The life and works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), with special reference to his dramatic works and cantatas.

Cook, Frederick Donald

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHANN CHRISTOPH PEPUSCH (1667-1752),
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS DRAMATIC WORKS AND CANTATAS

(In Two Volumes)

by

Donald Frederick Cook

VOLUME I

Dissertation submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Faculty of Music
University of London King's College
October 1982
Pepusch's career in London spanned over fifty years and embraced a wide range of musical interests: he was a composer, performer, musical director, scholar, and teacher. Until recently, musical historians have relied heavily on the eighteenth-century accounts of both Hawkins and Burney, whose appraisals of Pepusch's significant contribution to music in London are perfunctory and sometimes unfair. This dissertation attempts to correct and expand their accounts with up-to-date information, and, through an examination of selected musical works, to demonstrate that Pepusch may rightly be included among the important minor composers of his time. Because the phases of his activity as a composer are fairly well-defined, discussion of bibliographical and stylistic matters are integrated with the chronological presentation of biographical information.

While the need for biographical continuity and completeness dictates that each of the varied facets of his career must be looked at, the principal investigation concentrates on only one of them, Pepusch's work in the theatre from c1700 to c1732. This forms the body of this study (Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6). The four Italianate masques, composed for the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1714-16, are of special significance, and the rather lengthy treatment of them in Chapter 3 serves as the focal point for a critical examination of Pepusch as a dramatic composer. The Introduction (summarizing his life before coming to London), as well as the discussion of his instrumental compositions in Chapter 1, are not directly related to his work in the theatre, but are concerned with those events which prepared him for it. Chapter 4 reviews his work as musical director and composer for the Duke of Chandos at Cannons. The final chapter considers Pepusch as a bibliophile, scholar, and teacher, and provides other information about the closing years of his life as organist of the Charterhouse.

A thematic catalogue of complete works, containing over 1,450 incipits, may be found in Volume II (Appendix A). The volume also includes an inventory of sources (manuscript, Appendix B, and printed, Appendix C), an index of themes (Appendix D), and an alphabetical index of first lines for vocal works (Appendix E); all appropriately cross-referenced.

* * *

ABSTRACT
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations, adopted from the current sigla of the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales [RISM], are used to denote the location of sources. It should be noted that, since the majority of my sources are located in Great Britain, the prefix 'GB' is dropped from the siglum in referring to them: in the case of foreign sources, however, the prefix indicating the country is retained.

B-
  Bc: Belgium
      Bruxelles, Bibliotheque du Conservatoire
          Royal de Musique

BRD-
  Hvl: Hanover, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv

DDR-
  Dl: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
  Pph: Potsdam, Pädagogische Hochschule
  ROu: Rostock, Wilhelm-Pieck-Universitätsbibliothek
  SW: Schwerin, Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek

EIR-
  Dtc: Dublin, Trinity College

F-
  Pc: France
      Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (fonds du Conservatoire)
[GB] - Great Britain

BENcoke: Bentley (Hampshire), Gerald Coke, private collection
Bu: Birmingham, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham
CDp: Cardiff, Central Library
Cfw: Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum
Cjc: Cambridge, St. John's College
Ckc: Cambridge, King's College
Cpc: Cambridge, Pembroke College
Cu: Cambridge, University of Cambridge Library
DORjeans: Dorking (Surrey), Susi Jeans, private collection
DRC: Durham, Cathedral Library
Ge: Glasgow, Euing Music Library
Lam: London, The Royal Academy of Music
Lbl: London, The British Library, Department of Manuscripts
Lcm: London, The Royal College of Music
Lco: London, The Royal College of Organists
Ldc: London, Dulwich College
LF: Lichfield, Cathedral Library
Lkc: London, King's College (Faculty of Music), University of London
Lpo: London, Public Record Office
Lwa: London, Westminster Abbey
Mp: Manchester, Central Library
Ob: Oxford, The Bodleian Library
Ob(n): Oxford, The New Bodleian Library
Och: Oxford, Christ Church College
WO: Worcester, Cathedral Library

I- Italy
Bc: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale

J- Japan
Tnl: Tokyo, Nanki Music Library (The Ohki Collection)
The following abbreviations are used to indicate scoring:

**Vocal**

(a) Chorus (in lower-case)  (b) Solo Voice (in upper-case)

s soprano (or treble)  S soprano (or treble)
a alto (or counter-tenor)  A alto (or counter-tenor)
t tenor  T tenor
b bass/baritone  B bass

**Instrumental**

fl flute (i.e. recorder)  vln violin
fl(G) transverse or German flute  vla viola
ob oboe  vlc violoncello (or gamba)
bsn bassoon  db double bass
tpt trumpet  org organ
hp harp  bc basso continuo

NOTE: When listing the instrumentation, violoncello, double bass, and organ are included only when they are so labelled in the source, otherwise basso continuo (bc) is indicated. The rubric 'bc' makes no attempt to distinguish among the several performance practices in the eighteenth century concerning the basso continuo; viz. (a) gamba (or cello) and organ (or harpsichord, or lute), (b) the addition of double bass to the above combination, or (c) keyboard alone.

*  *  *

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S-  Sweden
Uu: Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket

US-  United States of America
CAh: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University (Houghton Library)
NYp: New York, Public Library
R: Rochester, New York, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester (Sibley Music Library)
SM: San Marino, California, The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
Wcm: Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress, Music Division
Wfs: Washington, D. C., The Folger Shakespeare Library
Although Johann Christoph Pepusch was a leading figure in London music for over fifty years, his significant contribution to English music has always been over-shadowed, now as in his own lifetime, by the inevitable comparison with his prodigious contemporary, G. F. Handel. None of the composers who worked in London in the first half of the eighteenth century could successfully challenge Handel's superiority. This does not mean, however, that all their compositions were necessarily mediocre and inadequate. Many of them, and Pepusch too, made important contributions to the repertoire, some of which deserve to outlive their period. Musical historians, influenced by the charge first made by Hawkins, and echoed by Burney, that Pepusch's compositions were uninspired and pedantic, have chosen to dismiss his prolific output of vocal and instrumental music as unworthy of attention. Very few have taken the trouble to examine it. As a consequence, Pepusch's fame has for years rested entirely on the claim that he arranged the airs for The Beggar's Opera, an unimportant event in the full span of his career, as we shall see, and one which receives little space in this dissertation. It is my contention that the appraisals of both Hawkins and Burney are perfunctory and unfair; I hope to show, through an examination of selected works, that Pepusch may rightly be included among the important minor composers of his time.
Pepusch's career embraced a wide range of musical interests. As a composer he was a pragmatist, for composers at that time could only live by commercial success, and Pepusch usually produced whatever type of piece was currently in demand: some 250 instrumental pieces for concert performances (most of them between c1700 and 1714), an Italianate pasticcio *Thomyris*, 1707 for opera audiences, church music for the Duke of Chandos' chapel at Cannons (c1716-32), Italianate masques to English words for the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane (1714-16), and miscellaneous theatre pieces for the Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse (1716-32). He also composed about forty cantatas and several occasional odes.

Even if Pepusch had not composed a single note, he would still have earned a place in our history books for his other musical activities. He was a celebrated performer at the concert rooms and played in the theatre bands for over thirty years. His influence as musical director at the theatres in Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, as well as at Cannons, must have been powerful. By the mid-1720s his interest in composing lessened and he devoted his energy more and more to scholarly pursuits. Pepusch was an inveterate bibliophile; no other musician and few collectors could boast a personal library to equal Pepusch's extensive collection of ancient treatises, musical manuscripts, and printed books. The meetings of the Academy of Ancient Music, which Pepusch had helped to found in 1726, supplied an outlet for his passion for the music of the Renaissance; he remained the Academy's chief mentor until his death. He was celebrated as a theoretician and respected as a teacher, particularly in later years when he lived in semi-retirement as organist of the Charterhouse.
In view of this, it is surprising that only two articles on Pepusch (other than mine, mentioned below) have been published in modern times; a biographical survey by Charles W. Hughes, and a short two-page article by A. J. E. Lello. Both articles rely heavily on Hawkins and Burney, and neither of them contains much original research. There are also three unpublished doctoral dissertations on Pepusch. The first, by Herbert W. Fred, is limited to an examination of Pepusch's instrumental music and includes a thematic catalogue of instrumental works; this catalogue was valuable for its time, but since then other works have come to light and it must now be considered as incomplete. Dr Fred's general approach is deliberately weighted towards theoretical and statistical concerns, and devotes little space to any consideration of musical style or to biographical matters. The life-and-works study by John G. Williams contains some useful discussion of Pepusch's instrumental music, together with chapters on The Beggar's Opera and on Pepusch's theoretical works. Regrettably, it is weak in two important areas: (a) the discussion of Pepusch's biography is based almost entirely on secondary sources, is often inaccurate, and omits much important material; and (b) the vocal works are at best superficially treated, and the handling of their sources is confused and ignores several primary documents. It is evident that Williams did not examine certain central sources and

1 Hughes, 'John Christopher Pepusch, in Musical Quarterly, xxxi/1 (January 1945), 54-70; and Lello, 'Dr. Pepusch (1667-1752)', in Musical Times, xciii/1311 (May 1952), 209-10.

several peripheral ones which he cites. Jacob Hamm's brief study of two cantatas by Pepusch adds very little to existing knowledge.

My original plan was to confine this present study to Pepusch's involvement as a theatre musician and composer in London. It became obvious very early on, however, that his work in the theatre could not be discussed in isolation, if only because the London theatres also acted in some respects as concert-halls; there still remained, furthermore, a pressing need to assemble and re-examine the many scattered references to Pepusch's life and activity in London in the light of new information that my own research had uncovered. The area of investigation has, therefore, been expanded to allow documentation of Pepusch's activities in his several roles as composer, performer, musical director, scholar, and teacher. Because of his many-sidedness, his life provides an interesting cross-section of musical and paramusical activity in London between 1700 and 1750. The framework of a biographical outline also enables us to fit Pepusch's compositions into a more coherent pattern. A bibliographical study of Pepusch's printed and manuscript works, with consideration of their chronological sequence and the relationship of surviving sources, is long overdue and is essential to any discussion of their stylistic and technical development. Neither Fred nor Williams tackled the problem of dating the compositions or the sources, and this will be a principal feature of my study. Because the phases of Pepusch's activity as a composer are fairly well-defined, it seems logical and indeed necessary to integrate discussion of bibliographical and stylistic matters with the presentation of biographical information.

A single dissertation cannot do justice to all the varied facets
of Pepusch's career. While the need for biographical continuity and completeness dictates that each must be looked at, the principal investigation will concentrate on only one of them, Pepusch's work in the theatres from c1700 to c1732, the original area of interest from which the concept for this dissertation grew. The music that he produced during this period represents a large and important corpus which until now has received only passing reference from writers on music, usually as a by-product of research into the life and music of Handel. The four Italianate masques, composed for Drury Lane in 1714-16, are of special significance; they represent Pepusch's efforts to keep alive an interest in all-sung musical drama to English words at a time when Italian opera was all the rage; they are also the only extended dramatic works that he composed. The rather lengthy discussion of them in Chapter 3 forms the focal point for a critical examination of Pepusch as a dramatic composer. His life and work in the theatres, then, forms the body of this dissertation; Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6 are given over to this aspect of his career. Because the cantatas are essentially dramatic in nature and were frequently performed between the acts at the playhouses, they are considered in this sequence in Chapter 5, along with Pepusch's stage works. Since Pepusch served concurrently after about 1716 as musical director at Cannons and the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, it has been decided for the sake of biographical continuity to interrupt our account of his work in the theatre and interpolate a brief review in Chapter 4 of his activities at Cannons. This also enables us to introduce an original Cannons document which lists the musical library there in 1720; this catalogue includes many of Pepusch's vocal works and is an important centre of reference for our subsequent discussion in Chapters 5 and 6.
The Introduction and opening chapter are not directly related to Pepusch's work in the theatre, but are concerned with those events which prepared him for it. Information regarding his early life in Brandenburg is scanty; what little is known of these years and of his arrival in England is summarized from secondary sources in the Introduction. In all likelihood, Pepusch had begun to compose instrumental chamber music before he left Brandenburg; it was as a composer and performer in this genre that he first established his reputation in London, thanks to the insatiable public appetite for domestic and concert music. In Chapter 1 we will trace Pepusch's rise to some prominence as a performer in the concert rooms and as a composer of instrumental solo sonatas and concertos. These works, most of which were composed before 1714, show Pepusch finding his individual voice and technique, and in many respects they form the stylistic basis for the dramatic vocal pieces that he later composed for the playhouses.

Pepusch retired from the theatre in about 1732, but he continued for another twenty years to exert a profound influence on London music and musicians through his teaching and scholarly activities. Chapter 7 considers Pepusch as a bibliophile, scholar and teacher, and provides biographical information about the closing years of his life.

In the course of my research I have found it essential to compile as complete a thematic index of Pepusch's works as possible. It was my original intention to include in an appendix only the vocal section of this and, in regard to the instrumental pieces, merely to complement Dr Fred's thematic catalogue. As the work progressed, however, several important sources came to light, comprising over sixty additional compositions, which Fred appears to have overlooked. Rather than list all
these as an appendix to his catalogue, I have decided to present a
new and enlarged thematic catalogue and index of themes, with a chron-
ological index of sources, based in part on Fred's work and containing
cross-references to it. The resulting list is rather long, but this
is more than justified, I hope, by the advantage that future researchers
will find in being able to consult a unified index of Pepusch's com-
plete works all under one cover.

There is not room in this study for a detailed discussion of
certain peripheral topics which must await consideration in future
articles. Two such articles have already been published, and copies
are attached as supplementary material to this dissertation: 'Venus
and Adonis: An English Masque "After the Italian Manner"', in Musical
Times, cxxi/1651 (September 1980), 553-57; and 'Françoise Marguérite
de l'Epine: The Italian Lady?', in Theatre Notebook, xxxv/2 (1981),
58-73, and concluded in xxxv/3 (1981), 104-13. A third article,
'J. C. Pepusch: an 18th-century Musical Bibliophile', forthcoming in
Soundings, ix (1981-82), 12-29, has not been printed in time for
inclusion here. I have been unable to conduct research in Prussia,
nor have I personally examined the Chandos Papers, now among the Stowe
manuscripts in the Huntington Library, California; in the case of
Pepusch's early life in Brandenburg and his Cannons period, I have had
to rely on secondary sources and microfilm copies of known documents.
I propose, when money and time permit, to explore these areas further.
I have, however, gathered the materials for an article on the church
music that Pepusch produced at Cannons.

My general discussion of Pepusch's music will not take the form
of a passionate plea for its universal revival, but audiences and
Performers today might be surprised and charmed with many of his compositions if only they could hear and see them in modern editions. A start has been made with a few instrumental sonatas and concertos edited by Thurston Dart, David Lasocki and others. It is my intention to prepare performing editions of the four Drury Lane masques, with critical commentary and suggestions for staging. Two of them have already been transcribed for performances at Nottingham by the Holme Pierrepont Opera Trust, under the musical direction of Peter Holman: Venus and Adonis (revived 16-20 September 1980), and The Death of Dido (revived 15-19 September 1981). A copy of the printed programme for each production is appended as supplementary material to this dissertation.

