's development as a collector and connoisseur was rooted in a deep tradition of these pursuits in England. This tradition included a number of themes for collecting items

such as artworks and library materials – the sorts of items Fitzwilliam avidly pursued. The discussion of certain paintings and books from the collection within the context of these themes proves Fitzwilliam’s awareness of contemporary trends in taste and connoisseurship.

Furthermore, Fitzwilliam’s books demonstrate his interest in specific topics – such as criticism and aesthetics – that place him within the contemporary musicological dialogue.

## CHAPTER 3

### PARTICIPATION AND PATRONAGE: CLUBS, CONCERTS, AND CANON

#### 3.1 Introduction

A robust antiquarianism became prevalent in Britain during the eighteenth century. Fitzwilliam's activities as an amateur, patron and collector reflect his espousal of this attitude and his association with other like-minded advocates who wished to use ancient music to affect public taste. We can see Fitzwilliam's youthful embrace of this concept in his early acquisitions, which show a predilection for Corelli, Purcell, and Handel – whose works would form the core of the musical canon in England – as well as Bononcini, Geminiani and Rameau. As a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, he performed older vocal music and supported its publication in popular anthologies. His support for ancient music, however, came to full flower during his years of active patronage as a director of the Concert of Antient Music. Moreover, because it provides evidence of his advocacy for ancient music, the music that Fitzwilliam collected throughout his lifetime shows his participation in the contemporary musicological discussion.

In Georgian Britain, a strong preference for vocal music prevailed. Fitzwilliam and other aristocrats supported vocal music through their participation in musical clubs and through their patronage of concert life. Both the Catch Club and the Antient Concerts widely influenced the development of a repertoire of repeatedly performed musical classics, or the English canon. There was a continuing veneration for music by Corelli, Purcell, and Handel, and their compositions pervaded musical life in London and elsewhere in Britain. The reverence for Handel is especially critical to this study, for Fitzwilliam was an ardent admirer and instigated

the first Handel Commemoration Festival in 1784 (described in detail by Charles Burney).<sup>120</sup>

Extant program books document the repertoire of the Concert of Antient Music during the years that Fitzwilliam actively participated as a director.<sup>121</sup> This data shows how the repertoire of the Antient Concerts, selected by Fitzwilliam and his associates, reflects their support of ancient music and its use to direct public taste. Additionally, the correlations between this repertoire and the music in Fitzwilliam's collection further demonstrate his advocacy for ancient music as part of the contemporary musicological discourse.

### 3.2 Concert Life and Antiquarianism

Antiquarianism was an important element in eighteenth-century English culture, and provided basic material for the many historical narratives that emerged at that time.<sup>122</sup> Although antiquaries and their obsessive behavior were sometimes satirized (as in Sir Walter Scott's novel of 1816, *The Antiquary*), antiquarianism itself was considered to be a "polite" enthusiasm and a gentlemanly accomplishment. Books on antiquities (including those in Britain itself) abounded, and were a standard part of every cultivated person's library. One such library was Fitzwilliam's, which featured many of the most prominent publications, such as works by Richard Gough (probably the most important British antiquary in the later eighteenth century).<sup>123</sup> Many

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<sup>120</sup> Burney, *Commemoration of Handel*.

<sup>121</sup> Program books for the years 1780 to 1800 were used for this study.

<sup>122</sup> This paragraph is based on Rosemary Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 181-206.

<sup>123</sup> Richard Gough was Director of the Society of Antiquaries from 1771 to 1797. Besides books by Gough, Fitzwilliam's library included other seminal volumes such as *Britannia* by William Camden (the "Father of Antiquities") and an original edition of *L'antiquite expliquée et représentée en figures* by Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), considered to be a founder of modern archaeology. See Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities," 184.

antiquarians – such as Gough – felt that their pursuit was important to the development of a national identity and the preservation of their national heritage.

During the Georgian period, Britain cultivated a vibrant concert life and thriving musical clubs.<sup>124</sup> At the same time, many Britons developed a highly antiquarian attitude that included both the espousal of earlier types of music and an interest in past works of art and literature.<sup>125</sup> Antiquarianism grew in various disciplines. In music, people reconsidered older works by both native and foreign composers. As concerts began to reflect this attitude, organizations were formed specifically to present this older repertoire. Notable among these was the Academy of Vocal Music. Begun in early 1726, it was so dedicated to serious, “ancient” music that it changed its name to reflect this focus.<sup>126</sup> A re-examination of music history also took place as exemplified in the extended studies by Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Charles Burney.<sup>127</sup> Important anthologies started to appear, led by the multi-volume *Cathedral Music*, edited by William Boyce.<sup>128</sup> This interest in the musical past also manifested itself in the Handel edition of Samuel Arnold and the Purcell edition proposed by Benjamin Goodison; these were the first attempts, in

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<sup>124</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 27.

<sup>125</sup> Peter Holman, “Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate: 2000), 10. This antiquarian viewpoint belonged to the Romantic aesthetic that was starting to take root in Britain.

<sup>126</sup> At the time that this organization became the “Academy of Ancient Music,” its members aimed to present music composed before 1600; however, they did not adhere to this stipulation. See Donald Burrows, “London: Commercial Wealth and Cultural Expansion,” in *Music and Society: The Late Baroque Era*, ed. George J. Buelow (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), 376-377.

<sup>127</sup> These studies were Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1789; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1957) and Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1835; repr., New York: Dover, 1963); both first appeared in 1776. A history of music by Nicola Haym (1678-1729), who arrived in England in 1701, was proposed and advertised in the 1720s. If Haym had lived to complete the project, it would have preceded Hawkins and Burney by nearly fifty years. See Burrows, “London,” 372-373.

<sup>128</sup> Roger Fiske, “Music and Society,” in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 20. Boyce took over the *Cathedral Music* project following the death of Maurice Greene. William Boyce, ed., *Cathedral Music*, 3 vols. (London: John Ashley, 1788).

any country, to publish a collected edition of a composer's works, and Lord Fitzwilliam – an avid musical antiquary – was a subscriber to both efforts.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, Fitzwilliam's subscription to these collected editions and his ownership of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* confirm his dedication to forming a collection that preserved music of historical value. As a result, he and his collection merit evaluation from a musicological standpoint.

### 3.3 Foreign Musicians and the Primacy of Vocal Music

During the first half of the eighteenth century, London was very open to foreign artists and composers.<sup>130</sup> These musicians viewed Britain as a land of opportunity and they were well able to support themselves.<sup>131</sup> Success was due in part to two factors. First, patronage in Britain had shifted; no longer strictly centered at the royal court, it had expanded downward into the aristocracy, allowing nobles like Fitzwilliam to become influential patrons. Second, a growing middle class bolstered concert life by emulating the aristocracy in matters of taste and lifestyle. Although foreign musicians continued to enrich English musical life, the attitude toward them changed during the middle of the century. An increasing sense of nationalism began to limit their success, and the popularity of things Italian (such as the opera) began to give way to an urge for music written by Britons.<sup>132</sup> As a result, foreign composers arriving from about 1760 onward,

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<sup>129</sup> Charles Cudworth, "Fitzwilliam and Handel," in *Handel and the Fitzwilliam* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1974), 8. See George Frideric Handel, *The Works of Handel, in Score; Correct, Uniform, and Complete*, ed. Samuel Arnold (London: 1787-1797). While Arnold's edition was a success, relatively little of Goodison's project came to fruition. Fitzwilliam had a "complete" set (dated 1799) of the volumes that Goodison managed to issue. See Henry Purcell, *The Works of Henry Purcell, in Five Classes*, ed. Benjamin Goodison (London, c. 1788-1790). If Goodison had succeeded, this collection would have been the first-ever complete edition of a composer's music. See Christopher Hogwood, ed., *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 67.

<sup>130</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 5.

<sup>131</sup> Holman, "Eighteenth-Century English Music," 3.

<sup>132</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 5-6.

such as Carl Friedrich Abel, Johann (John) Christian Bach, and Muzio Clementi, met with only a limited degree of success. This scenario was very different from the British rage, even mania, for their immigrant predecessors – such as Geminiani, Bononcini, and, most especially, Handel – earlier in the century.<sup>133</sup> This shift is very noticeable within Lord Fitzwilliam’s collection, where the strength of works by the older group (with their Italianate musical style) dwarfs the meager number of pieces by Bach and Clementi, with Abel absent altogether.<sup>134</sup>

Unlike the growing European taste for instrumental music in the Classical style, the British still favored vocal music.<sup>135</sup> The preference among the nobility (and the wealthy) was for opera, in English or Italian, a partiality strongly reflected in the Fitzwilliam Collection. The directors of the musical clubs and the Concert of Antient Music, which limited its instrumental genres very strictly, abetted the continuing primacy of vocal music. Some organizations, like the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club, of which Fitzwilliam was a member, helped to keep instrumental music in its marginal position.<sup>136</sup> While concert life in London was rich in its offerings, vocal music remained predominant, as it is in Fitzwilliam’s collection; in fact, patronage of strictly instrumental performances remained much rarer than on the Continent until Joseph Haydn arrived in London in the 1790s.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> These composers are discussed in later chapters: Geminiani and Bononcini in Ch. 4; Bach, Abel and Clementi in Ch. 5; and Handel in Ch. 3-5.

<sup>135</sup> It was at least 1830 before the English fully accepted instrumental music as having an expressive value equal to vocal music. See Jamie Croy Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1740-1830*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1979), 1: xiin.

<sup>136</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 90.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 6. Vocal music continued its supremacy in England well into the nineteenth century, as illustrated by William Crotch’s 1824 lecture on the “Superiority of Vocal over Instrumental Music.” Once a well-known child prodigy, Crotch (1775-1847) was a notable academic (Oxford University’s Heather Professor of Music) and a popular lecturer. Many of his talks discussed the evolution of classical music, including “ancients” versus

The preference for vocal genres continued to be strong in spite of some important foreigners, like J. C. Bach (1735-82), who composed in the instrumental genres now thought to represent the heart of the rising *galant* style. Although Bach went to England on a commission from the King's Theatre to compose Italian operas, his more successful endeavors in Britain revolved around instrumental forms and the concert series he managed in partnership with his friend, C. F. Abel (1723-87), another German immigrant. From 1765-82, their series, the Bach-Abel Concerts, was one of the most important of the time.<sup>138</sup> Charles Burney praised the progressive nature of the music performed, but the fact that this repertoire did not become a part of the developing canon did not surprise others, who shared the view of Sir John Hawkins that "the multifarious productions of Bach and Abel [. . .] were heard, and consigned to oblivion."<sup>139</sup> This reactionary stance is apparent in the preferences seen in programs of the Concert of Antient Music, including those selected by Fitzwilliam. It is also notable in the absence of large-scale instrumental genres like the symphony and string quartet from Fitzwilliam's music collection.

Although vocal music remained supreme in Georgian London, highly capable musicians did compose and perform a great amount of instrumental music. London led Europe in the establishment of public and subscription concerts, and its concert life was more vibrant and diverse than that found in other large cities.<sup>140</sup> This city was also a dynamic center for publishing, capitalizing on the surge in printing associated with less expensive techniques for

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"moderns." See William Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (London, 1831); excerpted in LeHuray and Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 427-42.

<sup>138</sup> Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 15.

<sup>139</sup> Sir John Hawkins, Preface to *Cathedral Music* (3 vols.), ed. William Boyce (London: John Ashley, 1788). For Burney's stance, see his *General History*, ii: 1017.

<sup>140</sup> Rosamond McGuinness and H. Diack Johnstone, "Concert Life in England I," in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 31.



engraving music.<sup>141</sup> Opera thrived, oratorio maintained a steady ascendancy, public performances at pleasure gardens flourished, and concert patronage crossed social barriers. Native composers, primarily trained in the strong church choir school tradition, concentrated their efforts on vocal genres.<sup>142</sup> The relative scarcity of Classical-style instrumental music composed by them is apparent in the prominent music collections of the time, such as the Fitzwilliam Collection. The ascendancy of the most influential musical clubs and concert series, particularly those with which Fitzwilliam was affiliated, strengthened the prevailing emphasis on vocal music while, at the same time, they promoted the performance of ancient music.

### 3.4 The Musical Club and Its Membership

Compared to its continental counterparts, British society in the eighteenth-century was more willing to accept outsiders and embraced non-aristocrats who met certain criteria, such as being rich, talented or entertaining.<sup>143</sup> This less circumscribed attitude resulted in a broader base for both cultural patronage and participation, concurrent with the rise of the socially significant gentlemen's club. Membership in the musical clubs was not limited to the aristocracy. Rather, it included the gentry, intellectuals, politicians, successful merchants and, as needed, professional musicians. English club life provided an enticing milieu, where one might mingle with the rich, the fashionable, and the politically powerful.<sup>144</sup> It was this atmosphere, full of personal contacts

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>142</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 15.

<sup>143</sup> Muriel Jaeger, *Before Victoria: Changing Standards and Behaviour, 1787-1837* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1956), 19.

<sup>144</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 55.

and shared experiences, which encouraged the full flowering of Fitzwilliam's taste and patronage.

Participation in vocal music clubs such as the Catch Club required a certain level of training and skill plus enough leisure time to practice, and the repertoire was usually performed one on a part. Membership implied a degree of sophistication or social status, and the music that was performed (madrigals, catches, canons and glees) was perceived to be of a higher caliber than the more ordinary popular song. The catch, a type of round for three voices, first became popular in the late sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century, it grew in sophistication and complexity, and remained popular until around 1800.<sup>145</sup> Alternatively, the glee (inspired by the English madrigal) came to prominence in the middle of the eighteenth century. Usually for three or four voices, glees generally comprised short sections set off by contrasts in texture.<sup>146</sup>

Many of the musical clubs were well-structured societies that met on regular schedules. Of these, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club – which Fitzwilliam joined in 1788 – was the preeminent vocal club, and its influence upon later groups is notable. Founded in 1761, the Catch Club held a central position due to its purposeful pursuit of repertoire and its elite membership.<sup>147</sup> The status, power and prestige of its most influential members gave it an instant and sustained cachet. Membership in the Catch Club became all the rage.

### 3.4.1 The Catch Club

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<sup>145</sup> David Johnson, "Catch," in *GMO* (accessed 5 July 2011).

<sup>146</sup> David Johnson, "Glee," in *GMO* (accessed 5 July 2011).

<sup>147</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 91.

The Catch Club was formed by a group of nine men that included the Earl of Sandwich and Edmund Thomas Warren.<sup>148</sup> Of the founders, Sandwich wielded the most influence and spurred the club's continuing development. Warren was an antiquarian whose collection included the *Old Hall Manuscript* and the *Ulm Gesangbuch*. He was also the club's secretary for many years and was responsible for collecting and publishing the group's thirty-two annual volumes of catches, canons and glees. A number of Catch Club members, like Sandwich and Fitzwilliam, also became directors of the Antient Concerts.<sup>149</sup>

The regular members of the Catch Club were skilled amateurs in the finest sense, supporting their art and performing music to a high standard.<sup>150</sup> In 1763, they resolved to augment their membership by including a number of professional musicians. Many of these "privileged" members were part of the Chapel Royal and were among the finest singers available in London. The inclusion of these professionals, such as William Hayes, helped the group achieve a more rigorous level of performance.<sup>151</sup>

From its founding, the Catch Club was one of London's leading clubs from both musical and social standpoints. Its areas of influence included promoting music composed by Britons, spawning new organizations like the Concert of Antient Music, engendering good fellowship and camaraderie among its members, and extending their patronage and sponsorships.<sup>152</sup> These

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<sup>148</sup> This paragraph is based upon Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 33-34, 70, and 155-158.

<sup>149</sup> Other Catch Club members who became directors of the Antient Concerts included the Earls of Exeter and Chesterfield, Viscount Dudley and Ward, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, and the future Duke of Leeds. Peter Beckford, who was responsible for bringing the young Muzio Clementi to England, was also a member. For more about Beckford and Clementi, see below in Chapter 4.

<sup>150</sup> Some of these talented amateurs also composed new vocal works themselves.

<sup>151</sup> Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 39-40. Hayes's response to Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* is discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>152</sup> The Catch Club maintained its elite status, even though the catch itself came to be viewed as too impolite for the increasingly polite society. Some glees were also coarse in nature. See *Ibid.*, 66.

amateurs dedicated themselves to performing good repertoire and sponsoring new works that would influence the future of British music.<sup>153</sup> The membership included not only amateurs from the nobility but most of the sons of George III (such as the Prince of Wales, who was a spirited singer), who thus increased the prestige of Fitzwilliam and the other members.<sup>154</sup>

### 3.4.2 Club Repertoire

The recreational singing enjoyed at meetings varied in style and repertoire according to each musical club's particular viewpoint. For example, the Madrigal Society (founded in the 1740s) was dedicated to the performance of antiquarian music, particularly from the English madrigal school of composers. Catch Club meetings included not only the singing of catches – including bawdy ones by older composers such as Henry Purcell – but also canons and glees.<sup>155</sup> During the late eighteenth century, the vogue for catches and glees skyrocketed; not only did new pieces vie for prizes from various musical clubs, but pubs capitalized on the craze by holding performance contests.<sup>156</sup>

The repertoire of the Catch Club and other amateur groups was strongly tied to the concurrent growth in commercial music. Publishers now made the most of opportunities to publish songs for amateur use; especially prized were those having the cachet of either association with the Catch Club or performance by a famous professional singer at one of the

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>154</sup> Besides the Prince of Wales (later George IV), other royal princes who became members included the Duke of Cumberland (later King of Hanover), the Duke of Clarence (later William IV), and the Dukes of York, Cambridge, and Sussex. See Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 155-159.

<sup>155</sup> Due to its exclusivity, imitative groups arose in response to the Catch Club's limited membership. One of the most successful of these was the Glee Club, dedicated to performing the newer, very English glee. See Rubin, *English Glee*, 51.

<sup>156</sup> Holman, "Eighteenth-Century English Music," 3.

public pleasure gardens, such as Vauxhall or Ranelagh.<sup>157</sup> As Britain enjoyed its economic surge, an explosion of inexpensive sheet music became available to the growing middle class, who purchased it for social singing in their own homes – in effect associating themselves with the upper classes by pursuing similar leisure-time activities.<sup>158</sup> As the middle class grew and imitated the nobility’s enthusiasm for the arts, music publishing grew accordingly.<sup>159</sup> Consequently, a wider variety of printed music was readily available, for household use as well as for the avid collector.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club actively heard and judged new music and its influence upon the repertory of catches, canons and glees should not be taken lightly.<sup>160</sup> The group encouraged the composition of new works by presenting annual prizes for the best new catch, canon and glee.<sup>161</sup> Composers avidly pursued these prizes, not only for the monetary reward but also for the prestige attached to them.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, from 1763 to 1794 the Catch Club decided to publish the best works of each season. Known as *The Warren Collection* (after its editor, club secretary Edmund Thomas Warren), these thirty-two volumes were widely distributed and were reissued a number of times, becoming an important source of income

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<sup>157</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 4.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>159</sup> Stanley Sadie, “Music in the Home II,” in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske. The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, vol. 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 314.

<sup>160</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 114. The Catch Club held an annual composition contest (for catches, canons and glees) for over thirty years. First, some of the “privileged” (professional) members would examine the entries, disqualifying those that were poorly composed or did not follow the contest guidelines. The entire membership then judged live performances of the remaining entries, voting according to the audience’s response to each piece. The winning entries were included in the *Warren Collection*.

<sup>161</sup> Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 40. A leading composer of (and advocate for) the catch and glee was William Hayes, who was also a professional member of the Catch Club. See Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 28. Hayes is discussed below, in Chapter 4, in connection with his criticism of Charles Avison’s writings.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

beyond the monetary support of its members. The Catch Club specifically published these volumes in order to guide public taste by disseminating new pieces solicited by the club as well as older, “ancient” repertoire.

### 3.4.3 Catch Club Publications in the Fitzwilliam Collection

Judging Fitzwilliam by his collecting habits, he tended to resist change. This resistance is particularly obvious in examining the impact of the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club upon his collection. Although Fitzwilliam was a member of the club, he did not pursue the acquisition of glees and catches with the vigor that is apparent in other categories. He owned only five volumes of catches, canons and glees out of the thirty-two published under the aegis of the Catch Club.<sup>163</sup> Besides an additional volume called *The Catch Club or Merry Companions* (which featured works of Purcell and Blow and is thus more antiquarian than the club’s editions), Fitzwilliam owned only two individual works: the very popular glee *Oh Nanny! Wilt Thou Gang with Me* by Samuel Harrison (1760-1812), and *Now I Know What It is to Have Strove* by Charles Wesley (1757-1834).<sup>164</sup> All told, these works are a very meager portion of Fitzwilliam’s vast amount of vocal music. However, Fitzwilliam’s membership in the Catch Club indicates his concern for the continuing composition, performance, and publication of vocal music. And, since the *Warren Collection* included “ancient” compositions as well as newly-composed pieces, these annual publications substantiate the support of the club – and members like Fitzwilliam – for antiquarian works.

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<sup>163</sup> Fitzwilliam owned volumes 1-4 and 26 of the *Warren Collection*.

<sup>164</sup> Fitzwilliam received Wesley’s glee “From the author” in 1807. For more on Wesley, see the discussion of the English “Scarlati Sect” in Chapter 5.

### 3.5 Publishing, Ancient Music, and the Developing Canon

The activities of the Catch Club meshed with two critical, concurrent developments: the growth in music publishing and the expansion of canonical musical works. Now readily heard in public performances by professionals, or purchased in print for their own amateur performances, music was increasingly available to the public at large.<sup>165</sup> The number of publishers grew along with their production.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, it now became commonplace to publish some works repeatedly and, since paper and printing had become much less expensive, it was cost effective to reprint any music deemed marketable.<sup>167</sup> The availability of these reprints undoubtedly assisted Fitzwilliam in shaping an antiquarian collection. For example, in 1775 he acquired the Welcker edition, c. 1770, of *Six Canzonets* by Thomas Morley – pieces that were originally published in 1599.

Alongside the proliferation of new music in styles and genres that were contemporary, beloved pieces of older music retained their currency. While support for ancient music grew in part from its continued use in churches and regional music societies, this music also came to have its own philosophical justification.<sup>168</sup> This antiquarian perspective was directly responsible for organizations like the Concert of Antient Music. These Antient Concerts encouraged the performance of older musical compositions that would become cultural icons equal in stature to classic pieces of art and architecture.<sup>169</sup> Fitzwilliam and his compatriots became major

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<sup>165</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 4-5.

<sup>166</sup> Stanley Sadie, “Music in the Home II,” 313.

<sup>167</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 394.

<sup>168</sup> Holman, “Eighteenth-Century English Music,” 9.

<sup>169</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 393.

proponents for this “old” music, adding to their own prestige and supporting ancient music over newer, modern works.

### 3.5.1 The Establishment of Canonical Concert Music in England

Eighteenth-century England “was the first place where old musical works were performed regularly and reverentially, where a collective notion of such works – ‘ancient music’ – first appeared.”<sup>170</sup> The concept of “ancient” music began at the end of the seventeenth century and was particularly articulated by churchmen who promoted the use of a traditional, learned repertoire to guide public morals “against luxury and fashion, against the excesses seen in new habits of consumption.”<sup>171</sup> The early movement was especially robust in Oxford, led by Dean Henry Aldrich of Christ Church.<sup>172</sup> Another strong proponent was Thomas Tudway who, between 1715 and 1720, assembled a six-volume manuscript anthology of anthems and services for Robert, Lord Harley (later the Earl of Oxford).<sup>173</sup> This “Harleian Collection” was an important predecessor to Boyce’s *Cathedral Music*; it included music dating as far back as Christopher Tye (c.1505-c.1572), and was an important resource for Hawkins and Burney in writing their histories.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, by calling it a collection of “Ancient Church Musick,”

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<sup>170</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, vii. A historian, Weber has written extensively on the development of a canon of concert music, i.e. “musical classics,” in eighteenth-century England.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, vii-viii and 23.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>173</sup> Christopher Hogwood, “Thomas Tudway’s History of Music,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 21. Harley’s son Edward, the Second Earl of Oxford, is one of the famous patrons discussed by James Lees-Milne in the previously mentioned *Earls of Creation*.

<sup>174</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 46. Tudway wrote a preface for each volume.



Tudway promoted the use of the designation “ancient music.”<sup>175</sup> Critical for the articulation of a philosophy of ancient music was Arthur Bedford. In his *Great Abuse of Musick* (1711), Bedford discusses the pitfalls of contemporary music: “Thus nothing is admired but what is new, and nothing hath the Air of a *new composition*, but what is *profane* or *lewd*.”<sup>176</sup> He advocated using music composed by “ancient Musicians” as tasteful examples, useful for combating the immorality of the modern music prevalent in the theatres and readily available for home use.<sup>177</sup>

Thus as the eighteenth century began, music by a number of English and Italian masters – including Purcell and Corelli – did not disappear, but rather stayed in use.<sup>178</sup> This ancient music served as a response to the increasing consumerism of society and as a stable force within the arts.<sup>179</sup> As a result, its advocacy served a two-fold purpose: to improve society and to guide musical taste. Both the performance of and the writing about this older music received increased attention. Fitzwilliam’s collection demonstrates his participation in this musicological discussion and his agreement with the critical writings of Charles Avison, which primarily concern antiquarian repertoire.<sup>180</sup>

By the 1780s, a canon of treasured works had formed in England, ranging from Tallis and Byrd to the more recent, favorite oratorios of Handel.<sup>181</sup> Outside of England, the primary countries in which one could listen to an established repertory were France and Prussia. In

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Arthur Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick* (1711; repr., New York: Broude Brothers, 1965), 184.

<sup>177</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 47-56.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., vii.

<sup>179</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 7.

<sup>180</sup> Avison and his *Essay on Musical Expression* are discussed below in Chapter 4.

<sup>181</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, vii-viii.

Berlin, the operas of Carl Heinrich Graun and Johann Adolf Hasse were still mounted decades after their premières. The presentation of standard, older works was even stronger in Paris, where compositions by two particular composers, Jean Baptiste Lully and Michel-Richard de Lalande, continued to appear.<sup>182</sup> Operas by Lully were still being presented into the 1770s, and Lalande's *grands motets* dominated the *Concert Spirituel* (Paris's secular concert series) until the 1760s. Both of these composers occupy important positions in Fitzwilliam's collection, and indicate his awareness of antiquarian music and canonical repertoire outside of Britain. However, unlike its counterpart in England (i.e., Corelli, Purcell and Handel), *la musique ancienne*, including that of Lully and Lalande, did not form a permanently established, "classical" repertoire.<sup>183</sup> There are a number of reasons for this circumstance. Regarding opera, part of the explanation lies with Marie Antoinette. Following her marriage in 1770, she took an active interest in Parisian musical life. In particular, she supported a revision of the opera repertory toward newer works by such composers as Gossec and Grétry.<sup>184</sup> As for the *Concert Spirituel*, motets from early in the century (including those of Lalande) never accounted for more than twenty-five percent of the repertoire for any given season; rather, the series was dominated by newer works (and ended in 1790).<sup>185</sup> If one also factors in the political instability of the revolutionary period, it is not surprising that a permanent, canonical repertoire was not in place in France as the century ended.

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 3. We can also verify support for ancient music in Vienna, through the activities of Baron Gottfried van Swieten. See Edward Olleson, "Gottfried van Swieten: Patron of Haydn and Mozart," in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89<sup>th</sup> Session (1962-1963): 63-74.

<sup>184</sup> William Weber, "La musique ancienne in the Waning of the Ancien Régime," *Journal of Modern History* 56 (1984): 84-85.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 82.

It was in England, then, that ancient music flourished. Since the end in 1695 of the Licensing Act, which had given Parliament censorship over the press, intellectual freedom allowed the publishing industry to prosper. At the same time, concert life thrived, encouraged by a lack of governmental controls. The burgeoning concert life provided the opportunity for repeated performances of repertory and was critical to the evolution of ancient music into a repertoire of musical classics.<sup>186</sup> This setting nurtured the Concert of Antient Music. As stated by George Hogarth in his 1832 *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism*, these concerts were established “for the purpose of preserving, by means of regular performance, the great works of the older masters, which might otherwise, through the desire of novelty, be allowed to fall into oblivion.”<sup>187</sup> From their founding in 1776, they helped re-characterize the aristocracy as preservers of the country’s artistic heritage.<sup>188</sup> Through their dedication to performing music at least twenty years old, the Antient Concerts developed a “cultural authority” that exerted its influence for decades.<sup>189</sup> Thus, the series’ emphasis on traditional repertoire served as the basis for the emerging canon of repeatedly performed concert music, assisted by the rank and influence of its primary patrons and directors, including Fitzwilliam. Moreover, Fitzwilliam’s participation as a director demonstrates his conscious support of ancient music as opposed to more modern repertoire.

### 3.5.2 Composers Central to the Emerging Canon

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<sup>186</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 8-9.

<sup>187</sup> George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism* (1848; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1969): 171.

<sup>188</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 7.

<sup>189</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 20.

Within this atmosphere, one regularly heard music by two long-dead composers: Arcangelo Corelli and Henry Purcell.<sup>190</sup> The performance of their music, along with that of Handel, became commonplace. Music by Purcell was appearing regularly in the theaters as well as at concerts. Corelli's concertos, once they appeared in print in 1714, became standard repertory both in London and at music societies throughout the country.

While both Purcell and Corelli achieved a cult-like status, the basis for this status varied greatly. Corelli's popularity was due to one particular genre, the concerto.<sup>191</sup> Purcell's status, on the other hand, sprang from compositions in a range of genres from catches and songs to his *Te Deum and Jubilate*. The appetite for works by these composers, however, did not exist in isolation, but rather within the context of performances that included pieces by more contemporary composers and, especially, Handel. Reverence for Handel's music also expanded, based on the popularity of two genres in particular, the concerto grosso – conceptually linked with those of Corelli – and the oratorio. It is no accident that both of these genres by Handel dominated the programming of the Concert of Antient Music.<sup>192</sup>

The regard for Corelli's music was uniformly high. In their histories, both Burney and Hawkins point to the consistency of this evaluation. Burney speaks to their staying power: "The *Concertos* of Corelli seem to have withstood all the attacks of time and fashion with more firmness than any of his other works. . . . They preclude all criticism, and make us forget that there is any other Music of the same kind existing."<sup>193</sup> Hawkins was more succinct: "Men

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<sup>190</sup> This paragraph is based on Weber, *Musical Classics*, 13, 17 and 75.

<sup>191</sup> This paragraph is based on Weber, *Musical Classics*, 75-102.

<sup>192</sup> While the oratorio also became the mainstay of musical festivals throughout Britain, the heritage of those festivals goes back to the Sons of the Clergy Festival that, as shown later in this chapter, featured performances of Purcell's *Te Deum and Jubilate* for many years.

<sup>193</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 442.

remembered, and would refer to passages in it, as to a classic author.”<sup>194</sup> His is also the more telling remark, since it indicates the elevation of Corelli to a higher standard, one reserved for paragons of literary achievement.<sup>195</sup>

Within England, the regard for Corelli generated not only performances of his music but also a school of concerto composers. Leading this school was his student Geminiani who, besides writing successful concertos of his own, arranged numerous sonatas by Corelli into concerti grossi. These adapted concertos were popular, their performance sometimes rivaling the standard, “original” concertos of Corelli, Geminiani and Handel.<sup>196</sup> Carrying the legacy a further step was Charles Avison, best known today for his *Essay on Musical Expression*, discussed below in Chapter 4. A student of Geminiani and the most important native composer of concerti grossi, Avison’s writings confirm the stature of Corelli’s music.<sup>197</sup>

Henry Purcell was just as important as Corelli in the rise of a canonical repertoire in England.<sup>198</sup> His music was widely heard throughout the eighteenth century, and he rivaled Handel in the variety of genres still performed. Purcell’s sacred music remained entrenched in the repertoires of cathedrals, while his *Te Deum and Jubilate* was central to the evolution of the music festival, an important ritual throughout Britain.<sup>199</sup> Stage music that he composed

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<sup>194</sup> Hawkins, *General History*, ii: 677.

<sup>195</sup> Unlike poetry (or sculpture), music did not have numerous examples from antiquity (i.e., the Hellenic period) that could serve as models of artistic achievement. Thus, music was considered to be on a lower plane than literature or art. Weber, *Musical Classics*, 2.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80.

<sup>197</sup> Pierre Dubois, ed., *Charles Avison’s ‘Essay on Musical Expression,’ with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>199</sup> The prominence of the Sons of the Clergy Festival (discussed below) was a selling point for Walsh’s posthumous publication of Purcell’s *Te Deum*. The title page touts this association: *Te Deum et Jubilate, for Voices*

continued to resurface in the London theatres while it also became regular repertory at concerts, like the Concert of Antient Music. His catches remained a part of the popular music tradition, and publishers reissued some of his instrumental selections. Taken as a whole, these works by Purcell form an astonishing catalog of music; “in its breadth it far outdistances Corelli and Lully and invites comparison with Beethoven.”<sup>200</sup> However, Purcell did not appear on the Antient Concerts with the same sort of consistency as that enjoyed by Corelli and Handel, and Fitzwilliam bears part of the blame for this circumstance.

Besides a widespread veneration and appeal to existing musical taste, a partial explanation for the continuing performance of Purcell’s music lies in his cult-like status within literary circles. The *literati* revered him, and their frequent references to him helped confirm his iconic stature. His music was also valuable for its strong patriotic connotations.<sup>201</sup> In the early 1700s, English works like semi-operas were revived in response to the influx of Italian opera. As a result, many of Purcell’s works (such as *The Libertine*, *The Indian Queen*, *King Arthur*, and *Bonduca, or the British Heroine*) reappeared on London stages.<sup>202</sup> Compositions that dealt with figures important to British historicism, such as *King Arthur* and *Bonduca* (better known today as Boadicea, the warrior queen who opposed the Romans), had a special appeal. Indeed, “Britons, Strike Home!” – a rousing number from *Bonduca* – became a staple expression of

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*and Instruments Perform’d before the Songs of the Clergy at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul. Compos’d by the late Mr. Henry Purcell.* Ernest Harold Pearce, *The Sons of the Clergy* (London: John Murray, 1928), 235.

<sup>200</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 90.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 93. See also Richard Lockett, “‘Or Rather our Musical Shakspeare’: Charles Burney’s Purcell,” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. Richard Lockett and Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 90-91.