Since I first began this research in 1972, I have enjoyed the co-operation and assistance of many archivists, librarians, and scholars (some from disciplines other than music). Their general advice, valuable as it has been, must necessarily go without mention, but specific contributions will be acknowledged in the appropriate place in the text. There are, however, three persons whom I wish to single out in gratitude for their help: they are Mr Winton Dean, Dr Curtis A. Price, and especially Dr H. Diack Johnstone, who was a wellspring of information and always a source of much encouragement to me. Above all, my thanks must go to my supervisor, Professor Brian Trowell, whose perceptive criticism and generous advice have greatly improved this study. Finally, I thank my wife and children for their ever-constant patience and confidence; without it, I would surely not have persevered.

* * *
PLATE 1: Reproduction of a portrait of the young Pepusch, by an unknown painter, c1690. (The Music School, Oxford)
INTRODUCTION

Johann Christoph Pepusch was among the many foreign musicians who settled in London at the turn of the eighteenth century. Information concerning his life before 1704 is scanty and of questionable authenticity. Hawkins' *History* (1776) remains the chief source: Burney, writing a few years later, added little that was new. The following abstract of Hawkins' fragmentary and somewhat romantic account will provide a background for our study of Pepusch's career in London. My own research has not included an examination of contemporary German documents which might make reference to Pepusch's early years in Brandenburg, and it is therefore not yet possible to fill in many of the gaps. The vexing question of the date and route of his arrival in England must, however, be discussed at length.

Pepusch, born in Berlin in 1667, displayed a natural talent for

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There is a short article on Pepusch (but listed under 'Pebush') in Walther's *Musikalishes Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732) that antedates Hawkins; it is not, however, significant. Walther's article was copied in Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon*, XXVII (Leipzig und Halle, 1741), though later biographies compiled in Germany and elsewhere relied on Hawkins and Burney; see, for example, Ledebur's *Tonkünstler-Lexikon* (Berlin, 1861), and a rather lengthy article on Pepusch in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXV (Leipzig, 1887). Malcolm Boyd's article on Pepusch in *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980) contains up-to-date information, some of it supplied from my own notes. This is the first time that the Pepusch entry has received major revision since it was written by W. H. Husk for the first edition (1878-90). In citing printed works, the practice adopted throughout this dissertation is to give the author's name, followed by a short title and the date of publication. Full bibliographical details may be found in the Bibliography.
music. His father, a Protestant minister, could not afford a proper apprenticeship for his son, whose formal training in music lasted only one year; he studied theory with Martin Klingenberg, cantor of the Marienkirche in Berlin, and clavier with Grosse, a Saxon musician of whom nothing else is known. At the age of fourteen, Pepusch is said to have accompanied a singer at the Prussian Court. King Frederick I and his consort Sophie Charlotte were so impressed that they retained him, there and then, to teach the young Crown Prince. Queen Sophie Charlotte, a pupil and friend of Steffani, was a keen musical enthusiast, and gave strong support to music at Court. It was through her influence that the first Italian opera was performed in Berlin, on 1 June 1700. While Pepusch probably learned his fluency as a composer of instrumental music at the Prussian Court, he had almost certainly left Berlin before 1700, and would therefore not have gained any experience of Italian opera there.

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2 All printed sources agree on this date of birth, although I have not been able to verify it from parish records. The Musical Directory... for the Year 1853, gives the precise day, 1 January, but it does not adduce corroborative evidence (p. 2).

3 The German historian Ernst Ludwig Gerber in his Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (1790-92), under 'Pepusch', put forward the unlikely suggestion that Pepusch taught the Prince to play the harp; surely he meant harpsichord. Gerber's statement was later copied by Fétis in Biographie Universelle des Musiciens (second edition, 1864), and by Mendel in Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon (1877). Curt Sachs, in his Musik und Oper (1910) rightly questions that Pepusch had ever learned to play the harp (pp. 64-65). In any case, Pepusch seems to have made little impression on his new pupil, who made no secret of his dislike for music: on succeeding to the throne as Frederick William I in 1713, one of his first acts was to disband the royal musicians.

4 The opera was Attilio Ariosti's La Festa del Imeneo. For further information on music at the Prussian Court, see Carl Freiherrn von Ledebur, König Friedrich I von Preussen (1878-84), and Alan Yorke-Long, Music at Court (1954), chapter 4.
The dates of his departure and of his arrival in England remain uncertain. According to Hawkins, Pepusch stayed at Court until he was about thirty years old; then after witnessing the summary execution of an officer who had offended the King by some ill-chosen words, he left Brandenburg in disgust. On arriving in England "about the year 1700" he was "retained as a performer at Drury-lane"; Hawkins does not specify what instrument he played there. Burney, on the other hand, preferred an earlier dating: "He remained at Berlin till he was about twenty, when he went into Holland, where he first began to publish his compositions; but after continuing there about a year, he came to England soon after the Revolution [of 1688]." Burney goes on to say that Pepusch was first employed in the Drury Lane Theatre band as a viola player, but was promoted to harpsichordist by 1700. Pepusch's arrival is also mentioned in 'Rawlinson's Continuation of Wood's Athenae Oxonienses', a manuscript source antedating Hawkins, which appears to have been overlooked by previous biographers. Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), an Oxford scholar and eccentric antiquary, lived in London from 1726 until his death in

5 I know of no evidence to confirm that Pepusch had ever received an official appointment as a court musician. His brother, Heinrich Gottfried did and served as Musician in Ordinary from 1692 until about 1736 when Seedo, the ballad-opera composer and theatre musician, was called from London to replace him. Gottfried died in 1750 and, unless he enjoyed the same uncommon longevity as Johann, it may be presumed that Gottfried was a younger brother. For further information on Gottfried see Sachs, Musik und Oper (1910), pp. 181-82, and 230.

6 Sir John Hawkins, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music (originally published 1776; all references are to the reprint of 1875), II. 831.

7 Charles Burney, A General History of Music (originally published 1776-89; all references are to the modern edition by Frank Mercer, 1935), II. 985. There is no other evidence that any of Pepusch's works were printed in Holland, or indeed elsewhere, before 1704 (see below, p. 22).
1755. About 1745 he circulated a printed sheet of queries to his subjects for information about themselves. Pepusch must have been among them, for Rawlinson's papers include an undated letter signed by Pepusch, to which Rawlinson himself later added the postscript, "10 Novr 1746. Rec'd this from D^t Pepusch by the hand of Nicholas Man Esq^r, Master of Charter House. R+R [i.e. Richard Rawlinson]." The letter contains information regarding Pepusch's printed works. The tone of the letter leads one to suppose that there may have been other correspondence, now lost, so that Rawlinson very likely had other first-hand information when he wrote that Pepusch came into England just after the peace of Ryswick [September 1697] with K. William and by the great encouragement he met with remained here instead of making the Tour of Germany ... as he first designed.

Rawlinson thus supports Hawkins' dating of Pepusch's arrival in London, while his reference to William of Orange tends to confirm Burney's statement that Pepusch came to England via Holland. We may provisionally conclude that Hawkins was right. A portrait of a rather debonair Pepusch, about the age of thirty, was bequeathed by William Hayes (d. 1777) to the Music School at Oxford where it now hangs (see Plate 1). The painter remains unidentified; the work may have been undertaken, perhaps in Holland, before Pepusch came to England.

For the earliest documentary evidence placing Pepusch in London

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8 Ob: Rawl. MS J 40 6, 'Biographical Notices of Oxford Writers', f. 320v. For this and subsequent references to manuscript sources, the sigla adopted by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (hereafter RISM) are used. A key to these sigla is given above, p. 6.

9 Ob: Rawl. MS J fol 4, 'Continuation of Wood's Athenae Oxonienses', f. 202 (folio is bound in reverse). The note forms part of Pepusch's obituary, written by Rawlinson between 1752 and 1755. Athenae Oxonienses was first published in 1691, but re-issued in 1721 with a continuation down to 1695. A third edition in four volumes appeared in 1813-20 but omits any mention of Pepusch.
we have to wait until 21 April 1706, when the theatre musician Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729) mentioned him in a letter to the Vice-Chamberlain. But there are two references to his compositions in London newspapers two years before that. The first is in The Post Man for 22-25 January 1704, which carried an advertisement for Walsh's publication of Six Sonatas (C-1) by William Croft, to which a flute solo by Pepusch had been appended. The second came a few months later, on 4 April, when Pepusch's music was advertised to be performed at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields:

3 several New Entertainments of Musick perform'd in Consort by 7 young Men (upon Hautboys, Flutes, and German Horns) lately brought over by their Master the famous Godfrede Pepusch, Musician in Ordinary to his Majesty the King of Prussia. The Composition being made entirely new for that purpose by his Brother, that Eminent Master Mr John Christopher Pepusch.

Since Gottfried's recent arrival is specifically noted, the advertisement implies that his brother, apparently well-known as "that Eminent Master", was already in London. This is supported by a passing reference to Pepusch made in 'Cousser's Commonplace Book'.

10 Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (f. 83); quoted below, p. 74.
11 The number in parenthesis immediately following the title refers to my inventory number in Volume II, Appendix C (Inventory of Printed Sources). The Inventory gives bibliographical details and contents, as well as a cross-reference with Appendix A (Thematic Catalogue). For an inventory of manuscript sources see Appendix B; sources are catalogued in alphabetical order according to the RISM siglum, and are similarly cross-referenced with Appendix A.
12 This and all future references to concert and theatre performances (unless otherwise stated) are taken from The London Stage, Part 2, 1700-1729, edited by Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale, 1960), and Part 3, 1729-1747, edited by Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale, 1961). It must be noted that none of Pepusch's surviving compositions is scored for horns, though there are a number of concertos that call for two oboes and two flutes. Gottfried and his ensemble remained in London until at least 1 June, when they performed at Chelsea College.
Book', now preserved in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. Johann Sigismund Cousser, a German musician, arrived in London on 25 December 1704; he remained there for a little over two years before settling in Dublin. Cousser kept a notebook which includes thirty-three points entitled 'Was ein virtuose, so in London kommt, zu observiren sol'; apparently compiled before his departure from Germany and based on advice from his fellow-countryman Jacob Greber, whose short but highly profitable career as a continuo player in London's concert rooms and theatres about 1703-05 is mentioned below, Chapter 1. Item 25 in Cousser's Notebook advises the newcomer to "make yourself acquainted with the best masters, such as Lullie [Jean Baptiste Loeillet], Pepusch, etc.".¹³

If Pepusch had himself arrived in London as early as 1697, though it is surprising that for seven years he receives not a single mention in the frequent references to concerts, musicians, and publications that have survived in newspapers and other contemporary documents. At least two explanations can be considered.

First, there is the possibility that Pepusch did not at first find employment at the Drury Lane Theatre, as both Hawkins and Burney suggest, but spent some time in Northern Britain before coming to London. It cannot be overlooked that two of Pepusch's works were performed at a St. Cecilia's Day concert in Edinburgh in 1695, though there is no other evidence to place him in that city at the time. The pieces cannot be identified; it is known, however, that one was performed on two oboes and two violins, and the other on two flutes

and two violins.\textsuperscript{14} It was not unusual for young Edinburgh students of law and medicine to undertake part of their training on the Continent, especially at the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht, and they frequently brought home the latest music from Europe.\textsuperscript{15} The Pepusch works performed in 1695 could well have reached Edinburgh in manuscript through this route. Nevertheless, it will be shown in Chapter 1 that there yet remains a further unexplained connection between Pepusch and the North.

Second, instead of completing the tour of Germany as he had originally intended, Pepusch may have been encouraged to stay in Britain by an offer of private employment. In 1697, London had a population of a half million and was the largest city in Europe. It was the hub of British commerce and politics, with a steadily increasing foreign trade. Its prosperity attracted a large number of visitors from abroad, many of whom -- such as the Huguenot refugees, who liked the atmosphere of religious toleration -- settled permanently and made a significant contribution to the city's wealth. Some of the foreign musicians who also came to take advantage of London's prosperity may well have been disappointed, at first, to find that they could not expect to enjoy the royal and aristocratic patronage to which they had been accustomed elsewhere. Instead, they faced the unfamiliar prospect of dealing with theatrical impresarios and

\textsuperscript{14} W. Tytler, 'On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh...', in Archaeologia Scotica (Edinburgh, 1792), I, 499-510 (506). The instrumentation of the Pepusch works is similar to those published later by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, VI Concerts (C-27). Other composers represented on the programme included Finger, Torelli, Bassani, and Corelli. It is interesting to note that the conductor, Henry Crumbden, was a German by birth.

\textsuperscript{15} David Johnson, Music and Society in Lowland Scotland (1972), pp. 11-12.
bargaining for concert venues. Most of the Nobility preferred to spend their money on buildings and fine art, and on the whole showed no inclination to emulate the musical extravagances of their European counterparts. But there were those, like the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Burlington, who supported domestic musicians. It may be that Pepusch obtained a private appointment that kept him out of the public eye for several years. (We are reminded of Handel's vanishing from the press when he was with the Earl of Carnarvon, later Duke of Chandos, at Cannons in 1718.) Pepusch's experience in Prussia would have prepared him to work in the service of a patron and indeed, he later served for over fifteen years as Chapel Master to the Duke of Chandos.

The presence in London of so many foreign musicians, especially a number of violinists and singers from Italy, helped to create a favourable climate for London's most striking innovation of the eighteenth century, the introduction of Italianate opera in 1705. At some point shortly before this, Pepusch seems to have decided that, at least for the time being, it was in London that he should seek his opportunities. The Drury Lane theatre band would provide a modest but steady salary, and, since his experience of theatre music was at first likely to have been rather limited, he set about establishing his London reputation in the field he knew best -- instrumental chamber music.

*   *   *
Chapter 1

CHAMBER MUSIC AND THE CONCERT ROOMS TO 1714

When Pepusch first arrived in London, whether in 1697 or later, the city already boasted a flourishing concert life. In the playhouses music was growing in importance; there was just beginning a move to separate musical entertainments from their traditional place as interpolations within a play and to present them as complete and independent productions. Pepusch saw possibilities in both areas; his success as a composer, performer, and organizer for public and private concerts is paralleled by his rise to a position of importance in the theatre band. His concert activity and his early theatre work fall into roughly the same period (c1700-14), but a clearer picture will emerge if they are discussed separately. Since Pepusch's initial reputation was made in concert life, especially as a composer of sonatas and concertos, it will be best to consider this first.

Pepusch at the Concert Rooms

John Banister the elder had begun a formal series of public concerts in London as early as 1672. Thirty years later, concert-going had become a rooted habit and there were many promoters at
several rooms and taverns in the city. The chief venue after 1685 was 'the Dancing School' in York Buildings, Villiers Street. The theatres, which had always made plentiful use of music, continued to welcome vocal and instrumental concerts between the acts of plays; during Lent, when no acting was permitted, the 'play nights', Wednesdays and Fridays, were turned over completely to the musicians. Throughout the 1703-04 season, the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane ran a series of 'Subscription Musick' featuring the popular English singer Catherine Tofts accompanied by Charles Dieupart (c1670-c1740), with occasional appearances by instrumental masters such as Gasparini Visconti, John Paisible, William Corbett, and John Banister the younger. If Pepusch played any part in this series of concerts though, it would seem that he was not yet thought important enough to deserve a mention in the advertisements.