British patriotic zeal.<sup>203</sup> The appeal of “Britons, Strike Home!” extended to Fitzwilliam, who arranged it for solo harpsichord, a demonstration of his strong personal attachment to this antiquarian composer’s music.

### 3.6 Handel and Festivals

Of the three composers under discussion, only Handel came to dominate the British musical scene. While there is some disagreement as to the degree of his supremacy over English music, there was indeed a cult for the composer, “promoted by a fanatical circle of aristocratic admirers who competed with one another to have his works on their shelves.”<sup>204</sup> Performances of his oratorios spread throughout the world during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in both concert and festival contexts, and led to the establishment of many (like *Messiah*) as musical classics.<sup>205</sup> Works by Handel heard at the festivals included not only oratorios but also odes and masques. Among the oratorios, *Messiah* was the most popular, but the odes and masques were also prevalent, and *Acis and Galatea* bested *Messiah* as the overall favorite.<sup>206</sup> The choral music festival itself traces its roots to the Sons of the Clergy Festival (discussed below), with which Fitzwilliam was involved.<sup>207</sup> This event was the source of the numerous

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 93-94.

<sup>204</sup> Holman, “Eighteenth-Century English Music,” 6-7.

<sup>205</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 103.

<sup>206</sup> As the cult for Handel’s oratorios progressed, it became apparent that the public preferred those like *Messiah* that contained more choruses. See Holman, “Eighteenth-Century English Music,” 7-8, and Weber, *Musical Classics*, 127.

<sup>207</sup> Some of these series continue to this day, such as the Three Choirs Festival in the West country (rotating between the cathedrals of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester) and the similarly named one nearer to London (at, alternately, Winchester, Salisbury and Chichester).

festivals that sprang to life throughout Britain, many of which included other vocal and instrumental pieces besides large choral works and, eventually, oratorios.<sup>208</sup>

### 3.6.1 The Sons of the Clergy Festival

The Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy was founded in 1655 as a charity to aid clergymen who, because of their royalist views, were displaced during the Interregnum of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>209</sup> Originally marked by a service held annually at the “old” St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, the musical “Festival” set a standard for choral repertoire and was the primary predecessor of the choral festival in Britain.<sup>210</sup> Generally, a dozen stewards took charge of the Festival each year.<sup>211</sup> By the 1760s, many of these stewards came from the elite of society, and a number of them – including Fitzwilliam – were involved with the Concert of Antient Music.<sup>212</sup> Certain works that were repeatedly performed at these festivals came to dominate the repertoire and, as they acquired canonical status, became cherished parts of music collections like Fitzwilliam’s.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 103-104.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>210</sup> The Sons of the Clergy Festival preceded the famous Three Choirs Festival – which rotates between Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford – by over fifty years. See L.G.D. Sanders, “The Festival of the Sons of the Clergy, 1655-1955,” *The Musical Times* 97 (1956): 133.

<sup>211</sup> Before 1695, there were sixteen stewards. At times during the reign of George III, some of his sons (the royal dukes) swelled the more typical dozen.

<sup>212</sup> Besides Fitzwilliam, those serving in these dual roles (i.e., both Festival stewards and Antient Concert directors) included the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (during the 1770s), the Earls of Exeter and Uxbridge (during the 1780s), and Lord Chesterfield (in 1804). See Pearce, “The Sons of the Clergy,” 193 and Weber, *Musical Classics*, 129-130.

<sup>213</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 117.



Rooted in musical celebrations for St. Cecilia's Day, the Sons of the Clergy Festival came to supplant the national service of Thanksgiving.<sup>214</sup> Music first became an important part of the Festival in the 1690s.<sup>215</sup> The precise year remains murky, and details given by Burney and Hawkins conflict.<sup>216</sup> Purcell's *Te Deum and Jubilate* began to appear annually in 1695 and held a central position until 1713, when it was usurped by Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum* (just composed to celebrate the end of the War of Spanish Succession).<sup>217</sup> As a result, the two *Te Deums* alternated for the next thirty years until Handel ultimately prevailed with his later work, the *Dettingen Te Deum*; it became part of the Festival's standard repertoire, established during the tenure of William Boyce. This standard Festival repertoire (shown in Table C.2), dominated by Handel, varied little between 1775 and 1825.<sup>218</sup>

An examination of programs from the Concert of Antient Music shows that, undoubtedly due to the dual roles of many directors/stewards, the standard repertoire of the Sons of the Clergy Festival also appeared with some frequency at the Antient Concerts. This correlation, also given in Table C.2, varied according to the particular work involved.<sup>219</sup> We find Handel's *Esther* in its

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<sup>214</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 104-105.

<sup>215</sup> Various musicians took charge of the Festival's music; a number of them connect with Fitzwilliam or his collection. These musicians include: Maurice Greene and William Boyce, whose compositions are in the collection; Philip Hayes (son of William Hayes), who presented Fitzwilliam with a copy of his father's *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression*, discussed below in Ch. 4; and Samuel Arnold, editor of the first collected edition of Handel's works, to which Fitzwilliam subscribed.

<sup>216</sup> According to Burney, music became central to the Festival in 1695; Hawkins counters with 1697, the year the Festival relocated to the "new" St. Paul's Cathedral, designed by Christopher Wren. See Burney, *General History*, ii: 388; and Hawkins, *General History*, ii: 756-746n.

<sup>217</sup> Purcell's *Te Deum* was originally composed for a St. Cecilia's Day celebration. Weber, *Musical Classics*, 104-105.

<sup>218</sup> Sanders, "The Festival of the Sons of the Clergy," 134. Purcell's *Te Deum* reappeared in 1829.

<sup>219</sup> Besides the works listed in Table C.2, the Festival's standard repertoire included the Old Hundredth Psalm as the opening hymn and William Boyce's anthem, "Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Refuge." Since hymns were not generally programmed at the Antient Concerts and the only selection by Boyce that occurred with any regularity there was an excerpt from his serenata, *Solomon*, these pieces are not part of the current discussion.

entirety in 1780 and 1785; its overture and various excerpts began to appear in the 1780s and increased in popularity during the 1790s. The *Dettingen Te Deum* was performed complete in 1781 (programmed by Fitzwilliam), but there were no further performances until numerous excerpts were selected during the 1790s. The *Hallelujah* chorus and the coronation anthem *Zadok the Priest* show similar trends, beginning in 1780 and increasing in frequency in the 1790s. Regarding the earlier Te Deums (from before Boyce's time at the helm), Handel's *Utrecht* does not appear. Purcell's *Te Deum and Jubilate*, on the other hand, had a mixed history at the Antient Concerts, ranging from complete performances (1780s) to disuse (1790s) to rediscovery (1798). It was the music of Handel, however, that dominated the Antient Concerts and caused their directors – led by Fitzwilliam – to inaugurate a grand festival honoring him on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death.

### 3.6.2 The Great Handel Festival

A contemporary account in the *Morning Chronicle* credits Viscount Fitzwilliam with the initial concept for the Handel Commemoration Festival, stating that, inspired by the recent Shakespeare Jubilee, Fitzwilliam wished to rectify “the shameful inattention that had been paid to the sacred memory of Handel.”<sup>220</sup> Fitzwilliam then conferred with Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and Joah Bates to design the celebration, which combined elements from regional music meetings with those from the Antient Concerts.<sup>221</sup> By February 1784, the planning was well enough in place that the festival – planned for April of that year – was advertised in the London

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<sup>220</sup> *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 25 May 1784, 3.

<sup>221</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 234-235. A protégé of the Earl of Sandwich, Bates was the conductor for the Antient Concerts until 1793. Burney indicates that the conversation between Fitzwilliam, Wynn and Bates took place early in 1783. See Burney, Introduction to *An Account . . . in Commemoration of Handel*.

newspapers. This advertisement announces the commemoration, “under the Patronage of His Majesty” and “under the management” of Fitzwilliam and his fellow directors of the Concert of Antient Music.<sup>222</sup> Although planned for April, the festival was deferred due to the sudden dissolution of parliament.

The Commemoration of George Frideric Handel began on May 26, 1784.<sup>223</sup> Primarily held in Westminster Abbey, it consisted of five concerts and drew enormous crowds.<sup>224</sup> Over five hundred musicians participated, a stunning number for that time. Originally, the Festival was to consist of three concerts. The first was sacred in nature and centered on the *Dettingen Te Deum*.<sup>225</sup> The second program was more like one of the Antient Concerts, with numerous Handel opera arias (in Italian) and four of his concerti grossi. Almost entirely secular, this concert (held at the Pantheon) concluded with *My Heart is Inditing*, one of the coronation anthems. The third program, held at the Abbey, consisted solely of *Messiah*, already Handel’s most popular composition. Due to the enormously positive response to these three concerts, the first and last were reprised (with minor modifications).<sup>226</sup>

The 1784 Commemoration was “In some ways the most important single event in the history of English music during the eighteenth century,” and the fact that it took place at

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<sup>222</sup> Burney, Introduction to *Commemoration of Handel*. The programs from the concerts are replicated in Burney’s account of the festival. These programs list only five directors for the festival itself: the Earls of Exeter, Sandwich, and Uxbridge, along with Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and Sir Richard Jebb. Since Fitzwilliam is not listed, he may not have been present for the festivities, despite his critical role in their genesis.

<sup>223</sup> In addition to Burney’s account of the festival, see H. Diack Johnstone, “A Ringside Seat at the Handel Commemoration,” *Musical Times* 125 (1984): 632-6; and also William Weber’s “The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual,” *The Journal of British Studies* 28 (1989): 43-69.

<sup>224</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 14.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 227.

Fitzwilliam's instigation affirms his prestige as a patron.<sup>227</sup> Because of its prodigious success, the Festival was repeated several times during the next few years. It started a vogue for large-scale productions of Handel's choral music that has continued into the twenty-first century, cementing that composer's position within the growing musical canon in Britain. This canon – and Handel's pride of place within it – was an outgrowth of the Concert of Antient Music.

### 3.7 The Concert of Antient Music

Eighteenth-century London offered a variety of musical performances.<sup>228</sup> Concert organizations included the Bach-Abel Concerts, the Professional Concerts, and the Vocal Concerts.<sup>229</sup> The groundbreaking concert series had been the Academy of Ancient Music, active between 1726 and 1792. It was the Concert of Antient Music, however, that brought ancient music to a summit of influence. Founded by a group of noblemen in 1776 (and active until 1848), the “proudly backward-looking” Concert of Antient Music offered regular performances aimed at presenting repertoire at least twenty years old rather than music in the current fashion.<sup>230</sup> Although primarily rooted in works from earlier in the eighteenth century, its repertory stretched as far back as Elizabethan times. The Antient Concerts made older music fashionable, bringing it into direct competition with the new and modern.

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<sup>227</sup> Eric D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 127.

<sup>228</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 105.

<sup>229</sup> The Professional Concerts began in 1785 and featured instrumental music by such composers as Mozart, Cimarosa, and Haydn. The Vocal Concerts were begun in 1791-92 by Samuel Harrison (1760-1812), his wife Ann Cantelo (1766-1831), James Bartleman (1769-1821), and Charles Knyvett the elder (1752-1822), all of whom sang on the Antient Concerts. Rubin, *English Glee*, 107-109. Fitzwilliam collected works by Harrison, and Bartleman started an inventory of the Fitzwilliam Collection.

<sup>230</sup> This paragraph is based on Weber, *Musical Classics*, 1.

The founding directors of the Concert of Antient Music included elite members of the Catch Club: John Montague, the fourth Earl of Sandwich; Brownlow Cecil, the ninth Earl of Exeter; and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. By 1780, Fitzwilliam was also a director. From the outset, the concert series founded by these highly influential men set an important precedent by programming both vocal and instrumental works that, although of a conservative nature, came to form a treasured repertoire of repeatedly performed classics.<sup>231</sup> By organizing and attending the Antient Concerts, the directors and their upper class audience publicly demonstrated their elevated musical taste to reinforce their social status.<sup>232</sup>

An actual repertoire of “old” music first began to emerge around 1690.<sup>233</sup> As the eighteenth century progressed, Purcell’s music continued to reappear and Corelli’s popularity spread throughout the country.<sup>234</sup> There was not yet, however, what William Weber calls “a common canon of great music.” In his view, responsibility for this development belongs to the Antient Concerts:

The idea of a unified canon emerged in the founding of the Concert of Antient Music in 1776. The series of twelve concerts a season drew together elements of repertoire from each of these performing traditions, instrumental as well as vocal, under the aegis of the music of Handel. ‘Ancient’ (or rather in this series, ‘antient’) music now came to mean any music over about two decades old, and ideological writings of the time made it into a moral cause, with the task of reforming musical life.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Rubin, *English Glee*, 106.

<sup>232</sup> Weber, *Musical Classics*, 1. Unlike England’s literary culture, which was widely split according to political attitudes, musical conservatism (and its support of ancient music) did not strictly divide along party lines. See Weber, *Musical Classics*, 31.

<sup>233</sup> This paragraph is based on Weber, *Musical Classics*, 13.

<sup>234</sup> Because of their accessibility and playability, Corelli’s concertos became part of the standard repertoire adopted by most regional music societies. See *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

By the 1790s, the Concert of Antient Music had achieved a high level of musical and social influence, laying the groundwork for concert life throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>236</sup>

Fitzwilliam's lengthy tenure as a director of the Antient Concerts makes him a central figure in this development.

### 3.7.1 The Antient Concerts: Patronage and Participation

The significant level of influence pertaining to the Antient Concert series was well in place by 1780, when Fitzwilliam was already a director and the Duke of Cumberland (brother of George III) was the primary patron.<sup>237</sup> The level of royal patronage became even more elite in 1785, when the king and queen began their sponsorship and helped to make it the most prestigious concert series of the time. As the years went by several of their sons joined them, especially the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. A decade later, the list of subscribers was even longer, with such patrons as the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Walpole.

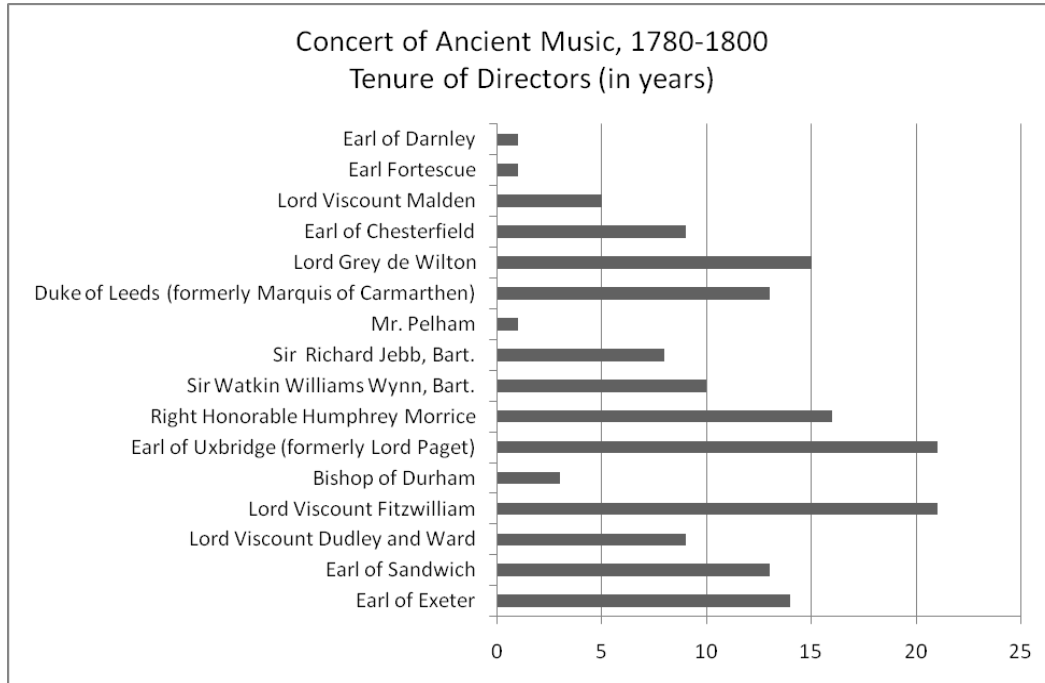
Figure 3.1 shows the length of tenure of the various Antient Concert Directors during the period from 1780 to 1800. Only two – Viscount Fitzwilliam and the Earl of Uxbridge – were involved for that entire time. Thus, the length of Fitzwilliam's involvement confirms his ongoing influence over the evolution and tone of this prestigious concert series. Additionally, it demonstrates that he played a major role in

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>237</sup> The Duke's name is handwritten on the 1780 program booklet, and printed above the other subscribers on the years that follow. Other notable subscribers for 1780 include the antiquarian and collector Dr. Thomas Bever, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl and Lady Mornington (parents of the future Duke of Wellington, Napoleon's nemesis). See program booklets for the Concert of Antient Music, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://www.gale.cengage.com> (accessed 15 August 2008). Fitzwilliam acquired a number of items from the sale of Dr. Bever's library in 1798; these are discussed below in Ch. 4.

Fig. 3.1. Tenure of Directors, Concert of Antient Music (1780-1800)



shaping its antiquarian legacy and its impact on developing a canonical concert repertoire that was rooted in ancient music.

Program booklets survive for a majority of the years that the Antient Concerts existed, beginning with 1780. They vary, however, as to the amount of information supplied, such as names of the subscribers, performers, and other details. In the early years, the number of directors ranged from eight to ten. The season always consisted of twelve concerts, with the highest ranking directors (typically the Earls of Exeter and Sandwich) in charge of more than one concert. During the season, the directors took charge of the concerts in rotation, generally beginning with those with the highest rank. Thus during 1780 the programs directed by the earls (Exeter and Sandwich) came first, followed by the viscounts (including Fitzwilliam), and on down the line. If a director was going to miss his turn in the schedule, another would substitute (such as “the Earl of Sandwich, for Lord Viscount Dudley” on Monday, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1780),

keeping the overall order in place and, once each had taken his turn, those of highest rank would direct any remaining concerts for that season.

As one would expect, the directorship shifted with the deaths of various directors. By the early 1790s, several of the founders had died and from this point the number of directors remained at six or seven for most of the 1790s.<sup>238</sup> Although listed as a director well into the 1800s, extant program booklets for the Antient Concerts show that Fitzwilliam was primarily active from 1780 to 1793. Even within that span, there is a gap: the programs assigned to him for the years 1783 through 1786 all list substitutes.<sup>239</sup> Perhaps Fitzwilliam was not in London very much during those years, but whether he was in France or at his estate in Ireland is unknown. Later programs (1794 to 1798) also show other directors substituting for him, after which his name no longer appears on specific programs. Thus, the years for which we can track Fitzwilliam's programming selections are few: 1780 to 1782, and 1787 to 1793. As we shall see, there are many correlations between Fitzwilliam's collection and the repertoire that dominated the Antient Concerts. Fitzwilliam's own programming was often in keeping with the other directors' choices. However, he also programmed pieces that expressed his individual tastes.

### 3.8 The Repertoire of the Antient Concerts

The repertoire performed at the Antient Concerts demonstrates that all of the directors – including Fitzwilliam – understood its mission to perform “ancient” music, with particular emphasis on Handel (who was also the favorite composer of King George III). The directors

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<sup>238</sup> Evidence indicates that after 1789 the directors were happy to remain small and select, with more of them directing two programs each season.

<sup>239</sup> Program booklet for the Concert of Antient Music, 1784, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://www.gale.cengage.com> (accessed 15 August 2008).



themselves selected the music for their assigned programs, although probably in consultation with the conductor.<sup>240</sup> The basic repertoire included canonical works by Corelli and Purcell, along with concerti grossi (already an antiquarian genre) by other composers. Beyond this standard repertoire, there was room for some individuality in programming. This individuality is especially apparent in vocal music by composers other than Handel, which appeared with some frequency at the Antient Concerts. Vocal “songs” and duets in Italian were popular choices and music by Hasse was heard with some regularity. Other composers included Galuppi, Jomelli, Pergolesi, Steffani, and Vinci.<sup>241</sup> Additional vocal pieces performed included portions of the *Hymn of Adam and Eve* by Galliard, arias by Gluck, and some selections by Marcello. Since the latter were in English, they were probably from the English settings of Marcello’s *Psalms* that Charles Avison instigated.<sup>242</sup>

Although other directors programmed vocal solos and duets by these alternate composers with some frequency, Fitzwilliam did so much less often, sometimes going a year (or even two) without doing so. Furthermore, he made his selections from among only a handful of composers: Gluck, Hasse, Leo, Paradies, Pergolesi, Alessandro Scarlatti and Trajetta. Even then, there is an imbalance, as only Hasse and Pergolesi appeared multiple times. This seeming reticence by Fitzwilliam to schedule miscellaneous vocal pieces in Italian is very much at odds with the enormous amount of this music in his collection (discussed in the following chapter). One

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<sup>240</sup> James E. Matthew, “The Antient Concerts, 1776-1848,” *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 33<sup>rd</sup> Sess. (1906-1907): 68. Joah Bates conducted the Antient Concert from its founding until 1793. Fitzwilliam knew Bates from his time in Cambridge. Rumbold and Fenlon, *Short-Title Catalogue*, xi.

<sup>241</sup> Excluding Handel, only a minimum amount of music by German-born composers was heard at the Antient Concerts during the years of Fitzwilliam’s involvement. Besides Hasse, this music primarily consisted of the occasional aria by Johann Christian Bach or choral music by Graun. Typically, the selection by Graun was from his *Te Deum* and was chosen by the Duke of Leeds.

<sup>242</sup> For more on Avison and on Marcello’s *Psalms*, see below in Chapter 4.

possible explanation for this disparity is that Fitzwilliam seems to have been more interested in collecting cantatas and chamber music with continuo than he was in opera arias (that meshed better with the Antient Concert programs) by composers other than Handel.

### 3.8.1 Concertos

Concertos were vital components of almost every Antient Concert during the eighteenth century, absent only on the rare occasion that a complete oratorio by Handel filled the program. These concertos were typically concerti grossi by Handel, Corelli, or a follower of the Corellian model; highly virtuosic, solo-type concertos were deemed inappropriate. Concertos by native composers like Charles Avison also appeared on occasion, and some by less popular foreigners like Ricciotti.<sup>243</sup>

Corelli's Opus 6 concertos were a mainstay in Britain for most of the eighteenth century and remained classics there well into the nineteenth century. Fitzwilliam purchased these concertos during his twentieth year, and his programming of at least a dozen performances reflects this early familiarity. Between 1780 and 1800, Corelli's concertos were programmed over 165 times at the Antient Concerts. During that period, their popularity was highest from 1792 to 1795, with ten performances each season.<sup>244</sup> Fitzwilliam's programming of Corelli was most intense from 1791 to 1793, when he scheduled two each year. From Opus 6, he preferred

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<sup>243</sup> The most popular concertos by Avison were his Op. 4 (especially No. 4). Concertos by Capel Bond (1730-1790) were also scheduled a number of times. The concertos sometimes attributed to Carlo Ricciotti (c.1681-1756) were actually composed by one of his patrons, Count Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (1692-1766), a Dutch composer and diplomat. See Albert Dunning, "Ricciotti, Carlo," in *GMO* (accessed 17 May 2011).

<sup>244</sup> These figures include a few of the arrangements of his Op. 3 and Op. 5 sonatas made by Geminiani.

nos. 4, 8 and 11. His taste for no. 8 aligns with that of other directors, for with nineteen appearances it was the most popular one performed between 1780 and 1800.<sup>245</sup>

Closely following Corelli's concertos in popularity were the Op. 2 and Op. 3 (both 1732) of his pupil Geminiani, who moved to England in 1714. Fitzwilliam purchased manuscript copies of both sets in 1764, during his nineteenth year – which may point to an early preference for Geminiani over Corelli. His Antient Concert programming corroborates this partiality, for he selected concertos by Geminiani twice each year during 1788, 1789, 1791, and 1792. Between 1780 and 1800, the most frequently programmed work by Geminiani at the series was Op. 3, No.1 (discussed at length below in Chapter 4); performed eighteen times, Fitzwilliam was responsible for three of these. Also very popular were three concertos from Opus 4 (nos. 2, 4 and 6), arrangements that Geminiani made of his own violin sonatas. From this opus, the programs indicate that Fitzwilliam was fond of no. 4.

The overtures and concertos of Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750) were also popular at the Antient Concerts, sometimes even more so than works by Corelli. An oboist who immigrated to England by 1729, Sammartini performed many of the difficult oboe solos in Handel's opera productions. He also became music master to the Princess of Wales and her children (including the future George III) and dedicated his Op. 3 trios to the Princess. While his chamber music was very popular during his lifetime, Sammartini's orchestral music became even more so following his death. Imprints of his orchestral music included twenty-four concerti grossi, sixteen overtures, numerous sonatas and trios, and the four keyboard concertos (Op. 9) that are in Fitzwilliam's collection. It is surprising that Fitzwilliam did not own any of the concerti grossi or overtures by Sammartini, since he programmed these at least six times during his active years at

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<sup>245</sup> However, Fitzwilliam did not share the common preference for no. 5, the next most often programmed concerto.

the Antient Concerts. However, these instances are miniscule when compared with those of his colleagues, who selected Sammartini over one hundred times during the 1780s and 1790s.

### 3.8.2 Music by Handel

From the outset, Handel's music dominated the Antient Concerts.<sup>246</sup> This predominance did not abate; rather, two factors strengthened it. First was the great Handel Commemoration of 1784, which Fitzwilliam instigated. Second was the patronage of King George III and his queen, which began the following year and cemented the presence of Handel on every program.

The two sets of concerti grossi by Handel appeared in print in the 1730s. While his Op. 3, the so-called "Oboe" Concertos, appeared in 1734, the truly inventive Twelve Grand Concertos Op. 6 (prominently featured on many of the Antient Concerts) surpassed them. The popularity of specific concertos from Op. 6 was strongly dependent on individual directors such as Sir Watkin Williams Wynn who, during the 1780s, programmed concertos from Op. 6 almost as many times as the other directors combined. Fitzwilliam programmed many pieces by Handel on the Antient Concerts, but only rarely selected one of the concerti grossi. Instead, his choices were usually overtures from operas or oratorios, oratorio excerpts, and choral works.

On a typical Antient Concert program, each half – always called Act I and Act II – began with an overture or concerto grosso. Additional concertos often appeared in the middle of acts, to contrast with the more plentiful vocal solos and choral numbers. Most acts ended with a strong choral number; if composed by Handel, these closing numbers were usually a rousing chorus from an oratorio or an extended anthem, such as one of the coronation anthems. In his program for March 6, 1780, Fitzwilliam closed both acts with a coronation anthem.

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<sup>246</sup> Sometimes an entire program was devoted to Handel, such as Wynn's presentation of the oratorio *Esther* on 17 April 1780.

While overtures and arias from his operas appeared regularly, Handel's oratorios dominated the Antient Concerts. Regarding Fitzwilliam's preferences, six oratorios stand out. Five of these were generally popular at the Antient Concerts (*Jephtha*, *Joshua*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Samson*, and *Saul*), but Fitzwilliam had a singular appreciation for *Deborah*. This affection for *Deborah* was long-standing, borne out by his 1768 purchase of a manuscript score. We can also detect Fitzwilliam's preference for some particular excerpts from *Saul* and *Deborah*. Among the latter is "See the Proud Chief"; this chorus was one of Fitzwilliam's favorite Handel selections, along with the Overture from *Samson*, "Sion Now Her Head Shall Raise" from *Judas Maccabaeus*, and "The Many Rend the Skies" from *Alexander's Feast*. Indeed, he was so partial to the latter and the *Samson* Overture that he made his own arrangements of them for solo keyboard.

However, Fitzwilliam's selections of vocal works by Handel for the Antient Concerts do not necessarily align with the trend in his collecting. While his programming shows a strong preference for oratorio selections, during his early years Fitzwilliam was an avid collector of operas – not oratorios (most of which he did not acquire until 1799-1801). This fact indicates that, before becoming entrenched as a director of the Concert of Antient Music, his taste for and subscription to the Opera in London deeply influenced his collecting. Fitzwilliam's attachment to Handel's choral music seems to follow the lead set by the oratorios for, while he programmed his favorites with some frequency, he did not purchase many of the major works (like the Chandos Anthems and the *Dettingen Te Deum*) until the turn of the century. However, this evidence does not indicate that Fitzwilliam's involvement in the Antient Concerts shaped his taste. Rather, his taste and antiquarian attitude were already in firmly in place by the age of thirty-five (1780). His collecting habits substantiate this, as do his early Antient Concert programs.

### 3.8.3 Purcell

A number of the directors of the Antient Concerts were dedicated to the preservation of Purcell's music, for they appear among the subscribers to the collected edition attempted by Benjamin Goodison between 1788 and 1790. One of the reasons for Goodison's failure to complete this project was the dearth of total subscribers. The prestige of those who did subscribe, however, was impeccable, and it included directors of the Antient Concerts such as the Duke of Leeds, the Earl of Exeter, and Viscount Fitzwilliam.

Based on Fitzwilliam's avid pursuit of Purcell's music as a collector, one might have expected him to program that composer's works frequently throughout his active years directing the Antient Concerts. However, Fitzwilliam did not program Purcell that consistently. On the other hand, his acquisitions of Purcell's music were substantial. From his early twenties, Fitzwilliam owned a large quantity of Purcell's work, both printed and in manuscript.<sup>247</sup> One example is MU.MS.119, a collection of Purcell's vocal music in the hand of William Croft (1678-1727) that includes a copy of the *Music in the Indian Queen* that Fitzwilliam did use for a Concert of Antient Music performance he directed in 1787. The remaining mixture of scores in this manuscript includes the semi-opera *King Arthur* as well as incidental music for *Bonduca* and for Shadwell's play *The Libertine*.

While Fitzwilliam's early acquisitions of Purcell included stage music, keyboard pieces, anthems, and the *Orpheus Britannicus*, by comparison his selections for the Antient Concerts were woefully circumscribed. There is no obvious explanation for this limited repertoire, since other directors favored a number of scenes by Purcell. The most popular were from *The Tempest*

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<sup>247</sup> Fitzwilliam's acquisition of Purcell's music is discussed more extensively in Chapter 4.

and *King Arthur*; Fitzwilliam, however, only selected one: the Frost Scene from *King Arthur*. Regarding individual numbers, “Fear No Danger,” from *Dido and Aeneas*, was the overall favorite, often selected by Sandwich in the 1780s. Alternatively, Fitzwilliam was the only one to program “Lo! Thus We Bow” from *The Indian Queen*, thus showing his individualized taste within the continuing regard for this “ancient” composer.

### 3.8.4 Fitzwilliam as a Proponent of French Music: May 2, 1792

Fitzwilliam’s tastes as a collector were firmly established by the time he became a director of the Antient Concerts. This evidence implies that he was asked to join the directorship because of his similar attitudes toward a concert repertoire that advocated ancient music. At the same time, there was room for some individuality in programming. Tables C.3 and C.4 show the selections made for the year 1792. If we take a closer look at Fitzwilliam’s Antient Concert program for May 2, we will see that the majority of his choices were traditional, with concertos by Corelli and Geminiani, one of Handel’s anthems, and a large selection from *Judas Maccabaeus*. Fitzwilliam asserted himself, however, in his daring choice to open Act II with the overture from Rameau’s tragédie en musique, *Dardanus*. In actuality, this concert comes at the end of Fitzwilliam’s brief, three-year experiment with programming music by Rameau, one of his favorite composers, on the Antient Concerts. Going back to the program of May 3, 1790, there he opened each half with a Rameau overture: Act I taken from *Castor and Pollux*, and Act II from *Dardanus*. In 1791, he and Sandwich each used the overture from *Castor and Pollux* and followed it with a scene.<sup>248</sup> The next year Fitzwilliam tried Rameau a final time (with the *Dardanus* overture).

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<sup>248</sup> This scene used an English translation provided by the Rev. Norton Nicholls, an old friend of Fitzwilliam’s from his days in Cambridge. See Cudworth, “Fitzwilliam and French Music,” 11.

One can infer that this French experiment was not particularly successful since, from this point, Fitzwilliam desisted and no other director joined him in making what was (given the English dislike of French music) a risky selection. There was a strong nationalistic bias in Britain against French composers. This bias means that Fitzwilliam's love of French music – even ancient French music – sets him apart. It is likely that there was an adverse reaction to his programming of Rameau on the Antient Concerts and that he ultimately desisted so that its subscribership would not be impacted.

The basic repertoire of the Concert of Antient Music revolved around a limited number of instrumental genres (concerti grossi and overtures) and specific antiquarian composers such as Corelli and Purcell. Moreover, the series was primarily a venue for Handel's music and helped promulgate the public's continuing veneration for him. Within these parameters (or, perhaps, in spite of them) there were opportunities for the directors to show their particular affection for pieces of music, inside or outside of the emerging canonical repertoire. However, these statements of personal preference did not obstruct the Concert of Antient Music from its purpose-driven programming of Handel and other older composers.

### 3.9 Conclusion

Two critical developments emerged simultaneously in England during the eighteenth century: changes in publishing technology that made printed music more available and more affordable, and the support for a growing musical canon. This canon of musical classics was based on the intellectual concept of ancient music and its promotion as a guide for public values. Forming the core of this canonical repertoire was the music of three antiquarian composers with enduring popularity: Purcell, Corelli, and Handel.



Fitzwilliam's activities as an amateur, patron and collector reflect his antiquarianism and his association with other like-minded advocates who wished to use ancient music to affect public taste. Like other noblemen, Fitzwilliam supported vocal music through his participation in the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. His membership in the Catch Club confirms his concern for the continuing composition, performance, and publication of vocal music. At the same time, Fitzwilliam was deeply involved in London's concert life as a director of the prestigious concert series, the Concert of Antient Music.

From its founding in 1776, the Antient Concerts set an important precedent by programming both vocal and instrumental works that, although conservative in nature, came to form a treasured repertoire of repeatedly performed classics. By organizing and attending this concert series, Fitzwilliam, his fellow directors, and their upper class audience publicly demonstrated their elevated musical taste, reinforcing their social status. This taste was anchored in their advocacy of ancient music. While the performance of music by Purcell and Corelli became commonplace, it was Handel's music that dominated musical life throughout the country and, especially, the Antient Concerts.

Fitzwilliam was an exemplary amateur and patron. The fact that the first Handel Commemoration Festival took place at his instigation demonstrates the magnitude of his influence. His lengthy tenure as a director of the Antient Concerts confirms his ongoing authority over the evolution and tone of that prestigious concert series. Furthermore, it demonstrates that Fitzwilliam played a major role in shaping its antiquarian legacy and its impact on the developing canonical concert repertoire. Moreover, the music Fitzwilliam collected documents his active role in the contemporary musicological debate over the continuing value of ancient music as opposed to the more modern repertoire.

## CHAPTER 4

### ECHOES OF AVISON'S *ESSAY* IN THE VOCAL GENRES

#### 4.1 Introduction: Fitzwilliam and Vocal Music

The vocal music collected by Fitzwilliam displays a strong partiality to the composers espoused by Charles Avison in his *Essay on Musical Expression*, which first appeared in 1752. That the majority of these composers are Italian is not surprising, given British fondness for Italian music; however, the extent to which Fitzwilliam's choices correlate with Avison's selections indicates an acute degree of shared taste and his awareness of Avison's position in the ongoing musicological discourse. That the concord between Fitzwilliam's collection and Avison's *Essay* occurs most prominently within the realm of vocal music reflects Avison's focus on vocal works. The measure of correlation, moreover, makes Fitzwilliam unique among collectors and connoisseurs of his era and emphasizes his own participation in contemporary musicological issues.

Although Fitzwilliam did not own a copy of Avison's *Essay*, he would have known of Avison from a variety of sources including performances of the latter's compositions (such as the concerti grossi favored by the Antient Concerts), references to him in periodicals like *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and mutual acquaintances such as the famous poet, Thomas Gray.<sup>249</sup> A possible early link to Avison is Fitzwilliam's teacher, John Keeble, who studied with Thomas Roseingrave, one of the founders of the "Scarlatti Sect" in England.<sup>250</sup> Burney and Hawkins also

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<sup>249</sup> Fitzwilliam probably attended numerous Antient Concert programs that included concertos by Avison. Examples of these are from 1781 (2 February), 1782 (11 February and 11 March), 1787 (7 March and 25 April), 1789 (11 February and 4 March), 1791 (16 February and 6 April), and 1793 (20 February and 17 April), among others. References to Avison in *The Gentleman's Magazine* include an announcement of the *Essay's* publication in the April 1752 edition. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 21 (April 1751): 194.

<sup>250</sup> It seems unlikely that Keeble would not have been acquainted with Avison's concertos based on Scarlatti sonatas, since those pieces appeared in 1744 and were widely known. For more on these musicians and the Scarlatti Sect, see Chapter 5.

discuss Avison in their histories, both published in 1776 and found in Fitzwilliam's library.<sup>251</sup>

Furthermore, while Fitzwilliam's purchase in 1771 of the keyboard version of Avison's *Twelve Concertos*, Op. 9 (1766) indicates this familiarity, the subscriber's list for that publication confirms it, for here we find "The Hon. Mr. Fitzwilliams [*sic*], London."<sup>252</sup>

Avison's *Essay* marked the onset of a wave of music historiography in Britain that, peaking with the first appearance of the histories of Hawkins and Burney in 1776, ebbs with the release of Burney's last volumes in 1789.<sup>253</sup> Building on a heritage of critical writing established by Roger North, Arthur Bedford, and Joseph Addison, among others, Avison's *Essay* was the pioneering work of musical criticism in Britain.<sup>254</sup> Burney corroborated this fact in his own *Essay on Musical Criticism*.<sup>255</sup> Avison's work was novel in several ways. Neither a tutor for learning how to read or play music nor a scholarly treatise – previously the two prevalent types of printed writings on music – it was essentially a new genre.<sup>256</sup> Indeed, it was a groundbreaking endeavor to "order the art of music for a general public," thus providing them with tools for

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<sup>251</sup> Burney mentions Avison several times. In particular, he refutes Avison's assigning "the corruption and decay of Music to the torrent of modern symphonies with which we were overwhelmed from foreign countries." Burney, *General History*, ii: 945. Hawkins discusses Avison's *Essay* and promotion of Marcello's *Psalms*; he also states that Avison's own music "is light and elegant, but it wants originality." Hawkins, *General History*, ii: 914.

<sup>252</sup> Charles Avison, *Twelve Concertos (Divided into Two Sets) for Two Violins, One Alto-Viola, and a Violoncello. This work is also adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord alone*. Opera nona. (London: R. Johnson for the Author, 1766).

<sup>253</sup> Ilias Chrissochoidis, "Handel's Reception and the Rise of Music Historiography in Britain," in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie, RILM Perspectives 1 (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009), 387-396.

<sup>254</sup> See North's *Memoires of Musick* and *The Musickall Grammarian* (written ca. 1695-1728), Bedford's *The Great Abuse of Musick* (1711), and Addison's writings in the *Spectator* (1711-12, 1714).

<sup>255</sup> Burney's *Essay on Musical Criticism* begins the third book of his *General History of Music*. There he writes: "Indeed, musical criticism has been so little cultivated in our country, that its first elements are hardly known. In justice to the late Mr. Avison, it must be owned, that he was the first, and almost the only writer, who attempted it." Burney, *General History*, ii:7.

<sup>256</sup> William Weber, "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47, no. 3 (1994): 511.

assessing compositions and their stylistic features.<sup>257</sup> Furthermore, since Avison's *Essay* can be categorized as a work of history and of criticism, the concord between Avison's assessments and Fitzwilliam's music acquisitions reinforces Fitzwilliam's stance in the contemporary topical discussion.

The appearance of Avison's *Essay* in 1752 immediately caused considerable controversy, most prominently because he dared to consider other composers – such as his teacher, Geminiani – to be equal or superior to Handel. The uproar triggered an anonymously published response from William Hayes (1707-77), a composer, organist, and professor of music at Oxford University who was an outspoken advocate of his own opinions on English music.<sup>258</sup> In his *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay*, Hayes attacked Avison for his seemingly tepid endorsement of Handel and for inordinately praising several other composers, such as Benedetto Marcello and Jean Philippe Rameau.<sup>259</sup> Within his *Remarks*, published in 1753, Hayes not only questioned Avison's authorship of the *Essay*, but also asserted that it was “the Product of a *Junto*” (i.e., a group effort) and that Avison was “merely the *Cat's Paw*” or dupe, subservient to the opinions of others.<sup>260</sup> Avison responded to Hayes's criticism that same year with *A Reply to the Author of Remarks . . .*, wherein he admitted that some friends had assisted him, although he did not name

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<sup>257</sup> Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 211. Lipking begins the third part of his study, “The Ordering of Music,” with a chapter on Avison: “Charles Avison and the Founding of English Criticism of Music.”

<sup>258</sup> For more on Hayes, see Susan Wollenberg, “Music in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Oxford,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 108 (1981): 69-99; and Simon John Heighes, *The Life and Works of William and Philip Hayes (1708-77 & 1738-97)* (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1990).

<sup>259</sup> William Hayes, *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (1753). A modern edition and commentary are included in *Charles Avison's 'Essay on Musical Expression,' with Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, ed. Pierre Dubois (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>260</sup> Hayes, *Remarks*, in Dubois, *Charles Avison*, 112-113.

them.<sup>261</sup> According to Norris Lynn Stephens, these friends probably included William Mason, a cleric, poet and skilled amateur musician, and Fitzwilliam's friend, the poet Thomas Gray.<sup>262</sup> Besides their mutual friendship with Gray, Fitzwilliam surely knew about the Avison/Hayes controversy because, while he did not own a copy of the *Essay*, he did have one of the *Remarks*, given to him in 1787 by Dr. Philip Hayes, son of the author and his successor at Oxford.<sup>263</sup>

While Fitzwilliam's collection of vocal music includes works by a majority of the composers evaluated by Avison, specific preferences are evident. Among the imprints, the largest quantities are by Handel, Purcell, and Lully, along with important holdings of Lalande and Marcello. The manuscripts show his distinct partiality for four other composers: Clari, Marenzio, Paradies and Rameau. Beyond this, however, Fitzwilliam's taste in vocal music displays unanimity with the preferences articulated by Charles Avison, suggesting his thorough familiarity – and agreement – with the views of that influential critic and composer, whose writings are central to eighteenth-century musicological thought.

#### 4.2 Charles Avison and His *Essay on Musical Expression*

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<sup>261</sup> Avison writes, "having thus attempted a Province of writing which was new to me, I thought I could not engage in it with too much Caution; and, therefore, had recourse to my learned Friends . . . Gentlemen of Integrity and Genius." Found in his *Reply*, first published in February of 1753 and included later that year in the second edition of the *Essay*. Charles Avison, *A Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression*, in Dubois, *Charles Avison*, 132-133.

<sup>262</sup> Fitzwilliam's relationship with Gray is discussed above, in Chapter 2. For further discussion of these "friends" of Avison, see Dubois, *Charles Avison*, xxi. Norris Lynn Stephens first identified these confederates in his dissertation on Avison, *Charles Avison: An Eighteenth-Century English Composer, Musician and Writer* (PhD diss., Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1968).

<sup>263</sup> Viscount Fitzwilliam probably knew Philip Hayes (1738-97) via their mutual involvement with the annual Sons of the Clergy Festival, which the younger Hayes began conducting in 1780. Hayes had antiquarian interests and a substantial music library, and was in charge of Joseph Haydn's visit to Oxford in 1791. See Peter Ward Jones and Simon Heighes, "Hayes, Philip," in *GMO* (accessed 25 May 2011).

A composer, conductor, organist, and writer, Charles Avison (1709-1770) was a student of Francesco Geminiani. Although based in Newcastle upon Tyne, Avison was famous throughout Britain and was probably the most important English composer of concertos during the eighteenth century.<sup>264</sup> Concerned about the proper, expressive performance of his concertos, Avison began including prefaces in his publications that gave important details regarding performance practice. It was the preface to his 1751 set of concertos (Op. 3), in which he spelled out “General Rules for Playing Instrumental Compositions,” that served as a springboard for his *Essay on Musical Expression*, published the following year.<sup>265</sup>

The *Essay* appeared at a time when aesthetic theory for the arts was experiencing a shift in focus, away from the Aristotelian concept of mimesis or imitation as the standard for perfection, and toward an expressive rationale of art.<sup>266</sup> Avison’s study marked a milestone within this shift, due to his stance that perfection in musical composition came not from imitation but resulted when one added “the Force of *Musical Expression*” to melody and harmony, giving them “the Power of exciting all the most agreeable Passions of the Soul.”<sup>267</sup>

Avison’s *Essay* is in three parts. In Part I, he considers the “Force and Effects of Music” and draws “Analogies between Music and Painting.” Part II, “On Musical Composition,” analyzes various composers and their musical style. Part III discusses “Musical Expression, as it relates to the Performer” – i.e., performance practice. The comparison here centers on the second

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<sup>264</sup> Charles Cudworth, “Avison of Newcastle, 1709-1770,” *The Musical Times* 111, 1527 (May 1970): 480. Owain Edwards explores Avison and his concertos in “Charles Avison, English Concerto-Writer Extraordinary,” *The Musical Quarterly* 59, 3 (July 1973): 399-410.

<sup>265</sup> P.M. Horsley, “Charles Avison: The Man and His Milieu,” *Music and Letters* 55, 1 (January 1974): 20.

<sup>266</sup> Nancy Kovaleff Baker, “Expression, I. History of the Concept of Expression, 1. Before 1800,” in GMO (accessed 25 February 2011). More on aesthetics, and its manifestation within Fitzwilliam’s library, appears above in Chapter 3.

<sup>267</sup> Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davis, 1753), 3.

part of the *Essay*, “On Musical Composition,” in order to show how strongly Fitzwilliam’s selections align with the composers Avison evaluates.

Table C.5 shows how well Fitzwilliam’s selections conform to Avison’s rankings. Avison divides the second portion of his *Essay* into three sections, debating the compositional merits of *air* (melody) over *harmony*, analyzing the styles of individual composers, and ranking them according to their skill in dealing with these elements. Contemporary discussion of melody versus harmony was widespread, enmeshed in the dispute between the newer, *galant* style and ancient music’s emphasis on harmony and counterpoint. While other musicians in England, such as John Frederick Lampe, also deliberated the virtues of melody and harmony, Avison was unusual in doing so with such specificity.<sup>268</sup>

#### 4.2.1 Avison’s *Essay*, Part II, Sect. I

*On the too close Attachment to AIR, and Neglect of HARMONY.*<sup>269</sup>

Avison states that “It may be proper now to mention, by way of Example on this Head, the most noted Composers who have erred in the Extreme of an unnatural Modulation; leaving those of still inferior Genius, to that Oblivion to which they are deservedly destined.”<sup>270</sup> He divides these composers, whom he views as placing too much emphasis on melody, into three classes and begins with the lowest or first class – those most deficient in their use of harmony and lacking in creativity. Fitzwilliam had only two works by these composers: a set of

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<sup>268</sup> Weber, *Intellectual Origins*, 505. Lampe’s work is *The Art of Musick*, published in London in 1740.

<sup>269</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 29.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

harpichord sonatas by Domenico Alberti, and a manuscript of a violin concerto by Antonio Vivaldi.

Composers in the second class of “melodists” were well-known writers of opera. Although they meet a better standard regarding harmony, Avison criticizes the manner in which they endlessly repeat their melodic subject, “wearing it to Rags, and tiring the Hearer’s Patience.”<sup>271</sup> Fitzwilliam had a small number of works by the more famous of these, “Porporini” – Neapolitan composer Nicola Antonio Porpora – and Johann Adolph Hasse.<sup>272</sup> Given Hasse’s popularity both generally and at the Concert of Antient Music, it is surprising that his appearance within the collection is so limited.<sup>273</sup>

The third and highest class of “melodists” excelled at writing tasteful, truly charming melodies – done so skillfully that Avison feels it is almost possible to ignore the defects present in their harmonic structures. Fitzwilliam’s collecting habits align strongly with Avison’s high rating of these composers. The collection includes a number of manuscripts by Leonardo Vinci: cantatas, arias from the operas *Artaserse*, *Semiramide* and *L’Alessandro*, and a score for his *Siroe: Re di Persia*. Avison praised Pergolesi and Bononcini, whose music was extremely popular throughout Fitzwilliam’s lifetime. There are also several cantatas by Baron Emanuele d’Astorga whose *Stabat Mater* was a staple at the Antient Concerts. In fact, the *Stabat Mater* settings by both Pergolesi and Astorga enjoyed widespread fame: Pergolesi’s was reprinted more times than any other piece during the eighteenth century, and Astorga’s remained a favorite well

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<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 39-40.

<sup>272</sup> Fitzwilliam’s largest holding of Porpora’s music is MU.MS. 26; acquired in 1771, it contains thirty arias and duets by this composer.

<sup>273</sup> In 1788, for example, no fewer than nine of Hasse’s works were performed at the Antient Concerts.



into the nineteenth century.<sup>274</sup> On the other hand, since music by Vinci and Bononcini was much less enduring, its appeal to Avison and Fitzwilliam is more idiosyncratic.

#### 4.2.2 Avison's *Essay*, Part II, Sect. II

*On the too close Attachment to HARMONY, and Neglect of AIR.*<sup>275</sup>

Avison writes that some of the “old Masters” were so skilled that it is “no disgrace to form our Taste of *Counterpoint*” from their examples.<sup>276</sup> Some of them fell “deservedly, into Oblivion”; others, however, through “the wonderful Construction of their fugues and Harmony, hath excited the Admiration of all succeeding Ages.” Once again, Avison divides these composers into three classes. Among the first (lowest) class, Fitzwilliam had a handful of anthems by Thomas Tallis (sprinkled among different manuscripts) and several manuscripts of works by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Chief among the Palestrina holdings are MU.MSS.5-8, devoted to that composer's masses, motets, and spiritual madrigals. Also of note here is Fitzwilliam's imprint of Charles Burney's edition of music from the Sistine Chapel, which includes three motets by Palestrina and Gregorio Allegri's famous “Miserere.”<sup>277</sup>

In the second class of “harmonists” are Italian vocal composers who were primarily active in the seventeenth century. Avison compares them with Palestrina, while also using them to criticize him: “their Works, though, in general, of the same Character . . . are not, perhaps, of so high a Class in one Respect, nor so low in another. I mean, that although their Character is

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<sup>274</sup> Helmut Hücke and Dale E. Monson, “Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista,” in *GMO* (accessed 1 June 2011), and Alfred Loewenberg, et al, “Astorga, Baron Emanuele d’,” in *GMO* (accessed 1 June 2011).

<sup>275</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 43.

<sup>276</sup> The quotations in this paragraph are from *Ibid.*, 48-49.

<sup>277</sup> Burney's edition, *La musica che si canta annualmente nelle funzioni della settimana santa, nella cappella pontificia, composta da Palestrina, Allegri, e Bai*, was published in London by Bremner in 1771.

that of *Excellence in Harmony* and *defect in Air*; yet they are not so excellent in the former, nor so defective in the latter.”<sup>278</sup> Also pertaining to this group is Giacomo Carissimi; Fitzwilliam had some of this composer’s cantatas and motets in manuscript.<sup>279</sup> From Agostino Steffani we find a treasure trove of continuo duets, along with a few motets. Fitzwilliam evidently felt strongly about the music of Alessandro Stradella, since the collection includes numerous chamber duets and trios with continuo, cantatas, and two serenatas. There is also a manuscript for Stradella’s *Oratorio di San Giovanni Battista*, composed ca. 1676, which Fitzwilliam purchased very early in his life (1769). This is the only seventeenth-century Italian oratorio in the collection.<sup>280</sup>

Composers in the third and highest category of “harmonists” – Corelli, Scarlatti, Caldara and Rameau – receive Avison’s utmost praise for “retaining the Style of the more ancient Compositions, as to make the *harmonic Construction* the leading Character of their Works.”<sup>281</sup> Fitzwilliam began acquiring music by all four of these composers in the 1760s, and the collection reflects his fervent embrace of this category. Fitzwilliam’s many scores by “the graceful and spirited” Rameau show his devotion to this composer.<sup>282</sup> The Scarlatti mentioned here is “the bold and inventive” Alessandro; Fitzwilliam’s manuscript works by him are sizeable, with the *Six Concerti in Seven Parts*, cantatas, vocal duets with continuo (including thirteen created from

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<sup>278</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 50-51.

<sup>279</sup> The primary manuscripts containing pieces by Carissimi are nos. 44 and 153. A large number of the motets in MU.MS. 209 once thought to be by Carissimi were misattributed; many of these are now assigned to Maurizio Cazzatti (c.1620-1677).

<sup>280</sup> Stradella is also found (along with Bernardo Pasquini) in MU.MS.86, which contains two secular cantatas and an opera.

<sup>281</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 52-53.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

his cantatas by Francesco Durante), and the *Messa: Tutta in Canone di Diverse Specie*.<sup>283</sup>

However, in a footnote Avison also praises the gifts of Domenico Scarlatti, whose music was extremely popular in England.<sup>284</sup> Typical for its time, the collection also displays Fitzwilliam's attachment to Corelli, with the sonatas and concerti Opp. 1-4, edited by Pepusch and published by Walsh in 1735.<sup>285</sup> The composer in this group with the smallest representation is the "sublime" Antonio Caldara, with only a couple of cantatas in the collection.<sup>286</sup>

Avison goes on to amend the third or highest class (Scarlatti, Corelli, et al): "To these we may justly add our illustrious HANDEL; in whose manly Style we often find the noblest Harmonies."<sup>287</sup> He follows this statement with a crucial (and lengthy) footnote – one that raised the ire of many in Britain. In it, Avison advised that Lully and Alessandro Scarlatti "may be considered in the same Light with HANDEL," and that while "voluminous Composers," they "were not always equally happy in commanding their Genius." Going further, he suggested that, if one dismissed the works that were "indifferent," one finds that "enough remain that is excellent, to give them a distinguished Rank." Avison's statements regarding Handel were controversial, to say the least. A main point of contention seems to be that not only did he not value Handel highly enough, he frequently praised Geminiani at Handel's expense. Hawkins was of this opinion.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid. It is curious that Fitzwilliam singled out this particular mass by Scarlatti, but had no others by that important composer.

<sup>284</sup> Avison's footnote begins: "DOMENICO SCARLATTI, Author of some excellent *Lessons* for the *Harpsichord*, and Son to the SCARLATTI here mentioned, may justly be ranked among the great Masters of this Age." Avison, *Essay*, 52. Scarlatti's popularity will be examined below in Chapter 5.

<sup>285</sup> There is also a manuscript of sonatas, purchased in 1767.

<sup>286</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 52-53.

<sup>287</sup> The quotations in this paragraph are from Ibid., 53-54.

<sup>288</sup> Hawkins, *General History*, ii: 914.

Avison goes on to cite these three – Handel, Lully and Scarlatti – as “Models of Perfection” in their own countries, inspiring the composers following them. He also adds that France’s Rameau is equal to or better than Lully.<sup>289</sup> The Fitzwilliam Collection has a fine reputation for its Handel holdings, discussed below as well as in Chapter 5. Fitzwilliam’s attachment to French music, including Lully and Rameau, is also substantiated in various chapters.

#### 4.2.3 Avison’s *Essay*, Part II, Sect. III

*On MUSICAL EXPRESSION, so far as it relates to the Composer.*<sup>290</sup>

Avison begins this section by stating that beyond *Air* and *Harmony*, one must [consider] *Expression*, which “arises from a Combination of the other two” and results from applying them appropriately to the subject at hand.<sup>291</sup> “Air and Harmony are never to be deserted for the Sake of Expression: because Expression is founded on them.”<sup>292</sup> He goes on at length before identifying the two composers that, in his view, were the epitome of expressive excellence, achieving the highest merit in vocal and instrumental music, respectively. “The first of these is BENEDETTO MARCELLO whose inimitable Freedom, Depth, and comprehensive Style, will ever remain the highest Example to all Composers for the Church.”<sup>293</sup> In particular, Avison felt that, in his *Psalms*, Marcello “has far exceeded all the Moderns, and given us the truest Idea of

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<sup>289</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 54-55.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>291</sup> Dubois/Avison, *Essay*, p. 11.

<sup>292</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 56.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

that noble simplicity which probably was the grand Characteristic of the ancient Music.”<sup>294</sup> For “the greatest in *instrumental Music*” Avison selects “the admirable GEMINIANI; whose Elegance and Spirit of Composition ought to have been much more our Pattern; and from whom the public Taste might have received the highest Improvement, had we thought proper to lay hold of those Opportunities which his long Residence in this Kingdom has given us.”<sup>295</sup>

Avison’s selection of these two composers to exemplify the epitome of musical expression seems strange today, especially after discussing Handel, Corelli, and so many others. His preference, however, is much more comprehensible within its eighteenth-century context. Geminiani was extremely popular; as seen in the previous chapter, his concertos were favorites at the Antient Concerts, rivaling those of Handel during the 1780s.<sup>296</sup> Avison’s high opinion of him is also very understandable, in view of his having been Geminiani’s student. Other writers such as John Potter concurred, saying in 1762 that the “*illustrious Geminiani*” was a “composer of great taste and delicacy, his compositions may be justly reckon’d among the elegant.”<sup>297</sup> Fitzwilliam purchased an imprint of Geminiani’s Op. 1 Sonatas in 1763 (one of his first imprint purchases), and added manuscript versions of the Opus 2 and 3 concerti grossi in 1764 – all before he turned twenty years old. It is possible that Fitzwilliam was already aware of Avison (and Avison’s views) by this time.

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>296</sup> Geminiani’s concertos remained popular at the Antient Concerts during the 1790s, although falling behind Handel’s concertos in their frequency. However, Corelli’s concertos continually bested both of these composers at that venue during those decades. See above, Chapter 3, regarding the popular concertos performed at the Antient Concerts.

<sup>297</sup> John Potter, *Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicians*, Aesthetics and Music in the Eighteenth Century, vol. 4 (1762; repr., Bristol, UK: Thoemmes Press, 2003), 54-55.

Regarding Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739), although he was less popular in Britain than Hasse or Pergolesi, he too was eminent at that time. In fact, his vocal works became very prominent following his death and remained so well into the nineteenth century. Fitzwilliam had a few of Marcello's cantatas and continuo duets, plus the printed first edition of the famous Psalms in Italian paraphrase: the *Estro Poetico-Armonico*, in eight volumes printed in Venice in 1724-26.<sup>298</sup>

In Part II of his *Essay*, Charles Avison specifically ranked various composers according to his evaluation of their skill at writing "air" or harmony. The fact that Avison singled out these particular composers gives them a currency in our continuing discussion of eighteenth-century repertoire. A large number of these same composers are represented in the Fitzwilliam Collection. This consistency (supported by evidence that substantiates his familiarity with Avison) points to Fitzwilliam's agreement that the works of these composers had real value. Avison considered the composers Marcello and Geminiani to be paragons of musical expression, and their compositions were important acquisitions for Fitzwilliam. A closer look at these two composers and examples of their style will clarify their importance to Avison and Fitzwilliam.

#### 4.3 Marcello and his Psalms

At least 380 secular cantatas have been attributed to Benedetto Marcello. None were published before his death, but they were widely disseminated and four of them are in Fitzwilliam's MU.MS. 51.<sup>299</sup> Marcello also composed serenatas, motets, masses and oratorios.

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<sup>298</sup> Fitzwilliam purchased the Psalms in 1778. It is surprising that he did not have any of Marcello's harpsichord works, even though they were widely circulated.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 16-17. Fitzwilliam acquired MU.MS.51 in 1768. It contains over thirty cantatas by composers like Alessandro Scarlatti, Porpora, Bononcini, and Handel. The cantatas by Marcello are entitled *Pecorelle che pasceta*, *Questo un giorno al mio guardo*, *Senza il caro e dolce*, and *Ti sento amor*. All are for soprano solo with continuo. Some of Marcello's cantatas survive in as many as twenty-five different manuscripts. Ibid.

Of his writings, the most famous is *Il teatro alla moda*. Published anonymously in 1720, this satirical treatise mocks the conventions of opera composition and performance prevalent in Venice at that time.<sup>300</sup>

Marcello joined Bologna's Accademia Filarmonica in 1711. His fame beyond Italy was extensive and, although primarily posthumous, it lasted until the outbreak of World War I.<sup>301</sup> He was very popular in Britain, and we know that Fitzwilliam's "amateur" friends, including the poet Thomas Gray, sang his Psalms.<sup>302</sup> He set these fifty *salmi*, the *Estro Poetic-Armonico*, to an Italian paraphrase by the poet Girolamo Giustiniani (1677-1732) of Padua. The published Psalms included etchings by Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734), a painter of the Venetian school.

Each of the eight volumes of Psalms includes a preface by the composer and from two to five letters of endorsement. In the prefaces, Marcello discusses sources of his musical inspiration; these prefaces also provide important data regarding his expressive goals. The letters of endorsement, by the likes of Francesco Gasparini, Antonio and Giovanni Bononcini, Johann Mattheson, and Georg Philip Telemann, show the writers' familiarity with the psalm settings – undoubtedly circulated to them ahead of publication. Marcello explains that the texts for his Psalms follow the Vulgate, but with some reference to the Septuagint and Hebrew texts.<sup>303</sup> His interest in Jewish liturgical music was probably a result of exposure to Jewish culture in Venice combined with an intellectual interest nurtured by his academic activity.

Marcello's aim for the *Salmi* was to "restore music to its former dignity and service," and

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<sup>300</sup> Selfridge-Field, *Marcello*, 20-28.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>302</sup> Fitzwilliam's friend, Norton Nicholls, recalled that for a time – perhaps while Fitzwilliam was abroad – Gray had "Fitzwilliam's harpsichord, and we sing Duetts, Marcello's Psalms, in great privacy." Quoted in *Italian Music and the Fitzwilliam* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1976), 7.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

the resultant pieces are very earnest in approach.<sup>304</sup> Some quote or paraphrase Hellenic or Hebraic materials, and he pays tribute to both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic rites. Marcello originally intended to use primarily two voices, as a compromise between ancient monophony and contemporary use of multiple voices. Instead, the works are for diverse numbers and mixtures of voices, with “tutti” cues for choral enhancement. Most of the *Salmi* feature basso continuo, although Marcello specifically excludes it in a few cases, and some of the pieces have obbligato string parts as well. Scoring, texture and length vary as needed from relatively simple to complex in order to support the text and its meaning.

Later composers such as Padre Martini revered the *Salmi*; they were translated into many languages and their popularity continued well into the nineteenth century.<sup>305</sup> They were widely disseminated, with Giustiniani’s texts translated into English, German, Russian and French. In England, Charles Avison vigorously promoted the *Psalms*. He made plans for their publication and translated the prefaces himself, while his friend John Garth translated the psalm texts. At the end of his *Reply to Hayes’s Remarks*, Avison included an advertisement for his projected edition of Marcello’s *Psalms*. In this advertisement, he proposed classifying the *Psalms* according to three aesthetic categories, each with three subcategories:

*The Grand,*                      *The Beautiful,*                      *And the Pathetic.*

Under these several Denominations will be distinguished as follows:

Under the first,                      Under the second,                      Under the third,

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<sup>304</sup> This paragraph is based on Selfridge-Field, *Marcello*, 24. She includes information taken from the prefaces and testimonial letters published as part of the *Estro Poetico-Armonico*. For a discussion of Marcello’s use of Hebrew melodies in the *Salmi*, see Edwin Seroussi, “In Search of Jewish Musical Antiquity in the 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Venetian Ghetto: Reconsidering the Hebrew Melodies in Benedetto Marcello’s *Estro Poetico-Armonico*,” *The Jewish Quarterly* XCII, no. 1-2 (2002): 149-199.

<sup>305</sup> In nineteenth-century France, the *Salmi* were championed by Luigi Cherubini, the very influential director of the Paris Conservatoire. See Selfridge-Field, *Marcello*, 26.



The *Sublime*;  
The *Joyous*;  
The *Learned*;

The *Cheerful*;  
The *Serene*;  
The *Pastoral*;

The *Devout*;  
The *Plaintive*;  
The *Sorrowful*.<sup>306</sup>

With Garth's assistance, the English edition appeared in 1757 and included Avison's preface, *Remarks on the Psalms of Marcello*. In this preface, Avison specifies which *Psalms* adhere overall to the categories and subcategories stated above. Although Avison assigned psalms to his various categories, he provided little explanation for his decisions.

Overall, Marcello's psalm settings differ widely in length and use a variety of vocal forces, with from one to four soloists (in an array of vocal combinations); many have *tutti* markings indicating choral reinforcement. For example, Table C.6 outlines the contents of volume three (Psalms 15 – 18). The pieces range from solo to quartet, with most making use of choral *tutti* sections. Additionally, all four settings in this book use borrowed musical source material (a feature of many of Psalms Nos. 1-22), here taken from Ancient Greek hymns as well as Hebrew hymns and intonations.<sup>307</sup> Marcello's incorporation of Jewish music was not common in the Baroque era.<sup>308</sup> However, by using these quotations, Marcello connects with Enlightenment attitudes that found pre-Christian works from the Greeks and Hebrews attractive because of their perceived purity and simplicity.<sup>309</sup> In fact, in his preface to volume one of his

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<sup>306</sup> This advertisement, *Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, Specimens of the Various Stiles in Musical Expression. Selected from the Psalms of Benedetto Marcello*, is included in Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davis, 1753).

<sup>307</sup> Selfridge-Field, *Marcello*, 24.

<sup>308</sup> J.Peter Burkholder, gen. ed., *Musical Borrowing: An Annotated Bibliography*,

<http://www.music.indiana.edu/borrowing> (accessed 10 June 2011).

<sup>309</sup> Selfridge-Field, *Marcello*, 23.

psalms, Marcello states that “Those who imagine that simplicity was a defect in ancient music are greatly deceived, since it was, in fact, one of its noblest inventions.”<sup>310</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Marcello’s *Salmo Decimoquinto* (Psalm XV)

As an example of Marcello’s style, we now take a closer look at his *Salmo XV* for alto solo. This psalm setting is unique within the *Salmi*, for besides incorporating a Hebrew hymn Marcello also uses an obbligato cello.<sup>311</sup> Its eleven movements generally alternate arias and recitatives.<sup>312</sup> The overall scheme of the work, with psalm translation, appears in Table C.7. The psalm text falls into two, uneven sections. Part One sets verses 1-8 (movements I – VII); here the Psalmist describes what the Lord is to him in life: his Lord, his inheritance, and the source of his strength. Part Two sets verses 9-11 (movements VIII – XI), with his relating how the Lord will guide and care for him in death. The entire psalm setting begins and ends with arias in C Major; the other arias (movements III, IV, VI and VIII) all have a key signature of one flat. Their actual keys directly relate to B flat Major, and include both the dominant (F Major) and the relative minor (G Minor). Each of the two large sections, however, seems to have a different key focus that emphasizes the change in topic of the psalm’s text. Harmonically, the main arias of Part One (movements III, IV and VI) progress from F Major to B-Flat Major and back to F Major. This

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<sup>310</sup> Translated by Selfridge-Field; see *Ibid.* Selfridge-Field credits Peter Gay for his discussion of these Enlightenment values; see Gay’s *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation – The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966).

<sup>311</sup> This is the only psalm in which Marcello uses obbligato violoncello. Two others, nos. 21 and 50, call for two obbligato violas. The remainder use only continuo accompaniment.

<sup>312</sup> Due to their great variety, it is difficult to generalize regarding the psalms’ structure. For example, while *Salmo XV* has several recitatives, others of the psalms for solo voice do not use recitative as frequently.

harmonic scheme gives special emphasis to the aria in B flat Major, number four, which truly achieves the “noble simplicity” that Avison valued so highly in Marcello’s music.<sup>313</sup>

The text of this aria, “Tu, mio Signor, tu solo” speaks of the Lord being the Psalmist’s inheritance. Marcello stresses the importance of this verse (vs. 5) by setting it very simply as a *siciliana* duet for voice and cello accompanied by the sparsest of continuo (Ex. 4.1). For much of this movement (*Adagio assai*), Marcello creates an intimate simplicity that would have appealed to Avison. He achieves this effect by treating the violoncello as a tenor vocalist engaged in a duet with the alto, the combined texture kept thin by a scant amount of continuo. This aria contrasts starkly with the other arias in Part One, which are more forthright in nature and involve the obbligato cello and continuo much more extensively (and aggressively).