Though the newspapers of the day carried frequent advertisements for public concerts, the details of the programme were normally omitted. There are a few references, however, to performances of

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2 For an article on Mrs Tofts, see Mollie Sands, 'Mrs. Tofts, 1685?-1756', in Theatre Notebook, xx (Spring 1966), 100-13. Two recently published reference works will provide general biographical information on singers and musicians mentioned in this dissertation: The New Grove Dictionary (1980), and Biographical Dictionary of Actors ... 1660-1800, compiled by Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim & Edward A. Langhams (Carbondale, 1973- ), six volumes published to date.
Pepusch's music. According to The Daily Courant for 17 April 1707, a concert at York Buildings for the following evening was to include a performance of "a full Piece of the famous Signior Pepusch by Mr. Banister, Mr. Dean, Mr. Lemour [LeMain or La Tour?] &c."; the work is not given. A flute piece by Pepusch was performed at the Great Room, Epsom, on 26 July 1708; the soloist was Mr. Massey [i.e. Louis Mercy], "being the Second Time of his Performance in Publick since his Arrival in England" (Daily Courant, 26 July 1708). Mr Viner, a native of Dublin and a well-known violinist at the London concerts, had a benefit night at York Buildings on 31 March 1710, at which he played a solo composed especially for him by Pepusch. 3 The Daily Courant for 28 January 1714 provides yet another reference to Pepusch's music at the concerts: at a benefit given at Stationer's Hall for Henry Carey, the poet, playwright and theatre musician, all of the pieces for instruments were "New, and compos'd by Mr. Pepusch".

Pepusch himself performed in the concert rooms and occasionally acted as something of an impresario. On 14 June 1710, he directed a concert at the Great Room in Peter's Court, for the benefit of "Signior Francisco" (Tatler, 13 June 1710). It was attended by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach. This German traveller and scholar kept a meticulous record of his five-month visit to London in 1710, and his account provides one of the few glimpses of these concerts and their participants. The diary entry under 25 June (New Style; i.e. 14 June according to the Old Style of dating which was still retained in England, though not in Germany) contains specific references

3 The piece cannot be identified in surviving sources; it may have been one of a set of sixteen solo sonatas now preserved as US-R: MS M. 219 P424S, ff. 33-54v), see below, p. 44.
and comments regarding Pepusch:

Nachmittags, weil wir gehört, dass ein Concert gehalten werden sollte, dergleichen öfters geschieht, liessen wir uns jeder ein Billet für eine Crone holen. Es stellte der berühmte Pepusch dergleichen auf Ersuchen vornehmer Lords öfters an. Die Musik war nicht gar stark, und bestünde in allem etwa aus sechzehn Personen, allein sie war unvergleichlich. Die Sign. Margarita de l'Epine sang dabei, sie gefiel uns aber lang so wohl nicht als in der Opera [i.e. Idaspe]. Dies kam ohne Zweifel daher, dass das Logiment nicht so gross noch schallend war als das Opern-Haus, theils auch, dass sie sich zu der Opera mehr exercirt, hier aber, was nur vorgeleget wurde, gesungen hat, auch sich nicht so viel Mühe geben wollen. Wir wunderten uns, dass sie in der Nähe von Gesicht so gar ungemein hässlich, sonderlich von Farbe, war. Sie war sonst die einzige, die gesungen. Die Instrumental-Musick war vortrefflich schön; Pepusch so alles dirigiert, und den Generalbass spielte, excelleierte vor allen.... Insonderheit aber machte einer auf einer Flöte, und einer auf der Viol di [sic] Gamba nebst Pepusch ein ganz entzückendes Concert. Der erste, so die Flöte spielte, ist ein Franzose, Namens Paisible, der seines gleichen noch nie gehabt. ... Der andere, so die Viol di Gamba auch ganz unvergleichlich spielte, ist ein Italiener, Namens Signor Pietro, der bey dem Herzog von Ormond in grosser Pension steht. Er machte gewisslich Wunder-Sachen. Als dieses Concert vorbei war, wollte er sich allein auf der Flöte traverse oder Flöte d'Allemande hören lassen, allein das Frauenzimmer machte einen Aufstand, und wie diese fortgingen, hörte die ganze Musik auf, die in alien nur zwei Stunden gewähret. Ich hätte noch die ganze Nacht mit grossem Vergnügen zugehört.4


[Translation] In the afternoon, because we heard that a concert was to be held, which happens frequently, each of us obtained a ticket for one crown. The famous Pepusch frequently stages these concerts at the request of the nobility. The musicians were not very many and consisted of about sixteen persons [not 'sixty' as incorrectly translated by Quarrell & Mare], however it was incomparable. The Signora Margarita de l'Epine sang with them; she did not please us nearly so much as in the opera [i.e. Idaspe, see below, p. 91]. No doubt the reason for this was that the Concert Room was not as large nor as reverberant as the Opera House, and also partly because she exerts herself more for the Opera while here she sang only what was put before her, and also was less inclined to take pains. We were surprised, upon close view, that she was so uncommonly ugly, especially in her complexion. By the way, she was the only one who sang. The instrumental music was
One is surprised by the casual and informal nature of the gathering. Unfortunately, neither Uffenbach nor the newspapers give the titles of the music or the names of the composers represented in the programme. The singer Margarita de l'Epine, Pepusch's future wife, came to England about 1702 in the company of Jakob Greber. She and Greber appeared together as entr'acte performers at the playhouses until June 1704. (Singers customarily attached themselves to one continuo player who would rehearse and perform with them on a regular basis.) It is probable that Pepusch succeeded Greber as l'Epine's continuo player in 1705.

The nobility and well-to-do sometimes arranged their own private concerts before an invited audience. The Duchess of Shrewsbury (an Italian by birth) held such musical evenings at her residence in Kensington. Her husband, Charles Talbot, held the office of Lord Chamberlain from April 1710 to July 1715, and no doubt through his very beautiful; Pepusch, who conducted everything and played the continuo, excelled above everybody. Besides Pepusch, a flute and a viola da gamba especially made the concert a delight. The one who played the flute is a Frenchman by the name of Paisible, who has no equal. ... The other one, who played the viola da gamba, also incomparably, is an Italian named Signor Pietro, who draws a high stipend in the employ of the Duke of Ormond. He certainly performed miracles. When the concert was over, he [Paisible, no doubt] wanted to play a solo on the flute transverse or the German flute, however the ladies got up [to go], and when they went away all the music stopped, which had lasted altogether only two hours. I could have listened with great pleasure the whole night.

5 For example, Dieupart accompanied Tofts on twenty-five occasions at Drury Lane in 1705; Haym served as accompanist, vocal coach, and agent for a singer known as 'The Baroness'; and Maria Gallia (who, according to Burney, was l'Epine's sister) sang regularly with Giuseppe Saggione (sometimes called Fideli), whom she married some time before March 1708.

influence the Duchess was able to engage the best of the London theatre musicians. An undated bill of c1712, covering two such concerts, shows Pepusch as a principal figure among the fourteen instrumentalists present. He and Claudio as violinists, and Loeillet as oboist, received £8 each; the others were paid from £2 to £6. This seems little in comparison with the £40 paid to each of the singers, Pilotti Schiavonetti and Isabella Girardeau, or even with the £20 received by l'Epine and Jane Barbier.7 (All four women sang at the Queen's Theatre, then devoted entirely to the production of Italian opera.) It was customary, however, for musicians to be paid much less than singers, and the fee of £8 is actually quite generous for the time. Judging from the total cost to the Duchess, these concerts must have been very grand society affairs.

The music meetings of Thomas Britton, the small-coal man, were of a different nature. This singular character, equally at home selling coal or discoursing upon the ancients, won for himself a respect and esteem not normally accorded to a mere tradesman. Britton's concerts, conducted regularly at his home in Clerkenwell from 1678 until his death in 1714, were not commercial ventures, although a nominal fee was charged in later years. They were, rather, occasions which provided an opportunity for amateurs and professionals to come together.

to perform the latest music from Italy and also to engage in informal discussions about the music of the Renaissance. This environment was a natural home -- perhaps indeed it was the cradle -- for Pepusch's interest in the music of earlier times, and he happily attached himself to Britton's coterie of musical scholars. Hawkins gives a good account of Britton's concerts, and mentions among the distinguished company Pepusch and Handel as harpsichordists, and John Banister as violinist. The amateurs included Henry Needler of the Excise Office, and the poet John Hughes, both of whom later became close associates of Pepusch, Needler as a fellow director at the Academy of Ancient Music, and Hughes as author of the words for much of Pepusch's vocal music. Britton possessed a fair amount of music by Pepusch. When Britton died, his library was auctioned; the musical portion was sold on 1 November, presumably 1714, and Pepusch is well-represented in the printed sale catalogue. Amongst the instrumental music there are seven entries relating to Pepusch:

Item 26 Trumpet pieces in 4 and 5 parts by Dr Pepusch &c.
70 18 Sonatas by Dr Pepusch, Carlo Ruggiero
101 12 Concertos and Sonatas, 10 of them by Dr Pepusch
102 12 Concertos by Dr Pepusch, Young Mr Babel, Vivaldi
105 A curious collection of Concertos by Dr Pepusch, &c.
138 2 sets of books of Concertos &c. by Dr Pepusch, &c.
143 Sonatas for 3 flutes, and several Solos and Sonatas for flutes and violins, Dr Pepusch, &c.

8 Hawkins, History, II, 788-92. Hawkins may also have been the anonymous writer of the article 'Anecdotes of Thomas Britton, the famous Musical Small Coal-Man', which appeared in The Annual Register ... for the Year 1777, 41-45. For an earlier account, see Edward Ward, A Compleat and Humorous Account of all the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster (first published 1745, seventh edition, 1756), pp. 299-306. The most recent article on Britton is Curtis Price's 'The Small-Coal Cult', in Musical Times, cxix/1630 (December 1978), 1032-34.

9 The library was disposed of in two separate sales; printed catalogues for each are preserved in the British Library. One of general books is dated 24 January 1715; the other, comprising chiefly musical volumes, is dated 1 November [1714?]. Much of the latter catalogue is reprinted by Hawkins, History, II, 792-93.
Only one item by Pepusch is listed amongst the vocal music:

Item 23 Dr Pepusch's Cantatas

The entry does not specify if this was a manuscript volume or a copy of the set of *Six English Cantatas* published by Walsh in 1710 (C-14).

The preponderance of instrumental works is typical of Britton's holdings, but it also seems typical of Pepusch's own output before 1714. A charming souvenir of his association with Britton is found in a manuscript belonging to the estate of the late Thurston Dart and now preserved at King's College, London (without press-mark). The volumes contains instrumental pieces by various composers, similar to the types of pieces performed at Britton's concerts. Over a dozen are by Pepusch, and one, a Sonata à 3 in D major (ff. 30v-31) which bears the delightful inscription 'called Smalcoal', must surely have been composed for Britton.

One feature of Britton's large and varied library that is worth particular note here is that it contained many volumes of recent compositions by fashionable Italian composers, such as Corelli, Torelli, Bassani, and Albinoni. Italian sonatas had become popular in England during the latter years of the seventeenth century. The well-known preface to Purcell's *Sonnata's of III. Parts* (1683) states that the composer

has faithfully endeavour'd a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian Masters; principally, to bring the seriousness and gravity of that sort of Musick into vogue, and reputation among our Country-men.
In 1690, Gottfried Finger made a similar comment in his preface to *VI Sonatas*, dedicated to the Earl of Manchester, Ambassador to Venice, dedicatee of several operas there and future director of the Royal Academy of Music. His Italian-style sonatas, Finger wrote, were "a sort of music which, though the best in the world, yet is but lately naturalised in England". By the time Pepusch arrived in London, Italian sonatas were firmly established as a *sine qua non* for all concert programmes. He responded to this demand and by 1714 had probably composed most of the 240 or so instrumental works which survive; several others have apparently been lost.\(^{10}\)

Pepusch's Instrumental Music: An Inventory of Principal Sources

We have seen that by 1704 Pepusch's compositions had attracted the attention of a London publisher; his reputation had evidently reached the point where the printing of his works was considered profitable. The printed works are discussed below; they do not, however, represent Pepusch's earliest attempts as a composer of instrumental music. (The performance of two pieces in Edinburgh in 1695 has already been noted.) Before considering the printed works, an examination of surviving manuscript sources will give reason to suspect that some of the latter probably antedate the first works to appear in print.

\(^{10}\) Volume II of this dissertation gives a detailed listing and thematic index of all Pepusch's known works. Entries in the Thematic Catalogue (Appendix A) are cross-referenced with bibliographical details and concordances found in manuscript sources (Appendix B) and printed sources (Appendix C).
(A) **Principal Manuscript Sources**

Persistent search has added a further thirty-three solo sonatas, twenty sonatas à 3, and eleven concertos to those already catalogued by Herbert W. Fred in his dissertation 'The Instrumental Music of Johann Christoph Pepusch' (1961). Of the 167 solo sonatas that survive, 112 are found in seven sets, each of sixteen sonatas for solo violin. At least five sets, and probably all seven, were composed for and dedicated to particular individuals. Each set is listed below, giving the dedicatee, sources which contain all or nearly all sonatas in the set, and the appropriate reference number in my Thematic Catalogue (Appendix A). Each set is here given a number for convenient reference in our subsequent discussion of them. The order and numbering must at present remain arbitrary and is not meant to imply a chronological sequence.

**SET I**

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<th>Dedicatee</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Catalogue No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>MADAM GREGGS OF DURHAM</td>
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<td>1:009-024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CDP: MS M.C. 1. 32 (without ascription or dedication; evidently copied from MS 31532)</td>
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**SET II**

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<th>Catalogue No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>MR JOHN HAMILTON</td>
<td>B-Bc: MS 26.477</td>
<td>1:025-040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S-R: MS M. 219 P424S (bound in with SET VI, and without dedication; two sonatas are different from MS 26.477)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At least twelve sonatas also appeared in print; these are noted in my Thematic Catalogue.
SET III
Dedicatee: MRS LITTON
Source: B-Bc: MS 15.455
Catalogue No.: 1:041-056
B-Bc: MS 5.780 (obviously a copy of MS 15.455 by the same scribe)

SET IV
Dedicatee: MR SLATER
Source: Lbl: Add. MS 31531
Catalogue No.: 1:057-072

SET V
Dedicatee: MR BUTLER
Source: Lbl: Add. MS 31531 (copied and bound with SET IV, but under the same title page)
Catalogue No.: 1:073-088

SET VI
Dedicatee: None mentioned
Source: US-R: MS M. 219 P424S (bound with SET II)
Catalogue No.: 1:089-104

SET VII
Dedicatee: MONSIEUR MUNIER (but the dedication is by the publisher, NOT Pepusch)
Source: Sonates à un Violin Seul (C-6), Estienne Roger, Amsterdam, c1706-07.
S-Uu: MS Instr. mus. i hs. 6-7 (evidently copied from the printed edition, but without the dedication)
Catalogue No.: 1:105-120

These Sets are of special interest because each follows the same sequence of keys, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonata 1</th>
<th>C major</th>
<th>Sonata 8</th>
<th>C minor</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D minor</td>
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<td>D major</td>
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<td>E minor</td>
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<td>A major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>B minor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>B major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 15</td>
<td>Bb major</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Eb major</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted that in Sets I-IV and VII, Sonatas No. 14 and 15 are copied in reverse order; we shall see that the order given above is probably what Pepusch had intended.