Ex. 4.1. Marcello: *Salmo XV*, Mvmt. IV: “Tu, mio Signor, tu solo” (*Adagio assai*)

The musical score for Ex. 4.1 is presented in three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major) and a time signature of 12/8. The lyrics are: "Tu, mio Sig-nor, tu so-lo, sei lamia e-re-di-ta-de, la". The middle staff is the cello line, written in a bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a time signature of 12/8. The bottom staff is the continuo line, also in a bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a time signature of 12/8. The music is characterized by its simplicity and intimate texture, with the vocal line and cello line forming a duet.

<sup>313</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 101.

mia al-le-grez-za è in te, — Si - gnor, sei so - lo, mia e - re - di - ta - de, la

mia al-le-grez-za è in te, tu che mi sta - bi - li - sci

nel pos-ses - so del re - gno che pro - met - te - stia me, che pro - met -

te — sti a me, che pro - met - te - sti a me.

Largely in G Minor, Part Two of Psalm XV builds toward the quotation of a Hebrew hymn and its paraphrase. Movement Ten is an *Intonazione* on *Ma'oz Tzur Yeshuati*, from an Ashkenazic hymn. Sung in the home in response to lighting the candles for Hanukkah, the text of this hymn bears no obvious relationship to Psalm XV and provides no clues for explaining Marcello's selection process.<sup>314</sup> Marcello transcribes the *Intonazione* into Western notation; it consists of four melodic phrases, a – a – b – c. Ex. 4.2 presents the first phrase:

Ex. 4.2. Marcello, *Salmo XV*, Mvmt. X: *Intonazione* (beginning)

Marcello then uses the *Intonazione* as the theme for the opening section of the final movement.

Ex. 4.3 presents the alto's first entrance in Movement Eleven:

Ex. 4.3. Marcello, *Salmo XV*, Mvmt. XI: "Della vita il retto," mm. 1-4

However, his paraphrase of the *Intonazione* is cleverly constructed. As Movement Eleven begins, the cello and alto take turns presenting the Hebrew melody but do so in a distinctive order that integrates their statements:

Phrase	a	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	b	c
Cello	x	x	x	x		x	x					

<sup>314</sup> See Nona Pyron's preface to Marcello's *Salmo Decimoquinto* (Fullerton, CA: Grancino Editions, 1985), i-ii.

Marcello follows the paraphrase with two bars of recitative that lead to the concluding *Allegro* in which the cello continually imitates the vocal line.

Overall, *Salmo XV* shows Marcello's command of text setting, vocal line, and compositional structure, demonstrating that he was much more than a mere dilettante. Fitzwilliam and others in England (like Avison and their friend the poet Gray) probably appreciated Marcello's psalms settings on several levels. The music shows a scholarly approach to composition that would appeal to those with antiquarian tastes, but also anticipates the clear forms and pleasing melodies associated with the classical style. Many well-educated Britons (especially those who had spent time in Italy, like Fitzwilliam and Gray) understood Italian and would have enjoyed the beauty of the psalms in that language. Indeed, since Fitzwilliam's collection indicates a strong partiality for vocal music in Italian in general – and chamber music with continuo in particular – the Marcello psalms are an ideal choice for inclusion, while also substantiating his agreement with Avison's views.

#### 4.4 Geminiani and His Concerti Grossi

Francesco Geminiani, Avison's exemplar for instrumental music, was born in Lucca in 1687.<sup>315</sup> A composer, violinist, and theorist, he moved to England in 1714. A student of Corelli, he probably also studied with Alessandro Scarlatti. These associations – and his own virtuosity on the violin – enabled him to capitalize on the English reverence for Corelli and music in the Italian style. During his years in England esteem for Geminiani equaled that enjoyed by both

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<sup>315</sup> This paragraph is based on Careri, *Geminiani*, 1-20.

Handel and Corelli. Hawkins and Burney knew him personally, and they are the primary sources of information about his life.<sup>316</sup> Geminiani was highly regarded as a teacher and his students included not only Charles Avison but also Joseph Kelway, John Worgan, and the publisher Robert Bremner, all of whom can be linked to Fitzwilliam or to his collection.<sup>317</sup>

Geminiani's Opus 1 violin sonatas first appeared in 1716 and went through numerous editions and reprinting.<sup>318</sup> Geminiani was certainly well established in Britain by 1725, when he was chosen to be one of the judges selecting the first organist for St. George's Church in Hanover Square.<sup>319</sup> He further cemented his popularity by performing his own concerti grossi, those eventually published as Opp. 2 and 3 in 1732.<sup>320</sup>

Our current lack of familiarity with Geminiani's music – and ignorance of the high regard he once enjoyed – stems from both Burney and William Hayes. Although Burney once wrote to Thomas Twining (14 December 1781) saying that “Handel, Geminiani & Corelli were the sole Divinities of my Youth,” he was more often critical of the composer.<sup>321</sup> Hayes, in his response to Avison's *Essay*, not only found fault with Avison's praise of Geminiani and Marcello at the expense of Handel but went so far as to hypothesize that Geminiani was the true author of the

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<sup>316</sup> According to Careri, however, one cannot always rely on these historians for their accuracy regarding Geminiani. See Careri, *Geminiani*, 1.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13. Fitzwilliam purchased these sonatas in 1763, while he was still a teenager. Hawkins describes Geminiani's “Opera prima [as] consisting of those twelve Solos for the violin, which will be admired as long as the love of melody shall exist, and the king was desirous of hearing them performed by the author, who was the greatest master of the instrument then living.” See Hawkins, *General History*, ii: 858-9.

<sup>319</sup> The successful candidate was Thomas Roseingrave, discussed in Chapter 5 regarding the Scarlatti Sect. Hawkins recalls Geminiani and Handel as the two examiners. See *Ibid.*, ii: 824.

<sup>320</sup> Careri, *Geminiani*, 13.

<sup>321</sup> Alvaro Ribeiro, ed., *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney: Volume I, 1751-1784* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 328.

*Essay*.<sup>322</sup> In his *General History*, Burney builds on Hayes's criticism, disparaging Geminiani's compositional abilities as "a confusion in the effect of the whole, from the too great business and dissimilitude of the several parts."<sup>323</sup> This comment is not borne out by Geminiani's concerto, Op. 3, No. 1, discussed below.

At the Concert of Antient Music, Geminiani's Opp. 2 and 3 concerti (both published in 1732) were nearly as popular as those of Corelli. Fitzwilliam obtained manuscript copies of both sets in 1764, during his nineteenth year; these purchases, added to his acquisition of the Op. 1 sonatas the previous year, indicate an early preference for Geminiani over Corelli on his part. His Antient Concert programming also corroborates his preference for this composer, since he selected Geminiani's concertos twice each year during 1788, 1789, 1791, and 1792.

According to Enrico Careri, Geminiani's fame during his lifetime "was largely because his Op. III concertos became a classic text in the manner of Corelli's Op. V or Handel's Op. VI."<sup>324</sup> Between 1780 and 1800, the work by Geminiani most frequently programmed at the Ancient Concerts was Op. 3, No.1. This concerto was performed no fewer than eighteen times, with Fitzwilliam directing three of these performances. While the current chapter is devoted to vocal music, a discussion of this instrumental work is included here in order to explain its attraction to Fitzwilliam and the high esteem Avison had for Geminiani's music.

#### 4.4.1 Geminiani's Concerto Grosso in D Major, Op. 3, No. 1

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<sup>322</sup> Hayes, *Remarks*, in Dubois, *Charles Avison*, 112-113.

<sup>323</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 993.

<sup>324</sup> Careri, *Geminiani*, 25.



Geminiani's Op. 3 concertos were widely circulated on a par with those of Corelli and frequently appeared on public concerts and as entr'actes for operas and plays.<sup>325</sup> In four movements, they use the Corelli *sonate da chiesa* (with their basic four-movement scheme of slow – fast – slow – fast) as models, but display Geminiani's own approach. This approach includes a change in scoring; instead of the more typical *concertino* group consisting of two violins, cello and keyboard, Geminiani removes the viola from the *ripieno* and places it in the *concertino*, resulting in a *concertino* of two violins, viola, cello and keyboard.

Op. 3, No. 1 is a finely crafted concerto in four movements: *Adagio – Allegro – Adagio – Allegro*. The two *Adagios* (in D Major and B minor, respectively) are brief and somber. The two *Allegros*, both in D Major, contrast sharply. While the finale is a lively *giga* in binary form, the second movement clearly exemplifies Avison's preference for Geminiani's music due to its elegance and its tight construction, for "there are no impertinent Digressions, no tiresome, unnecessary Repetition; but from the Beginning to the Close of his Movement, all is natural and pleasing."<sup>326</sup>

The second movement opens with a jaunty ritornello (Ex. 4.4), the *concertino* and *ripieno* joined together but presenting alternating phrases marked *forte* and *piano*. The

Ex. 4.4. Geminiani: Op. 3, No. 1 – Mvmt. II, mm. 1-4

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 59-60.

<sup>326</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 104.

*Tutti*

7

ritornello begins with the kind of concise phrasing and pleasantly shaped melody that Avison admired. Throughout the movement, Geminiani showcases the first violin and continuo of the *concertino* in a soloistic fashion. Their material grows more and more elaborate throughout the movement, showcasing the virtuosity of the solo violin in juxtaposition with the ritornello statements, such as in mm. 105-112 (Ex. 4.5).

Ex. 4.5. Geminiani: Op. 3, No. 1 – Mvmt. II, mm. 105-112

The image shows a musical score for a violin and ensemble. The top system (mm. 48-59) is marked '(Solo)' and features a violin part with a series of eighth-note runs and trills. The bottom system (mm. 60-77) is marked 'Tutti' and shows the violin and ensemble parts. The violin part has a 7-measure rest in the first measure of the section. The ensemble part consists of a bass line with eighth notes. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 6 and 7 below the notes.

In the middle of the movement (Ex. 4.6), Geminiani cultivates the *ritornello* in various ways. Mm. 48-57 show the use of the ritornello to modulate very concisely from D Major to B Minor. The sequence appears to be continuing on to G Major (ms. 56), but the solo violin cuts in at ms. 57 and thus avoids the sort of “tiresome, unnecessary Repetition” that Avison would have criticized. Following this brief solo (mm. 57-59), Geminiani uses the ritornello as a countermelody to launch a lyrical segment (mm. 60-71) before allowing the solo violin to adopt it as its own at ms. 72.

Ex. 4.6. Geminiani: Op. 3, No. 1 – Mvmt. II, mm. 48-77

48 *Tutti*

*Forte* *Piano* *Forte*

*Forte* *Piano* *Forte*

*Forte* *Piano* *Forte*

*Forte* *Piano* *Forte*

53 *Solo*

*Piano* *Forte* *Solo*

*Piano* *Forte* *Forte*

*Piano* *Forte* *Solo*

*Piano* *Forte* *Solo*

4 3# *Piano* 4 3# *Forte* *Forte*

58 *Tutti*

*Tutti* *Tutti*

6 6 6 4 3#

63

9 6 7 7 4 3 6 4 3

69

*Solo*

6 6# 5 3# 6# 3#

*Solo*

74

7 3# 6 3# 6 4 3#

In the *Essay*, Avison holds Geminiani up as an arbiter of good taste. Commenting on an excerpt from Geminiani's *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick*, Avison avers that

Geminiani “hath done us the Justice to assert, that Music . . . may be brought to as great a Perfection in *England*, as in any other Nation” – in other words, it could reach the highest level of refinement in his own country.<sup>327</sup> The overall elegance of Op. 3, No. 1 supports Avison’s selection of Geminiani as an exemplar for refined taste in instrumental composition. The piece displays the sort of natural phrasing, expressive harmony, and concise forms that would have appealed to both Avison and Fitzwilliam alike. That Fitzwilliam not only acquired Geminiani’s concertos at a young age, but also programmed Op. 3, No. 1 repeatedly on the Antient Concerts, indicates his concurrence with Avison’s evaluation of Geminiani as a master of musical expression in instrumental music.

#### 4.5 Fitzwilliam and the Stage

Dramatic music enjoyed an important place in Fitzwilliam’s collection. While the extensive number of works by Handel goes far beyond Avison’s estimation of that composer, his evaluations of Lully and Rameau find affirmation within Fitzwilliam’s preference for French composers. Also apparent is Fitzwilliam’s affinity for Purcell, to whom Avison refers as a poet among musicians.<sup>328</sup> There are also works by other composers whose music appeared frequently on programs at the Concert of Antient Music. These include Bononcini and Hasse, both of whom Avison praised for their skill at composing “airs.”

The year 1767 was a critical one for the collection regarding opera, as Fitzwilliam focused heavily on acquiring Handel as well as French works from the seventeenth century. By

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<sup>327</sup> In the same lengthy footnote, Avison contrasts Geminiani’s remarks with some from Lord Shaftesbury regarding musical taste in Britain and on the Continent. Avison, *Essay*, 105-106. Geminiani’s *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* was published in 1749.

<sup>328</sup> Avison, *Essay*, 51n.

this time in his life, Fitzwilliam was finished at Cambridge and had already been studying with Jacques Duphly in Paris.<sup>329</sup> It seems likely that his exposure to French opera during this time in Paris spurred his collecting of this genre and that, upon his return to England, he followed suit with Handel, the most prominent composer of opera in that country.

#### 4.5.1 The French – Lully and Rameau

Among the imprints of seventeenth-century works for the stage we find several by Jean-Baptiste Lully, including the pastorale *Acis et Galatée* (1686), the ballet *Le temple de la paix* (1685), and five of his sixteen *tragedies*. However, Fitzwilliam’s manuscript holdings of Lully are more substantial; accumulated in 1767-68, they include seven ballets, two comedies-ballets, and the opera *Alceste*. Table C.8 shows these and other French works from that era in the collection.

Among the imprints, the only French works from the eighteenth century are by Jean-Philippe Rameau. Fitzwilliam strongly favored works by Rameau, for the stage, keyboard, and chamber, but generally purchased these much later than his other French works.<sup>330</sup> Printed scores by this composer, acquired in 1782, include those for two *opéra-ballets* and the *acte de ballet* *Pigmalion* (1748).<sup>331</sup> Significantly, Fitzwilliam acquired a manuscript copy of *Pigmalion* much earlier, in 1765 – soon after finishing his education at Cambridge.<sup>332</sup> Furthermore, he acquired an

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<sup>329</sup> For more on Duphly, see Chapter 5.

<sup>330</sup> Cudworth, “Fitzwilliam and French Music,” 7.

<sup>331</sup> Also purchased in 1782 was a copy of *Les Spectacles de Paris*. On the end paper of his copy is written “Lord Fitzwilliam aime Zacharie. Zacharie aime Lord Fitzwilliam plus qu’elle meme: elle est sa fidelle amie et l’amie la plus tendre et sincere.” A dancer with the Opera, where she performed intermediate roles, Zacharie was the Viscount’s mistress. See Cudworth, “Fitzwilliam and French Music,” 10.

<sup>332</sup> Fitzwilliam went to Paris in 1765, and started his studies in harpsichord and composition there with Jacques Duphly. See *Ibid.*, 8.

impressive number of Rameau's stage works in manuscript in 1791.<sup>333</sup> These include *Castor et Pollux* (1737), *Dardanus* (1739) and *Les Indes galantes* (1735).<sup>334</sup> (See Table C.9.) *Dardanus* must have been a favorite, for Fitzwilliam made his own keyboard arrangement of its overture.<sup>335</sup>

#### 4.5.2 Stage Works by Handel and Purcell

While Fitzwilliam undoubtedly enjoyed French opera, his collecting and patronage show a similar concern with music for the stage in England. He supported Italian opera in London, and like many of the nobility was a regular subscriber. He collected Handel's operas with vigor: of the thirty-six Italian operas Handel premiered in London, Fitzwilliam acquired individual printed scores for twenty-nine, as well as for *Agrippina*, which premiered in Venice in 1709. He obtained almost all of these scores (shown in Table C.10), primarily published by Walsh, in 1767. Especially notable is the score for *Rinaldo*, published in 1711. Fitzwilliam also acquired scores for eighteen of Handel's oratorios, largely collected in 1799 or 1801. Two early acquisitions – *Alexander's Feast* in 1772 and *L'Allegro, il Penseroso, ed il Moderato* in 1770 – stand out; these pieces must have been favorites, for Fitzwilliam copied a portion of *L'Allegro* into his manuscript notebook and arranged a chorus from *Alexander's Feast* for solo keyboard. (Table C.11 shows the oratorios and odes by Handel in Fitzwilliam's collection; besides those discussed here, see above in Chapter 3.)

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<sup>333</sup> Cudworth hazards a guess that Fitzwilliam might have purchased these via some French *émigré*. He also comments that full scores of Rameau's operas are very rare in Britain. See *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>334</sup> Viscount Fitzwilliam attended a 1778 revival production of *Castor et Pollux* in Paris. His copy of the libretto includes markings in his hand regarding the number of performers – singers, dancers and players. He directed a scene from *Castor et Pollux* for an Antient Concert in 1791. He also made his own arrangement for harpsichord of the overture to *Dardanus* (MU.MS. 159<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>335</sup> See above in Chapter 3 for Fitzwilliam's programming of this overture at the Antient Concerts.



Fitzwilliam had only a handful of imprints for stage works in English but, conversely, there is an impressive showing of these within his manuscripts. As expected, the works of Henry Purcell dominate, satisfying Fitzwilliam's antiquarian interests. The collection also includes many individual arias, songs and catches by Purcell. (Table C.12 gives a summary of the stage works by Purcell.) The imprints range from the truly antiquarian, such as a 1691 print of *The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian* (a semi-opera from 1690 acquired in 1774), to others in Fitzwilliam's 1799 copy of the Goodison edition.<sup>336</sup> Fitzwilliam's devotion to Purcell – somewhat unusual for a collector in his day – began with manuscripts collected in the 1760s, while he was in his early twenties. These manuscripts include some instrumental music and anthems, as well as the stage works found in MU.MS.119 (discussed above in Chapter 3) and in MU.MS.87, a collection of masques, operas, and incidental music acquired in 1767.

#### 4.5.3 Pietro Domenico Paradies

Avison has little to say about most composers born after 1700, and makes no mention at all of Pietro Domenico Paradies (1707-1791), who hoped for success as an opera composer.<sup>337</sup> Born in Naples, where he probably studied with Nicola Porpora, Paradies arrived in Britain in 1746. While success in opera continually eluded him, Paradies achieved a degree of renown in England as a harpsichordist and teacher. The substantial number of works by Paradies in the collection may be explained by Fitzwilliam's acquaintance with the composer and his appreciation for Paradies' keyboard sonatas.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> See the discussion of the Goodison edition above in Chapter 3.

<sup>337</sup> In general, Fitzwilliam seems to have followed Avison's lead regarding the vintage of the composers represented in his collection. When he diverged from this, it was primarily for music by composers he knew personally.

<sup>338</sup> Paradies' keyboard sonatas are discussed below in Chapter 5.

Fitzwilliam accumulated both imprints and manuscripts of works by Paradies, including a sizeable number of secular cantatas and pieces for chamber orchestra (described as “symphonies” in the Museum’s catalog).<sup>339</sup> He also purchased the composer’s own manuscript collection in 1770, when Paradies was retiring and returning to Venice after his years in England.<sup>340</sup> There are also manuscript scores for two of Paradies’ striking failures. First is MU.MS.9, for *Il decreto del fato*, a serenata from Venice (1740). From London is *Fetonte* (“Phaeton”), an opera that had nine performances at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket in 1747.<sup>341</sup> Also of note is Paradies’ *Solfeggi*, a vocal tutor from 1745.<sup>342</sup> Fitzwilliam acquired the *Solfeggi* in 1769; perhaps he eventually used it to improve his singing for meetings of the Catch Club.<sup>343</sup>

The stage works collected by Fitzwilliam demonstrate his devotion to the stage and his affection for a wide range of national styles, from English to French and Italian. When taken together, these compositions also give evidence of Fitzwilliam’s antiquarian tastes and highlight his general disregard for works from the second half of the eighteenth century. However, while Fitzwilliam had a large number of stage works by the composers discussed by Avison, his collection is not limited to them. Rather, works by other composers, such as Paradies, also took their place among his possessions.

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<sup>339</sup> No previous study of Paradies’ cantatas or “symphonies” was available.

<sup>340</sup> *Italian Music and the Fitzwilliam*, 7-8.

<sup>341</sup> Burney had little positive to say about *Fetonte*, calling its arias “ill-phrased and lacking in grace.” Burney, *General History*, ii: 846.

<sup>342</sup> The *Solfeggi* may also warrant further study.

<sup>343</sup> For more on the Catch Club, see Chapter 3. Fitzwilliam also had a treatise on singing by James Nares, purchased much earlier, in 1775. Since performances at the Catch Club were one on a part, Fitzwilliam had to be sufficiently skilled as a singer to participate.

#### 4.6 Sacred and Secular: The Music of Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari

Fitzwilliam's interest in vocal chamber music began while he was still young.<sup>344</sup> The large number of madrigals and other chamber works in the collection demonstrates a strong preference for works in the Italian style, tempered by important antiquarian acquisitions in both English and Italian. Imprints include both English and Italian works, collected over the span from 1763 to 1799. Fitzwilliam's preference for vocal duets and trios with continuo accompaniment is also apparent. The collection includes numerous pieces by composers ranked by Avison such as Handel, Porpora, Marcello, Steffani and Stradella as well as works by Durante, Lotti, and Padre Martini.<sup>345</sup> Some of the duet manuscripts entered the collection as early as the 1760s. Fitzwilliam was also an avid collector of chamber pieces by Clari.

Although he is now a forgotten composer, both Fitzwilliam and Avison esteemed Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari (1677-1754). Fitzwilliam collected a striking number of sacred and secular works (most in manuscript form) by this composer. Born in Pisa in 1677, Clari went to Bologna in 1691 to study with Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *maestro di capella* at the basilica of San Petronio and one of the most renowned church musicians of his day.<sup>346</sup> Clari studied counterpoint with Colonna until the *maestro's* death in 1695. He then returned to Tuscany, spending the next several years as a freelance musician in Pisa and Florence and, in 1697, becoming a member of the prestigious Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna. While in Florence Clari became a protégé of the Medici family; it was due to the patronage of Prince Ferdinando

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<sup>344</sup> One of these early purchases (from 1767) is an antiquarian volume (Op. 3) by Giovanni Battista Mazzaferrata (d. 1691). This set consists of canzonets and cantatas for two voices in a print published in Bologna in 1680.

<sup>345</sup> Durante created his duets from cantatas composed by his teacher, Alessandro Scarlatti.

<sup>346</sup> Clari was even called Colonna's best student. See Grundy Fanelli, *Oratorios of Clari*, 21.

de' Medici that he became *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral in Pistoia in 1703.<sup>347</sup> He was in Pistoia for twenty years, composing numerous sacred works as well as oratorios for various confraternities. Although popular with Pistoia's aristocracy, Clari's employment situation at the Pistoia Cathedral was rarely smooth and in 1723 he left to become *maestro di cappella* at Pisa Cathedral. He remained in this much more illustrious (and better paying) position until his death in 1754.<sup>348</sup>

All of Clari's compositions are for vocal forces. The oratorios and liturgical music incorporate recent trends, such as the use of concerto grosso instrumentation; the accompaniments tend to be for organ or strings, with the occasional use of oboe, horns, or trumpets. Eugenia C. Saville devised an annotated index of Clari's liturgical music that lists approximately 430 items.<sup>349</sup> Fitzwilliam's collection includes nineteen sacred works, with large-scale pieces like masses, two settings of *Beatus Vir*, a *Stabat Mater*, and a *Te Deum*. (See Table C.13 for a complete listing of liturgical works by Clari in the collection.) Fitzwilliam obtained a majority of his Clari manuscripts in 1793, but the dates of his purchases range from as early as 1769 to as late as 1813 – three years before his death.

Clari is best known for his chamber duets and trios with continuo and Fitzwilliam's impressive array of these manuscripts dominate this entire category in his collection.<sup>350</sup> Possibly composed for didactic purposes, these pieces exceed mere teaching exercises through their

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<sup>347</sup> Ibid., 23-25.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., 36-37.

<sup>349</sup> See Eugenia C. Saville, "Liturgical Music of Giovanni Clari: An Annotated Index," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 15 (1968): 17-31.

<sup>350</sup> Saville lists Clari's secular music as "comprising 23 duets, 12 duetti buffi, 1 vocal quartet, 18 trios, 24 two-voiced solfeggi, 10 arias, and 3 solo cantatas." She also discusses whether *abate* was a real or strictly honorary designation. See Eugenia C. Saville, "'L'Abate' Clari and the Continuo Madrigal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11 (1958): 129.

singable melodies and skillful continuo writing.<sup>351</sup> Popular throughout Europe, they were often mentioned by theorists as fine examples of vocal chamber music. Indeed, Clari's compositional merit was widely recognized and he was variously called "der letzte grosse Madrigalen- und Duetten-Komponist der alten Schule"<sup>352</sup> and "il Mozart dell'epoca sua."<sup>353</sup>

There is only one imprint of Clari's music in Fitzwilliam's collection. This is the *Sei madrigali* published by Bremner in London ca. 1765. "The Hon. Mr. Fitzwilliam" is among the subscribers; however, he did not add the volume to his collection until 1791 – many years after its publication. Other subscribers included Charles Avison and William Hayes, as well as the collector Dr. Thomas Bever. When editing some of Clari's works, Avison wrote, "If pleasing subjects, pathetic aim, and the truth of harmony and modulation characterize a good music, then the compositions of Clari stand fair for a lasting reputation."<sup>354</sup>

#### 4.6.1 Clari, Handel and Fitzwilliam

Handel recognized the inherent potential in Clari's music and borrowed material from a number of Clari's pieces.<sup>355</sup> Furthermore, Fitzwilliam knew about this borrowing, for in his copies of Clari's madrigals are annotations such as "Mr Handel was indebted to Sigr Clari for

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<sup>351</sup> Jean Grundy Fanelli feels that Clari probably composed these pieces for his students, particularly because, compared to his other compositions, he limited the range of the vocal parts. See Grundy Fanelli, "Clari, Giovanni Carlo Maria," in *GMO* (accessed 8 November 2009).

<sup>352</sup> Friedrich Chrysander, forward to "Fünf italienische Duette von Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari," in *Supplemente enthaltend Quellen zu Händels Werken 4* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1892).

<sup>353</sup> Giovanni Carlo Rospigliosi, *Notizie dei Maestri ed Artisti de Musica* (Pistoia, 1878), quoted in Saville, *Clari and the Continuo Madrigal*, 128.

<sup>354</sup> Quoted in Saville, "L'Abate" *Clari*, 130. At his death, Avison was preparing an English adaptation of Clari's *Psalms*. His short introduction begins with "Any comment on the excellence of Clari's compositions it were needless to give here: the lovers and judges of harmony, from a perusal and performance of this specimen, will discover many beauties which are better felt than described." In Dubois, *Charles Avison*, 197.

<sup>355</sup> Charles Cudworth, *Italian Music and the Fitzwilliam*, 8.

this subject.”<sup>356</sup> This notation proves that Fitzwilliam studied the music of both Handel and Clari with great care, on a par with historians and critics such as Avison and Burney.

Handel borrowed elements from six of Clari’s duets to use in his oratorio, *Theodora*.<sup>357</sup> Although these chamber pieces by Clari came to be called “madrigals,” they are more like short cantatas and have three or four movements. The source of their texts is not identified. Ex. 4.7 shows the opening of *Dov’ è quell’ usignolo*, a duet for soprano and tenor with continuo found in MU.MS.203. It is in four movements; three of them are in F minor, with the second movement in A-flat Major. The meter varies between movements, alternating common meter with 3/8 and 2/4. Clari’s compositional technique shows a strong command of the various elements involved, such as finely conceived vocal lines, well-directed harmony featuring strong bass movement, a commanding use of imitation, and pungent chromaticism. In Ex. 4.7, the character of the melodic and harmonic structures satisfies the “pathetic aim” that Avison identified in Clari’s music.

Ex. 4.7. Clari: *Dov’ è quell’ usignolo*, mm. 1-6

<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> It is possible that Handel met Clari in Italy, since the two composers were both in Florence during the same timeframe.

che di Lau-rin - da bez - zi - cò, bez - zi - cò la ma - no,  
-lo che di Lau - rin - da bez - zi - cò, bez - zi - cò

For Theodora, Handel borrowed the opening scheme of *Dov' è quell' usignolo*, even retaining the key of F Minor. It remains a duet, “To Thee, thou Glorious Son of Worth,” now for the characters Theodora and Didymus. In the orchestral introduction, Handel stays very close to the source material both melodically and harmonically (Ex. 4.8). As the voices begin, he delays the tenor’s entrance, expanding the imitation used by Clari (Ex. 4.9). While Clari’s movement is through-composed, Handel’s duet is in three parts, A – B – A’. As the voices begin the final section, Handel shifts the entrance of the tenor back to Clari’s scheme.

Ex. 4.8. Handel: *Theodora*, “To Thee, Thou Glorious Son of Worth,” mm. 1-3

Ex. 4.9. Handel: *Theodora*, “To Thee, Thou Glorious Son of Worth,” mm. 11-14





some in manuscript and others in prints. Compared to these composers, however, Fitzwilliam must have had a particular affinity for Clari: besides the imprint of *Sei madrigali*, he accumulated seven manuscripts containing 148 of Clari's continuo duets and trios.<sup>360</sup> (See Table C.14 in the Appendix for details regarding the *Madrigals'* titles and vocal forces.) This number of madrigals by Clari far exceeds that specified by Eugenia C. Saville in her article, "L'Abate' Clari and the Continuo Madrigal."

The sizeable amount of music by Clari in the collection indicates Fitzwilliam's preference for Clari's compositional style. It also reiterates his preference for vocal chamber music with continuo accompaniment. Clari seems to have been a legend in his own time and for several decades afterward, before slipping into his now-forgotten status.<sup>361</sup> The fact that Handel found Clari's music suitable for use in his oratorio, *Theodora*, confirms the fact that Clari's compositions merit renewed evaluation.

#### 4.7 Anthems and "Cathedral Music"

Among the vocal genres in the collection, Fitzwilliam's pursuit of anthems and other English service music is significant and shows a deliberate approach that Avison would have

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<sup>360</sup> An eighth manuscript, MU.MS. 174 (acquired in 1775), contains exactly the same duets and trios found in MU.M. 175. Fitzwilliam acquired "175" in 1771; on its flyleaf is "J. Burton March 1752," indicating that it was previously owned by Burton, who purchased it around the time Clari composed the pieces. Regarding the term "madrigal," according to Saville, "there is no evidence . . . that Clari himself especially thought of his secular pieces as madrigals. . . . The word 'madrigal' persisted largely at the hands of publishers and especially of copyists." See Saville, "L'Abate" Clari, 130. The only other pieces printed during Clari's lifetime were the *Duetti e terzetti da camera* published by Silvani (Bologna) in 1720. In Grundy Fanelli's view, "They were to have more success than anything else Clari composed and are found . . . in libraries all over Europe." See Grundy Fanelli, *Oratorios of Clari*, 47.

<sup>361</sup> A manuscript from 1800, now in the Glasgow University Library, carries remarks beginning "Alanseli, and all the ancient singers, had much veneration for these chamber duettos . . . . Many are in the manner of Handel's duettos, and many of them equal, though nothing can exceed, that eminent composer." This manuscript (MS R. D. 42), *Duetti e terzetti a diversi voci del Sign. Gio. C. M. Clari*, was once owned by Charles Wesley and Joseph Warren. Quoted from Saville, "L'Abate" Clari, 129.

appreciated. The pieces range from works of Purcell and Handel to some by his own lesser-known contemporaries, such as Richard Woodward (c.1743-1777) and Samuel Porter (1733-1810).<sup>362</sup> Fitzwilliam's inclusion of these pieces indicates his determination to assist in the preservation of this music. Anthems by Handel, such as the Coronation and Chandos anthems, are well represented, as are those of Purcell (such as those in the *Harmonia sacra*).<sup>363</sup> Fitzwilliam also had two manuscript anthem collections of significance, both containing works by Purcell, Locke, and John Blow (1649-1708).<sup>364</sup>

In the early 1750s, Maurice Greene (1696-1755) spearheaded a landmark series called *Cathedral Music*. This influential project, continued after Greene's death by his student, William Boyce, made "ancient" anthems and other service music generally available and in score format.<sup>365</sup> It is obvious that Fitzwilliam seriously valued anthems and supported their proliferation. He had three volumes of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* dating from 1767 to 1773, as well as volumes of anthems by Greene and Boyce.<sup>366</sup>

The vocal music collected by Fitzwilliam represents a wide spectrum of genres and styles. Many of the acquisitions reflect Fitzwilliam's antiquarian tastes. Handel and Purcell take

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<sup>362</sup> It is probable that Fitzwilliam knew Woodward, an Anglo-Irish organist and composer, through their Dublin connections: Woodward became organist and vicar-choral at Christ Church Cathedral there, where Fitzwilliam's hereditary estate of Merrion was located. See Brian Boydell, "Woodward, Richard," *GMO* (accessed 1 August 2011). Porter was a student of Maurice Greene. See Robert Ford, "Porter, Samuel," *GMO* (accessed 1 August 2011).

<sup>363</sup> There is also a noteworthy anthem in the collection by Giovanni Bononcini, Handel's rival. This anthem, *When Saul was King*, was composed in 1722 for the funeral of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, the great general and hero of the War of the Spanish Succession. See Anthony Ford, "Giovanni Bononcini, 1670-1747," *The Musical Times* 111, No. 1529 (1970): 697.

<sup>364</sup> These anthem collections are MU. MSS. 88 and 117.

<sup>365</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, "The Genesis of Boyce's 'Cathedral Music,'" *Music and Letters* 56, 1 (January 1975): 26-40.

<sup>366</sup> Samuel Arnold later edited a four-volume extension of this anthem series.

their place, as well as numerous composers that can be linked to Avison's *Essay*. Fitzwilliam's interest in "cathedral music" is also apparent. Motets in the collection feature distinctive entries of particular significance: substantive collections of Palestrina and Marcello (discussed previously in this chapter), di Lasso, Marenzio, and Michel-Richard de Lalande.