The practice of writing sets of sonatas according to a regular key-scheme had been employed by previous composers, but usually they had followed the circle of fifths (alternating with the relative minor key) as in Purcell's Sonnata's of III. Parts (1683); and only rarely had they exceeded four sharps or flats. In both respects, Pepusch's sets may be unique. At first glance his key-scheme appears to follow the diatonic scale beginning on C with the major or minor mode chosen more or less to provide an increase in the number of sharps or flats in the key signature throughout the set; the key of B major with its third movement in the relative of G sharp minor -- most awkward for a string player -- is placed towards the end. The sonatas are not otherwise arranged to make increasing technical demands on the player, which rules out the possibility that they may have been composed as progressive studies for didactic purposes. Even so, the individuals for whom they were written may indeed have been among Pepusch's pupils; he was, after all, highly regarded as a teacher. Pepusch was also considered to be the finest theoretician of his time, and his choice of key-scheme would therefore hardly have been haphazard. He was particularly noted, and sometimes criticised, for his interest in early music and the practice of solmisation according to Guido d'Arezzo's system of hexachords; a practice that by 1700 was considered old-fashioned. It is here that we find a clue, for Pepusch was almost certainly thinking of the 'Natural' hexachord (CDEFGA) when he selected his key-scheme.
Pepusch's ideas on theory appear to be reflected in *A Treatise on Harmony* (1730), a work often attributed to him but more likely the work of his pupil James Hamilton (1685-1744), later Lord Paisley and 7th Earl of Abercorn. A revised edition of 1731, perhaps supervised by Pepusch himself, contains an interesting passage not found in the first edition (p. 21).

The Keys are the Octaves [i.e. scales?] of C D E F G A, and are distinguish'd into Sharp and Flat Keys, being so call'd from their Thirds being naturally Sharp or Flat. The Sharp Keys are C G and F [i.e. in relation to the 'Natural' hexachord, the third degree of the scale is major]; and the Flat Keys are A D and E [i.e. the third degree of the scale is naturally minor].

The Seventh Species of Octave which begins from B, cannot be consider'd as a Key, it not having a True Fifth as the others have [i.e. in the 'Natural' hexachord or C scale].

Earlier, the Scottish mathematician Alexander Malcolm, in his *Treatise of Musick* (Edinburgh, 1721), had also subscribed to this theory of 'Sharp' and 'Flat' keys, but he admitted the key of B as legitimate. Pepusch's key-scheme for the sets of sonatas also adds the Seventh Species of Octave (key of B) to the 'Natural' hexachord. His apparently random selection of major and minor modes now becomes clear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keys with the 'Natural' Third</th>
<th>Keys with chromatically altered Third</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 1  C major</td>
<td>Sonata 8  C minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  D minor</td>
<td>9  D major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  E minor</td>
<td>10  E major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  F major</td>
<td>11  F minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  G major</td>
<td>12  G minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  A minor</td>
<td>13  A major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  B minor</td>
<td>14  B major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[German, H]</td>
<td>[German, H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 15  Bb major [German, B]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 16  Eb major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This line of reasoning does not explain the two last sonatas; B flat major and E flat major respectively. Since fourteen was an unusual number of pieces for a collection, presumably these two were appended to round off the set at sixteen. We need not search far for a theoretical justification of the choice. The note of B flat belongs to the hexachord system as 'Fa' of the 'Soft' hexachord and is the only key of the system that Pepusch has not already used. Pepusch, however, chose only the major mode and avoided the awkward key signature of B flat minor for Sonata 16: he preferred instead to use the next available alternative, E flat major. It may also be significant that both B flat and E flat are notes in the key of C minor (the A flat would not figure).

Sets I to V, in addition to employing the same sequence of keys, share two other points in common: (i) each was composed for, and dedicated to, a particular individual; and (ii) the principal surviving sources are in manuscript and are the work of the same copyist.

(i) Not much light can be shed on the identity of the dedicatees. Nothing is known of either Mr Butler, Mr Slater, or Mrs Litton (or Lytton?); Madam Greggs, and perhaps John Hamilton, present another mysterious connection between Pepusch and the North (see above, p. 23). It is known that William Greggs was Master of the Choristers and Organist of Durham Cathedral from 1682 until his death in October 1710. If the sonatas were composed for his wife, Frances, then it can be concluded that they were written some time before her death.
in May 1700. Pepusch's association with James Hamilton, whose father (James, 6th Earl of Abercorn) was a member of the Scottish Parliament in 1706, has already been mentioned on page 38. While I can find no trace of a relative named John, the fact remains that the younger Hamilton was a pupil and life-long friend of Pepusch. The sonatas in Set II may have been written for him in his youth and, while it seems at first sight implausible to suggest that the dedication gives the wrong Christian name, it is interesting to observe from the title page of the Brussels manuscript that the name of the dedicatee seems not to form a part of the page design and appears to have been added later; it does not appear at all in the Rochester volume. Presumably both manuscripts had already been copied before Pepusch chose a dedicatee. The name of John Hamilton also appears as the dedicatee for a set of eight Pepusch sonatas for solo violin which may have been composed earlier than those in Sets I to VII (discussed below, p. 46).

(ii) Each volume is in score, copied throughout with considerable

11 I am grateful to Brian Crosby of the Chorister School at Durham for supplying information from the Chapter records and parish register, without references, concerning William and Frances Greggs. No record of a daughter, or any other lady by the name of Greggs, has been discovered.

12 It was common practice, certainly in informal circumstances, to interchange the names of James and John; Pepusch himself was sometimes referred to as 'James' (see, for example, entries for him in the Poor Rate Books for Boswell Court, 1708-35, mentioned below, p. 87). There exists the remote possibility that the dedicatee was John Hamilton (1656-1708), second Baron Belhaven, also a member of the Scottish Parliament; or perhaps his son, also John, who drowned in 1721 on his way to Barbados as governor. I have been unable to trace any family connection with Lord Abercorn, nor is there any surviving evidence to connect either the Baron or his son with Pepusch. For a facsimile of the title page of B-Bc: 26.477, see Plate 2, p. 41.
PLATE 2: Reproduction of a manuscript title page by an unknown scribe. (Brussels Conservatoire, MS 26477)
care in the same hand, which is not Pepusch's. Each volume has a title page distinctive for its calligraphy; the lay-out is similar for each volume, with the name of the dedicatee written at the bottom of the page. Set II (dedicated to Hamilton) is the most elaborate, a beautiful example of filigree writing and decorated with drawings of birds (see Plate 2). While the volumes may have been intended as presentation copies, it seems more likely that they were careful copies all made for one person, perhaps for Pepusch's own library; observe the initial 'P' in the lower right-hand corner of Plate 2. This theory is supported by an entry in the printed catalogue for a miscellaneous auction by "W. P. Musgrave at Mr Stanley's" on 29-31 March 1824. The sale included some unspecified items from the library of William Boyce, son of the composer. Lot 97 is described as,

Pepusch's Solos and Sonatas, 1 set of 9, 5 of 16 each, and 1 of 22, all fine MS, scarce, in 6 vols. oblong and upright.

No buyer is noted. In all probability "5 of 16 each" were indeed those volumes listed above for Sets I to V, and now preserved as B-Bc: MSS 15.455 and 26.477, and Lbl: Add. MSS 31531 and 31532; apparently they were still together as a collection in 1824. Since the sale catalogue describes a total of seven sets of sonatas in only six separate volumes, we may further presume that, if the volumes under discussion were indeed those sold, Set IV (Slater) and Set V (Butler) were already bound together. ¹³ It may also be

¹³ Of the remaining volumes in Lot 97, "1 of 22" can be identified as B-Bc: MS 26.478 (discussed below, p. 47). I have been unable to trace "1 set of 9". The sale catalogue for an earlier auction of the library "of an Eminent Professor recently deceased" (Musgrave: 15-17 May 1822) included as Lot 120 a single volume of Pepusch sonatas, "16 on 16 different keys, MS"; probably the copy of Set III (Litton) now preserved in Brussels (MS 5.780).
significant that only a few duplicate sets of the dedication sonatas survive in manuscript -- three sets are unique -- and that only twelve sonatas (all from Set II) ever appeared in print. This strengthens the argument that the principal manuscript copies were made for a private library and, consequently, had a limited circulation.

The wider currency enjoyed by Set II was no doubt the cause of a discrepancy between the repertories of the Brussels volume (MS 26.477) and the Rochester version (MS M. 219 P424S). While fourteen sonatas are common to both sources, the volumes offer different sonatas for No. 1 and No. 6, though the keys are the same. Since it has not been possible to arrive at an accurate dating of either source, it is difficult to determine which contains the original sixteen sonatas of the set. Of the twelve sonatas that were printed, No. 1 in C major from the Brussels source appeared as No. 16 (transposed to E major) of John Walsh's XXIV Solos for a Violin (C-9) of 1707. Walsh published quite a number of Pepusch's sonatas, but this is the only one from Sets I to VI to have been printed by him. Estienne Roger in Amsterdam copied the Walsh Sonata in E and included it, along with two others from Set II, in Pepusch's X Sonates, Op. 5 (C-18), about 1711. Roger evidently had access to the Rochester volume (or a related copy) because a second publication, X Sonates, Op. 6 (C-19), which was issued soon afterwards, contained an additional nine sonatas from Set II, including Sonata No. 6 as found in the Rochester volume. The sonata given as No. 6 in the Brussels volume does not appear to have survived in any other manuscript or printed source.
The Rochester volume, apparently unknown to previous researchers, is important not only as a second copy of Set II, but also because it brings to light twenty-one Pepusch sonatas not found in any other source. It was originally two separate volumes, copied throughout in the same unidentified hand, which differs from that of the scribe mentioned above for Sets I to V. The first page of each of the original volumes has the inscription, "Savage. R. J. S. Stevens, Charterhouse, 1817", indicating that the volumes were bound together some time after Stevens had signed them. The first volume (ff. 1-32v) contains the sonatas of Set II and has a title page very similar in lay-out and elegant script to the ones mentioned above in connection with Sets I to V. The second volume is made up of two collections: the sixteen sonatas of Set VI (ff. 33-54v) and "V Select Sonatas" (ff. 55-65) under its own title page. It is regrettable that the title page for Set VI is missing for it may have revealed the name of a dedicatee; in its place the title page from folio one has been re-copied in a later hand, probably by Stevens.

Set VII comprises Estienne Roger's Sonates à une Violon Seul & une Base (C-6), advertised by François and Paul Vaillant, Roger's London agents, in The Post Man for 14-16 January 1707. Each of these sonatas survives also in at least one manuscript source.

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14 Savage and Stevens will be mentioned later in connection with other important Pepusch manuscripts (see below, p. 117).

15 Perhaps Mr Viner, the violinist for whom Pepusch especially composed at least one sonata in 1710 or earlier (see above, p. 28).
most if not all copied from the printed edition. Though the sonatas must surely have come to Roger's attention as a set, only one surviving manuscript volume preserves the complete set, and this was almost certainly copied later (S-Uu: MS Instr. mus. i hs. 6-7, discussed below, p. 50).

While we can determine that the sonatas in Set VII were composed before 1707, it is harder to fix a date for the composition of Sets I to VI, which survive complete only in manuscript. The inclusion of sonatas from Set II in Roger's edition of Op. 5 and Op. 6 confirms that Set II must have been composed before 1712; we are reminded that at least one sonata, No. 1 of the Brussels source, was printed by Walsh before August 1707. Since the chief manuscripts for Sets I to V are the work of the same scribe, it may further be presumed that the copies date from approximately the same period. None of the volumes is signed or dated and there is insufficient evidence to permit a precise dating. Some of the sonatas may have been composed before Pepusch came to England, brought over with him, and subsequently incorporated into one or more of the sets. Nevertheless, it may safely be conjectured that most of the pieces were composed and the sets compiled for British dedicatees during a period which began soon after Pepusch's arrival in London (perhaps beginning before 1700 with those for Madam Greggs if the dedicatee were indeed the Frances Greggs referred to above), and ended before Pepusch was made a Doctor of Music at Oxford in July 1713.¹⁶ Surviving music manuscripts and other references to him after this date almost

¹⁶ The awarding of Pepusch's degree is discussed below, p. 95.
invariably refer to him as 'Dr Pepusch'; yet nearly all surviving manuscripts of instrumental music (including the chief sources for Sets I to VI) refer to him as 'Mr', 'Signior', or 'Monsieur'.

The scribe who copied the chief manuscripts of Sets I to V figures prominently in several primary sources for other sonatas which date from about the same period. Obviously he was closely associated with Pepusch and it is a pity that an identification cannot be made. His work appears to be confined to instrumental pieces and is not present in manuscripts of theatre pieces, dateable after 1714. Comparisons of notational hands are often frustrating and inconclusive; the following can, however, be attributed with confidence to him.

1) J-Tnl: MS N-6/63 Eight Solos or Sonatas for A Violin a Bass=Viol or Harpsicord [sic] Composed For Mr John Hamilton By Mr John Christopher Pepusch

This volume, formerly owned by T. W. Taphouse and W. H. Cummings, was missing for forty-five years until it came to light in the Ohki Collection, Tokyo -- a rich collection rediscovered by chance in 1967 and consequently unknown to Herbert W. Fred. The musical style and notation suggest that these eight sonatas are very early works; certainly the frequent use of 'white' notation for slow movements

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17 The few exceptions include Roger's Op. 7 and Op. 8 which, though published after 1716, retain 'Monsieur Pepusch'. Pepusch is called 'Doctor' in a Concerto in A minor (Ob(n): Tenbury MS 1131, ff. 11-19v; a volume which can be dated from internal evidence as being copied after 1715) and also in several manuscript volumes of keyboard pieces, all of which appear to date from a later period. Manuscript volumes that use an appellative other than 'Doctor', or the originals from which they derive, may plausibly be dated before July 1713.
(complete with breves and $\frac{3}{1}$ time signature) and the use of motto openings are rare among Pepusch's other sonatas. Furthermore, all eight sonatas are set in the key of C major and are technically quite simple, ideally suited to a beginning student. It is reasonable to suggest that they represent a first set composed for Mr Hamilton or some member of his family; the second dedication to Hamilton of sixteen sonatas (Set II) make greater technical demands and presumably came later. Taphouse wrote the following curious note facing the title page:

Having compared this with an original manuscript of Dr Pepusch's in my possession vouched to be authentic by Dr Alcock in 1763, I am of the opinion that this collection of Sonatas is in the Dr's handwriting & were written by him previous to taking his degree at Oxford in 1713.

The Alcock manuscript to which he refers is preserved in The Library of Congress (MS M. 196. P41) and is discussed below. Taphouse is undoubtedly correct in dating the manuscript before July 1713, but it is abundantly clear from an examination of both manuscripts that he is far off the mark in claiming the Ohki volume as autograph. The two volumes are written by different scribes, and it will be shown later that the Alcock volume is autograph.\(^{18}\)

2) B-Bc: MS 26.478 Twenty Three Solos or Sonatas for A Violin, a Base Viol or Harpsichord Compos'd By Mr John Chri. Pepusch

The volume actually contains only twenty-two sonatas; Sonata

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18 Taphouse's ill-founded claim is perpetuated in Catalogue of Rare Books and Notes. The Ohki Collection, compiler not named (Tokyo, 1970).
No. 23 is missing. If this is the same volume as the one described under Lot 97 of Musgrave's sale catalogue in 1824 (see above, p. 42), then -- assuming a correct count -- a sonata must have been missing at that time. The title page is tastefully inscribed in black, red, and gold lettering placed inside a blue oval border. Five of the sonatas were published by Roger in Pepusch's VI Sonata, Op. 1 (C-5), c1705-06, and the manuscript may antedate this.