#### 4.8 Motets and Madrigals

Fitzwilliam's collection included extensive holdings of motets and madrigals. Since Avison rarely discussed music composed before 1650, we cannot draw on his commentary here. However, Fitzwilliam's pursuit of this early repertoire confirms his historical interest in these works and his concern for their preservation. His investment in sixteenth-century music surged dramatically in 1798, when he benefited from the sale of Dr. Thomas Bever's library.<sup>367</sup> A legendary collector and antiquarian, Bever (1725-91) was keenly interested in music from the Renaissance. Selections from his library were greatly valued, and Fitzwilliam purchased extensive holdings of Orlando di Lasso (1532-94), Luca Marenzio (1553/4-99), Thomas Morley (1557/8-1602) and John Wilbye (1574-1638) at this sale.<sup>368</sup> Regarding later motets, those by Lalande may be Fitzwilliam's most important acquisition.

##### 4.8.1 Lalande and the Grand Motet

Fitzwilliam obtained the seven volumes of *grands motets* by Michel-Richard de Lalande in 1769. This lavishly engraved edition, published posthumously by Boivin in Paris between

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<sup>367</sup> Bever purchased some of his collection at the auction of William Boyce's library in 1779. This paragraph is based on King, *British Collectors*, 22-23.

<sup>368</sup> Bever had a copyist, Robert Didsbury, make many of these score format manuscripts from early part-books.

1729 and 1734, contains forty of the sixty-five extant *grands motets* (in *partition réduite*).<sup>369</sup>

These motets generally represent the genre throughout Lalande's compositional career, but with the early works revised by the composer, as was his habit. For soloists, chorus and orchestra, most of Lalande's *grands motets* are settings of the Psalms. The continuing high regard given to Lalande's *grands motets*, combined with Fitzwilliam's general appreciation for French music, would have made this an appealing acquisition for his collection.

Born in Paris in 1657, Lalande served Louis XIV and Louis XV for over forty years at the French court.<sup>370</sup> Although his *grands motets* are “comparable in scale with Bach's cantatas,” their posthumous influence and place within the French canon equate more accurately with Handel's position in Great Britain.<sup>371</sup> They were part of the core repertory of the *Concert Spirituel*, appearing on its concerts from the very first program in 1725 (which, except for Corelli's “Christmas” Concerto, consisted entirely of Lalande's compositions) until 1790.<sup>372</sup> Indeed, the *Mercure de France* reported almost six hundred performances of Lalande during those years.<sup>373</sup> This canonization – and continual performance – makes it very likely that Fitzwilliam heard a number of these motets performed during his many trips to Paris. The

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<sup>369</sup> Scores in *partition réduite* were partially reduced. Some parts were omitted, conflated, or shown in a different octave, probably for ease in playing the score on the harpsichord. See Sawkins, *Sacred Music of Lalande*, 27.

<sup>370</sup> Titon du Tillet confirmed Lalande's position: “The Latin music of Lalande has been performed at the Court for forty years with general approval, and our king [Louis XV], who has expressed a wish that motets composed by this musician should be performed from time to time in his chapel, has made it known how highly he regards him.” See Titon du Tillet, *Description du Parnasse françois* (Paris, 1727), quoted in Philippe Oboussier's preface to Michel-Richard de Lalande: *Confitebor tibi Domine* (Borough Green: Novello, 1982), iv.

<sup>371</sup> Oboussier, *Lalande's Confitebor*, iv.

<sup>372</sup> Lalande's *grands motets* were performed in the Chapel Royale until 1792, and were revived “in French cathedrals after the Revolution (notably in Provence).” See Lionel Sawkins, “Lalande and the Concert Spirituel,” *The Musical Times* 116, 1586 (April 1975): 334.

<sup>373</sup> Oboussier, *Lalande's Confitebor*, iv-v.

important position of Lalande's works within France's musical heritage also implies that Fitzwilliam was aware of the musicological importance of this repertoire.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

The vocal music collected by Fitzwilliam displays a strong partiality to the composers espoused by Charles Avison in his *Essay on Musical Expression*. The measure of this correlation makes Fitzwilliam unique among collectors and connoisseurs of his era and indicates his perception of the musicological issues of his era. Beyond this, however, the collection contains examples of a wide variety of both sacred and secular genres and demonstrates a diversity of tastes. Some selections are typical for the time (such as Handel and Purcell) while others – such as Fitzwilliam's preference for French music – were unusual for a British collector. Additionally, Fitzwilliam's large purchases of di Lasso, Marenzio, Morley and Wilbye from the sale of Dr. Bever's library, the volumes of "cathedral music," and the *grands motets* of Lalande, attest to his antiquarian tendencies and his concern for the historical preservation of these works.

Dramatic music enjoyed an important place in Fitzwilliam's collection. These works demonstrate his devotion to the stage and his affection for a wide range of national styles, from English to French and Italian. The number of works by Handel is extensive, and Purcell is also well represented. The large number of scores by Lully and Rameau confirm Fitzwilliam's taste for these French composers. When taken together, these compositions also give evidence of his antiquarian tastes and highlight his general disregard for works from the second half of the eighteenth century. However, while Fitzwilliam had a large number of stage works by the composers discussed by Avison, his collection is not limited to them. Rather, works by other composers, such as Paradies, also took their place in his library.

Portions of Fitzwilliam's vocal music exhibit unique tendencies, such as his affinity for vocal chamber music with continuo. This affinity is especially apparent regarding his purchase of numerous scores by Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari. While Clari and his compositions have been forgotten, he was highly regarded in the eighteenth century and merits renewed attention. Moreover, Fitzwilliam's careful study of Clari's music and its use in Handel's *Theodora* indicates an intellectual interest similar to historians and critics of his era, such as Avison, Hawkins and Burney.

## CHAPTER 5

### INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC: A PASSION FOR THE HARPSICHORD

#### 5.1 Introduction: Fitzwilliam and Instrumental Music

The instrumental music in Fitzwilliam's collection illustrates his engagement with music for the keyboard. Dominating the keyboard holdings is music by Domenico Scarlatti and his advocates in Britain. Fitzwilliam was closely associated with the composers, performers and teachers that formed what Charles Burney called the "Scarlatti sect."<sup>374</sup> In fact, Fitzwilliam's activities indicate that he too was a member of this group. Moreover, his interest in Scarlatti places him squarely within the contemporary musicological debate for, while Scarlatti was admired by lovers of ancient music – such as Fitzwilliam and Charles Avison – he also received the highest of praise from Burney, who revered Scarlatti as a modernist who was willing to break the rules:

Scarlatti was the first who dared to give way to fancy in his compositions, by breaking through the contracted prohibitions of rules drawn from dull compositions produced in the infancy of the art, and which seemed calculated merely to keep it still in that state. Before his time, the *eye* was made the sovereign judge of music, but Scarlatti swore allegiance only to the *ear*.<sup>375</sup>

Thus, Scarlatti's keyboard music (and its advocates) can be placed within the ongoing *querelle* between the ancients and moderns.<sup>376</sup>

While Fitzwilliam's keyboard music proves his support for the music of Domenico Scarlatti and the proponents of Scarlatti or his keyboard style, he sometimes diverged from this

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<sup>374</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 1009.

<sup>375</sup> Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*. 2 vols. *Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile*, ser. 2, 117 (1775; repr., New York: Broude Brothers, 1969), i: 253.

<sup>376</sup> W. Dean Sutcliffe, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti and Eighteenth-Century Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52.

group of composers. When he did diverge from the Scarlatti Sect, it was primarily for one of two reasons: either for pieces that had an antiquarian appeal, or for works by composers he knew personally. Significant among the latter are Domenico Paradies and Johann Christian Bach, who presented him with a copy of his *Six Sonatas*, Op. 5 in 1768. There is music composed by John Keeble (his teacher during his youth in England) and by harpsichord virtuosos like John Burton (another Keeble student) and Joseph Kelway – a leader of the “Scarlatti Sect,” who counted Fitzwilliam as a patron. From farther afield are works by Antonio Soler, who Fitzwilliam met during his trip to Spain, as well as chamber music by the internationally famous cellist Jean Pierre Duport, who dedicated his Op. 2 cello sonatas to the young “Mr. Fitzwilliam.”

Beyond the appearance of works by Scarlatti and his advocates, other categories present themselves for consideration. Certain *émigrés* to England stand out within the collection. Besides the aforementioned Handel, J.C. Bach, and Paradies, there is Frederick Nussen, who is largely unknown. Regarding genre, the early keyboard sonata was attractive to Fitzwilliam as a young collector; a number of acquisitions date from around the year 1768, when Bach presented him with his Op. 5 sonatas. Keyboard concertos by composers like Giuseppe Sammartini and John Stanley were also attractive to Fitzwilliam at that time. There is also a striking dearth of keyboard music by Austro-German composers (with Handel, J.C. Bach, and Georg Christoph Wagenseil being notable exceptions). This deficiency indicates Fitzwilliam’s disregard for keyboard music in the more modern, classical style that was championed by Charles Burney. Furthermore, it means that, aside from their mutual regard for the music of Domenico Scarlatti, Fitzwilliam and Burney were generally on opposite sides of the musicological debate of their time.



The Fitzwilliam Collection is, perhaps, most famous for the lengthy manuscript now known as the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Presented to Fitzwilliam by the publisher Robert Bremner, it was a magnificent addition to his collection. Due to the antiquity of the pieces therein it occupies a singular position within his keyboard music. The vast majority of Fitzwilliam's keyboard music is from the eighteenth century, the most notable exception being compositions by Henry Purcell, who died in 1695. On the other hand, the Virginal Book – with over three hundred works by composers such as William Byrd and John Bull – is the largest collection dating from the Jacobean period (early in the seventeenth century), with keyboard pieces ranging from Thomas Tallis (c.1505-85) to Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656).

While Fitzwilliam's personal preference for the harpsichord is understandable, it was unusual for keyboard music to play such a large part in the collection of an eighteenth-century connoisseur. Works described as "pieces" or "lessons" in the title are most prevalent, followed by some variation of the term "suite." There are a significant number of "sonatas" and the like, including Scarlatti's *Essercizi*. Also present are concertos for organ or harpsichord, various works arranged for solo keyboard, a small number of tutors, and miscellaneous types of pieces such as fugues, voluntaries, and interludes. The total amount of solo keyboard music is immense, with over sixty imprints augmented by numerous pieces in manuscript. Unsurprisingly, this solo music includes English composers of varying degrees of fame, from the obscure (such as Henry Symonds) to titans like Henry Purcell, and others like Handel who worked in England for many years. More unusual are the important French keyboard works, led by Rameau, Francois Couperin, and Fitzwilliam's teacher, Jacques Duphy. However, it is Fitzwilliam's passion for the music of Domenico Scarlatti – and his entrenchment in the "Scarlatti Sect" – that secured his place within the contemporary musicological discussion of keyboard music.

## 5.2 Fitzwilliam and the “Scarlatti Sect”

The eighteenth-century vogue for the music of Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) was extremely strong in England for decades, and prominent musicians and aficionados – including Viscount Fitzwilliam – vigorously championed his music there.<sup>377</sup> Indeed, Lord Fitzwilliam’s taste as a harpsichordist and collector of keyboard music reflects not only his own penchant for Scarlatti but also a circle of influence and teaching directly traceable to the founders of the English “Scarlatti Sect,” Thomas Roseingrave (c.1690-1766) and Joseph Kelway (c.1702-1782).<sup>378</sup> My examination of this lineage of men and music ranges from Roseingrave, who knew Scarlatti in Italy and edited publications of his sonatas in England, to Fitzwilliam – who visited the Escorial in Spain on his personal quest for more of this master’s music. When writing about Scarlatti’s music for Rees’s *The New Cyclopaedia*, Charles Burney explained how it was a necessary part of the successful keyboard player’s repertoire:

The Lessons of M. Scarlatti were in a style so new and brilliant, that no great or promising player acquired notice of the public so effectually by the performance of any other music. Kelway kept them in constant practice; Worgan played no other music, except his own. In short, everyone played, or tried to play, Scarlatti’s.<sup>379</sup>

The primary study investigating this group was “The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti” by Richard Newton, dating from 1939.<sup>380</sup> Gerald Gifford also discusses Fitzwilliam’s particular passion for Scarlatti in his short essay, “Viscount Fitzwilliam and the English ‘Scarlatti Sect.’”<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> This excludes Handel, who – while appreciative of Scarlatti – did not promote Scarlatti performances in England.

<sup>378</sup> Gifford, “English ‘Scarlatti Sect,’” 10-11.

<sup>379</sup> Abraham Rees, ed., *The New Cyclopaedia* (1802-1820), quoted in Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti—Master of Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1987), 213.

<sup>380</sup> Newton, “English Cult.”

<sup>381</sup> Gifford, “English ‘Scarlatti Sect.’”

While both Newton and Gifford mention several musicians who advocated the publication and performance of Scarlatti's music in England, this more comprehensive study draws together a larger number of advocates and links them together through their teachers or other relationships.<sup>382</sup>

The heritage of the "Scarlatti Sect" is given in the chart of *Scarlatti Proponents* in Appendix A. This chart demonstrates the intricate genealogy and interrelationships of keyboard performers and teachers who promoted Scarlatti's music (and/or his compositional style) in England during the eighteenth century. Included are renowned early performers of Scarlatti's music: Kelway, Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), and Charles Wesley (1757-1834). As explained below, Fitzwilliam was well acquainted with two of these three, Kelway and Wesley. Table C.15 shows the keyboard compositions of these advocates, and their strong representation in the collection.

### 5.2.1 Handel and Roseingrave

Handel and Thomas Roseingrave both knew Scarlatti in Italy. According to Gifford, "The very beginning of the English 'Scarlatti sect', as it was often called, stemmed from Mr Handel."<sup>383</sup> The celebrated keyboard contest between the two virtuosi, which probably took place early in 1709, cemented their friendship.<sup>384</sup> In his *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel*, published in 1760, biographer John Mainwaring recalls their mutual regard:

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<sup>382</sup> Other writers mention the sect to a limited degree. These include Burney in his *General History*, ii: 1009 and Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 123-125.

<sup>383</sup> Gifford, "English 'Scarlatti Sect,'" 10.

<sup>384</sup> Devised by Cardinal Ottoboni in Rome, it showed that their harpsichord skills were evenly matched. Scarlatti himself admitted that Handel surpassed him on the organ. See John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (1760; repr., Amsterdam: Frits A. M. Knuf, 1964), 60.

Handel used often to speak of this person [D.S.] with great satisfaction; and indeed there was reason for it; for besides his great talents as an artist, he had the sweetest temper and the genteelest behaviour. On the other hand, it was mentioned . . . that Scarlatti, as oft as he was admired for his great execution, would mention Handel, and cross himself in token of veneration.<sup>385</sup>

The first true champion of Scarlatti in England, however, was Thomas Roseingrave. Born in Ireland, Roseingrave went to Italy in 1709; thanks to Charles Burney, we have Roseingrave's reminiscences of his experience while attending a concert in Venice. Being invited to play, he begins by recalling that, "—finding myself rather better in courage and finger than usual, I exerted myself [. . .] and fancied, by the applause I received, that my performance had made some impression on the company."

But, as Burney continues,

a grave young man dressed in black and in a black wig, who had stood in one corner of the room, very quiet and attentive while Roseingrave played, being asked to sit down to the harpsichord, when he began to play, Rosy said, he thought ten hundred d—ils had been at the instrument; he never had heard such passages of execution and effect before . . . Upon enquiring the name of this extraordinary performer, he was told it was Domenico Scarlatti, son of the celebrated Cavalier Alessandro Scarlatti. Roseingrave declared he did not touch an instrument himself for a month; after this rencontre, however, he became very intimate with the young Scarlatti, followed him to Rome and Naples, and hardly ever quitted him while he remained in Italy . . .<sup>386</sup>

Roseingrave returned to Dublin in 1713; by 1717, he was in London, where he grew very involved in the city's musical life.<sup>387</sup> In 1725, Roseingrave became the first organist at the prestigious new church of St. George's in Hanover Square. There he was famous for his performances, particularly his improvisations, and gathered talented students such as J.C. Smith, Jr. and John Worgan. A romantic disappointment left Roseingrave mentally disturbed, cutting

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<sup>385</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>386</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 704.

<sup>387</sup> This paragraph is based on Gerald Gifford and Richard Pratt, "Roseingrave, Thomas," in GMO (accessed 14 March 2011).

short his auspicious career.<sup>388</sup> Having trouble fulfilling his duties, by 1744 the vestry decided to appoint an assistant organist, John Keeble – later Fitzwilliam’s teacher – who they paid out of Roseingrave’s salary.<sup>389</sup>

Drawing on his personal relationship with Domenico Scarlatti, Roseingrave became Scarlatti’s advocate and was principally responsible for the growth of the “Scarlatti Sect” in England.<sup>390</sup> Two events that took place under Roseingrave’s aegis evince his advocacy. First was his 1720 production at the Haymarket Theatre of Scarlatti’s opera *Narciso*, to which he added two arias and two duets of his own composition.<sup>391</sup> Second was Roseingrave’s 1739 edition of forty-two sonatas by Scarlatti, consisting of the *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (thirty sonatas) and twelve others.<sup>392</sup> Prominent contemporary musicians such as Thomas Arne and Francesco Geminiani dominated the subscribers list for this edition. Works by many of these subscribers appear in Fitzwilliam’s collection; besides Geminiani, they include Charles Avison, William Boyce, Maurice Greene, “Doctor Pepusch,” J.C. Smith, Jr. and John Stanley. Also listed is Fitzwilliam’s teacher, John Keeble, who requested “6 books.”<sup>393</sup> Roseingrave’s personal link

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<sup>388</sup> William Coxe states that the young lady’s father would not allow her to marry a musician, even though the attraction was mutual. However, he does not identify the young lady. See Coxe, *Anecdotes of Handel and Smith*, 42.

<sup>389</sup> The church continued to pay Roseingrave half of his salary, even after he retired to Dublin, where in 1753 the Dublin Journal reported a concert performance of his own opera, *Phaedra and Hippolitus*. Roseingrave supposedly played between the acts, including “Scarlatti’s Lesson on the Harpsicord [*sic*], with his own Additions.” See Gifford, “English ‘Scarlatti Sect,’” 11.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. *Narciso* was originally *Amor d’un’ombre e Gelosia d’un’aura*.

<sup>392</sup> Roseingrave’s edition was so successful that it remained in print into the 1790s. See *Ibid.*

<sup>393</sup> Domenico Scarlatti, *XLII Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin, en Deux Volumes: Vol. I*, ed. Thomas Roseingrave (1739; repr., New York: Performers’ Facsimiles No. 236).

with Scarlatti was an important one, and he deserves credit for establishing the English cult for Scarlatti's music.<sup>394</sup>

### 5.2.2 Geminiani and Avison

Francesco Geminiani and his student Charles Avison both subscribed to the Roseingrave edition. Geminiani was a composer of immense popularity and collectability who many (as shown in the previous chapter) considered to be on a par with Handel and Corelli. Geminiani is connected to the "Scarlatti Sect" in two ways: through his subscription to the Roseingrave edition, and by way of students who were Scarlatti's advocates. During his many years in England, these students included not only Avison but also John Worgan, Joseph Kelway, and Robert Bremner, all of whom link directly to Fitzwilliam and/or his collection. A Scottish composer and publisher, Bremner is critical to Fitzwilliam's modern-day prominence as a collector because, having obtained the manuscript now known as the "Fitzwilliam Virginal Book" from the sale of Pepusch's library, he then presented it to Fitzwilliam.<sup>395</sup>

Besides the "founders" – Roseingrave and Joseph Kelway – Charles Avison is of particular importance for the "Scarlatti Sect."<sup>396</sup> Avison presented *Twelve Concertos in Seven Parts* in 1744, several years before he praised Scarlatti in his *Essay* (1752) but soon after the English publication of Scarlatti's *Essercizi* (1738) and the Roseingrave edition of 42 sonatas

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<sup>394</sup> Besides Roseingrave's edition of the 42 sonatas by Scarlatti, Fitzwilliam also owned two sets of Roseingrave's own pieces: *Voluntarys and Fugues*, from c.1730, and *Six Double Fugues*, from 1750.

<sup>395</sup> King, *British Collectors*, 15 and 36.

<sup>396</sup> We can connect a number of the Scarlatti proponents discussed in this chapter to Avison. The list of subscribers to Avison's *Six Concertos in Seven Parts*, published in 1740, includes not only sect founders Roseingrave and Kelway but also John Keeble (Fitzwilliam's teacher) and James Nares.

(1739).<sup>397</sup> For these twelve concerti, Avison took thirty sonatas from Roseingrave's edition, combined them with additional "Slow Movements" taken from Scarlatti's *Six Violin Sonatas* in *Libro XIV*, transposed some of them (usually up a step), and transcribed them all for strings and continuo.<sup>398</sup> Subscribers to this edition included Signor Geminiani, Dr. Maurice Greene, and Mr. Kelway. In my opinion, the resulting concerti are extremely attractive and their popular success is understandable. That their four-movement scheme follows the "Corelli" tempo pattern of slow – fast – slow – fast is not surprising, since Corelli's music was extremely popular throughout England for many decades.<sup>399</sup> When compared with the concertos of Avison's teacher, Geminiani, the slow movements of the Avison/Scarlatti concertos are generally similar in style; this similarity can be explained by the use of string music as source material. Rather, it is in the fast movements that differences are more striking, since here the sources are sonatas conceived for the keyboard. Most obvious is Scarlatti's use of binary form, to which Avison adheres in his transcriptions, but other elements (such as scalar or motivically-conceived melodies, idiosyncratic use of dissonance, and the limited amount of imitation) also make these movements very different from those composed by Geminiani.

Fitzwilliam's collection included one set of pieces by Avison: the Opus 9 concertos, originally for strings. Published in 1766 "as adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord

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<sup>397</sup> The more complete title is *Twelve Concertos in Seven Parts . . . done from Two Books of Lessons for the Harpsichord. Composed by Sigr Domenico Scarlatti with Additional Slow Movements from Manuscript Solo Pieces, by the same Author . . . by Charles Avison Organist in Newcastle upon Tyne*. I discuss Avison's *Essay* above in Chapter 3.

<sup>398</sup> Newton, "English Cult," 142-143.

<sup>399</sup> It is surprising that this set of concertos is not in Fitzwilliam's collection. However, he had a different work by Avison: *Twelve concertos . . . adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord alone . . . Opera nona*. Purchased in 1771, the music in the two volumes is on two staves: melody line in treble clef, supported by a bass line with figures so that the player can flesh out the harmony *ad libitum*.

alone,” Fitzwilliam was among the subscribers.<sup>400</sup> The adaptation consists of two staves: a treble melody for the right hand supported by a bass line with figures for the performer to realize.

### 5.2.3 Kelway, Worgan and Wesley

Like Roseingrave, Joseph Kelway (another student of Geminiani) was a founder of the “Scarlatti Sect.” Viscount Fitzwilliam was Kelway’s patron, and may have been his student as well – thus absorbing Kelway’s enthusiasm for Scarlatti.<sup>401</sup> Kelway had a strong reputation as a harpsichordist and teacher whose students included Queen Charlotte, consort of George III. Burney recorded very favorable attitudes toward Kelway’s playing in his *General History*, especially regarding Scarlatti’s music:

Mr. Kelway, a scholar of Geminiani, kept Scarlatti’s best lessons in constant practice, and was at the head of the Scarlatti sect. He had, in his voluntaries on the organ, a masterly wildness, and long supported the character of a great player, in a style quite his own, bold, rapid, and fanciful. With his harpsichord playing I was not acquainted, but have often been assured, that he executed the most difficult lessons of Scarlatti, in a manner peculiarly [sic] neat and delicate.<sup>402</sup>

Kelway was organist at St. Martin-in-the Fields where, according to Sainsbury, “His playing on the organ was so excellent, that Handel is said often to have gone to the church when he performed.”<sup>403</sup> Handel’s friend Mrs. Delany rated Kelway as “little inferior to Handel” and “as a harpsichordist he was an exponent of the Scarlatti style.”<sup>404</sup> Kelway wrote *Six Sonatas for*

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<sup>400</sup> Avison, *Twelve Concertos*, Op. 9.

<sup>401</sup> Gifford, “English ‘Scarlatti Sect,’” 12.

<sup>402</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 1009.

<sup>403</sup> John S. Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians* (London: Sainsbury and Co., 1824), ii: 8.

<sup>404</sup> Mrs. Delany studied with Kelway. See Stoddard Lincoln, “Kelway, Joseph,” in *GMO* (accessed 23 March 2007).



*the Harpsicord*, published in London in 1764. Although called “sonatas,” they more closely resemble four-movement suites. Fitzwilliam purchased his copy in 1768.

According to Ralph Kirkpatrick, Dr. John Worgan (1724-1790) was also a leader of the “Scarlatti Sect.”<sup>405</sup> A student of both Geminiani and Roseingrave, Worgan was a brilliant performer and improviser on both organ and harpsichord.<sup>406</sup> Steeped in the love of Scarlatti by Roseingrave, Worgan obtained an important manuscript containing forty-four of Scarlatti’s sonatas.<sup>407</sup> He edited a set of twelve sonatas from this manuscript that, published in 1752, is in Fitzwilliam’s collection.<sup>408</sup>

Worgan’s manuscript eventually came into the possession of his student, Charles Wesley, Jr. (1757-1834).<sup>409</sup> Wesley also studied with Joseph Kelway, and under the latter’s tutelage he became a fine keyboardist. A child prodigy who also studied composition with William Boyce, Wesley did not fulfill his early musical promise. However, he was known for his stunning performances of Scarlatti at the subscription concerts the Wesley family held at their home in London.<sup>410</sup> Fitzwilliam must have known Charles Wesley, for his collection includes a glee presented to him by Wesley in 1807.<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 125.

<sup>406</sup> Pamela McGairl, “Worgan, John,” in *GMO* (accessed 6 March 2008). Worgan was organist at Vauxhall Gardens for many years, and published fourteen collections of “Vauxhall Songs.”

<sup>407</sup> This manuscript is the British Library’s Add. MS 31553. Boyd, *Scarlatti*, 213.

<sup>408</sup> Newton, “English Cult,” 144-145.

<sup>409</sup> Part of the inscription on the cover of the manuscript states, “This valuable volume is the gift of Mrs. Worgan to Charles Wesley.” See Newton, “English Cult,” 144.

<sup>410</sup> Kelway evidently taught young Wesley without payment, and said to Charles Wesley, Sr. that his son had “the very spirit of Scarlatti.” Quoted in Decker, “Scarlattino,” 283.

<sup>411</sup> Wesley’s glee, for three voices, is titled *Now I know what it is to have strove*.

#### 5.2.4 Keeble and Burton

Fitzwilliam's primary music teacher in England was John Keeble (c.1711-1786). An organist, theorist and composer, we can link Keeble to the "Scarlatti Sect" via one of the founders, Thomas Roseingrave. Keeble trained as a choirboy at Chichester Cathedral under Thomas Kelway (c.1695-1749), brother of Joseph Kelway, and studied composition and Greek with Dr. Pepusch.<sup>412</sup> "An excellent organist, intelligent teacher, and a worthy man," Keeble became Roseingrave's assistant at St. George's, Hanover Square in 1744, sharing Roseingrave's salary.<sup>413</sup> Keeble's subscription to six copies of Roseingrave's edition of Scarlatti in 1739 indicates that he was already a Scarlatti proponent five years before becoming Roseingrave's assistant. Fitzwilliam owned all four volumes of Keeble's *Select Pieces for Organ* (pub. c. 1778-1780) as well as Keeble's treatise on *The Theory of Harmonics*.<sup>414</sup>

John Burton (1730-1782) studied with both Keeble and Joseph Kelway, giving him close ties to the "Scarlatti Sect."<sup>415</sup> A harpsichordist, organist, and composer, Burton was an extremely well known performer whose fame spread to the Continent. We know that he had a concert tour of Germany in 1754, where he probably encountered the "new" fortepianos and was likely one of the first Englishmen to do so. Burton probably played the harpsichord at Lord Clive's residence

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<sup>412</sup> Stoddard Lincoln and Gerald Gifford, "Keeble, John," in GMO (accessed 23 July 2007).

<sup>413</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 705.

<sup>414</sup> The full title of Keeble's treatise is *The Theory of Harmonics, or an Illustration of the Grecian Harmonics* (1784). Fitzwilliam also had a set of *Forty Interludes* for use between verses of the Psalms; composed by Keeble and Jacob Kirkman, it appeared c. 1787.

<sup>415</sup> This paragraph is based on Gerald Gifford, "Burton, John," in GMO (accessed 23 July 2007).

in London during Mozart's visit to England in 1765, and he was in Italy during the 1770s.<sup>416</sup>

Burton must have had a very successful career, as he left an estate worth £9000.

Fitzwilliam knew Burton, sharing links to Keeble and Kelway. He acquired Burton's Op. 1 keyboard sonatas in 1769.<sup>417</sup> Burton followed this set with his Op. 2: *Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte, Harpsichord or Organ: with an Accompaniment for the Violin*, printed in London by Welcker c. 1770.<sup>418</sup> It is most curious that Fitzwilliam's collection does not also contain this second opus, as they were "humbly dedicated to the Hon[ourable] Richard Fitzwilliam."<sup>419</sup> However, the collection does contain various other works by Burton in manuscript.<sup>420</sup>

### 5.2.5 Other Scarlatti Proponents

Several other musicians may be classified as Scarlatti proponents. These include Muzio Clementi, James Nares, and John Christopher Smith, Jr. Fitzwilliam's collection includes music by all three of these composers, and it is probable that Viscount Fitzwilliam knew all of them.

That Fitzwilliam owned any music by Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) is particularly curious given that one of the volumes is *Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte*.<sup>421</sup> Perhaps his ownership of this volume indicates a real interest in the pianoforte.

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<sup>416</sup> In 1782, Burton was again in Italy, this time with William Beckford. While there he died of malaria at the home of Sir William and Lady Hamilton near Naples.

<sup>417</sup> One of the sonatas from Op. 1 is discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>418</sup> Burton's Op. 3 is a set of *Twelve Italian Canzonets* for voice, violin and harpsichord, from c. 1770.

<sup>419</sup> John Burton, *Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte, Harpsichord or Organ: with an Accompaniment for the Violin* (London: Welcker, c. 1770). A surviving copy can be found at St. Andrew's University in Scotland.

<sup>420</sup> These other manuscript works by Burton include a keyboard concerto in A, "from Mr. Burton's collection" (acquired in 1782, the year of Burton's death), as well as a set of vocal duets and trios by Clari that has "J. Burton March 1752" on the flyleaf.

<sup>421</sup> The other volume is *Clementi's Selection of Practical Harmony for the Organ or Piano Forte*. Since Fitzwilliam did play the organ, ownership of this volume is more understandable.

However, unlike his harpsichord and chamber organ, we have no proof that he owned such an instrument. Clementi was well known for performing Scarlatti, especially for using the Sonata in A, K. 113 – one of the Worgan sonatas – as an encore.<sup>422</sup> In all likelihood, Fitzwilliam knew Peter Beckford, who found the teenaged Clementi in Italy and brought him to England.<sup>423</sup>

Like John Keeble (Fitzwilliam's teacher), both James Nares and John Christopher Smith, Jr. studied with Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752). A "Scarlatti enthusiast," James Nares (1715-1783) was an organist and composer for the Chapel Royal, where he also was in charge of the choristers.<sup>424</sup> Nares was known for his teaching and for composing service music, keyboard pieces, and didactic works.<sup>425</sup> Fitzwilliam owned Nares's *A Treatise on Singing* (obtained in 1775), his "Opus II" keyboard pieces (1768), and a volume of his church music.<sup>426</sup> J. C. Smith, Jr. (1712-1795) studied with Handel and became his assistant. Smith is often confused with his father, who came from Germany to be Handel's secretary, treasurer and principal copyist. The younger Smith's keyboard works include sets of suites, "lessons," and sonatas, some of which exhibit characteristics of Scarlatti's style.<sup>427</sup> Besides studying with both Handel and Pepusch, Smith was also a pupil of Roseingrave, taking us back to a founder of the Scarlatti Sect.<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Decker, "Scarlattino," 273-298.

<sup>423</sup> Leon Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 3. Through the Beckford family, we can also connect Clementi with John Burton.

<sup>424</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, "Music in the Home I," in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 197.

<sup>425</sup> Watkins Shaw, "Nares, James," in *GMO* (accessed 6 March 2008).

<sup>426</sup> The latter is *A Morning and Evening Service . . . together with six anthems . . .*, from 1792.

<sup>427</sup> Barbara Small, "Smith, John Christopher," in *GMO* (accessed 6 March 2008).

<sup>428</sup> Smith was a member of the household of Augusta, dowager Princess of Wales, from whom he received a salary of £200 a year. Following her death in 1772, her son, George III, converted this to a life pension. In grateful thanks, Smith presented the king with an important group of Handel autographs. See King, *British Collectors*, 106-107.

## 5.2.6 Charles Burney and Scarlatti

Although early in his life Burney preferred the “ancient” music of Handel, Geminiani and Corelli, during his twenties he developed an enduring appreciation for Domenico Scarlatti.<sup>429</sup> Burney began to acquire this new taste during his apprenticeship with the composer Thomas Arne (1710-1778), who thought that the best keyboard teaching should include both Handel and Scarlatti. Some of Arne’s own *Eight Sonatas* (1756) exhibit Scarlatti’s influence.<sup>430</sup> Burney’s reverence for Scarlatti was encouraged by Fulke Greville, the sophisticated gentleman who purchased the remainder of Burney’s apprenticeship from Arne so that he could employ Burney as a sort of musical and intellectual companion.<sup>431</sup> Greville admired “modern” music, and presented Burney with both volumes of Roseingrave’s edition of Scarlatti sonatas.<sup>432</sup>

Burney often performed Scarlatti to help establish himself as a keyboard player and teacher in London.<sup>433</sup> He revered Scarlatti (along with Emanuel Bach and Haydn) as a composer who was in the vanguard of the stylistic development of his time.<sup>434</sup> He also held Scarlatti up as a model for young composers, both in the 1789 edition of his *General History* and years later in

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<sup>429</sup> Burney also developed a long-lasting taste for Hasse and Pergolesi, among others. See Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 19.

<sup>430</sup> Gifford, “English ‘Scarlatti Sect,’” 12. One of the puzzling facts about Fitzwilliam’s printed music is that Arne’s music is almost completely absent, found only in volumes of the *Warren Collection* sponsored by the Catch Club.

<sup>431</sup> Kerry S. Grant, “Burney, Charles,” in *GMO* (accessed 12 August 2011).

<sup>432</sup> Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant, eds., *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726-1769* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 70-71.

<sup>433</sup> Fitzwilliam did not own any of Burney’s keyboard compositions, although he did have Burney’s edition of choral music from the papal chapel, called *La musica che si canta annualmente nelle funzioni della settimana santa, nella cappella pontificia*. Published by Bremner in 1771, it contains works by Palestrina and Allegri, among others.

<sup>434</sup> Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*. *Studies in Musicology* 62, ed. George Buelow (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 41.

Rees' *Cyclopaedia* (1806).<sup>435</sup> In their mutual regard for Scarlatti's music we find a point of agreement between the ancients – Fitzwilliam and Avison – and the modernist Burney. However, Burney's reference to the Scarlatti proponents in England as a "sect" implies a negative attitude toward this group. Perhaps Burney wished to distance himself from some of these advocates, such as Joseph Kelway, whose compositions he denigrated.<sup>436</sup> However, his well-documented (and long term) admiration for Scarlatti suggests that he too may be considered a member of the "Scarlatti Sect."

### 5.2.7 Fitzwilliam, Soler and Scarlatti

Since Lord Fitzwilliam signed and dated music as he accumulated it, we know that he acquired a copy of Scarlatti's *Essercizi* in 1769 and volume one of the Worgan edition in 1771, when he was still in his twenties. These pieces surely whetted his appetite, for the following year he traveled to Spain on a quest to obtain further sonatas by Scarlatti – a quest that confirms his membership in the "Scarlatti Sect." At the Escorial, he met with Antonio Soler (1729-1783).<sup>437</sup> Fitzwilliam left Spain with two manuscripts of Scarlatti's sonatas as well as twenty-seven of Soler's, all signed and dated "1772." Many years later, in 1800, Birchall published thirty of Scarlatti's sonatas from these manuscripts.<sup>438</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>436</sup> Burney referred to Kelway's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (1764) as "perhaps, the most crude, aukward [*sic*], and unpleasant pieces of the kind that have ever been engraved." Burney, *General History*, ii: 1009.

<sup>437</sup> Soler's possible study with Scarlatti in Spain remains unsubstantiated, but stylistic elements in his own sonatas suggest his familiarity with Scarlatti's compositions. These shared traits include the use of imitation in opening material, octaves or repeated notes, and hand crossing gymnastics. See Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 211.

<sup>438</sup> Gifford, "English 'Scarlatti Sect,'" 11. Fitzwilliam also had a copy of the Roseingrave edition of 42 sonatas, acquired in 1799. The majority of these sonatas are duplicates of the *Essercizi*, which Fitzwilliam purchased many years earlier, in 1769.

The “Scarlatti Sect” in eighteenth-century England was extensive, much more so than previously shown. It included numerous musicians – composers, performers, and teachers – who shared an appreciation for the sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti and promoted their continuing publication and performance in Britain. Furthermore, evidence from Viscount Fitzwilliam’s associations and pursuits, such as travelling to Spain on a quest for further manuscripts, demonstrates that he was an integral member of this group of like-minded advocates. Music by other composers in the collection also evinces aspects of Scarlatti’s style. These composers include Jacques Duphly, Fitzwilliam’s teacher in Paris, and Domenico Paradies, whom he knew in Britain.

### 5.3 Jacques Duphly (1715-1789)

Duphly was born and trained in Rouen, studied with Dagincourt, and was organist first of Évreux Cathedral and then in Rouen.<sup>439</sup> In 1742, he moved to Paris, in all likelihood hoping for a more advantageous career. Writing in 1752, Pierre-Louis Daquin (son of the organist) said that Duphly “has much lightness of touch and a certain softness which, sustained by ornaments, marvelously render the character of his pieces.”<sup>440</sup> His gifts served him well, and in 1754 Marpurg wrote that “Duphly . . . plays the harpsichord only . . . . He lives in Paris, where he

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<sup>439</sup> David Fuller, “Duphly, Jacques,” in GMO (accessed 23 July 2007).

<sup>440</sup> From Pierre-Louis Daquin, *Lettres sur les hommes célèbres . . . sous le règne de Louis XV* (Paris, 1752), trans. by David Fuller in “Duphly,” GMO.

instructs the leading families.”<sup>441</sup> Harpsichord maker Pascal Taskin rated Duphly as one of the best teachers in Paris.<sup>442</sup>

Along with Claude Balbastre, Duphly was perhaps the most important composer of harpsichord music during the final flowering of that instrument in eighteenth-century France. Duphly’s books of harpsichord music contain some traditional dances (such as allemandes and menuets) but are dominated by character pieces, usually named after his friends or students. The music is of fine quality, and many of the pieces are extremely virtuosic. The volumes’ dedications testify to his lofty connections in Parisian society, and to his success as a teacher to well-placed families. The dedicatees include the Duc d’Ayen, the Marquise de Juigné, and “Madame Victoire de France” – daughter of Louis XV.

Walsh published Duphly’s second book of pieces in London in 1764. This edition is not in Fitzwilliam’s collection. However, it seems likely that the availability of these pieces in London did influence Fitzwilliam, for the following year he began his studies with Duphly in Paris, taking lessons in both harpsichord and figured bass. In fact, among Fitzwilliam’s manuscripts is a continuo treatise that Duphly dictated to his pupil. As might be expected, Duphly also presented Fitzwilliam with books of his harpsichord works. The first two books of *Pièces de clavecin*, given in 1769, include handwritten instructions for fingering. These instructions (*Du doigter*), signed by Duphly, are included in Appendix B. Duphly presented his third and fourth books of *Pièces* to Fitzwilliam in 1771-72.

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<sup>441</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754–58; repr., Hildesheim, NY: G. Olms, 1970) i: 459, trans. by David Fuller in “Duphly,” GMO.

<sup>442</sup> François Lesure, introduction to *Jacques Duphly: Pièces Pour le Clavecin, Livres I, II, III, IV*, ed. Françoise Petit. La Pupitre (Paris: Heugel, 1967).



The four books of clavecin music composed by Duphly represent not only his inheritance of the French tradition but also illustrate a number of outside influences. The French harpsichord style was extremely elegant and linear, most often featuring a highly ornamented right hand melody accompanied by a modest left hand part. There was little use of counterpoint or chordal writing, and overt virtuosity was generally eschewed.<sup>443</sup> (The latter is not strictly true for Duphly, since a number of his pieces are virtuosic.)

Among the prominent non-French influences apparent in some of Duphly's works, published between 1744 and 1768, are compositional traits of an Italian nature, particularly those found in the keyboard music of Domenico Scarlatti.<sup>444</sup> These "Scarlattian" stylistic features include the use of imitation to open pieces, octave passages, athletic hand crossing and wide leaps, repeated notes and reiteration, intricate arpeggios, quick scale passages, sequences, note-clusters, and distinctive uses of dissonance.<sup>445</sup> Several of these characteristics appear in Scarlatti's Sonata in A Minor, K. 54, one of the sonatas that Fitzwilliam brought back from Spain and that Birchall published from his manuscript.<sup>446</sup>

Ex. 5.1 shows the opening of K. 54. As is typical of many of Scarlatti's sonatas, the right hand begins and the left hand follows in imitation (mm. 1-4). Motivic construction – another trait

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<sup>443</sup> Mark Kroll, "French Masters," in *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert L. Marshall (New York: Routledge, 2003), 124-125. Another French keyboard style is the lute or broken style (*style-brisé*), an arpeggiated texture (inspired by lute music) that spreads the melody among different voices with continuous rhythmic patterning.

<sup>444</sup> Among the dozen or so editions of Scarlatti's works published during his lifetime are five volumes of "pieces de clavecin" published in Paris by Madame Boivin et al. Although the editions themselves appeared without dates, the Royal Privileges issued for the first three books are dated 1737 and 1738 – making it possible that these Paris editions preceded the first London appearance of the *Essercizi*. If so, and bearing in mind that Jacques Duphly left Rouen for Paris in 1742, it is entirely possible that Duphly encountered Scarlatti's music well before the publication of his first book of harpsichord works in 1744, a familiarity even more likely to have influenced certain pieces in his second book, published in 1748. See Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 401-411.

<sup>445</sup> Boyd, *Scarlatti*, 211.

<sup>446</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Scarlatti*, 411.

– is also strongly featured in this example. The first motive, a descending A Minor triad, opens the piece and is reiterated in the opening phrase (mm. 1-2). The second motive, a group of six eighth notes, appears in the right hand in ms. 5. Throughout mm. 5-7, Scarlatti uses this second motive in two characteristic ways: by chromatically inflecting it and using it in sequence.

Ex. 5.1. Scarlatti: Sonata in A Minor, K. 54, mm. 1-8

Ex. 5.2 is taken from near the conclusion of K. 54. Beginning at ms. 48, Scarlatti again uses a six-note melodic motive in the right hand to construct a two-bar sequence, accompanied by dramatic hand crossings (mm. 48-49). In mm. 51-53 we find a confluence of “Scarlattian” traits: octave passagework, imitation, motivic construction (left hand), and use of sequence.

Some “Scarlattian” characteristics are already apparent in Duphly’s first book of pieces. For example, the opening measures of *La Tribolet* from Book 1 (*Vivement* in D Minor) feature the melodic use of broken chords and parallel thirds, both characteristic of Scarlatti’s music (Ex. 5.3).

Ex. 5.2. Scarlatti: Sonata in A Minor, K. 54, mm. 48-53

The image shows a musical score for Scarlatti's Sonata in A Minor, K. 54, measures 48-53. The score is written for piano in 12/8 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system (measures 48-50) features a treble clef with a melodic line containing trills (tr) and a bass clef with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system (measures 51-53) continues the melodic line in the treble clef and the accompaniment in the bass clef, showing a more complex texture with chords and moving lines.

Ex. 5.3. Dufly: *La Tribolet*, mm. 1-5

The image shows a musical score for Dufly's *La Tribolet*, measures 1-5. The score is written for piano in 2/4 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system (measures 1-3) features a treble clef with a melodic line containing trills (tr) and a bass clef with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system (measures 4-5) continues the melodic line in the treble clef and the accompaniment in the bass clef, showing a more complex texture with chords and moving lines.

Whether Dufly had the opportunity to study Scarlatti's sonatas directly remains to be proven, but both composers were known for their keyboard virtuosity. Evidence of Scarlatti's influence is particularly strong in Dufly's second book of pieces, published in 1748. Indeed, one might surmise that there was some "intersection" between Dufly and Scarlatti.

### 5.3.1 Duphly's *La Victoire*

The second livre of Duphly's *pièces* – those dedicated to “Madame Victoire” – opens with “La Victoire,” titled in her honor. This lively piece in binary form (*Vivement* in D Major, duple meter) exhibits an influence of Scarlatti's style in a number of places through the use of intricate arpeggios, quick alternation of the hands, reiteration of pitches, and flamboyant leaps. Ex. 5.4 shows the entire first half of the piece, mm. 1-64. Elements of Scarlatti's style are immediately apparent in the introduction, which opens with an arpeggiated flourish that is answered by a toccata-like alternation between the hands (mm. 1-10). The first thematic statement is in D Major (mm. 11-27). As this statement ends, Duphly emphasizes the dominant (A Major) with broken figuration in the right hand (mm. 20-25). This figuration consistently reiterates the chord root in alternation with melodic notes in the soprano.

Closer to the end of the first section, descending scales lead into another reiterative figure in the right hand (mm. 48-55). Here this reiterative figure is combined with wide leaps in the left hand. These wide leaps set up the new tonic (A Major) by stressing E, its dominant. In the second half of the piece, Duphly presents very little new material, instead sticking very closely to the same building blocks used in the first half.

Ex. 5.4. Duphy: *La Victoire*, mm. 1-64

Musical notation for measures 1-5. The piece is in 2/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). Measures 1-5 feature a complex rhythmic pattern with triplets in both hands. Measure 1 has a triplet of eighth notes in the bass and a triplet of eighth notes in the treble. Measures 2-5 continue with similar triplet patterns, with a fermata over the final note of measure 5.

Musical notation for measures 6-10. The piece continues with a steady eighth-note melody in the treble and a bass line of eighth notes. Measure 10 features a fermata over the final note.

Musical notation for measures 11-16. The treble clef has a melodic line with eighth notes and some rests, while the bass clef has a simple accompaniment of eighth notes. Measure 16 ends with a fermata.

Musical notation for measures 17-21. The treble clef has a more active melodic line with sixteenth-note runs, while the bass clef has a simple accompaniment of eighth notes. Measure 21 ends with a fermata.

Musical notation for measures 22-26. The treble clef has a melodic line with eighth notes and some rests, while the bass clef has a simple accompaniment of eighth notes. Measure 26 ends with a fermata.

28

36

43

50

56

59

#### 5.4 Domenico Paradies

Like many pieces by Duple, the keyboard sonatas of Domenico Paradies (1707-1791) also contain stylistic features found in the sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. As discussed in Chapter 4, Fitzwilliam had a personal connection to Paradies who, despite his failure as an opera composer, met with success in England as a harpsichordist and teacher of that instrument. Indeed, one of his keyboard pieces, called “Toccatà in A” in various anthologies, remained popular into the twentieth century.<sup>447</sup>

Paradies remains best known for his twelve *Sonate di gravicembalo*.<sup>448</sup> Composed in 1754 and published by John Johnson under the protection of a royal privilege, they were dedicated to Princess Augusta.<sup>449</sup> Fitzwilliam acquired his copy in 1770 (the year of Paradies’s retirement), and evidently became very familiar with these harpsichord pieces. Well worn, his copy displays a significant number of handwritten markings such as fingerings (in nos. 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12) and a prominent “X” next to nos. 4, 6, 8, 9 and 10 that suggests a specific preference for those sonatas.

In these twelve sonatas – all in two movements – Paradies’s compositional gifts shine through. They are finely crafted works that combine features of Baroque and Classical styles in order to display the instrument’s expressive character.<sup>450</sup> A majority of the first movements are in some type of sonata form, while the second movements vary in tempo (from fast to slow) and form (including rondos as well as dances like the minuet and *giga*). Additionally, a stylistic

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<sup>447</sup> Not originally called “toccatà,” it was excerpted from Paradies’s harpsichord sonata No. 6 in A Major.

<sup>448</sup> William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 687.

<sup>449</sup> This woman is either the mother or elder sister of George III – both named Augusta.

<sup>450</sup> Donald C. Sanders, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Giustini, Paradisi, and Rutini: Formal and Stylistic Innovation in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Italian Keyboard Music* (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1983).

heritage shared with other Italian-born composers – such as Domenico Scarlatti – is in often in evidence.<sup>451</sup>

#### 5.4.1 Paradies' Sonata No. 10 in D Major

It seems plausible that Fitzwilliam was partially attracted to Paradies' sonatas because of their “Scarlattian” characteristics. Several of these traits appear in the Sonata No. 10 in D Major, which may have been a particular favorite – not only did Fitzwilliam write numerous fingerings in this sonata, but he also marked it with an “X.” At a glance, the first movement of this sonata (*Vivace*) appears to be in binary form. Following the repeat signs, the second section begins in the dominant (A Major) and reuses material from mm. 1-16. It then proceeds, however, to a developmental section that is followed by a recapitulation in D Major.

Ex. 5.5 shows the opening portion of the first movement. From the outset, we encounter Scarlatti-like elements. The first phrase (mm. 1-4) opens with a melodic arpeggio, which is answered by a quick scale passage. This passage leads into a distinctive use of syncopation in ms. 3 – another Scarlattian characteristic. The repeat of the opening phrase at the lower octave (mm. 5-8) is also typical. In the following phrase, at ms. 9, we encounter athletic hand crossings, the level of difficulty increased by the left hand's bass octaves. In mm. 17-21 we find a harmonic scheme characteristic of Scarlatti.

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<sup>451</sup> Malcolm Boyd points to Paradies and Clementi as the two Italian composers whose music shows the influence of Scarlatti. See Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 213.



Ex. 5.5. Paradies: Sonata No. 10 in D Major – Mvmt. I, mm. 1-22

*Vivace*

6

11

16

20

Here Paradies abruptly changes mode, from the A Major dominant chord in ms. 16 to A Minor in ms. 17. He then launches a descending sequence, each two-measure portion connected by a mode change (mm. 17-21) before he breaks the sequence in ms. 22:

Mm. 17-18

19-20

21-22

A Minor – E Major

E Minor – D Major

D Minor-E Major

Ex. 5.6 shows the end of the sonata’s opening section. Here we find further Scarlattian traits. Mm. 51-53 are characterized by reiterations (octave A’s in the left hand, G-sharp to A in the right hand) that emphasize A Major, the new tonic. The section concludes (mm. 54-57) with a right-hand figuration that features intricate arpeggiations.

Ex. 5.6. Paradies: Sonata No. 10 in D Major – Mvmt. I, mm. 51-56

Besides their popularity and subsequent printings in England, the sonatas of Paradies were renowned throughout Europe. Editions appeared in Paris (by LeClerc and Imbault) and Amsterdam (Roger), and Leopold Mozart advocated their study.<sup>452</sup> In addition to the *sonate*, Fitzwilliam also had copies of Paradies’ two concertos for harpsichord. However, these

<sup>452</sup> Donald C. Sanders, “Sunday Music: The Sonatas of Domenico Paradies,” *The Musical Times* 145, no. 1886 (2004): 68. Writing home to Salzburg in 1774, Leopold gave instructions that “Nannerl should practice the clavier most diligently, especially the sonatas of Paradisi and Bach.” Taken from Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 2nd ed., (New York: Norton, 1985), 251.

concertos are much in the Baroque style and show little of the progressive tendencies encountered in some of the sonatas.

### 5.5 Other Keyboard Music in the Collection

The remaining keyboard works in the collection represent several countries and cover a broad array of styles, giving further evidence of Fitzwilliam's individual taste. Besides Scarlatti, Paradies and Clementi, the collection contains keyboard music by three other Italian composers, as shown in Table C.16. The works by Alberti, Tartini, and Zipoli seem to be a miscellany, published in London between c. 1730 and c. 1770. Included are church-focused works like "vollentarys and fuges" by Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726), arrangements of violin concerti by Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), and the Op. 1 sonatas by Domenico Alberti (c.1710-1740). Fitzwilliam had the first edition of Alberti's sonatas, published by Walsh in London in 1748. They were very popular, with many printed and manuscript copies still extant. Also in the collection is an antiquarian anthology of works by seventeenth-century composers, *XVII Sonates da organo o cimbalò . . .*, published in Amsterdam c. 1705.<sup>453</sup>

Music by German or Austrian composers makes up a very small category within the collection, thus reflecting Fitzwilliam's general disinterest in German styles and genres – a disinterest that was typical for English collectors.<sup>454</sup> Only two composers are present: Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715-1777) and Johann Christoph Kellner (1736-1803), also given in

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<sup>453</sup> The *Sonates* are by *Sig Ziani, Pollaroli, Bassani e altri famose autory*.

<sup>454</sup> There are also very few keyboard works by German composers in Fitzwilliam's manuscripts, where pieces by the Bach family are limited to a number of fugues from J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* and some sonatas by C.P.E. Bach. German and Austrian composers are also lacking in the contemporary collections of Sir Samuel Hellier and the Earl of Exeter. See Ian Ledsham, comp., *A Catalogue of the Shaw-Hellier Collection . . .* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999); and Gerald Gifford, comp., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House, Stamford* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002).

Table C.16. From Kellner are *Six fugues*, acquired in 1774; however, Fitzwilliam's interest in Wagenseil is much more telling.

Fitzwilliam acquired four volumes by Wagenseil that comprise a large portion of the sonatas and concertos for keyboard in the collection. Published in London c. 1760-61, Fitzwilliam bought them all in 1767 – while still very young, but after he began studying with Duphy in Paris, and as of yet owning only one set of French keyboard works (by Dieupart, who had spent so many years in England). Representing Wagenseil are the keyboard part for six concertos, and the first three opera of sonatas – sometimes published as “divertimentos” or “divertissements.”<sup>455</sup>

Some consider Wagenseil to be the true founder of the Viennese Classical School. Considering his degree of influence, it is surprising that Fitzwilliam did not follow up his Wagenseil holdings with keyboard pieces by Mozart or Haydn – especially so when one takes into account their visits to London during Fitzwilliam's lifetime. However, his music collection shows that his interest in Austro-German keyboard music was only fleeting.

Fitzwilliam's collection indicates an unusual preference for French keyboard works that goes far beyond the music of his teacher, Jacques Duphy. Following his years of education at Cambridge, Richard Fitzwilliam spent large amounts of time in Paris – time that included his study with Duphy and undoubtedly nurtured his predilection for French music.<sup>456</sup> Fitzwilliam's first keyboard works by a French-born composer, purchased in 1766, were the suites by Charles (Francois) Dieupart, (c. 1670-c. 1740). Most of his French keyboard acquisitions (shown in

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<sup>455</sup> According to William S. Newman, Wagenseil use the terms *divertimento* and sonata interchangeably, as Haydn would later do in some of his sonatas. Newman, *Sonata in the Classic Era*, 353.

<sup>456</sup> Fitzwilliam first studied with Duphy in 1765. See Rumbold and Fenlon, *Short-Title Catalogue*, xii. Also, see the biography of Fitzwilliam in Chapter 2.

Table C.17) took place in the short timeframe of 1769 to 1772 and included several volumes by Francois Couperin and Rameau, one of his favorite composers.<sup>457</sup> With the exception of Duphy, all of Fitzwilliam's French keyboard acquisitions could be considered antiquarian, the most "ancient" composers being Couperin, Gaspard Le Roux (d.ca. 1707) and Louis Marchand (1669-1732).

### 5.5.1 English Composers and Others Living in England

From within Britain, Fitzwilliam's keyboard music shows a lengthy chronology: from lessons by Henry Purcell and Jeremiah Clarke, to concerti and voluntaries by John Stanley, suites by Handel, and sonatas by John Burton. There are also pieces by a few composers, such as Frederick Nussen, that were more appropriate for the domestic market. Fitzwilliam gathered a few of these works late in his collecting career, around the turn of the nineteenth century. This includes the singular set of pieces by Nussen called *Musica da camera* (discussed below) as well as the two collections for the pianoforte compiled and published by Muzio Clementi, mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Fitzwilliam's collecting of these "English" composers took place primarily in the 1760s and 1770s, when he was in his twenties and thirties. While there are pieces by famous composers such as Purcell and Jeremiah Clarke, Table C.18 shows that there are also works by a number of obscure authors, such as Richard Jones and Philip Hart. Collecting activity in the 1760s began with lessons by Henry Purcell, his brother Daniel (in collaboration with John Eccles), and Jeremiah Clarke. From 1768 are composers both popular and obscure: sets of lessons by William Babell (published c.1718), by the little known Jones and Henry Symonds (published in the

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<sup>457</sup> Besides solo harpsichord music, Fitzwilliam had the original 1741 Paris edition of Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin en concert* as well as the Walsh edition of 1750.

1730s), and two collections by Maurice Greene, who had been a chorister under Clarke.<sup>458</sup>

During the 1770s, Fitzwilliam acquired works by Giuseppe Sammartini, Hart (a contemporary of Clarke) and John Stanley.

As genres, sonatas and concertos for solo keyboard demonstrate Fitzwilliam's youthful enthusiasm for the harpsichord. Table C.19 shows that he purchased all fourteen printed volumes of these genres by the age of thirty (1775). The majority, including the four volumes by Wagenseil, were acquired in the 1760s. After 1775, however, his zest for these types of pieces faded greatly as illustrated by his neglect of works in the mature "classical" style.<sup>459</sup> Composers Fitzwilliam knew personally dominate his sonata acquisitions. These composers include Paradies (discussed above) and J. C. Bach (discussed later in this chapter), as well as Joseph Kelway and his student John Burton (both introduced above in connection with the "Scarlatti Sect").

## 5.6 John Burton

Fitzwilliam's personal relationship with Burton seems to be the best explanation for his purchase of Burton's sonatas, since these pieces are decidedly not Baroque in approach and are best suited to the pianoforte. In fact, the *Ten Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Organ or Piano-forte* (1766-67) by Burton may be the earliest English work to mention its suitability for the piano on its title page.<sup>460</sup> Granted a royal privilege on July 12, 1766 and entered at Stationers' Hall the following December, these sonatas – Burton's Opus 1 – were advertised as published on January

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<sup>458</sup> The lessons by Babell are arrangements of pieces by various composers, including items from Handel's *Rinaldo*.

<sup>459</sup> The imprints shown in Table C.19 represent the majority of Fitzwilliam's holdings in these genres, other than additional Handel works contained in his subscription to the Arnold edition. He was evidently not particularly interested in manuscripts of these genres, and had primarily only scattered individual movements.

<sup>460</sup> Newman, *Sonata in the Classic Era*, 701.

8, 1767. Printings “for the author” took place in Paris as well as in London. Several movements, such as those later known as “Courtship” and “The Chace,” were very popular and were republished many times. *Galant* in character, the sonatas have abundant markings indicating *forte*, *piano*, *crescendo* and the like. Also included in the imprint are handwritten ornament signs and fingerings that may be in Burton’s own hand.<sup>461</sup>

Burney colored the reception of Burton as a composer, writing that Burton “was an enthusiast in his art: but having in his youth exercised his hand more than his head, he was not a deep or correct contrapuntist. He had, however, in his pieces and manner of playing them a style of his own.”<sup>462</sup> William S. Newman writes that the sonatas’ “musical interest lies in [their] strong dance and folk elements.”<sup>463</sup> Most of the sonatas are in three movements, and all the tempi range between moderate and fast. Phrasing units are regular, and Burton makes use of spirited rhythms and native components like the Scotch snap.<sup>464</sup>

### 5.6.1 Burton’s Sonata in D – Op. 1, No. 1

In three movements (*Allegro*, *Allegro Andante*, and *Presto*), the Op. 1, No. 1 sonata serves as an enticing introduction to Burton’s compositions. The opening *Allegro* movement in 6/8 meter became known as “The Chace,” and was one of his most popular pieces. As that appellation infers, its primary thematic material features hunting motifs of thirds and sixths, embellished with dotted rhythms including “Scotch snaps” (Ex. 5.7).

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<sup>461</sup> It is Nicholas Temperley’s view that these markings are in Burton’s hand. See his critical notes to “Samuel Wesley and Contemporaries, published from 1766 to 1830,” in *Works for Pianoforte Solo by Late Georgian Composers*, vol. 7, ed. Nicholas Temperley (New York: Garland, 1985), xxi.

<sup>462</sup> Burney, *General History*, ii: 1018.

<sup>463</sup> Newman, *Sonata in the Classic Era*, 701.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*

Ex. 5.7. Burton: Op. 1, No. 1 – Mvmt. I, mm. 1-4



The movement has rondo-like tendencies due to the recurrence of portions of the opening “hunt” statement. In three sections (*A – B – C*), the first section (*A*) begins *a – b – a'*, each portion being eight measures long (8 + 8 + 8).<sup>465</sup> All in D Major, the *A* section then closes with new material and a petite reprise of *a* (8 + 4). The regularity of these phrase lengths is consistent throughout the sonata, and contributes to its “classical” character.

The *B* section starts in B minor and presents stark contrasts of texture and dynamics (Ex. 5.8). At first, heavy chords alternate with graceful, lilting material.

Ex. 5.8. Burton: Op. 1, No. 1 – Mvmt. I, mm. 37-40



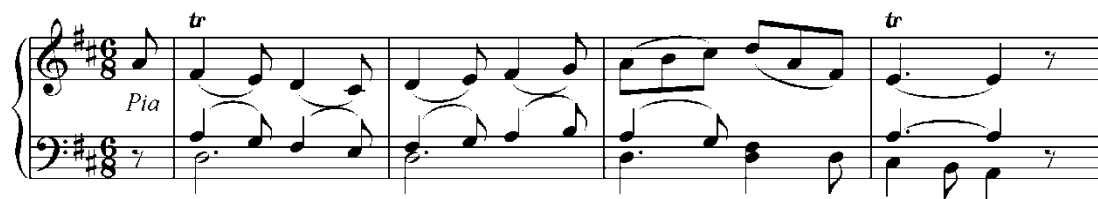
<sup>465</sup> In this analysis, numbers in parentheses indicate groups of bars; i.e., (8) indicates an eight-measure grouping.



Burton then expands on this lilting material for twelve measures by decorating its melody, thickening the texture, and building toward a dramatic return to D Major via eight bars of pedal point on the dominant. The section closes with another petite reprise of the opening section's *a*.

The third and final section (C), all in D Major, opens in pastoral fashion over a tonic drone bass, shown in Ex. 5.9. As the section proceeds, hunt thirds and sixths return, plus two reminiscences from the *B* section, the latter now a more extensive and full-blown treatment over the dominant pedal point. The movement closes with a return of the opening's *a*, extended and expanded for a rousing conclusion.

Ex. 5.9. Burton: Op. 1, No. 1 – Mvmt. I, mm. 61-64



The second movement, *Allegro Andante* (Alla breve in G Major), is a calm, tuneful respite from the drama and energy of the first movement. The movement's four sections are generally parallel periods. Most phrases are very regular in length and alternate between *forte* and *piano* indications. Ex. 5.10 shows the opening phrase, with its dynamic contrasts.

The finale, *Presto*, is a rondo that returns us to 6/8 and D Major. In place of the "hunt" idiom, it opens with a galloping, chordal right hand over left hand octaves. Its opening progression (shown in Ex. 5.11 is unusual (I – V – IV/IV – IV), using the IV/IV (at ms. 3) in a very distinctive fashion. The galloping *A* section alternates with two more

Ex. 5.10. Burton: Op. 1, No. 1 – Mvmt. II, mm. 1-4



Ex. 5.11. Burton: Op. 1, No. 1 – Mvmt. III, mm. 1-8



extensive *B* sections (in D minor and F Major) that feature a clear, singing right hand melody over a continual, frenetic arpeggiation of rapidly shifting chords.

The sonatas and concertos for solo keyboard acquired by Fitzwilliam evince two developments in his collecting habits: 1) his youthful engagement with these genres, and 2) his lack of interest in them after the age of thirty. His acquisition of music by John Burton can be explained by their personal relationship and Burton's connection with the "Scarlatti Sect." Burton and his compositions deserve to be reconsidered, especially since the reception of this musician was negatively prejudiced by the opinion of Charles Burney. Since Burton's sonatas are classical in style and better suited to the pianoforte than to the harpsichord, their acquisition

also supports the idea that Fitzwilliam may have been fleetingly interested in the pianoforte and its repertoire.

## 5.7 Significant *Émigré* Composers

The works of significant *émigré* composers who resided in Britain have an important place within Fitzwilliam's collection. Their keyboard works vary widely, from suites rooted in the French tradition to sonatas in the classical style. In addition to the previously discussed Paradies, three further *émigrés* deserve specific mention: Handel, Johann Christian Bach, and Frederick Nussen.

### 5.7.1 George Frideric Handel

Considering the veneration given to George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) following his death, it is no surprise that this composer's works loom large within the Fitzwilliam Collection. Within the printed keyboard works, the *Premier livre* of Handel's *Suites de pieces pour le clavecin*, in an edition published c. 1740 by Boivin in Paris, holds a place of honor as the Viscount's first printed volume of keyboard music – as well as being only his third acquisition of any kind. Purchased in 1764 (before he turned twenty years of age), Fitzwilliam evidently cherished these suites for he purchased two additional imprints: one published “for the Author” (c. 1725-27) and the Walsh edition from the 1730s. Bound with the Walsh edition, and purchased the same year (1767), is a significant addendum: manuscript copies of the two suites composed in 1739 for Princess Louisa: HWV 447 (D minor) and HWV 452 (G minor).<sup>466</sup> One might

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<sup>466</sup> Princess Louisa was a sister of George III.

construe that, by obtaining these two particular suites in manuscript at such a young age – and by binding them in this way – they enjoyed a favored status within Fitzwilliam’s early collection.

Nestled among these suite purchases is another early purchase of Handel: his *Six concertos for the harpsichord or organ*, Op. 4, acquired in 1768. There are three further sets of Handel for keyboard, all arrangements from other genres and purchased much later, between 1799 and 1801. (All of these keyboard works appear in Table C.20.) Included are adaptations of choruses from oratorios, overtures from operas and oratorios, and “overtures” from the Chandos anthems. Handel’s opera and oratorio overtures were extremely popular as orchestral repertoire, during his lifetime and for decades afterward. The market for keyboard arrangements of these pieces, appropriate for domestic use, was in place by the 1720s and they remained popular into the nineteenth century.<sup>467</sup>

### 5.7.2 Johann Christian Bach

After spending a number of years in Italy, Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) went to London in 1762 to compose operas for the King’s Theatre. His first opera there (*Orione*) was produced in 1763, and later that year he was appointed music master to Queen Charlotte.<sup>468</sup> Bach’s duties for the royal household included teaching music to the Queen and her children, directing her band, and accompanying the King’s flute playing.<sup>469</sup> The following year he and his friend Carl Friedrich Abel began their influential concert series, which continued until 1782.

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<sup>467</sup> Terence Best, “Handel’s Overtures for Keyboard,” *The Musical Times* 126, no. 1704 (1985): 88.

<sup>468</sup> Stephen Roe, “Bach, Johann Christian,” in *GMO* (accessed 4 March 2011).

<sup>469</sup> Bach’s first set of keyboard concertos, Op. 1 (1763), were dedicated to the Queen.

Fitzwilliam received his copy of Bach's *Six sonatas for the piano forte or harpsichord* . . . . *Opera 5* "from the author" in 1768 – the year Bach is credited with the first public solo piano performance. Two of the sonatas in the set (nos. 5 and 6) have fingerings written in Fitzwilliam's hand. The majority of these are in No. 5, indicating Fitzwilliam's familiarity and, possibly, his preference for it over the other sonatas in the set. Only this one and No. 2 are in three movements, and have a fast-slow-fast tempo arrangement. The other sonatas are in two movements that include "minuetto," a "French overture," and a theme and variations. During the middle of the eighteenth century, many pieces termed "sonata" had only one or two movements. The defining factor was at least one of the movements being in binary form, marked by repeat signs.<sup>470</sup>

Burney emphasized the importance of Bach's role in establishing the piano in Britain: "After the arrival of John Chr. Bach in this country, and the establishment of his concert[s] . . . all the harpsichord makers tried their mechanical powers at piano-fortes."<sup>471</sup> While there is no evidence to prove that Fitzwilliam played – or owned – a pianoforte, the fact that he wrote fingerings in two of the Op. 5 sonatas proves that he did play these pieces.