3) **Lbl:** Add. MS 31466 Sixty Six Solo's or Sonata's For A Violin, a Base Viol or Harpsichord Composed By Several Eminent Masters

Eight sonatas are ascribed to Pepusch; three of them were printed in Walsh's XXIV Solos (C-9), which establishes the date of composition as before August 1708, and another is found in B-BC: MS 26.478. The title page is similar in style and lay-out to those of the dedication sets.

4) **Lcm:** MS 1198 (I) & (II) Octavo part-books for two sonatas à 3, neither of which is found elsewhere.

Other sonatas, as well as concertos, are scattered throughout a number of surviving manuscript volumes by various scribes. Several of these pieces were also printed, and a few are duplicated in more than one manuscript source. Those sources listed below are noteworthy because they contain a substantial collection of Pepusch's music.

1) **Lkc:** MS (without press-mark) A volume (mentioned above, p. 33) of instrumental pieces, chiefly by Italian composers active
before 1713. There are twelve sonatas, two concertos, and several miscellaneous pieces by Pepusch, all of which are individually ascribed to 'Mr' or 'Signor' Pepusch. Folios 71-77 contain rules for harmony and composition by Pepusch, but are not autograph and give no insight into his compositional technique. The volume is an important source which escaped the notice of both Williams and Fred.

2) Two manuscript volumes, both probably copied before 1713, now preserved in Dresden. These were unknown to Fred, but are discussed at some length by Williams in Chapter 4 of his dissertation.

(a) DDR-D1: MS 2160-0-1 (-6), Nr 378 (-383)  A collection of six concertos, each with a separate title page bearing an ascription to 'Sigr Pepusch' and numbered from 1 to 6 (but bound together out of order). Several scribes may be observed.

(b) DDR-D1: MS 2160-Q-1 (-6), Nr 384 (-389)  A collection of eight sonatas à 3; originally individual manuscripts of un-numbered sonatas copied by various scribes, apparently English. The press-mark is misleading since MS 2160-Q-6, Nr 389 has two additional sonatas, a fact which escaped the notice both of the cataloguer and of Williams.

3) DDR-ROu: MS Mus. Saec. XVII-37  A collection of individual manuscripts now bound together. A few have title pages bearing numbers that are not related to the present volume and no doubt refer to their location in a previous collection or on a library shelf. Pepusch is
represented by five solo sonatas, six sonatas à 3, and two concertos. The cembalo part for Sonata à 3 in E minor (No. 8 in the volume) has the date "Le 12\textsuperscript{me} xbris [December] 1722". It is interesting to note the frequent use of the French violin clef for the flute parts.\textsuperscript{19}

4) S-Uu: MS Instr. mus. i hs. 6-7 This volume, "[26] Sonate da Camera a Violino Solo con Cembalo dell Sig' Pepusch", has already been mentioned as a secondary source for Set VII. Sonatas No. 1 - 10 appear to have been copied from the Rochester version of Set II (Nos. 1 - 10); Sonatas No. 11 - 26 are from Set VII, Roger's Sonates a un Violon Seul. In copying the latter set the scribe missed out Roger's Sonata No. 9, spoiling the key-scheme, but added it at the end as his No. 26. If, as I suspect, Roger also used the Rochester source for his edition of Pepusch's Op. 5 and Op. 6, then there is reason to propose some kind of connection between him and the copyist of this volume. Though the scribe remains unidentified, his work is evident in several manuscripts of opera and English theatre songs. One of his manuscripts, Lbl: Add. MS 27932, can be dated from internal evidence as 1720-25.

Of all the surviving manuscripts of Pepusch's instrumental music, only one appears to be a Pepusch holograph. This is a Concerto in A minor now in The Library of Congress (MS M. 196. P41). As T. W. Dr. Fred includes these pieces in his thematic catalogue but he fails to observe the transposition necessary when re-writing the flute parts in the G-clef.\textsuperscript{19}
Taphouse pointed out, a note on the fly-leaf attests that the copy is in Pepusch's hand:

N.B. This is ye Original Score of this Concerto, & this is Dr Pepusch's own writing.

And at the bottom of the same page Alcock adds:

This Concerto was in no bodys [sic] hands but mine till I lent Mr Hebdon it, about 30 years ago. J. Alcock.

The writer, John Alcock (1715-1806) may have been a pupil of Pepusch. The manuscript does not, however, bear the composer's signature. Alcock's note implies that the volume came into his possession before 1733, although it is very likely that the concerto was composed much earlier. In addition to passing through Taphouse's library, the volume is listed in two sale catalogues: James Bartleman (White: 20 February 1822), and W. H. Cummings (Sotheby: 17-24 May 1917).

The only surviving musical manuscript to bear Pepusch's signature is a single-page piece without words, bound in with a large collection of early eighteenth-century vocal music preserved in the St. Michael's College Collection, formerly housed at Tenbury but now on indefinite loan to the New Bodleian Library, Oxford (Tenbury MS 1175, f. 87). The entire page is reproduced as Plate 3. At the end of the piece is inscribed "Canons [i.e. Cannons, the Duke of Chandos' seat at Edgware], January the 29. 1721/22 [signed] J. C. Pepusch". The authenticity of the signature is determined from a comparison with several autograph letters which survive. This example, written for SAT in C-clefs and in Renaissance style using the minim as the unit beat, provides only
a short specimen of Pepusch's hand. It is enough, however, to confirm Alcock's claim.

The Alcock and Tenbury manuscripts enable us to establish Pepusch's notational style and will form the basis for identifying as autograph certain additions and corrections made by Pepusch to several manuscripts of vocal music discussed in later chapters.

(B) Principal Printed Sources

Printed editions will be discussed in chronological order, in so far as the date of publication can be determined. Full bibliographical details and a list of contents will be found in my Inventory of Printed Sources (Appendix C); the reference number is given in parentheses immediately following each title.²⁰

1704-1707

Pepusch's first published work, a sonata for flute and bass appended to Croft's Six Sonatas of two Parts (C-1), has been mentioned

previously: it was advertised in The Post Man for 22-25 January 1704.\textsuperscript{21} Walsh's title page includes the line, "To which is added an Excellent Solo for a FLUTE and a BASS by Seign' PAPUS [sic]." Within a short time Walsh re-issued the edition with 'Papus' corrected to 'Pepusch'. Walsh in London and Roger in Amsterdam competed for the English market and frequently pilfered one another's editions, a practice which both publishers appear to have accepted as legitimate. Croft's \textit{Six Sonatas}, including the one by Pepusch, were subsequently copied by Roger and listed in his printed catalogue for 1706 under \textit{Dix Sonates} (C-21); additional sonatas by Fiocco and Pez made up the ten.

Pepusch's reputation was no doubt enhanced during the Spring of 1704 by the performances of his compositions given by his brother Gottfried and the visiting musicians from the Prussian Court (see above, p. 22). Walsh's \textit{Instrumental Music for June} included a "Solo in D\# [i.e. D major] for a Violin" (C-2) by Pepusch, advertised in The Post Man for 8-11 July 1704. Another sonata, "for Violins in 3 parts, with a Thorow Bass for the Harpsichord" (C-3), found its way into Walsh's \textit{Instrumental Music for October}, as advertised in The Post Man for 11-14 November 1704. No copy has been traced, but the sonata may have been the one published later in \textit{Harmonia Mundi} (C-58).

Besides the single flute solo in \textit{Dix Sonates}, Roger's printed catalogue for 1706 credits Pepusch with a collection of \textit{VI Sonates à flauto solo con cimbalo}. The fourth of these turns out to be the "Solo

\textsuperscript{21} See above, p. 22. Mr Peter Holman has informed me that there is a strong probability that Gottfried Finger, and not Croft, composed at least three of \textit{Six Sonatas}. 
in D# published earlier by Walsh, and now transposed to F major for the greater convenience of the recorder. The same collection was also issued by Walsh as Six Sonatas or Solos for the Flute (C-7), advertised in The Post Man for 25-28 January 1707. Presumably Roger had by then compiled his 1706 catalogue, which at first sight suggests that his edition had appeared before Walsh's. This may not necessarily have been the case, however, for the Walsh edition omits the name of P. Randall from the imprint; the work may therefore have been engraved and printed before Randall joined the firm in November 1706.22

Also in January 1707, Vaillant in London advertised Roger's edition of Pepusch's Sonates à un Violon Seul (C-6), discussed above as Set VII. If this collection was available in London in January, then it must have been printed in the closing months of 1706; apparently it was not ready in time for inclusion in Roger's catalogue. The edition was printed as a collection of sixteen sonatas divided equally into two books with continuous page and sonata numbers. A second edition was first listed in Roger's printed catalogue for 1716, by which time he had begun the practice of numbering his publications chronologically, assigning the numbers 72 and 73 to Sonates à un Violon Seul (later styled Op. 2). The second edition was printed from the original plates with only minor alterations to tempo markings and figured bass, and with the addition to the title page of the line "Seconde Edition Reveue & Corrigée par l'Auteur". This was very likely a fiction, however, for in his letter of November 1746 to Richard Rawlinson, Pepusch stated categorically that the only publica-

tions which he himself had authorized were the two sets of English cantatas published by Walsh in 1710 and 1720; "Several other works of mine have been printed as well in England as in Holland but all without my leave".  

1708-1712

The sonatas in Roger's Op. 2 also appeared in Walsh's *XXIV Solos for a Violin* (C-9) by Pepusch, advertised in *The British Apollo* for 6 August 1708 as being "lately published". Walsh's edition was laid out in two sets, each of twelve sonatas and each with a separate title page, though the page and sonata numbers run continuously. Walsh does not seem to have realized the importance of Pepusch's sequence of keys for the sonatas in Op. 2: he printed them out of order and divided the group as numbers 1 to 11 and 20 to 24. Only one other sonata had previously been printed; Walsh's Sonata No. 19 had appeared earlier as No. 6 of *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Flute*.

The immense popularity of the recorder as a favourite instrument among the gentry encouraged Walsh to issue numerous books of flute lessons and tutors; several of them contained pieces by Pepusch, and these are noted in my Appendix C (C-41 to C-78, *passim*). In 1709, Walsh printed Pepusch's *Aires for two Flutes made on Purpose for the Improvement of Practitioners in Consort* (C-11). This book of graded studies in the form of a theme and twenty-two variations for two equal flutes without accompaniment was advertised in *The Monthly Mask* for

23 Ob: Rawl. MS J 4o 6, f. 320.
October 1709. They are of little musical interest, but they fulfill their function as technical exercises and contain some deft and interesting two-part counterpoint. The set is identical to Pepusch's Aires for Two Violins Made on Purpose... (C-10), which Walsh advertised in The Post Man for 20 June 1709. A Second Set of Solos for the Flute (C-12), intended as a second volume to Six Sonatas or Solos of 1707, was issued by Walsh in November 1709. Of the six sonatas in A Second Set of Solos, only two were new: Sonatas Nos. 3, 4, and 6 were transposed for the flute from XXIV Solos for a Violin, and No. 2 had first appeared in 1704 appended to Croft's Six Sonatas.

Solo sonatas frequently did duty for both flute and violin, transposed when necessary, to such an extent that it is often impossible to decide for which instrument the piece had originally been intended. It was not uncommon for publishers to describe their publications as suitable for a variety of instruments in order to increase their sales, and composers seem to have acquiesced in, if not contrived at, this practice.

Luke Pippard, another of the London music printers, tried to take advantage of Pepusch's increasing fame by issuing Twelve Sonata's in Parts for Violins or Hautbois... 8 Compos'd by Mr Pepusch (C-15). According to the title page, all were entirely new and carefully corrected by William Corbett, a prominent violinist in the theatre band and at the concert rooms. Pippard advertised his book in The Post Man for 8-11 April 1710, and in The Tatler for 15-18 April 1710; by so doing he pre-empted a similar edition that Walsh was preparing. The very next issue of The Post Man (13-15 April) brought a quick reaction...
from Walsh, who damned Pippard's edition as "being spurious and Incorrect". Walsh went on to advise all lovers of music that

There is now engraven and will speedily [be published] a true copy of the 8 Sonatas above mentioned with the [addition of 4 more by the same Author, done by his own [hand] and corrected by him. [Copy is mutilated.]

No copy of this Walsh edition appears to have survived, and it may never have been issued. Perhaps Walsh was aware that Roger's XII Sonates à deux Violons, deux haubois ou deux Flutes traversieres, ... Troisième Ouvrage was in preparation and he may have been referring to it. This collection was advertised in The Post Man for 16 October 1711.24 Roger ascribes all twelve sonatas to Pepusch even though all but one (Roger's No. 12) are also found in Pippard's edition: Pippard's No. 7 does not appear in Roger. This is difficult to explain, since Pippard credited Pepusch with only eight. The situation is further confused by the fact that Pippard did not indicate which of the sonatas were Pepusch's. The following table will show that six of Pippard's sonatas can, however, be authenticated by concordances other than Roger.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Pippard} & \text{Roger} & \text{Manuscript Sources} \\
\hline
\text{Sonata 1} & \text{Sonata 1} & \text{None} \\
2 & 2 & \text{DDR-D1: 2160-Q-6 (Nr 389)} \\
3 & 3 & \text{None} \\
4 & 4 & \text{US-R: M. 412.4 P424 (No. 4)} \\
5 & 5 & \text{None} \\
6 & 9 & \text{US-R: M. 412.4 P424 (No. 8)} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

24 This is the first of the Pepusch collections to have received an opus number from Roger at the time of publication. Later, in his catalogue of 1712, Roger listed Sonates à un Violon Seul as "opera secondo"; strangely, VI Sonate à flauto, the first of Pepusch's works to have been issued by Roger, was never given an opus number, though it is normally considered Opus 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pippard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lkc: without press-mark (f. 26v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-R: M. 412.4 P424 (No. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDR-D1: 2160-Q-1 (Nr 384)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDR-ROu: Mus. Saec. XVII-37 (No. 13, but without ascription)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDR-D1: 2160-Q-6 (Nr 389; mov'ts i and iv only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems then that at least eleven, and perhaps all twelve, of Pippard's sonatas were composed by Pepusch; or alternatively, that as many as five of those printed by Roger may be spurious.

No further collections of new instrumental works by Pepusch were printed in England. Roger in Amsterdam, however, produced five more Pepusch volumes, three of them listed in his catalogue of 1712:

XII Sonate à violino solo e violoncello o Basso continuo, opera quarta (C-17); and two sets of X Sonates à Violon Seul, opera quinta (C-18), and opera sexta (C-19). Henry Ribotteau, who had taken over from Vaillant as Roger's agent in London, advertised the XII Sonates, Op. 4 in The Post Man for 16 October 1711; the edition was later included in Roger's printed catalogue of 1716, and LeCêne's of 1737. No copy appears to have survived. The two volumes of X Sonates were a continuation of Roger's Op. 2, picking up the solo sonata numbers from where Op. 2 left off, and numbering Op. 5 and Op. 6 consecutively throughout. Roger's inclusion here of twelve sonatas from Set II (Hamilton) has already been noted; in addition to these, eight other sonatas in Op. 5 were taken from Walsh's XXIV Solos.