Works by three of the *émigré* composers in Fitzwilliam's collection, Handel, Paradies, and J. C. Bach, were very popular. In the case of Bach and Paradies, we also know that Fitzwilliam enjoyed playing their sonatas. His purchase of music by Frederick Nussen, however, presents a very different situation, since these are keyboard pieces geared toward the domestic market, by an unfamiliar *émigré* composer.

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<sup>470</sup> Daniel E. Freeman, "Johann Christian Bach and the Early Classical Italian Masters," in Marshall, *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*, 231.

<sup>471</sup> Charles Burney, "Harpsichord," in *The New Cyclopaedia, or, Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, ed. Abraham Rees (London, 1819). Quoted by Stephen Roe in *the Keyboard Music of J.C. Bach: Source Problems and Stylistic Development in the Solo and Ensemble Works*. Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities, ed. John Caldwell (New York: Garland Publishing 1989), 201.

## 5.8 Frederick Nussen and his *Musica da Camera*

We know precious little about Frederick Nussen, who died in 1779.<sup>472</sup> A German *émigré* who was one of the king's musicians, he became a naturalized British subject in 1755.<sup>473</sup> Available data shows that he composed three sets of pieces: "solos" for violin with continuo (Op. 1), sonatas for string trio (Op. 2), and the *Musica da camera* (Op. 3) – a set of harpsichord pieces composed c. 1762 "for the practice and amusement of the R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. The Lady Frances Greville." Since Lady Frances was the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, perhaps Fitzwilliam knew her socially and eventually purchased these pieces because of that connection.<sup>474</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that Fitzwilliam was aware of Nussen as one of the king's musicians, although what instrument(s) Nussen played is yet to be determined.

*Musica da camera* is a curious set of twelve pieces that Nussen described on the title page as "some old tunes new sett, and some new ones."<sup>475</sup> The dominant format is theme and variations. Sometimes the theme is an original minuet or "gavotta"; more often, it is a folksong from the British Isles, such as "All in the Downs" or "The Highland Laddy." Nussen also makes use of "What shall I do to show how much I love her," a tune from Purcell's semi-opera, *The*

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<sup>472</sup> A gravestone for Nussen in Fulham, part of greater London, refers to him as "Frederick Nussen, Esq. one of his Majesty's musicians." "'Fulham,' the Environs of London: volume 2: County of Middlesex (1795)," *British History Online*, [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk) (accessed 22 March 2011).

<sup>473</sup> "Naturalization of Frederick Nussen," *Acts of the Parliaments of Great Britain, 1755 (28 Geo. 2) c.40P*, [www.Legislation.gov.uk](http://www.Legislation.gov.uk) (accessed 22 March 2011).

<sup>474</sup> From the title page, "Printed for the Author" and published by Walsh. In the obituary to her husband, Sir Henry Harpur, she is called "the most amiable Lady Frances Greville [1744-1825], daughter to the late, and sister to the present, Earl of Warwick." *Gentleman's Magazine*, 59, no. 1 (January 1789): 178.

<sup>475</sup> From the title page of Frederick Nussen, *Musica da camera*, Opera 3da (London: Printed for the Author, c.1762).

*Prophetess*. The variations are skillful and demonstrate a grounded knowledge of formal technique.

While the intention of this sort of collection, with its settings of dances and folksongs, would be to appeal to a broad public, the pieces are by no means facile and require a somewhat advanced keyboard facility. Several of the movements contain passages of fantasia-like ornamentation. Nussen takes the idea of fantasy the farthest in the last number, a *Capriccio* in B-flat. One of the longer pieces in the set, its first half (mm. 1-91) presents a caprice of short sections that vary widely in tempo and character. The harmony can also be adventurous, as seen in the shift into E-flat Minor at ms. 6 of the introductory statement (Ex. 5.12). Dramatic tension results from *Majestuoso* [*sic*] declamatory passages being followed by contrasting material. This contrasting material ranges from an *ad libitum* *Adagio* to the lyrical *Amoroso* shown in Ex. 5.13.

Ex. 5.12. Nussen: *Musica da Camera*, “Capriccio,” mm. 1-12

The musical score for Ex. 5.12 is presented in two systems. The first system, measures 1-6, is marked *Largo* and features a key signature change to E-flat minor at measure 6. The second system, measures 7-12, includes markings for *Pia* and *For*. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major.

Ex. 5.13. Nussen: *Musica da Camera*, “Capriccio,” mm. 32-40

32 *Majestuoso et Forte*

36 *Amoroso Piano*

The first half of the piece concludes with a vigorous *Allegro* (mm. 72-90) in B-flat Major that culminates in an *Adagio* cadence (Ex. 5.14). The harmonic stability of this *Allegro* and the strength of the *Adagio* cadence on the dominant (F Major) at ms. 91 prepares the listener for the *Aria* and variations that follow.



Ex. 5.14. Nussen: *Musica da Camera*, “Capriccio,” mm. 72-91

72

*Allegro*

76

80

*tr*

84

88

*tr*

*Adagio*

*Volta L'aria*

While the many short, contrasting sections found in the first half of the piece confirm the title “Capriccio,” Nussen returns to variation technique for the remainder of the piece (mm. 92-171). Here he uses an “Aria” of his own composition that is very regular in structure, its sixteen bars consisting of four, four-measure phrases (a – a’ – b – a’). Ex. 5.15 shows the first phrase of

the *Aria*, which presents an arching, ornamented right-hand melody over steady, well-directed quarter notes in the left hand.

Ex. 5.15. Nussen: *Musica da Camera*, “Capriccio,” mm. 92-95

The musical score for Ex. 5.15 consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef, marked 'Aria' and 'pia'. It contains a melodic line with several trills (tr) and slurs. The lower staff is in bass clef, marked 'Andante', and contains a steady accompaniment of quarter notes. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is 3/4. The piece ends with a fortissimo (ff) dynamic marking.

Nussen maintains musical interest in a number of ways. Dynamically, each statement of the theme or variations follows a rigid but effective scheme that increases the frequency of dynamic contrast as the statement progresses. The dynamic markings for the aria and each variation specifically alternate *piano* and *forte*, first with four bars of each dynamic (eight bars total), then shifting at two-bar intervals (eight bars total). Nussen only modifies this scheme to increase the final *forte* to *fortissimo*. Besides a variety of melodic decorations, rhythmic complexity also plays an important role in the variations. In order to demonstrate this rhythmic diversity, Ex. 5.16 presents the same two-measure portion of “*b*” from the *Aria* and its variations. Rhythmically, the left-hand part is especially inventive, but shifts in texture also contribute strongly to the overall success of the variations.

Ex. 5.16. Nussen: *Musica da Camera*, “Capriccio,” mm. 102-103, 118-119, 133-134, 150-151, and 166-167

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Capriccio" by Nussen, consisting of four variations. The score is written for piano and is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major). The first variation, labeled "Aria", begins with a treble clef and a trill ornament. The second variation, "Var. 1", features a more active bass line. The third variation, "Var. 2", is characterized by a dense, rhythmic texture in the bass. The fourth variation, "Var. 3", shows a return to a more melodic style. The score concludes with "Var. 4", which has a driving bass line. The piece is marked with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat.

Fitzwilliam acquired the *Musica da camera* pieces in 1799, very late within his overall keyboard acquisitions. They are an unusual choice. As described throughout this chapter, his keyboard music more typically consists of suites or sonatas that substantiate an elevated taste; he generally excluded pieces with popular-style titles or that use fashionable tunes or folksongs that would have direct appeal in the broader publishing market.<sup>476</sup> It is possible that Fitzwilliam found the pieces by Nussen attractive because they include settings of Scottish folksongs like *The Highland Laddy*, spurred by the vogue for all things Scottish that developed earlier in the century. During the 1760s, several publications by the Scottish poet James Macpherson (1736-96) fueled this craze, such as his purported translation (under the pseudonym of Ossian) of the

<sup>476</sup> A similar discernment is also true of his vocal music, where songs linked to their performance at pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall - useful advertisements for the publishers - are conspicuously absent.

ancient epic story of Fingal. Fitzwilliam purchased the second edition (1762) of *Fingal* – in actuality written by Macpherson himself – in 1763, but besides this youthful purchase, the collection shows little other evidence of his having a personal liking for Scottish materials. Instead, unless Fitzwilliam was actually acquainted with Nussen (or the dedicatee, Lady Frances Greville), his reason for purchasing this type of publication – over thirty-five years old, by a little-known composer, and with mass-market appeal – remains a mystery.

### 5.9 Sonatas and “Solos” for Multiple Instruments

This chapter would not be complete without discussing Fitzwilliam’s chamber music. While there are only a few volumes in the collection, their variety points to the idiosyncrasy of his collecting habits. The chamber works fall into three categories, as shown in Table C.21. Sonatas for violin make up the lion’s share; the remainder are Corelli’s trio sonatas and works for violoncello (or, as with the Galliard sonatas, bassoon). Unlike some of his contemporaries, such as the Earl of Exeter, we have no record of Fitzwilliam participating in (or hosting) informal chamber music performances.<sup>477</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to explain some of his acquisitions in this category. The works by Geminiani, Corelli and Handel are understandable, given the continuing popularity of those composers. As we shall see, a personal connection explains the presence of cello sonatas by Jean Pierre Duport. However, the inclusion of particular pieces by Galliard, Veracini and Tartini can only be put down to Fitzwilliam’s antiquarian taste.

Fitzwilliam’s sonatas and solos for violin date from three different decades. Purchased in the 1760s, they were mainstays of the Italian style: Geminiani’s Opus 1 and Corelli’s Opus 5. In the 1770s came the *Sonate accademiche* of Francesco Veracini (published in 1744) and two

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<sup>477</sup> For Exeter’s household, see Gifford, *Burghley House*, 8-29.

volumes of *Solos* by Pepusch (in a Walsh edition from 1707-08).<sup>478</sup> Fitzwilliam purchased the last of his violin sonatas much later, in 1799: *XII Solos* by Giuseppe Tartini, and Handel's Opus 2 for two instruments (violins, oboes or traverse flutes). Fitzwilliam's four sets of trio sonatas by Corelli are in the revision by Pepusch, published in 1735. These volumes, acquired when he was twenty years old, are his only imprints of this genre.

The sonatas for cello in Fitzwilliam's collection consist of two printed sets: the set by Jean Pierre Duport and the *Six Sonatas for the bassoon or violoncello* by Johann Ernst Galliard, which are still a mainstay of the bassoon repertoire.<sup>479</sup> In actuality, Fitzwilliam had two versions of Galliard's sonatas: an imprint by Walsh purchased in 1767, and a manuscript acquired two years earlier. One can only speculate as to why having these sonatas – and in both manuscript and print – was important to him. One possible explanation is that he played continuo for his cousins, the current and future Earls of Pembroke, who were both cellists.<sup>480</sup> Each of them studied with Gaetano Chiabrano (1725-c.1800) while in Italy on their youthful Grand Tour.<sup>481</sup> Another possibility is Fitzwilliam's longstanding friendship with the English cellist John Crossdill (1751?-1825).

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<sup>478</sup> The Veracini edition was published *A Londra, e a Firenze per l'Autore*.

<sup>479</sup> A composer and oboist, Galliard immigrated to London in 1706 to become a court musician to Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne. He was a co-founder of the Academy of vocal Music and the Royal Society of Musicians, and was famous for his translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's treatise on singing, *Observations on the Florid Song or, Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers* (London: Printed for J. Wilcox, 1742). See Roger Fiske and Richard G. King, "Galliard, Johann Ernest," in *GMO* (accessed 4 March 2011). Fitzwilliam also owned a famous cantata by Galliard, *The Hymn of Adam and Eve*.

<sup>480</sup> These are Henry Herbert, the tenth Earl of Pembroke and his son George Augustus, the eleventh Earl. Fitzwilliam was very close to the latter. A portrait of these two, with their friend Edward Onslow, is at Clandon Park in Surrey (Onslow's family home). Fitzwilliam also made his cousin George Augustus his heir; while the viscountcy dissolved after the deaths of his younger brothers (neither of whom married), all of the property not designated for establishing the museum at Cambridge University went to this cousin – including the Irish estate of Merrion at Dublin.

<sup>481</sup> Henry Herbert, Tenth Earl of Pembroke, *The Pembroke Papers (1734-1780): Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle*, ed. Sidney Charles Herbert, Baron Herbert (London: Jonathan Cape, 1942), 157n.

One of the outstanding cellists in Britain, Crosdill and Fitzwilliam travelled together in Italy in 1778.<sup>482</sup> Crosdill studied with Jean Pierre Duport, played viol at the Chapel Royal, was chamber musician to Queen Charlotte, and taught cello to the Prince of Wales (later George IV).<sup>483</sup> Additionally, he was principal cellist at the Three Choirs Festival, the Professional Concert, the Handel Commemoration, and the Concert of Antient Music. Crosdill was highly esteemed, and often compared with his teacher, Duport. In a February 1780 letter to his son, George Augustus – then in Turin – the elder Pembroke (Henry Herbert, the tenth Earl) confirms this view:

I am glad you like Ciabrano. So many people are out of the Kingdom, that neither Abel, Bach, or Giardini, etc, can get a note of musick printed . . . . If the eldest Du Port<sup>484</sup> is not in Paris, when you get there, pray take lessons of the younger brother, who is there, & who, if fame says true, è pîù bravo del' fratello. Upon the whole, I am apt to think Crosdill the best of all.<sup>485</sup>

### 5.9.1 Duport (1741-1818)

One of the most famous cellists of the later eighteenth century was Jean Pierre Duport. Born in Paris in 1741, he was a close contemporary of Fitzwilliam, to whom he dedicated his Opus 2 cello sonatas. Duport studied with the famous teacher Martin Berteau and garnered fame at an early age, appearing at the Concert Spirituel when only twenty years old. In 1769, he

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<sup>482</sup> See John Ingamells, compiler, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 360.

<sup>483</sup> Graham Sadler and Marija Đurić Speare, "Crosdill, John," in *GMO* (accessed 4 March 2011). While Crosdill studied with Duport, it is uncertain whether these lessons took place in London or Paris.

<sup>484</sup> Jean Pierre Duport.

<sup>485</sup> Herbert, *Pembroke Papers*, 402. In the next paragraph of the letter, Pembroke asks his son to purchase bassoon music – so well suited to the 'cello – while in Turin: "Pray bring me all the good solos, & duos you can get at Turin pèl fagotti, ò per due fagotti, commonly called Bassoons."

travelled to Spain and England, where he performed at the Professional Concerts.<sup>486</sup> By 1773 Duport was in Berlin, employed by Frederick the Great as a chamber musician and playing cello for the Royal Opera. His playing was still at a high standard in 1796, for Duport evidently performed Beethoven's Opus 5 cello sonatas with the composer when Beethoven visited Berlin that year.<sup>487</sup>

During the second half of the eighteenth century, numerous composers (such as Duport's teacher, Berteau) continued to write continuo sonatas, although the bass part was becoming equal in stature to the "solo" part. Duport himself composed twenty-four cello sonatas, expanding the instrument's technical virtuosity and expressive capabilities.<sup>488</sup> His Op. 2 set of six sonatas, composed in 1772 while he was still working for the Prince de Conti, are dedicated to "Messire Fitzwilliam," since they predate the death of Fitzwilliam's father and inheritance of the viscountcy.

It is not clear whether Fitzwilliam met Duport in France or in England. Given the timeframe, either is possible, and their connection through John Crossdill may have played a role. Duport was definitely in London in 1770-71, for he took part in two programs directed by Johann Christian Bach: in March 1770 he played in a performance of Jommelli's *La Passione*, and in January 1771 he played an interlude between acts of another concert.<sup>489</sup> On the other

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<sup>486</sup>For more on the Professional Concerts see Chapter 3, note 229.

<sup>487</sup> Elizabeth Cowling, *The Cello* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1983): 71-72. There is some debate as to which Duport brother performed with Beethoven, since by that time Jean Louis was also at the Prussian court. See Sallie Ann Biggar, *The Duport Brothers: Their Contributions to the Art of Violoncello Performance* (master's thesis, American University, 1973), 13.

<sup>488</sup> Robin Stowell, "The Sonata," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello*, ed. Robin Stowell. Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 120.

<sup>489</sup> Biggar, *The Duport Brothers*, 6. According to Van der Straeten, Duport also went to England in 1758. See Edmund S. J. Van der Straeten, *The History of the Violoncello, the Viol da Gamba, Their Precursors and Collateral Instruments* (London: W. Reeves, 1971), 274.

hand, Fitzwilliam was definitely in Paris in 1769, 1771 and 1772, studying harpsichord with Duphy and enjoying the many musical activities available in the French capital.

Although small in number, the chamber works collected by Fitzwilliam illustrate several different influences on his taste and collecting habits. Music by Corelli, Handel and Geminiani indicates Fitzwilliam's awareness of concurrent taste in music and supports the position of these composers in the developing English canon. Other than antiquarianism, no particular reason explains the presence of some composers (such as Galliard). However, due to their dedication to "Messire Fitzwilliam," the violoncello sonatas by Jean Pierre Duport occupy a special position within the entire collection.

#### 5.10 Conclusion

The instrumental music in Fitzwilliam's collection demonstrates his devotion to keyboard music. While this affinity is understandable, given his preference for the harpsichord, it was unusual for an eighteenth-century connoisseur to collect such a large amount of keyboard music. However, solo keyboard music – such as that in the eponymous Fitzwilliam Virginal book – is not the full measure of Fitzwilliam's instrumental holdings, for he also acquired chamber music as well as canonical works central to the programs presented by the Concert of Antient Music.

As we have seen, the music for solo keyboard includes English composers of varying degrees of fame, from the obscure to Handel to Fitzwilliam's contemporaries. A number of pieces are by composers Fitzwilliam knew personally, such as Burton, Paradies, and J. C. Bach. As in the vocal music, many acquisitions give proof of Fitzwilliam's antiquarian habits. The collection also includes a significant number of French works by such composers as Couperin and Rameau. In particular, the four books of *Pièces de clavecin* by his teacher, Jacques Duphy,



along with the other instructional materials that Duphy supplied, prove Fitzwilliam's commitment to the study of French keyboard music and its appropriate performance.

Even so, it is music by Domenico Scarlatti and his advocates in Britain that dominates Fitzwilliam's keyboard holdings. Scarlatti's music was extremely popular in eighteenth-century England, vigorously supported by musicians and aficionados like Viscount Fitzwilliam. However, Fitzwilliam's taste as a harpsichordist and activities as a collector of keyboard music went beyond his own taste for Scarlatti, making him part of the "Scarlatti Sect." The construction of its heritage shows that the "Scarlatti Sect" was much more extensive – and interrelated – than previously thought and played a major role in Fitzwilliam's keyboard acquisitions. Furthermore, Fitzwilliam's passion for Scarlatti places him in the ongoing musicological debate between the merits of ancient and modern music.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Viscount Fitzwilliam's continuing reputation rests on his legacy as a benefactor and musical antiquary, displayed through the generous bequest that established the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University. Since it was common for wealthy eighteenth-century aristocrats to sponsor musical activities and to develop impressive collections of various objects, such as art, books, and music, Fitzwilliam came by his habits very naturally. In his case, his inheritance of the vast fortune amassed by his grandfather, Sir Matthew Decker, enabled him to follow his passions on a grand scale and create one of the premiere collections of music of his – or any – time.

The Fitzwilliam Collection reflects the collector's activities, taste and connoisseurship and serves as proof of his intellectual interests. By examining this collection, this study has confirmed Fitzwilliam's advocacy for ancient music, his agreement with the views of historian and critic Charles Avison, his support for the music of Domenico Scarlatti, and his own membership in the English "Scarlatti Sect." Throughout this dissertation, this collection of music has provided material evidence of Fitzwilliam's participation in the contemporary musicological debate over the merits of ancient and modern music. Indeed, the collection itself serves as Fitzwilliam's contribution to that debate and shows his determination to form a collection of historical value. Furthermore, by bequeathing his collection to a university, Fitzwilliam placed it in the academic realm and made it intrinsic to that environment in perpetuity.

Other collectors and patrons undoubtedly influenced Fitzwilliam. However, he shaped his pursuits according to his specialized interests and it is through these pursuits – as an amateur, patron, and collector – that we are able to take his full measure. While Fitzwilliam's participation

in the Catch Club is notable, it is overshadowed by his exemplary patronage. Fitzwilliam's instigation of the first Handel Commemoration Festival and his lengthy tenure as a Director of the Concert of Antient Music, the most influential concert series in Georgian Britain, show that he operated at the highest level of prestige. His patronage also displays an avid support of ancient music that is confirmed by his music collection.

This study has presented a unique discussion of the Fitzwilliam Collection, evaluating it as proof of the collector's taste, patronage, and involvement with the developing English canon of concert music – a canon that was based on the aesthetic concept of ancient music and its advancement as a guide for public values. While Fitzwilliam largely shaped his collection according to his antiquarian sensibilities, he sometimes varied from this course to include music in a more modern style by composers he knew personally. However, while Fitzwilliam's collecting and connoisseurship occasionally supported some current trends, his overriding concerns were the perpetuation of ancient music and the enjoyment of music that satisfied his own personal preferences.

A number of specific elements make this dissertation distinctive. First is its focus on Fitzwilliam's collecting within the scope of eighteenth-century connoisseurship and aesthetics. Second is the depth of its examination of Fitzwilliam's influence as a participant and patron. There was no previous discussion of his membership in the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, and any mention of his programming selections for the Concert of Antient of Music had been cursory, at best. The examination of a specific music collection, or its collector, is rarely undertaken. Most existing studies consist primarily of lists of imprints or manuscripts, with minimal description and no interpretation or contextualization. This dissertation has delved deeply into the contents of an illustrious collection and the circumstances of its accumulation. At

the same time, this project took a novel approach toward a specific collector, examining both his activities and the development of his taste, and showing how the collection reflects his attitudes and participation in topical issues. Taken altogether, these factors make this study an exceptional contribution to the fields of musicology and eighteenth-century studies.

Within this dissertation, the chapters on vocal and instrumental music in the Fitzwilliam Collection also presented novel approaches. The comparison of Fitzwilliam's vocal music with the composers espoused by Charles Avison is truly unique. No other study has explored this sort of correlation or the possible influence of Avison's attitudes on a collector or collection. The investigation of the English "Scarlatti Sect" is also distinctive. Being more comprehensive than previous studies of this issue, it shows a larger number of advocates, their interrelationships, and their connections to Fitzwilliam or his collection.

The examination of Fitzwilliam's music points to a number of areas worthy of future research that were beyond the scope of this dissertation. Regarding vocal music, chamber music with continuo accompaniment provides many opportunities for study. Relevant composers of this genre include Porpora, Bononcini, Stradella, and Steffani, along with Marcello and Clari. Few modern editions exist for individual pieces from Marcello's *Estro Poetico-Armonico* or Lalande's *grands motets*. These editions would encourage performances of these works. Clari's music, especially the *Madrigali*, also deserve publication so that this important composer receives the renewed attention he merits.

Fitzwilliam's keyboard music also presents many possibilities for further research. Two of these topics relate to Fitzwilliam's teacher in France, Jacques Duphly. First is a modern edition (with commentary) of the continuo treatise that Duphly dictated to Fitzwilliam. Second is an extensive analysis of Duphly's music in order to identify specific influences of Domenico

Scarlatti's compositional style. The thorough examination of music composed by Scarlatti's advocates in England, for the transfer of his stylistic characteristics, is also possible, such as in the lessons and sonatas of John Christopher Smith, Jr.

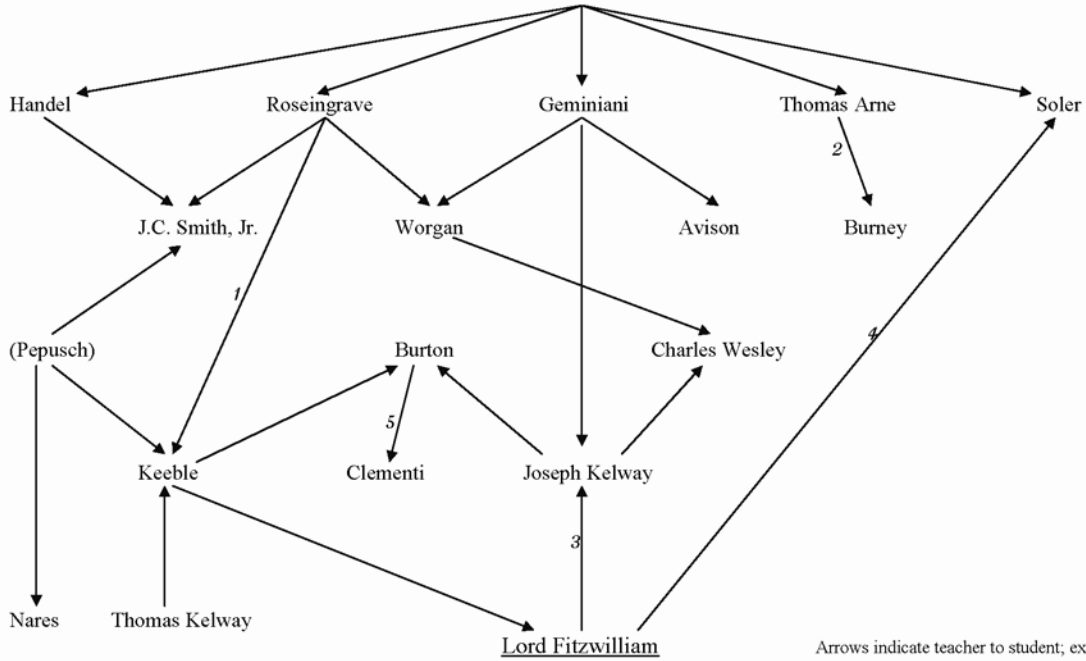
The sonatas of Joseph Kelway and John Burton deserve further attention. In both cases, it would be valuable to compare a modern analysis of these works with the denigrating comments made by Burney in his *General History*. Additionally, Burton's Op. 2 merits deeper examination because it is for "accompanied keyboard." Previous research into this genre is limited, and future investigation should include by contemporary composers including Charles Avison.

The music of Frederick Nussen is generally unknown, like its composer. The pieces in his *Musica da Camera* show compositional skill and should be investigated more comprehensively as early examples of music aimed at the domestic market. The music of Domenico Paradies is also little known today, aside from his harpsichord sonatas. There are no existing studies of his cantatas or "symphonies"; these studies would be welcome additions to modern scholarship. Additionally, the *Solfeggi* by Paradies should be examined and may merit a modern edition.

Lastly, there are a number of works in keyboard arrangements in the collection that should be explored more thoroughly. First are the published arrangements of overtures from Handel's operas and overtures. Second are reductions of instrumental pieces by Avison, Bononcini, and others. Most important for the study of Fitzwilliam, however, are his own keyboard arrangements of such pieces as the overture to Rameau's *Dardanus* and Handel's overture to *Samson*, which would give us evidence of Fitzwilliam's own musicianship.

APPENDIX A  
SCARLATTI PROPONENTS IN ENGLAND

Scarlatti Proponents in England



Arrows indicate teacher to student; exceptions:  
 1—Assistant at St. George's, Hanover Square  
 2—Burney was apprenticed to Arne  
 3—Fitzwilliam was Kelway's patron  
 4—Fitzwilliam visited Soler in Spain  
 5—Connected via the Beckford family

APPENDIX B

DUPHLY: *DU DOIGTER*



## *Du Doigter*

La Perfection du Doigter consiste en général dans un mouvement doux, léger et régulier.

Le mouvement des doigts se pend à leur racine: c'est à dire à la jointure qui les attache à la main.

Il faut que les doigts soient courbés naturellement, et que chaque doigt ait un mouvement propre et indépendant des autres doigts. Il faut que les doigts tombent sur les touches et non qu'ils les frappent: et de plus qu'ils coulent de l'une à l'autre en se succédant: c'est à dire, qu'il ne faut quitter une touche qu'après en avoir pris une autre. Ceci regarde particulièrement le jeu françois.

Pour continuer un roulement, il faut s'accoutumer à passer le pouce pardessous tel doigt que ce soit, et à passer tel autre doigt par-dessus le pouce. Cette manière est excellente surtout quand il se rencontre des dièses et des bémols: alors faites en sorte que le pouce se trouve sur la touche qui précède le dièse ou le bémol, ou placez-le immédiatement après. Par ce moyen vous vous procurerez autant de doigt de suite que vous aurez de notes à faire.

Eviter, autant qu'il se pourra, de toucher du pouce ou du cinquième doigt une touche blanche, surtout dans les roulements de vitesse.

Souvent on exécute un même roulement avec les deux mains dont les doigts se succèdent consécutivement. Dans ces roulemens les mains passent l'une sur l'autre. Mais il faut observer que le son de la première touche sur laquelle passe une des mains soit aussi lié au son précédent que s'ils étaient touchés de la même main.

Dans le genre de musique harmonieux et lié, il est bon de s'accoutumer à substituer un doigt à la place d'un autre sans relever la touche. Cette manière donne des facilités pour l'exécution et prolonge la durée des sons.

APPENDIX C

TABLES

Genre	MU.MS. Number	Title	Year Acquired
Opera	73	Agrippina	1767
	75	Amadigi	1767
	89	Ariodante	1767
	77	Il pastor fido	1767
	72	Radamisto	1767
	74	Theseus	1767
	76	Muzio Scevola, Act 3	1768
Masque	121	Parnasso in Festa (choruses)	1768
Ode	69	Ode on Queen Anne's Birthday	1768
Oratorio	92	Deborah	1768
Choral	71	Chandos Te Deum	1769
Cantata	162D	La Lucretia	1765
Vocal (mixed genres & composers)	21, 22		1793, 1775
	50, 51		1767, 1768
	54, 56		1768, 1793
	251, 252		1799, (?)
Chamber Music	70	Trio Sonatas, Op. 2	1764
Keyboard Music	79	Suites in D minor (HWV 447) & G minor (HWV 452)	1767
	208/488	Suites, arr. by William Babell	1768
	161E	Concerto grosso in C Major, HWV 318, arr. for harpsichord	1767

Composer	Work		Number of Performances*	
			1780s	1790s
Handel	<i>Esther</i> **	Overture	4	7
		Other excerpts	10	13
		Entire work	2	0
	<i>Dettingen Te Deum</i>	Entire work	1	0
		Excerpts	0	10
	<i>Hallelujah Chorus</i>		4	6
<i>Zadok the Priest</i>		3	7	
Purcell	<i>Te Deum &amp; Jubilate</i>	Entire work	4	0
		Excerpts	1	1

\*Data available for this table comes from the years 1780-1782 and 1784-1799.

\*\*The Festival's "standard repertoire" used only the overture from Handel's *Esther*.

	Leeds (Feb. 8)	Exeter (Feb. 15)	Uxbridge (Feb. 29)	Fitzwilliam (Mar. 7)	Grey de Wilton (Mar. 14)	Leeds (Mar. 21)
Avison: Concerto						
Corelli: Concerto		1		1	1	1
Geminiani: Concerto	1		1	1		
Handel: Concerto	2					1
Martini: Concerto/Overture		1	1			1
Handel: Overture/ March/Sinfonia	3	2		2	2	1
Other Concerto or Overture		Gem/Cor*	Gem/Cor*			
Handel: Opera Song	1	2	1			
Handel: Oratorio Song	4	2	2	1	2	4
Handel: Oratorio Chorus	5	5	5	2	4	4
Handel: Oratorio Segment				<i>L'Allegro</i>		
Handel: Large Choral Work	Anthem excerpt: <i>O Magnify the Lord</i>		Excerpt, <i>Dettingen Te Deum</i> ; Anthem: <i>Every Day Will I Give</i>	Anthem: <i>O Sing Unto the Lord</i> ; "Gloria Patri" from <i>Jubilate</i>		
Purcell: Choral Work						
Purcell: Stage - "Music" or Scene						
Purcell: Single number (Stage Work or Ode)						
Song or Duet (not Purcell or Handel)		J.C. Bach	Hasse Leo		Alberte Hasse Pergolesi Vinci	Hasse (2) Perez
Other Vocal & Choral Music					Pergolesi	Graun

\*Geminiani arrangement of Corelli

Table C.4. Concert of Antient Music, 1792: Programs 7-12						
	Exeter/ Sandwich* (Mar. 28)	Exeter (Apr. 18)	Uxbridge (Apr. 25)	Fitzwilliam (May 2)	Grey de Wilton (May 9)	Uxbridge/ Chesterfield (May 16)
Avison: Concerto		1				
Corelli: Concerto	1		1	1	1	
Geminiani: Concerto		1	1	1		2
Handel: Concerto	1				1	1
Handel: Overture/ March/Sinfonia	1	2	1	1	1	1
Martini: Concerto/ Overture	1	1	1		1	
Other Concerto or Overture				Rameau: <i>Dardanus</i>		
Handel: Opera Song	1			1	1	
Handel: Oratorio Song	3	4	4	2	3	3
Handel: Oratorio Chorus	4	5	5	1	4	4
Handel: Oratorio Segment				<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>		
Handel: Large Choral Work	Anthem excerpt: <i>O Come Let Us Worship</i>	Part of the <i>Funeral Anthem</i>		Anthem: <i>As Pants the Hart</i>	Coronation Anthem: <i>My Heart is Inditing</i>	Coronation Anthem: <i>Zadock the Priest</i>
Purcell: Choral Work				<i>Hail Bright Cecilia</i>		
Purcell: Stage - "Music" or Scene						
Purcell: Single number (Stage Work or Ode)						
Song or Duet (not Purcell or Handel)	De Majo	Conforti Hasse	Hasse		Vinci	Jomelli Pergolesi
Other Vocal & Choral Music	Negri					

\*Indicates Exeter for Sandwich

Table C.5. Avison's Rankings of Musical Expression (with Representation in the Fitzwilliam Collection)							
	Classes	Composer	In Fitzwilliam Collection	*Number of Imprints	**Number of Manuscripts	Prominent Titles	
<i>True Musical Expres- sion</i>	Vocal	Marcello	X	8	2	<i>Estro poetico- armonico</i> (Salmi)	
	Inst.	Geminiani	X	1	1	Sonatas, Op. 1; Concerto Grossi Opp. 2 & 3	
<i>Air over Harmony</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> (lowest)	Vivaldi	X		1	Violin Concerto	
		Tessarini					
		Alberti	X	1		VIII Sonate per cembalo, Op. 1	
		Locatelli					
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Hasse	X			6	14 Arias from <i>Siroe</i> ; <i>Artaserse</i> (score); Five Arias from <i>Didone</i>
		Porpora	X	1		2	Collection of cantatas and duets; Collection of arias and duets
		Terradellas					
		Lampugniani					
	3 <sup>rd</sup> (highest)	Vinci	X			5	<i>Siroe, Re di Persia</i> (score); Arias from <i>Artaserse</i> , <i>Semiramide</i> , and <i>L'Alessandro</i>
		Bononcini	X	4		14	"Marlborough" Funeral Anthem; Cantate et duetti; Diverimenti da camera (cembalo); <i>Il trionfo di Camilla</i>
Astorga		X			3	Cantatas	
Pergolesi		X	1		3	Missa in D (5 voices); Arias; Cantata	

\*If multi-volume, each volume counted separately; duplicates omitted

\*\*Minimum number of manuscripts in which the composer's work appears.