25 Neither Herbert W. Fred nor RISM lists this work.
After 1712

Only two collections were printed after 1712, both by Roger. Neither was included in his catalogue of 1716, but they were listed in Le Cènè's printed catalogue of 1737 as follows:

X Sonate de Pepusch (qui sont son) opera settima à une flute Traversière ou Hautbois, un violon (ou à deux violons) & basse continue. No. 429.

VI Concerts de Pepusch huitième ouvrage à 2 flutes à bec, 2 flutes Traversières, Hautbois ou Violons & basse continue. No. 434.

Nothing is known of X Sonate, Op. 7 (C-26), and no copy appears to have survived. VI Concerts, Op. 8 (C-27) survive in only one source (the private library of Baron De Geer in Leufsta Bruk, Sweden), but the complete set is available in a modern edition. François Lesure, in his Bibliographie (1969), calculates from Roger's publication numbers that both volumes were issued some time between September 1716 and 1721. The date of composition is undoubtedly much earlier. The VI Concerts, for example, employ two pairs of treble instruments and continuo, a combination that was at its most popular from c1690 to c1705; it will be recalled that this was the scoring of the Pepusch works performed in Edinburgh on St. Cecilia's Day in 1695. Furthermore, three of the Roger concertos are found also in manuscript sources which may provisionally be dated before 1713.


27 Concerto No. 2 is found in DDR-ROu: MS Mus. Saec. XVII-37 (No. 14); Concerto No. 4 in DDR-D1: MS 2160-0-4 (Nr 381); and Concerto No. 6 in Lkc: without press-mark (ff. 49-52).
Although no new collections followed the publication of *VI Concerts*, Pepusch's instrumental music must have retained its popularity for some time; both Roger and Walsh continued to advertise and issue reprints well into the 1730s.

Pepusch's Instrumental Style: A Summary

The following is not meant to be a study in its own right, but rather takes the form of a general summary intended to set the scene technically for a discussion of Pepusch's stage works. Pepusch's instrumental style is not sharply distinguishable from that of his contemporaries; it conforms to standard idioms and harmonic progressions typical of the Baroque sonata. Nevertheless, some general comments can be made, and these will serve as a point of reference in later discussions of his vocal style. In his solo and ensemble sonatas, Pepusch employs the traditional Italian four-movement structure almost without exception, unlike Handel who changed the order of movements and added to them at his pleasure (Sonata No. 9 of Handel's Op. 1, for example, has seven movements: slow-fast-fast-slow-fast-slow-moderate). The following sums up the

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28 The Baroque sonata in general is discussed by William S. Newman in *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (1959), and this forms the basis for my comments.

29 Among the exceptions are:

- 3 movements - XII Sonates, Op. 3 (Roger), Nos. 2 and 3.
- 5 movements - XXIV Solos (Walsh), No. 13
  - *DDR-ROu*: MS Mus. Saec. XVII-37, Nos. 5 and 6.
characteristics usually found in each of the four movements of Pepusch's sonatas.

Movement I (Slow): Usually in common time, it sets out a broad solo line supported by a bass of running quavers. He is not as fond of the dotted rhythms of the French overture style as his colleagues were, but instead prefers a contrapuntal approach. This contrapuntal emphasis is especially apparent in the trio sonatas, where the melodies and rhythms of the two upper parts are usually interrelated. Several of the solo sonatas have first movements modelled on the fantasia, in which adagio sections alternate with sections of rapid divisions; see for example, Roger Op. 5, Sonatas No. 23 and No. 26. This was a favourite technique of F. M. Veracini, who was in London in 1714-17; it may be observed in all sonatas in his Op. 2 of 1716.

Movement II (Fast): Always in the same tonic key as Movement I, this movement usually has a time signature of $\frac{3}{4}$. It sometimes employs the loose, quasi-fugal style seen in Purcell's 'Canzona' movements, and particularly in the trio sonatas of Corelli. At other times, Pepusch will write a more homophonic allegro of the type used later by Tartini. The bass is rarely confined to a purely supportive role and engages in rhythmic and melodic interplay with the upper part.

Movement III (Slow): While Corelli most often sets this movement in the tonic key, a clear majority of Pepusch's are in the relative major or minor; most of the remainder are in the tonic, and a very few follow the later Baroque practice of using the dominant. In keeping with the convention of the time, Pepusch writes a very short
movement in $\frac{3}{2}$ time (reminiscent of the Sarabande). Those in the minor mode frequently end with the typically Baroque Phrygian cadence and give the impression that the adagio movement is intended merely as an introduction to the final allegro. In several of the solo sonatas, the third movement displays an intense melodic phrase built out of elaborate rhythmic combinations and supported by a slower-moving, more sustained bass-line. On these occasions the solo line takes on the character of a dramatic arioso (Example 1).

Example 1: Sonata No. 3, mov't iii, from XXIV Solos (Walsh)

William S. Newman has observed this free-style third movement in the Scherzi da violino solo (1676) of Pepusch's compatriot, Johann Jakob Walther.\(^30\) Handel uses a similar treatment in Sonata No. 3 of his XV Solos for a German Flute, Op. 1.

Movement IV (Fast): Here Pepusch employs with equal frequency the compound metre of the French gigue, the triple metre of the

Italian giga, and a simple allegro in common time. The dactylic rhythms of the gigue leave little room for rhythmic variation, and Pepusch's handling of it is often repetitive and lacks imagination.

In general, Pepusch relies less on short, motivic figures than did his late seventeenth-century predecessors; rather, he is inclined towards a more extended line held together by a single rhythmical idea. Example 2 is typical, employing as it does a musical idea that served Bach well in the first movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 2, in F major.

Example 2: Sonata No. 28, mov't ii, from X Sonates, Op. 6

Here Pepusch urges on the melody by busily refusing to stop or ease up at the intermediate phrase-ends (at X) and launching immediately into a continuation of the phrase.

Pepusch had learned his lessons well with Klingenberg in Berlin, and he remained by nature a German contrapuntist. This is evident
throughout the instrumental pieces and is carried over into his vocal writing. Usually the counterpoint is fused with stylistic features borrowed from the Italians -- frequent writing in consecutive thirds, much use of sequences, and an upper line moving rapidly in conjunct semiquavers. But once in a while the music is unashamedly Teutonic and relies solely on square-rhythmmed imitative techniques. This may be illustrated by the opening bars of the Sonata in D, 'called Smalcoal' (Example 3).

Example 3: Sonata à 3, 'called Smalcoal', mov't i
(Lkc: MS without press-mark, f. 30v)

While the contrapuntal idiom favours a vigorous austerity, it also serves to generate tension and excitement; this is especially true when, as in Example 3, the entries pile up in a stretto. Pepusch, unlike many Italians, is always careful to involve the bass line in the counterpoint; indeed, Pepusch seems to lavish attention on his basses to ensure that they are harmonically purposeful and rhythmically energetic. The bass-line thus becomes an equal partner in the ensemble, adding strength and direction to the music.

It is fair to say that Pepusch's sonatas are better crafted and more sophisticated than those of Galliard or his English contemporaries, but he stops short of technical display. The sonatas
which survive, most of them perhaps written with the amateur in
mind, contain hardly any passages that require a high degree of
technical skill: even in his solo concertos, Pepusch seldom asks
for double stoppings, a prominent feature in the writing of Corelli
and his disciples. Pepusch did not follow the technical extra-
vagances of his colleague Viner, whose Solos for a Violin were
printed posthumously about 1717. Nor was he influenced by the works
of the Italian virtuoso Francesco Geminiani, for by the time Geminiani
arrived in London in 1714 (his Opus 1 was published two years later)
Pepusch had already composed most of his instrumental pieces.

It is worth noting here that on a few occasions Pepusch chose
to write for instrumental combinations that are extremely rare in
this period. For example:

(a) Trio sonatas for violin (or flute), viola da gamba,
and bass (see my Thematic Catalogue, Appendix A, under
2:021, 2:027, 2:029). This scoring suggests a North
German influence and it is possible that Pepusch composed
these pieces before he left Berlin.31

(b) One sonata for "Violino, Tenor Viola, Basso" (Lkc: MS
without press-mark, ff. 61v-64v). The tenor viola part
is copied throughout in the soprano C-clef and was probably
played on the viola da braccia.

31 See, for example, Buxtehude's VII Suonate a doi [due] violino
& viola da gamba, con cembalo, Op. 1, printed in Lübeck and
Hamburg in 1696. Other North German composers, including
Telemann, Becker, and Erlebach, composed for the same combination
of instruments.
(c) DDR-ROu: MS Mus. Saec. XVII-37, Sonata No. 6 gives the unusual options of "Flut [sic] Traversiere, Violino ou Viola d'Amour, un Lut ou Cembalo accomp. Basso Continuo", though this may indicate only a copyist's whim.

Neither Burney nor Hawkins had much to say about Pepusch as an instrumental composer. Hawkins' remark that Pepusch was "a learned, but a dry composer, and was apparently deficient in the powers of invention" is uncharitable and not borne out by an examination of his works.32 Admittedly, Pepusch was not an innovator, but his instrumental works represent a large, impeccably-crafted, and apparently popular contribution to the repertoire.33 They were available to musicians on the continent through Roger in Amsterdam, though the real extent of their currency outside Britain has not formed part of my study and cannot therefore be assessed here. It can be reported, nevertheless, that Pepusch's music was taken to Strassburg by Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach when he went there to attend university in 1712. Some pieces were performed there at a concert in December. Johann Friedrich leaves

32 History (1875), ii. 909.
33 His fecundity as a composer of instrumental works drew the following satirical lines from the anonymous poet of 'The Session of Musicians. In Imitation of the Session of the Poets' (1724; reprinted in Otto Erich Deutsch, Handel: A Documentary Biography, 1955, pp. 163-70).

First P[e]l[p]usich enter'd with majestick Gait,
Preceded by a Cart in solemn State;
With Pride he view'd the Offspring of his Art,
Songs, Solos, and Sonatas load the Cart;
...
His Quantity would never be despis'd,
But Quality alone in Sounds was priz'd.
no details of the works performed except that they were "besonders starke stücke".34

There is no doubt that in London Pepusch's sonatas and concertos were popular pieces at the concert rooms and in the theatres, where they were performed between the acts of plays; they may even have been performed on occasion within dramatic productions.35 Never sinking to mediocrity and sometimes equal to works by the best composers of the time, Pepusch's instrumental pieces are excellent and worthy examples of entertainment music, and the best of them do not deserve their present neglect. They were the whetstone that honed Pepusch's compositional style. In composing them he learned how to shape and extend a melodic line, how to support that line with basses that were both solid and full of vitality, and how, through the skillful use of counterpoint, to lend excitement and cohesion to his compositions—all important qualities that became prominent features of his vocal works for the theatre.

* * *

34 Pruessner, Die musikalischen Reisen (1949), p. 23. Johann Friedrich had travelled to London in 1710 with his brother, Zacharias Conrad, and no doubt had obtained copies of Pepusch's music at that time. See pp. 28f above.

35 John Oldmixon's musical drama The Grove; or, Love's Paradise (1700), set to music by Daniel Purcell, included two trumpet sonatas; one in Act ii, the other in Act iii. It is curious that a Sonata in G by Pepusch is given the title 'The Grove' in B-Bc: MS 26.478 (No. 13). Did it at some time replace Purcell's sonata in Oldmixon's drama?
Chapter 2

PEPUSCH AND THE THEATRES TO 1714

The history of London's theatres in the first decade of the eighteenth century is a confused tangle of expediency, subterfuge and conspiracy among the patentees, and trivial grievances, jealousies and angry feudings among the actors and musicians. The Lord Chamberlain issued numerous directives in futile attempts to exercise some control over the situation. Such conditions are perhaps common in every period of theatrical history, but they were aggravated in the London of 1705, when the introduction of Italianate opera added a further element of competition and lured away from the playhouses some of the more exalted patronage. Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, who served as Lord Chamberlain from 1704 to 1710, bore the brunt of the theatrical turmoil. He was forced to resign on 13 April 1710 in favour of the Duke of Shrewsbury (see above, p. 30), and was given a dukedom as a consolation. Kent left the day-to-day operation of the theatres to his Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Coke, whom George Vanbrugh described as a "great Lover of Musique and Promoter of Operas". Fortunately, many of Coke's official papers survive to tell their story.¹ The complexities of the theatre managements in

¹ These are preserved for the most part in four locations:

i) The A. M. Broadley Collection, City of Westminster Public Library.
1700-14 have been sorted out in several published studies. The chief personalities and events are summarized below in tabular form (see Table 1) as a convenient point of reference throughout this chapter, which discusses Pepusch's involvement in theatre music at this difficult time.

When Pepusch's first work was published in 1704 he was already a mature man and a respectable composer; but he can have known little of opera and theatre music, and during his early years in London he must have gained a valuable education in the musical drama. Night


iii) British Reference Library, Add. MS 38607, 'The Winston Theatrical Collection', a nineteenth-century copy of Coke's papers; of particular importance for those documents where the originals cannot now be traced.

iv) New York Public Library, Drexel MS 1986; also a copy, and similar to Winston's.

Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous have undertaken to produce an annotated catalogue of all these papers. Professor Hume has generously provided me with information from his own notes concerning them.


3 For further on specific theatres and managements see the following: Daniel Nalbach, The King's Theatre, 1704-1867 (1972); Philip Olleson, 'Vanbrugh and Opera at the Queen's Theatre, Haymarket', in Theatre Notebook, xxvi/3 (1972), pp. 94-101; W. J. MacQueen-Pope provides an anecdotal account of the managers and players in his Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1946); and Brian Dobbs, Drury Lane: Three Centuries of the Theatre Royal, 1663-1971 (1972), Chapter 5, has a good, if informal and undocumented, study of the management from 1700 to 1734.
### Table 1: SUMMARY OF THEATRE MANAGEMENTS

#### 1700 - 1717

**NOTE:** The managements enclosed in a box are those under which Pepusch is known to have worked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEASON</th>
<th>THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE</th>
<th>QUEEN'S THEATRE, HAYMARKET</th>
<th>LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patentees/Manager</td>
<td>Repertoire</td>
<td>Patentees/Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept./Oct. to Apr./May</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-04</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>Plays, masques, semi-operas &amp; interludes</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704-05</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>Plays, masques, interludes &amp; pasticciones</td>
<td>Opens in April under Vanbrugh &amp; Congreve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705-06</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>Vanbrugh &amp; Congreve (the latter leaves during season)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706-07</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>Vanbrugh &amp; Swiney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707-Dec.</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>Vanbrugh &amp; Swiney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After Jan. '08</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>Plays only</td>
<td>Vanbrugh (retires in May) &amp; Swiney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708-09</td>
<td>C. Rich</td>
<td>Plays only</td>
<td>Swiney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709-10</td>
<td>Collier &amp; Hill</td>
<td>Plays, music &amp; interludes</td>
<td>Swiney, with Wilks, Dogget &amp; Cibber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710-11</td>
<td>Swiney, Wilks, Dawget &amp; Cibber</td>
<td>Plays only</td>
<td>Collier &amp; Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711-12</td>
<td>Collier, Wilks, Dawget &amp; Cibber</td>
<td>Plays only</td>
<td>Swiney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712-13</td>
<td>Wilks, Dawget &amp; Cibber</td>
<td>Plays only; limited acts &amp; music</td>
<td>Swiney (who absconds in January), then Heidegger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713-14</td>
<td>Wilks, Cibber &amp; Booth</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>Heidegger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714-15</td>
<td>Wilks, Cibber &amp; Booth</td>
<td>Plays, music &amp; interludes, masques</td>
<td>Heidegger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715-16</td>
<td>Wilks, Cibber &amp; Booth</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>Heidegger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716-17</td>
<td>Wilks, Cibber &amp; Booth</td>
<td>Plays, music &amp; interludes</td>
<td>Heidegger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Pepusch continues to work for Rich until after 1730)
after night, from his place in the Drury Lane band he came to know the English tradition of masque and semi-opera; later on he participated in the initial attempts to establish Italianate opera on the London stage. A few surviving documents make isolated references to his theatrical activities, and from them it is possible to show that he rose to an important position in the theatre band and took a leading part in the musical direction of Italian operas and pasticci. It was during this period, too, that Pepusch first composed dramatic vocal music and learned to set English words. In contrast to his prolific output of instrumental works, however, he wrote surprisingly little vocal music for the stage before 1714. In fact, only one work was actually intended as a theatrical production, the pasticcio Thomyris, Queen of Scythia, and that was largely an arrangement of other composers' music. While outlining the events surrounding its production, the present chapter also considers several odes and cantatas by Pepusch. These pieces were not intended primarily for the theatre -- though some of them were performed between the acts of plays -- but they are included here because their musical language derives from dramatic music, and because they show Pepusch getting to grips with the problem of setting English words.

When Pepusch arrived at Drury Lane, one might have expected him to ally himself with those composers who were struggling in the wake of Henry Purcell to compose theatre overtures, masques and semi-operas to English words; men such as Gottfried Finger, John Weldon, Daniel Purcell, and John Eccles. Pepusch was not yet ready for this, and it must be remembered that, according to Rawlinson, he did not at first intend to stay in England. He was inexperienced in theatre music, and his knowledge of English must at first have been limited;
this would, no doubt, have hampered him in composing theatre songs, which normally had English words. The indigent circumstances of those who did compose for the theatre must have offered him little encouragement to pursue such a career. When his fellow-countryman, Finger, packed his bags in disgust after his unsuccessful try for the 'Prize Musick' in 1701, Pepusch may have wondered whether it would be his turn next. After composing a surprising number of Italianate theatre pieces (including many continuous operas, most in one act, now lost), Eccles retreated to the safety of the Royal Musick; Weldon and Daniel Purcell plodded on into obscurity. Pepusch, we may readily imagine, sensibly chose to wait for a better opportunity and threw in his lot with the foreigners who composed and performed music of a more modern idiom; men such as Haym, Dieupart, and later on Saggione, each of whom was to play a significant role in introducing Italian opera to London. If this was indeed how he was thinking, then subsequent events show that in the short term Pepusch's decision was sound. In the long term, though, neither he nor his colleagues survived to compose for the heyday of Italian opera under Handel; only Haym lasted the course, and even then only as an adapter of librettos.

Drury Lane, and 'Thomyris'

Although Burney and Hawkins both place Pepusch in the Drury Lane band by about 1700, there is no contemporary evidence of his theatrical involvement -- apart from a performance of his instrumental music --

4 The 'Prize Musick' was a competition in which Finger, Weldon, Eccles, and Daniel Purcell each composed a setting of Congreve's masque libretto, The Judgement of Paris. Weldon won the £200 prize.
until April 1706. In that year, Haym laid the ground-work for his own future at Drury Lane by signing Articles of Agreement between himself and the manager, Christopher Rich. It was agreed among other things that Haym was to receive £100 for setting the opera of Camilla (DL: 30 March 1706); to play bass viol in the band (although he is best known as a cellist); and to provide Drury Lane with Italian music by the best masters, to be performed by him, with Gasparo Visconti and others "of Mr Rich's Band of Music", which presumably included Pepusch, though he is not mentioned by name. It was probably in connection with his new responsibilities at the theatre that Haym arranged for himself and the singer l'Epine to meet with the Lord Chamberlain on 21 April 1706. At the last moment, l'Epine found it impossible to attend and Haym wrote a hasty note to the Lord Chamberlain to explain.

This is to let you know that Signora Margherita [de l'Epine] desires the favour you would pardon her from tomorrow morning. She cannot come to you because she is oblig'd to learn ye part of Camilla by Heart for Tuesday next -- I desire a further direction from you to know whether I shall bring Mr Pepuch [sic] a Long with me.

It is not clear from the letter whether Pepusch was originally expected to accompany l'Epine to the meeting and may not now be needed, or whether Haym is suggesting him as a deputy who might now be required to attend in her place. Either alternative would suggest that Pepusch's association with l'Epine had already begun. On the other hand, there is the third possibility that Pepusch was to come on his own merits as an important member of the Instrumental Musick.

The first firm evidence of Pepusch working for the theatre dates from 1707. By then, his command of the English language had apparently improved sufficiently for him to be chosen to arrange the music for Peter Motteux's translation of Thomyris. Motteux's preface to the printed libretto (1707) states that:

All the Airs of this Opera are by the famous Scarlatti and Buononcini, except a few by other great Masters [including Steffani, Gasparini, and Albinoni]. ... As for the Recitative, Mr Pepusch is known to be so great a Composer, that there is no doubt but he has also done his Part in that, and in adding such Ritornels, and other Musick, as were necessary to make the whole a Compleat Opera.

Alfred Loewenberg points to Thomyris as the "first perfect example of a London pasticcio", but Motteux himself was not content with pasticci alone. In the preface to the printed libretto (1708) of Love's Triumph (QT: 26 February 1708), a work similar to Thomyris but with recitatives by Dieupart, Motteux pleaded the case for specially-composed opera.

'Tis to be wish'd indeed that Music might be made to the Words, and not thus the Words to Music; and doubtless 'twill be so when our Composers, as in other Arts, outstrip at last those they imitate, by a Genius peculiar to this Isle. Mean while [sic], to fit Words to a Tune, may seem as odd as to fit a Horse to a Saddle, tho' such a thing may be done upon Occasion.

Motteux need not have worried. These pasticci proved to be a temporary measure; though a few new ones were produced after 1710, they soon gave way to operas with original music. But no great composer materialised with a "Genius peculiar to this Isle", and London audiences rallied instead to Handel and a small group of

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7 For a biography of Motteux, see Robert Newton Cunningham, Peter Anthony Motteux, 1663-1718 (1933).
Italians to hear opera sung in Italian.

Pepusch apparently took no part in the selection of the arias for Thomyris, for according to Motteux, this was done by a gentleman who "tho' Musick is only his Diversion, the best Masters allow him to be as good a Judge". It is generally accepted that the gentleman was J. J. Heidegger (called 'the Swiss Count'), a theatrical entrepreneur who later became manager of the Opera House in the Haymarket after Owen Swiney absconded in January 1712. An undated document, written in late January or early February of 1707 and preserved among the Vice-Chamberlain Coke papers, attempts to clarify an agreement between Christopher Rich (the Drury Lane patentee) and Heidegger for the rights to Thomyris.9 One section records that Rich agrees,

In order to make the translation of this medley opera his own with the score & parts, to lay our 300 guineas in the Dressing and Decoration of it and for printed Books for the Subscribers & that Mr Headacre [i.e. Heidegger] have all the subscription money for the 4th and Sixth day it shall be perform'd being 400 guineas & Mr Rich to have the rest of the money. and in such case Mr Headacre to deliver the score and parts to Mr Rich as soon as they shall be finish'd, a great part of the last act not being yet done nor the part for Sig. Valentini alter'd for him.

Rich had been encouraged by the public's response to his earlier operatic production, Camilla, and now wanted Heidegger's new pasticcio for Drury Lane so badly that he was prepared to pay more than double what Camilla had cost him nine months before. Thomyris received its

9 Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (ff. 51-52); original in US-CAh: MS Thr 464.4.15* (ff. 68-69). An approximate dating may be ascertained from internal evidence: "Mr Clayton's opera call'd Rosamond is finished & in all Probability may be perform'd in 3 Week's time". Rosamond was first performed at Drury Lane on 4 March 1707. The document supersedes terms outlined by Heidegger in an earlier proposal dated 17 January 1707 (Lbl: Add. MS 38607, f. 84).
first performance on 1 April 1707. L'Epine, perhaps through Pepusch's influence, sang the title rôle. Other singers in the cast were the Italian Valentini (i.e. Valentino Urbani), and the native English singers Mrs Tofts, Mrs Lindsay, Mr Lawrence, and Mr Leveridge. Motteux's preface points out that while the original intention had been for Francis Hughes to take the rôle of Orontes, the immediate popularity of Valentini with the Nobility forced his substitution before the opening night. The part was altered for him, re-set to Italian words, and subsequently printed in the libretto in Italian with an English translation; this became the common practice when printing Italian libretti. The end result was a polyglot opera with Valentini singing in Italian while l'Epine and the native singers sang in English.

Except for the recitatives and perhaps a section of the Overture, Thomyris had no original music by Pepusch, although he later wrote several additional songs for a revival at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1717 (discussed below, p. 275). No copy of the recitatives survives.

10 Valentini had aroused curiosity at Drury Lane when he first appeared there on 8 March 1707 to take over from Francis Hughes (an established playhouse countertenor) the rôle of Turnus in Camilla. For many of the audience, Valentini was the first castrato they had ever heard. Castrati had never before sung opera in London, though they had performed in concerts well before 1700 (the most famous was Giovanni Francesco Grossi, known as Siface); nevertheless, none had been heard since 1699.

11 Hughes did not share the role with Valentini, as Roger Fiske suggests, calling it "a startling innovation" (English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century, 1973, p. 48).

12 White's sale catalogue for the library of Samuel Howard (25 June 1799) included as Lot 139 a three-volume manuscript of Thomyris (presumably the complete work with recitatives), described as Pepusch's copy. No purchaser is noted, and an examination of a large number of subsequent sale catalogues has failed to uncover any further trace of it. Samuel Howard (c1710-1782) may have been a pupil of Pepusch, and in 1738 was his assistant in training choristers at the Academy of Ancient Music (see below, p. 321).
The publisher John Walsh saw his chance from the beginning to exploit the popularity of Italianate opera and regularly printed the songs from new production. His Songs in the New Opera Call'd Thomyris Collected out of the Works of the most Celebrated Itallian [sic] Autors [sic] (C-8) was advertised in The Post Man for 26-29 April 1707 -- less than a month after the first performance. Walsh's anxiety to head off the competition led to undue haste, reflected in spelling errors on the title page, the inclusion of only seventeen of the total of over fifty arias, and the omission of the overture. In early June, Walsh's rival John Cullen issued his own edition, Songs In the New Opera of Thomiris [sic] (C-8a), which contained all the arias, but still without the overture. 13 Walsh was not far behind, and in The Post Man for 17-19 June he advertised a re-issue of his first edition with all the remaining songs and the overture added (C-8b). He used the same plates for the original seventeen arias and the title page, but with 'Autors' corrected.

The Overture in G minor is in four movements which Walsh scores for the usual string ensemble. (Walsh usually omitted the winds in order to save space; the printed libretto (1707), Act i, Scene 2, mentions them: "The trumpets, Kettle-Drums, Hoboys &c. begin a Warlike Movement".) Movements I (adagio) and IV (presto, in the style of a gigue) are taken from Giovanni Bononcini's Fiore della Erione.

13 Advertised in The Post Man for 3-5 June 1707. Cullen corrected Walsh's spelling errors but added a few of his own -- 'Thomiris', 'Scarlait', and 'Bononchini'. Walsh had complained a few days before in The Daily Courant (31 May) that "The 1st Part of the new Opera call'd Thomyris [had been] of late spuriously copied". It should be noted that it was not unusual in such collections to omit the overture; secco recitatives were seldom, if ever, included.
(first performed in Venice, 1704); the remaining movements, a presto which leads without break into a slower movement of twelve bars ending on the dominant, may have been composed by Pepusch. Among the arias are two with flute obbligato: Cleora's 'Pretty warbler', which opens Act iii, has the typical bird-song recorder obbligato; and 'Cares on a crown attending', sung by Thomyris in Act i, has a part for transverse flute, probably the earliest example of its use in a London opera.

The anonymous writer of A Critical Discourse on Opera's and Musick in England (1709) -- probably Haym -- had this to say about the arias in Thomyris.

My Opinion of Thomyris is, that the Reason it did not Displease, was owing to fifteen or sixteen Airs that were really good in it; whereas, in all the rest of the Opera's put together, except Camilla, there is not one tollerable Air to be found. ... Take those Airs out, and you'll find the Remnant an insipid Miscellany; the Beauty that belongs to any one Part being lost in the general Deformity of the whole.

14 Confirmed by Lowell Lindgren in 'A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works Set by Giovanni and His Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini', unpublished PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 1972), p. 259. These movements were used again for G. Bononcini's act of Muzio Scevola, discussed by Lindgren. See also Burney, History (1935), ii. 713. Lindgren (p. 986) further identifies eight of the Thomyris arias as Bononcini's.


Elsewhere in the pamphlet, the writer has sharp words for Heidegger and, in a recipe for "Cooking up an Opera", pokes fun at his alleged incompetence in preparing Thomyris. The composer's part in the "recipe" is amusing, and probably true: once the arias have been selected and arranged in order in slipshod fashion,

You must agree with some Composer to provide the Recitative, and promise to give him, in case the Opera is perform'd, as little as possible; by this means you'll run no Risque, being at little or no Expence. [p. 70]

Pepusch had evidently received very little reward for composing the recitatives and perhaps part of the overture. Even though Thomyris was a success at the box-office, it was not long before Pepusch's arrangement underwent a major revision -- but by Haym, not Pepusch. Why was Pepusch passed over when it came to revising his own work? The answer probably has more to do with Haym's determined bid for power than with any failure on the part of Pepusch or his music to satisfy either the managers or the public. A short digression into the theatrical politics of 1707-08 will make this clear.

The success of Camilla and Thomyris at Drury Lane had provided a measure of prosperity for Rich, who was not disposed to share it with others. His singers and instrumentalists complained that they had seen nothing of the profits and were dissatisfied with his dilatory book-keeping. The matter came to a head in December 1707, when Rich dismissed Dieupart and several other musicians (Pepusch was not among them) for conspiring to perform operas at Vanbrugh's Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket. The Earl of Kent, as Lord Chamberlain, had in fact given their project his blessing, apparently in a move to undermine
Rich's operatic monopoly.\textsuperscript{17} Vanbrugh had friends in high places and this no doubt influenced Kent's decision. When Rich dismissed them, the musicians and singers remaining at Drury Lane drafted a petition to Kent to put pressure on Rich to bring his books up-to-date, pay them what they were owed, and reinstate Dieupart and his colleagues.\textsuperscript{18} Kent responded with a sweeping directive -- one which he may have been considering for some time -- which created an opera company at the Queen's Theatre and confined Rich at Drury Lane to plays only.\textsuperscript{19} The order went into effect for the musicians on 13 January 1708 with a performance of Thomyris at the Queen's Theatre.\textsuperscript{20} Pepusch, along with all the singers and musicians from Drury Lane, had transferred to the new venue a few days earlier.