(page 1 of 2)

Table C.5. (cont.)							
	Classes	Composer	In Fitzwilliam Collection	*Number of Imprints	**Number of Manuscripts	Prominent Titles	
<i>Harmony over Air</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> (lowest)	Palestrina	X	1	5	Masses; Motets; Spiritual Madrigals	
		Tallis	X		3	Anthems; Short Service (D Major)	
		Allegri	X			<i>Miserere</i>	
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Carissimi	X			1	Motets
		Stradella	X			7	<i>Oratorio di San Giovanni Battista</i> ; Chamber Duets & Trios; Cantatas; Serenatas
		Steffani	X			9	Cantatas; Chamber Duets; Motets
	3 <sup>rd</sup> (highest)	Corelli	X		3	1	Op. 1-4 Trio Sonatas; Op. 5 Solos; Op. 6 Concerti Grossi
		Alessandro Scarlatti	X				<i>Six Concerti in Seven Parts</i> ; <i>Messa: Tutta in Canone di Diverse Specie</i> ; Arias, Cantatas
		Caldara	X			1	Cantatas
		Rameau	X		7	8	Harpichord Lessons, Opp. 2 & 3; Pièces de clavecin en concerts; <i>Castor et Pollux</i> , <i>Dardanus</i> , <i>Les Indes galantes</i> , <i>Pigmalion</i>
		Handel	X		75+	24	Duets, overtures, anthems, operas, oratorios, concerti grossi, organ concerti, keyboard suites
	Also	Lully	X		7	3	<i>Acis et Galatée</i> , <i>Alceste</i> , <i>Bellerophon</i> , <i>Persée</i> , <i>Proserpine</i>

\*If multi-volume, each volume counted separately; duplicates omitted

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\*\*Minimum number of manuscripts in which the composer's work appears.

Psalm No.	Type	Solo Voicing	Other Forces	Borrowings
15	Solo - alto	A	Obbligato Violoncello	Ashkenazic hymn
16	Duet – 2 tenors	TT	<i>Tutti</i>	Dionysius' Hymn to the Sun & Hebrew intonation
17	Trio – alto, tenor, bass	ATB	<i>Tutti</i>	Sephardic & Ashkenazic hymns
18	Quartet	ATTB	<i>Tutti</i>	Sephardic Intonation & Homer's Hymn to Ceres



Table C.7. Marcello's <i>Salmo XV</i> – Overall Scheme and Text			
Movement	Key	Psalm Verse	King James Version
I. Aria: Lento (Signor, dall' empia gente)	C Major	Vs. 1	<i>Preserve me, O God: for in thee do I put my trust.</i>
II. Recit. (Per quelli poi, cho meco uniti denno)		Vss. 2, 3, part of 4	<i>O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord: my goodness extendeth not to thee; But to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight. Their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another god: their drink offerings of blood will I not offer,</i>
III. Aria: Risoluto (Pera ogni lor memoria)	F Major	Remainder of Vs. 4	<i>nor take up their names into my lips.</i>
IV. Aria: Adagio assai (Tu, mio Signor, tu solo)	B-flat Major	Vs. 5	<i>The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: thou maintainest my lot.</i>
V. Recit. (Nulla v'e di piu illustre, e di piu grande)		Vs. 6	<i>The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.</i>
VI. Aria: Adagio (Benedetto tu, o Signore)	F Major	Vs. 7	<i>I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel: my reins also instruct me in the night seasons.</i>
VII. Recit. (Cosi fra rei perigli, e pene amare)		Vs. 8	<i>I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved.</i>
VIII. Aria: Allegro (Percio riempiesi)	G minor	Vs. 9	<i>Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope.</i>
IX. Recit. (No, tu non lascerai)		Vs. 10	<i>For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.</i>
X. Intonazione degli Ebrei Teschi		<i>Ma'oz Tzur Yeshuati</i>	
XI. Aria: Presto, Allegro (De la vita l'retto calle)	G minor – C Major	Vs. 11	<i>Thou wilt shew me the path of life, in thy presence is fullness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.</i>

Composer	Title of Work	Year of Work	Format*	Year Acquired	Genre
Marc Antoine Charpentier	Medée	1693	I	1767	tragédie mise en musique
Pascal Colasse	Enée et Lavinie	1690	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Thétis et Pelée	1689	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Astrée et Céladon	1692	M	1767	tragédie en musique
Lully and Colasse	Achille et Polixene	1687	I	1767	tragédie en musique
Henri Desmaret	Circé	1694	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Didon	1693	M	1767	tragédie en musique
Theobaldo di Gatti	Coronis	**1691	M	1767	pastorale héroïque
Elizabeth-Claude Jacquet de la Guerre	Céphale et Procris	1694	I	1767	tragédie lyrique
Jean-Baptiste Lully	Acis et Galatée	1686	I	1767	pastorale héroïque
	Le temple de la paix	1685	I	1767	ballet
	Bellerophon	1679	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Persée	1682	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Proserpine	1680	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Roland	1685	I	1767	tragédie en musique
	Alceste	1674	M	1768	tragédie en musique
	Les saisons	1661	M	1767	ballet
	Les amours déguisés	1664	M	1767	ballet
	Le triomphe de Bacchus dans les Indes	1666	M	1767	ballet
	Les arts	1663	M	1767	ballet
	Les gardes	1665	M	1767	ballet
	Les muses	1666	M	1767	ballet
	La mariage forcé	1664	M	1767	comédie-ballet
	La naissance de Vénus	1665	M	1767	ballet
La princesse d'Elide	1664	M	1767	comédie-ballet	
Louis Lully	Orphée	1690	I	1767	tragédie en musique

\*I=Imprint, M=Manuscript

\*\*First performance

Title of Work	Year of Work	Format*	Year Acquired	Genre
<i>Les fêtes de l'Hymen et de l'Amour</i>	1747	I	1782	Opéra-ballet
<i>Les fêtes de Polymnie</i>	1745	I	1782	Opéra-ballet
<i>Pigmalion</i>	1748	M	1765	Acte de ballet
<i>Pigmalion</i>	1748	I	1782	Acte de ballet
<i>Castor et Pollux</i>	1737	M	1791	Tragédie en musique
<i>Dardanus</i>	1739	M	1791	Tragédie en musique
<i>Les fêtes d'Hébé</i>	1739	M	1791	Opéra-ballet
<i>Hippolyte et Aricie</i>	1733	M	1791	Tragédie en musique
<i>Les Indes galantes</i>	1735	M	1791	Opéra-ballet
<i>Les Paladins</i>	1760	M	1791	Comédie lyrique
<i>Zoroastre</i>	1749	M	1791	Tragédie en musique

\*I=Imprint, M=Manuscript

Title	Publication Year – Fitzwilliam's Copy
<i>Admeto, re di Tessaglia</i>	c. 1754
<i>Agrippina</i>	c. 1795
<i>Alcina</i>	c. 1737
<i>Alessandro</i>	c. 1748
<i>Arianna in Creta</i>	c. 1750
<i>Arminio</i>	1737
<i>Atalanta</i>	c. 1755
<i>Berenice</i>	1737
<i>Deidamia</i>	1741
<i>Ezio</i>	1742
<i>Faramondo</i>	1740
<i>Flavio, re di Longobardi</i>	c. 1731
<i>Floridante</i>	c. 1726
<i>Giulio Cesare in Egitto</i>	c. 1750
<i>Giustino</i>	1740
<i>Imeneo</i>	c. 1760
<i>Lotario</i>	c. 1760
<i>Orlando</i>	c. 1750
<i>Ottone, re di Germania</i>	c. 1740
<i>Partenope</i>	1731
<i>Radamisto</i>	1720
<i>Riccardo primo, re d'Inghilterra</i>	c. 1750
<i>Rinaldo</i>	1711
<i>Scipione</i>	c. 1745
<i>Serse</i>	1738
<i>Siroe, re di Persia</i>	c. 1747
<i>Sosarme, re di Media</i>	c. 1735
<i>Tamerlano</i>	c. 1750
<i>Tolomeo, re di Egitto</i>	c. 1740-3

Title	Publication Year – Fitzwilliam’s Copy
<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	1769
<i>Alexander’s Feast</i>	1769
<i>L’Allegro, il Penseroso, ed il Moderato</i>	1770
<i>Belshazzar</i>	c. 1783
<i>The Choice of Hercules</i>	1773
<i>Deborah</i>	c. 1784
<i>Esther</i>	c. 1783
<i>Israel in Egypt</i>	1771
<i>Jephtha</i>	1770
<i>Joseph</i>	c. 1785
<i>Joshua</i>	1774
<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	1769
<i>Messiah</i>	c. 1769
<i>The Occasional Oratorio</i>	1784
<i>Ode for St. Cecilia’s Day</i>	1771
<i>Samson</i>	1769
<i>Saul</i>	1773
<i>Semele</i>	1788
<i>Solomon</i>	c. 1787
<i>Susanna</i>	1784
<i>Theodora</i>	1787

Title	First Performance	Format*	Year Acquired	Genre
<i>Bonduca, or the British Heroine</i>	1695	M	1768	Incidental music
<i>Circe</i>	1689	M	1767	Incidental music (Act I only)
<i>The Indian Queen</i>	1695	M	1768	Semi-opera
		G	1799	Semi-opera
<i>King Arthur, or the British Worthy</i>	1691	M	1768	Semi-opera
		G	1799	Semi-opera
<i>The Libertine</i>	1695	M	1768	Incidental music
<i>Oedipus, King of Thebes</i>	1692	M	1768	Incidental music
		G	1799	Tragedy (incantation scene only)
<i>The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian</i>	1690	I	1774	Semi-opera
<i>Timon of Athens</i>	1695	M	1766	Masque (incomplete)
		M	1768	Masque

\*I=Imprint, G=Goodison’s Edition, M=Manuscript

Table C.13. Clari MSS: Liturgical Music

(page 1 of 2)

Masses and Mass Sections

	<i>Key (if known)</i>	<i>Composed</i>	<i>Soli</i>	<i>Chorus</i>	<i>Instruments</i>	<i>MU.MS. Number</i>	<i>Year Acquired</i>
Messa á 4	D Major	1748	SATB	SATB	Orchestra	170	1793
Messa á a 5	D Major	1741	SSATB	SSATB	Orchestra	170	1793
Messa a á 5	D Major	1748	SSATB	SSATB	Orchestra	170	1793
Credo a á 4		Ca. 1730		SATB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793

Other works

	<i>Key</i>	<i>Composed</i>	<i>Soli</i>	<i>Chorus</i>	<i>Instruments</i>	<i>MU.MS. Number</i>	<i>Year Acquired</i>
De profundis á 4		Ca. 1730		SATB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793
Motetto á 4: Eia jubae triumphales		Ca. 1740		SATB	Orchestra	171	1769
Stabat Mater á 4		Ca. 1730	SATB	SATB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793
Te Deum á 4		Ca. 1730		SATB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793

Table C.13. (cont.)

(page 2 of 2)

*Psalms*

	<i>Key (if known)</i>	<i>Composed</i>	<i>Soli</i>	<i>Chorus</i>	<i>Instruments</i>	<i>M.U.M.S. Number</i>	<i>Year Acquired</i>
Beatus vir á 4		Ca. 1730		SATB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793
Beatus vir á 8		Ca. 1704	SATB	SATB	Orchestra	171	1793?
Confitebor tibi Domine á 4		Ca. 1730		SATB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793
Confitebor tibi Domine á 4		Ca. 1740		SATB	Violins, viola, trumpets	173	1793
Dixit Dominus á 4	C Major	Ca. 1740		SATB	Orchestra	173	1793
Dixit Dominus á 5	E minor	Ca. 1740		SSATB	Orchestra	171	1769
Dixit Dominus á 5	D minor	Ca. 1740		SSATB	Strings	171	1793
Domine ad adjuvandum á 5		Ca. 1730	SSATB	SSATB	Strings, obbligato trumpets (2)	171	1793
Laetatus sum á 8		Ca. 1730	SATB	SATB	Continuo	171	1793
Laudate pueri á 4		Ca. 1730		SSAB	Violins, viola, continuo	172	1793?
Nisi Dominus á 3	D minor			SAB	Obbligato instruments	173	1793?

Table C.14. Clari Madrigale in MSS, Fitzwilliam Collection

Voicing key: C=Canto; A=Alto; T=Tenore; B=Basso

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<i>Volume</i>	<i>Volume Title</i>	<i>Movement Titles</i>	<i>Voicing</i>	<i>MS No.</i>	<i>Year</i>
Madrigale Primo . . . Tomo Primo: à due voci	Fuoco è la chioma bionda	Fuoco è la chioma bionda	CA	202	1740
		Or chi fia mal si codi			
		Certo io non trovo			
Madrigale Secondo . . . Tomo Primo: à due voci	Quando col mio s' incontra	Quando col mio s' incontra	CB	202	1740
		Ma tremolo e fugace			
		Fra il mio dubbio			
Madrigale III a 2, vol. I	Dov'è quell'usignolo	Dov'è quell'usignolo	CT	203	1740
		Ah, più volte per lei d'amor			
		E pur senza temer lo sdegno mio			
Madrigale IV à 2, vol. I: à due canti	Nel suo bel prato ameno	Nel suo bel prato ameno	CC	203	1741
		Il semplicetto Aliso			
		Bacio quell fiore Aliso			
Madrigale V à 2, Vol. I	Volle speranza ardita	Volle speranza ardita	CA	204	1741
		Quando da sdegno si solleva l'onda			
		Indarno allor chiedo			
		Onde senza conforto			
Madrigale VI à 2, Vol. I	Lontan dalla sua fille	Lontan dalla sua fille	CT	204	1741
		Ah, chi di me dolente			
		Ma sordo e ogn'uno			
		Dunque col fido amore			
Madrigale VII à 2 Canti, Vol. I	Cantando un di sedeo Laurinda al fonte	Cantando un di sedeo Laurinda al fonte	CC	205	1741
		L'ode Gelsindo e pronto			
		Poi disse in brevi accenti			
Madrigale VIII à 2 Canti [book 1]	Spesso amor sotto la forma d'amistà	Spesso amor sotto la forma d'amistà	CC	205	1741
		Poi si misce e si confonde			
		In pietade ei si trasforma			

Table C.14. (cont.)

Voicing key: C=Canto; A=Alto; T=Tenore; B=Basso

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<i>Volume</i>	<i>Volume Title</i>	<i>Movement Titles</i>	<i>Voicing</i>	<i>MU.MS. No.</i>	<i>Year</i>
Madrigale IX à 2 [book 1]	Quando tramonta il sole	Quando tramonta il sole	CT	206	1741
		Sventurato son io			
		Allora, o Fille			
		Piango or su queste sponde			
Madrigale X: à due [book 1]	In sogno mi pareva	In sogno mi pareva	CA	206	1741
		Ma da ninfe sopreso			
		Fra quelle avvinto			
		Così il mio duol rinnovo			
Madrigale XI à due voci, Vol. I	Al bosco, al prato, al fonte	Al bosco, al prato, al fonte	CB	207	1741
		Ah, non lo trova			
		Ma dale rupi l'eco a lei			
		Allor gli disse amor			
Madrigale XII: à due voci, Vol. I	Clori deh mira il duolo	Clori deh mira il duolo	CB	207	1741
		Tu vedi ei non s'attenta			
		Su dunque ò Clori			
		Clori d'agli speranza			
Madrigale Primo . . . Tomo Secondo: à tre voci	Dove? Ah! Dove, o Pastori	Dove? Ah! Dove, o Pastori	CAB	202	1742
		Non è amor qual pensate			
		Amor lo vidi			
		Pastor, eccovi			
		Amor s'asconde			
Madrigale Secondo . . . Tomo Secondo	Con Fille, un giorno amore	Con Fille, un giorno amore	CAT	202	1742
		Terminò quel lavoro			
		Di sentento cantar desio			
		Ond 'ei col dardo			
		Fille pietosa orchiede			
		Ah monstra poi che più trafitto			



Table C.14. (cont.)

Voicing key: C=Canto; A=Alto; T=Tenore; B=Basso

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<i>Volume</i>	<i>Volume Title</i>	<i>Movement Titles</i>	<i>Voicing</i>	<i>MU.MS. No.</i>	<i>Year</i>
Madrigale III à 3, Vol. II	Quant'è soave amore	Quant'è soave amore	CCB	203	1742
		Una sospira e pena			
		Questi freme geloso			
		Che disperato affetto			
Madrigale IV à 3, Vol. II	Frà mille dubbi ondeggia	Frà mille dubbi ondeggia	CAT	203	1742
		Creder vorri al suo Amore			
		Ma contrary gli affetti			
		Poi, fra l'ira e'l timore			
Madrigale V à 3, Vol. II	Bella sorte è d'un fiore	Bella sorte è d'un fiore	CTB	204	1743
		Ma già lunguir quella beltà rimiri			
		Filled eh sappess'io			
		Vedresti un cuore amante			
Madrigale VI à 3, Vol. II	Nice da te lontano	Nice da te lontano	CAT	204	1743
		Favello all'aure ai venti			
		In si barbaro stato ingrato			
Madrigale VII à 3, Vol. II	È ver che Dori è bella	È ver che Dori è bella	CAT	205	1743
		Ah! Compredesse almen			
		Eppur ogni pastori			
		Amor prend l'impegno			
Madrigale VIII à 3, Vol. II	Ecco amor, ecco amore! Scendete	Ecco amor, ecco amore! Scendete	CCT	205	1743
		Amor festoso con Eurilla viene			
		Il guardo, ah non volgete			
		Ma resto io qui con voi preda infelice			
Madrigale IX [book 2]	Dal Nilo al nostro lido	Dal Nilo al nostro lido	CAT	206	1743
		Filli gentil, perche non vola			
		Ridirti esso potria			
		Ah, che amor nel vivo lume			

Table C.14. (cont.)

Voicing key: C=Canto; A=Alto; T=Tenore; B=Basso

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<i>Volume</i>	<i>Volume Title</i>	<i>Movement Titles</i>	<i>Voicing</i>	<i>MU.MS. No.</i>	<i>Year</i>
Madrigale X à 3, Vol. II	Si lodi pure amore	Si lodi pure amore	CCA	206	1743
		Il trionfo a cantar sprona il desio	CCA	206	1743
		Ma ridente nel volto ecco	CCA	206	1743
		An che in miraria	CCA	206	1743
Madrigale XI à 3, Vol. II	Addio campagne amene	Addio campagne amene	CCT	207	1743
		Qualor per l'aria s'udiranno			
		E se v'inonderà la pioggia			
		Ma vien con Filli amore			
		Ah dite pur che qui restò			
Madrigale XII à 3, Vol. II	Con bel diletto	Con bel diletto	CAB	207	1743
		Poi vibro nel mio core			
		Ahi che diviene			
		Fill ecol tuo sereno ciglio			
Madrigale Primo . . . Vol. III: à due voci	Il Soldato Poltrone	Ola, chi mi risveglia	CB	202	1745
		Ahime che timbomba			
		Gl'oricalchi guerrieri			
		Presto dov'è la spada			
		Vada dunque chi vuol			
Madrigale secondo . . . Vol. III: à due voci	Il Musico Ignorante	Do, re, mi, fa, sol la, che bella cosa	CA	202	1745
		Di smorfie e bocche			
		Fo salti di diciotto			
Madrigale III, Vol. III	L'Amante Disperato	Oh, femmina mendace!	CC	203	1745
		Deh lagrimate, o salci			
		Mai duri casi miei			
		Potessi almen			
Madrigale IV, Vol. III	Amante di Donna Vecchia	Amor tu me l'hai fatte	CB	203	1746
		Infelice ch'io sono			
		Son tanti i miei contenti			
		Lei che del mio penar			

Table C.14. (cont.)

Voicing key: C=Canto; A=Alto; T=Tenore; B=Basso

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Volume	Volume Title	Movement Titles	Voicing	MU.MS. No.	Year
Madrigale V à 2 canti, vol. III	Il Poeta Spiantato	Musa tu vuoi ch'io canti	CC	204	1746
		Che brutta cantilena			
		Che ti venga la rabbia			
Madrigale VI à 2 [book 3]	Il Giacatore Sfortunato	Scel[ ]errata fortuna	CB	204	1746
		Ma quando torna male			
		O[h]imè son io per brutto ora			
		Ognun mi fugge e mi deride			
Madrigale VII, Vol. III	La moglie geloso	Nò, nò, soffri non posso la rivale	CA	205	1747
		Sarò coll'empia			
		Saprò per vendi carmi			
Madrigale VIII, Vol. III	Il Pellegrino	Giro e rigiro, a tondo	CB	205	1747
		Le donne in ogni parte			
		Che di pazzi			
Madrigale IX, Vol. III	Il vanesio	Non v' à nella terraquea mole	CT	206	1747
		Queste accesse pupille			
		Oh quante! Oh quante belle			
Madrigale X: à Due Canti [book 3]	L' Ambizioso Indigente	Consorte! Non hò luero	CC	206	1747
		Deh ci console almeno			
		Ah questa scuola nuova			
		È ver che la mensogna			
Madrigale XI, Vol. III	Il pazzo innamorato	Tu mi riduci in cenere	CA	207	1747
		Labbro mio di corallo			
		Tenera e molle erbetta			
Madrigale XII [book 3]	Il maestro di cappella che compone alla musica	Quegli che par se bello	CT	207	1747
		Ma se d'aver presume			
		Pensier concetti			
		Oh mancanza! Oh ignorante!			

**Table C.15. Selected Keyboard Works by Members  
of the English “Scarlatti Sect”**

Titles in **bold** appear within the Fitzwilliam Collection of printed music.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title, instrument specified</i>	<i>Year Published</i>
Thomas Arne (1710-1778)	VIII Sonatas or Lessons, hpd	1756
Charles Avison (1709-1770)	<b>12 Concertos . . . , opera nona. This Work is also adapted to the Practice of the Organ or Harpsichord alone</b>	1766
Charles Burney (1726-1814)	6 Sonatas, hpd	1761
	4 Sonatas or Duets for 2 performers, pf/hpd	1777
	A 2 <sup>nd</sup> set of 4 Sonatas or Duets, pf/hpd	1778
	Sonate à 3 mains, hpd	c.1780
John Burton (1730-1782)	<b>10 Sonatas, hpd/org/pf</b>	1767
John Keeble (c.1711-1786)	<b>Four volumes of <i>Select Pieces for the Organ</i></b>	1777-c.1780
Joseph Kelway (c.1702-1782)	<b>Six Sonatas</b>	c.1764
James Nares (1715-1783)	<i>Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord, Op. 1</i>	1747
	<i>Lessons for the harpsichord, with a sonata in score for the harpsichord or organ . . . Opera II</i>	1759
Thomas Roseingrave (1690/91-1766)	8 Suites of Lessons, hpd/spinet	1725
	<b>Voluntaries and Fugues, org/hpd</b>	1728
	<b>6 Double Fugues, org/hpd . . . to which is added, Sig. Domenico Scarlatti’s Celebrated Lesson, hpd, with additions by Roseingrave</b>	1750
John Christopher Smith, Jr. (1712-1795)	6 Suites, Op. 1, hpd	1732
	<b>6 Suites, Op. 2, hpd</b>	1735
	6 Lessons, Op. 3, hpd	1755
	6 Lessons, Op. 4, hpd	1757
	12 Sonatas, Op. 5, hpd	1765
Antonio Soler (1729-1783)	120 keyboard sonatas, incl. <i>XXVII sonatas para clava</i>	c.1796
John Worgan (1724-1790)	6 Sonatas	1769
	[10] Pieces... for Forming the hands of Young Pupils	c.1780

hpd = harpsichord; org = organ; pf = pianoforte

Table C.16. Works by Other Austrian, German, Italian and Spanish Composers				
<i>Year of Acquisition</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	First published, if known	Fitzwilliam's edition
1767	Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715-1777)	<i>Six sonatas for the harpsichord. With accompaniment for a violin . . . Opera prima</i>	1753 – Vienna	A. Hummel (London), c.1760
		<i>Six sonatas for the harpsichord, with accompaniment for a violin . . . Opera 2<sup>a</sup></i>	1755 – Vienna	A. Hummel (London), 1761
		<i>Six sonatas for the harpsichord . . . Opera III</i>	1761 – Vienna	A. Hummel (London), c.1760
		<i>Six concertos for the harpsichord or organ (Keyboard part only)</i>		I. Walsh (London), 1761
1768	Domenico Alberti (c.1710-1740)	<i>VIII Sonate per cembalo. Opera prima</i>	Untraced before the 1748 Walsh edition	I. Walsh (London), 1748
1771	Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770)	II Concerti . . . accommodate per il cembalo, da L: Frischmuth. 2 vols. (arrangements of 4 violin concerti)		A. Olofsen (Amsterdam), c.1755
1771	Pietro Andrea Ziani (1616-1684), et al	<i>XVII Sonates da organo o cimbalò del Sig Ziani Pollaroli Bassani e altri famosi autory</i>		E. Roger (Amsterdam), c.1705
1774	Johann Christoph Kellner (1736-1803)	<i>Six fugues for the organ or harpsichord</i>	1765 – Amsterdam	A Hummel (London), c.1770
1782	Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726)	<i>A third collection of toccates, vollenarys and fuges for the organ or harpsichord, with particular great pieces for the church</i>		Walsh (London), c.1730

Table C.17. French Keyboard Music					
<i>Solo Keyboard Music</i>					
<i>Year Acquired</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Place &amp; Year of Publication</i>		<i>Catalogue Number</i>
1766	Charles Dieupart (1670-1740)	Six suites de clavessin	Amsterdam	c.1705	435
1769	Francois Couperin (1668-1733)	L'Art de toucher le clavecin	Paris	1717	424
		Pièces de clavecin . . . Premier livre	Paris	1713	425
		Second livre de pièces de clavecin.	Paris	1717	426
	Jacques Duphly (1715-1789)	Pièces de clavecin	Paris	1769	429
		Second livre de pièces de clavecin.	Paris	1769	429
	Gaspard Le Roux (d.ca. 1707)	Pièces de clavessin propres a jouer...	Amsterdam	c.1710	360
1770	Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764)	A collection of lessons for the harpsicord. Op. 2	London	1760	484 <sup>1</sup>
1771	Jacques Duphly	Troisieme livre de pièces de clavecin	Paris	1771	429
1771	Jean Philippe Rameau	A 2 <sup>d</sup> collection of lessons for the harpsichord . . . Opera 3 <sup>2a</sup>	London	1764	484 <sup>1</sup>
1772	Jacques Duphly	Quatrieme livre de pièces de clavecin	Paris	1772	429
1799	Louis Marchand (1669-1732)	Pièces de clavecin	Amsterdam	c.1710	361D
<i>Chamber Music &amp; Arrangements</i>					
<i>Year Acquired</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Place &amp; Year of Publication</i>		<i>Catalogue Number</i>
??	Jean Philippe Rameau	Overture to <i>Dardanus</i> , arr. Lord Fitzwilliam			MS159 <sup>2</sup>
1769	Jean Philippe Rameau	Pièces de clavecin en concert	Paris	1741	427
1771	Jean Philippe Rameau	Five concertos for the harpsichord*	London	1750	486 <sup>2</sup>

\*This is the Walsh edition of the *Pièces de clavecin en concert*.

Table C.18. Keyboard Works by Other Composers Living in England*				
<i>Year Acquired</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Year Published</i>	<i>Catalogue Number MU.MS.</i>
1766	Henry Purcell (1659-1695)	A choice collection of lessons for the harpsichord or spinet . . . The third edition with additions & instruction for beginners	c.1700	419
1766	John Eccles & Daniel Purcell	A collection of lessons and aires for the harpsichord or spinet	1702	361C
1767	Jeremiah Clarke (1673-1707)	Choice lessons for the harpsichord or spinet . . .	1711	420A
1768	William Babel (c.1690-1723)	Suits of the most celebrated lessons		
1768	Maurice Greene (1696-1755)	A collection of lessons for the harpsichord	c.1750	485 <sup>2</sup>
1768	Maurice Greene	A collection of lessons for the harpsichord . . . 2 <sup>d</sup> book	c.1755	485 <sup>3</sup>
1768	Richard Jones (d.1744)	Suits or setts of lessons for the harpsichord or spinnet	1732	488 <sup>5</sup>
1768	Henry Symonds	Six sets of lessons for the harpsichord	c.1734	362B
1770	Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750)	Giuseppe S <sup>t</sup> . Martini's concertos for the harpsichord or organ . . . Opera nona. [Keyboard part only]	1754	486 <sup>4</sup>
1771	Philip Hart (1674-1749)	Fugues for the organ or harpsichord: with lessons for the harpsichord	1704	417
1775	John Stanley (1712-1786)	Six concertos set for the harpsichord or organ	c.1754	486 <sup>6</sup>
1775	John Stanley	Ten voluntarys for the organ or harpsichord . . . Opera 5 <sup>th</sup>	c.1750	484 <sup>6</sup>
1799	Frederick Nussen	Musica da camera, or some old tunes new sett, and some new ones. Compos'd for the harpsichord, Opera 3 <sup>rd</sup>	c.1762	484 <sup>2</sup>
1805	Muzio Clementi (1752-1832)	Clementi's introduction to the art of playing on the piano forte	1804	430
1805	Muzio Clementi	Clementi's selection of practical harmony for the organ or piano forte . . . by the most eminent composers. 2 vols.	1805	416

\*Excludes Handel, Paradies, J. C. Bach, and those connected with the Scarlatti Sect.  
All published in London

<i>Year of Acquisition</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Fitzwilliam's edition</i>
<i>Sonatas</i>			
1768	Domenico Alberti	VIII Sonate per cembalo, Op. 1	Walsh (1748)
1768	Johann Christian Bach	Six Sonatas for pianoforte or harpsichord, Op. 5	Welcker (c.1768)
1769	John Burton	Ten Sonatas for the harpsichord, organ or pianoforte,	Author (1766)
1768	Joseph Kelway	Six sonatas for the harpsichord	Welcker (1764)
1770	Domenico Paradies	Sonate di gravicembalo	John Johnson (1754)
1767	Georg Christoph Wagenseil	Six sonatas for the harpsichord, Op. 1	A. Hummel (c.1760)
1767	Georg Christoph Wagenseil	Six sonatas for the harpsichord, Op. 2	A. Hummel (1761)
1767	Georg Christoph Wagenseil	Six sonatas for the harpsichord, Op. 3	A. Hummel (c.1760)
<i>Concertos</i>			
1771	Charles Avison	Twelve concertos, Op. 9	R. Johnson (1766)
1768	G. F. Handel	Six concertos for the harpsichord or organ, Op. 4	Walsh (c.1750-55)
1769	Domenico Paradies	A favourite concerto for... organ or harpsichord	Welcker (c. 1768)
1770	Giuseppe Sammartini	Concertos for the harpsichord or organ, Op. 9	Walsh (1754)
1775	John Stanley	Six concertos set for the harpsichord or organ	Walsh (c.1754)
1767	Georg Christoph Wagenseil	Six concertos for... harpsichord or organ	Walsh (1761)

<i>Year acquired</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Publisher, City</i>	<i>Year published</i>
1764	Suites de pieces pour le clavecin, Vol. I	Boivin, Paris	c.1740
1767	Suites de pieces pour le clavecin, Vol. I	Walsh, London	c.1736 or later
1768	Six concertos for harpsichord or organ, Op. 4	Walsh, London	c.1750-5
1781	Suites de pieces pour le clavecin, Vol. I	Printed for the Author, London	c.1725-7
1799	Six grand choruses from Mr. Handel's Oratorios. Adapted for the organ or harpsichord by Mr. Hook. 3 vols.	Wm. Randall, London	1778-81
1801	Handel's overtures from all his operas and oratorios set for the harpsichord or organ	H. Wright, London	c.1785
1801	The overtures to the ten [Chandos] anthems, adapted for the organ, harpsichord, or piano forte	H. Wright, London	1787



Table C.21. Sonatas and “Solos” for Multiple Instruments			
<i>Year of Acquisition</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Fitzwilliam’s edition: All by Walsh (London) unless otherwise indicated</i>
1763	Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762)	<i>Le prime sonate a violin... [Op. 1]</i>	1739
1765	Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713)	<i>Trio Sonatas, Op. 1-4 (rev. by Pepusch)</i>	1735
1765	Arcangelo Corelli	<i>Sonatas, Op. 5 (XII Solos, violin)</i>	1740
1767	Johann Ernst Galliard (c.1685-1749)	<i>Six Sonatas for the bassoon or violoncello</i>	c.1740
1770	Jean Pierre Duport (1741-1818)	<i>Six sonatas pour le violoncello . . . dédiées à Messire Fitzwilliam</i>	c.1770 – <i>Imprimé pour l’auteur... par Mr. Bremner (London)</i>
1771	Francesco Veracini (1690-1768)	<i>Sonate accademiche a violin e basso. Op. 2</i>	1744 – <i>A Londra, e a Firenze per l’Autore</i>
1772	Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752)	<i>XXIV Solos for a violin... 2 vols.</i>	1707-08
1799	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759)	<i>VI Sonatas à deux violins, deux haubois ou deux flutes traversiers... [Op. 2]</i>	c.1750
1799	Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770)	<i>XII Solos for a violin...</i>	1741

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