At the time of the Lord Chamberlain's order, Haym had a current contract with Rich that was effective until July 1708. On 12 January, Haym wrote to Kent outlining the main points in this now useless agreement in the hope that it would be honoured by "those Hon. Lords or Gentlemen, who are to be my Protectors" at the Queen's Theatre.\textsuperscript{21} He tried to consolidate his position within the new structure and to

\textsuperscript{17} Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (ff. 77-78); original in US-CAh: MS Thr 464.4.15* (ff. 77-78). Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', pp. 42-43.

\textsuperscript{18} Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (ff. 77-78); original in US-CAh: MS Thr 464.4.15* (ff. 77-78). Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', pp. 42-43.

\textsuperscript{19} Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (ff. 77-78); original in US-CAh: MS Thr 464.4.15* (ff. 77-78). Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', pp. 42-43.

\textsuperscript{20} Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (ff. 77-78); original in US-CAh: MS Thr 464.4.15* (ff. 77-78). Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', pp. 42-43.

\textsuperscript{21} Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (ff. 77-78); original in US-CAh: MS Thr 464.4.15* (ff. 77-78). Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', pp. 42-43.
become, in effect, musical director for Vanbrugh, requesting that

I have the power to command all the musick that I be not
oblig'd to goe to the Tryals of other opera's if I doe
not Judge it necessary and that no one may comand [sic]
me besides the Protectors of the Theatre. ... I humbly
desire ... that I be not considered less, or made second
Person of ye Musick neither as to ye Profit or any other
matter believing myself Perhaps not [of] inferior [merit]
to any of my Profession now in England, particularly of
ye Foreigners.

Haym was, of course, himself a foreigner; he was probably pro-
tecting himself against Dieupart and Pepusch, the two most eminent and
capable foreigners then in the theatre band. According to his Articles
of Agreement with Rich, Haym was also to have altered Thomyris, making
"those amendments in it as I shall judge necessary". Haym now offered
this to the new house, saying that his pupil 'The Baroness' would
learn the title rôle if desired.

We do not know if Haym got everything he had asked for, but at
least his requests concerning Thomyris were granted. This pasticcio was
advertised for 10 April 1708 "with several alterations"; l'Epine was
transferred to the male rôle of Tigranes, and 'The Baroness' sang
Thomyris. The printed libretto (1709) gives some indication of the
nature of these changes. For the most part they consisted of omissions
designed to shorten the opera and speed up the action. Several arias
were replaced and a few eliminated; a considerable section was cut out
at the end of Act ii, and in Act iii the number of arias was reduced to
twelve from the original twenty. The Palace scene which concludes the
opera was completely re-written, with new and shorter recitatives;
Haym's music for them does not appear to have survived. Tigranes,
who was killed off in the 1707 version, is now permitted to live in
defeat so as to supply the conventional happy ending.

Pepusch's version, perhaps hampered by an excess of recitative, had lasted for only a year before it was superseded by Haym's, which remained in the repertoire until 1710. Pepusch was associated with later revisions and additions to the piece for revivals, sung completely in English, at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1716-17, 1717-19, and 1727-28; these will be discussed below in Chapter 6. For the moment, then, Pepusch could hardly count his latest theatrical venture as a success. He never again composed operatic music for the Queen's Theatre, but directed his attention to composing shorter vocal works such as odes, cantatas, and masques to English texts.

A few months after the premiere of Thomyris in 1707, Pepusch was called upon to set to music John Hughes' elegiac ode Britannia and Augusta, written upon the death of William Cavendish, 4th Earl and 1st Duke of Devonshire. Cavendish died in London on 18 August 1707 and was buried on 1 September at All Hallows Church, Derby.

John Hughes (1667-1720), a close friend of Addison and Steele, was well-known in literary circles. He was a regular contributor to The Spectator and also edited, with Sir Richard Blackmore, The Lay Monastery. Nicholas Rowe, then Poet Laureate, recognized Hughes' "equal knowledge of music and poetry" as a rare advantage when he asked Hughes for his advice in writing a New Year's Ode to be set to music by John Eccles.22

22 Hughes' Correspondence (1773), i. 84.
Hughes was to become an important figure in Pepusch's life and played a significant part in developing the notion of opera in English. He saw himself as a champion of music to English texts in the face of the rising popularity of Italian opera, and stated his case in the preface to the printed libretto (1712) of his opera Calypso and Telemachus (QT: 17 May 1712). Hughes had got to know Pepusch early on at Britton's music-meetings (see above, p. 32) and found in him an enthusiastic collaborator. Other composers also set Hughes' poems (among them Handel, Galliard, Haym, and D. Purcell), but Pepusch was his principal musical associate; their collaboration produced no fewer than twelve cantatas, two odes, a serenata, and a masque.

The Duke of Devonshire had been an avid bibliophile, "a critic in poetry; and had a fine hand in music". These interests would undoubtedly have brought him into contact with both Hughes and Pepusch. His funeral Ode is the earliest recorded example of their partnership, although it is more than likely that several of their cantatas may have preceded it (see below, p. 94). The Ode was performed at Stationers' Hall; 'Epine sang Britannia, and Mrs Tofts, Augusta. The exact date of the performance is not known, but it must presumably have been within a few weeks of the Duke's death.

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24 Collins Peerage (1892), i. 353; no source given.

25 No mention of the performance has been found in surviving newspapers, nor is it noted in The London Stage. The venue and the singers are given in Hughes' Correspondence (1773), i, p. ix.
The music was never published, but manuscript copies are preserved in the Brussels Conservatoire (MS 1030) and the British Library, Reference Division (Add. MS 5052). Both manuscripts are in score and have a similar lay-out for the title page. Add. MS 5052, apparently in the hand of Henry Needler, has some minor omissions and appears to have been copied from Brussels MS 1030, a clean and neat manuscript by an unidentified scribe. The repeated sequence of two arias and duet (each preceded by a recitative) gives the work a classical symmetry, dividing it both structurally and tonally into two contrasting sections. In the second, Hughes moves from grief to eulogy, and this change of mood is reflected in Pepusch's shift from minor to major mode.

**STRUCTURAL OUTLINE**

Overture in C minor

- **Recit/Aria (Britannia)** - C minor
  - 'Ye gen'rous arts' / 'Queen of cities'

- **Recit/Aria (Augusta)** - G minor
  - 'Tis fame's chief immortality' / 'Lands remote ye loss will hear'

- **Recit/Duet** - C minor
  - 'Great George, whose azure emblems' / 'To shade his peaceful grave'

**FIRST SECTION**

- **Recit/Aria (Augusta)** - F major
  - 'Now shall Augusta's sons' / 'Lofty birth and honours shining'

- **Recit/Aria (Britannia)** - G major
  - 'Behold, fair Liberty' / 'Preserve, O urn'

- **Recit/Duet** - C major
  - 'Genius of Britain' / 'Gently smoth thy flight, O Time'

**SECOND SECTION**
The work is score for two violins, viola, two flutes, two oboes, and continuo. The Overture in the French style is one of Pepusch's finest. An opening adagio section is characterized by the fall of a minor second from $A^b$ to $G$ (Example 4a), which also forms the basis for the subject of a fugal allegro that follows (Example 4b). This allegro section concludes with a two-bar modulatory adagio which leads directly into a slow binary movement in the relative major. The final movement is a homophonic presto in the tonic. It is interesting to observe that Pepusch links the overture with the first aria, 'Queen of cities leave a while thy beauteous smile', by keeping the same key and elegiac mood and incorporating the minor second into the opening motive (Example 4c).
This first aria has independent ritornello parts for two flutes. There is, however, a progressive move throughout the Ode from flute colour to oboe; the central duet 'To shade his peaceful grave' combines a flute and oboe with the strings, while the closing duet 'Gently smooth thy flight, O Time' is scored for two oboes and strings. The minor key arias and duet are restrained, but display some clever interweaving of the vocal and instrumental lines. The arias from the second section are less attractive and are marred by the unwelcome repetition of weak rhythmic ideas. Of the six arias and duets, all but one ('Preserve, O urn, his silent dust') are in da capo form.

The Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket

The year 1707 marked a turning point for Pepusch. In addition to the premières of *Thomyris* and *Britannia and Augusta*, his instrumental music was coming into fashion and beginning to attract the attention of Roger and Walsh. By the end of the year, he had risen to a position of prominence in the theatre band, and the move to the new Queen's Theatre in January 1708 had given the musicians new hope. All in all, he must now have felt confident that he could make a successful career in London, and he started to put down roots.

In March 1708, he established himself in what proved to be permanent accommodation in Hooker's Court (commonly called Boswell Court, though the name was not changed officially until 1722).* His previous address

26 Poor Rate Books (Shere Lane Ward) in Westminster Public Library. For Pepusch, see under the years 1708 - 1735.
remains unknown. The historian John Diprose, writing in 1876, described the neighbourhood about 1720.

Ascending northwards towards Carey Street was a flight of steps which led into New Boswell Court, a clean and spacious place, containing some old well-built houses, which from having been the abode of the 'nobility', and afterwards occupied as chambers by some eminent lawyers, was at last let out in apartments to a very mixed class of inhabitants. Here lived John Christopher Pepusch.\(^7\)

Pepusch resided among this "very mixed class of inhabitants" for the next twenty-seven years. Throughout the entire period, the Poor Rate Books record the full and prompt payment of his annual account under a variety of names -- JNO Pepsh, John or James Pepish, and James Peapish. A search has failed to discover any record of a bank account, but from occasional references in surviving documents relating to the financial affairs of the theatres, it is possible to estimate at least his principal income at various times.

The earliest of these references comes in 'A List of Persons hereafter named under Salary att & belonging to the Queen's Theatre', dated 8 March 1708.\(^28\) It shows that Haym, Dieupart, Pepusch, and Saggione were paid equally at £1. 15s. per night; the next highest paid musicians were Paisible and Loeillet at fifteen shillings, while the remaining members of the band each received eight shillings per night. Vanbrugh was constantly vexed by the persistent demands of his singers and instrumentalists for more money, and he suspected

27 Some Account of the Parish of St. Clement Danes (1876), ii. 5-6; source of the information is not given. Diprose includes an engraving of Boswell Court (facing p. 5).
28 Lpo: MS L.C. 5/155 (ff. 8-9); copied in Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (f. 87).
that the devious Rich was at the bottom of it. About this time a proposal was made that six of the leading singers and musicians should come into shares (such as some actors held) instead of salaries. \(^2\) The plan was to give one share each to the singers Valentini, Tofts, and l'Epine, with a fourth share to be divided equally among Dieupart, Haym, and Pepusch. This did not suit Vanbrugh, who argued that the financial state of the Queen's Theatre was precarious, and that he foresaw a drop in profits the following season (when he in fact retired, discouraged).

It was his successor, Owen Swiney (or MacSwiney), who reported to the Lord Chamberlain at the end of the first year of the Queen's Theatre in its new role as an opera house. Swiney listed the salaries of those who had "Performed in ye Opera for 1 year including ye Vacation ... ye year beginning and ending at Christmas". Here again, Haym (cello), Dieupart (violin), Pepusch (violin), and Saggione (double bass) each received the same payment of £70 for the year, and were the highest-paid members of the band. It is interesting to note that, out of a total operating budget of £7,320, over £2,000 went towards salary payments for the singers, as compared with £750 for the band, and an additional £280 for "Chief Bases" (i.e. continuo players). This latter figure may represent the total for the four at £70 each.

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30 Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (f. 3); undated memorandum from Vanbrugh to Coke. Robert Hume gives this a tentative date of 14 April 1708.

31 Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (f. 86). Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', p. 51. The memorandum is undated, but from the list of singers it can be determined that the period covered the twelve months immediately following the transfer of companies in January 1708.
and suggests that they took it in turns to superintend the performance. Between them, these four musicians could provide the small ensemble necessary for the recitatives, with both Dieupart and Pepusch as harpsichordists when, as was sometimes the case, two harpsichords were used. It is not certain when Pepusch moved from viola to violin in the band; no doubt it would have been soon after 1700 when he began to come to the fore as a chamber musician.

Two further references to Pepusch as a violinist may be noted. The first comes in The Daily Courant for 14 December 1711 when Pepusch advertised a reward of twenty shillings for the return of his violin, left in a Hackney coach that had taken him from the Haymarket to his house in Boswell Court; the day is not given. In 1711-12, operas were performed twice a week -- on Wednesdays and Fridays -- and it is likely that he had played violin for the premiere of Francesco Gasparini's Antioco on Wednesday, 12 December. Secondly, Pepusch is listed as a violinist in a list of the Queen's Theatre band made by Heidegger about 1712.32

The translator of A Comparison Between the French and Italian Musick and Operas (see above, p. 79, fn. 16), writing about the year 1709, regarded the Opera House band as "at present inferior to few in Italy, and some Hands would make it one of the best in the World".33 He listed Dieupart, Pepusch, and Loeillet for the harpsichord, Haym for cello, and Saggione for double bass.

32 Printed in Cummings, 'The Lord Chamberlain and Opera', pp. 51-52.
33 Translator's note, pp. 52-53.
Dieupart, Haym, Saggione, and Pepusch (in that sequence) headed a list of twenty-eight musicians who were mentioned in the Lord Chamberlain's Order of 9 January 1710, warning that they were not permitted to perform in any theatre other than the Queen's without a discharge from the manager and the approval of the Lord Chamberlain. By this time the separation of the acting and opera companies had broken down, and the Queen's Theatre was offering both operas and plays. Kent's roster of actors (led by Betterton and followed by Wilks, Doggett, Cibber, et al.) apparently lists the names in order of rank and this may also be true of the musicians. If so, then Pepusch must have been considered the junior of the four principals.

It was obviously Pepusch's turn to serve as director for the production of Mancini's L'Idaspe fidele in May 1710. Uffenbach was there for the final operatic performance of the season on 30 May and gave the following account.

Unter den Weibleuten ist die beste Margarite de l'Epine, welche gewiss ihre Sache auch sehr wohl machet. Das Orchester ist auch so wohl besetzt, das es nicht besser sein kann. Es sind aber lauter Fremde, meist Deutsche, und dann Franzosen; denn die Engländer sind in der Musik nicht viel besser als die Holländer, das ist zimlich schlecht. Der Director von der Musik ist der wegen seiner unvergleichlichen Composition überall bekannted Pepusch, ein Brandenburger.

34 Lpo: MS L.C. 5/155 (p. 3)
35 Merkwürdige Reisen (1753-54), ii. 441.

The best of the women is Margarita de l'Epine, who certainly performs her part very well. The orchestra too is so well manned that it could not be better. They are, however, all foreigners, mostly German, and also French, for the English are not much better musicians than the Dutch, in other words fairly bad. The director is Pepusch from Brandenburg, who is known everywhere for his incomparable compositions.

For a translation different from mine, see Quarrell & Mare, London in 1710 (1934), p. 17.
Uffenbach's impressions were perhaps coloured by his own feelings of nationalism. It is clear from the Lord Chamberlain's list of 9 January 1710 that the band included at least eleven native English players, as well as representatives from France and Italy. Ironically, there were at least six players from the Netherlands, but only one, Pepusch himself, from Germany.

Six English Cantatas (c1710)

The same day that Uffenbach attended L'Idaspe fidele, the London newspaper The Tatler for 28-31 May 1710 advertised the appearance of Pepusch's first printed vocal pieces, Six English Cantatas Humbly Inscrib'd to the Most Noble the Marchioness of Kent (C-14), published by John Walsh. When Pepusch wrote to Rawlinson in November 1746 (see above, p. 21), he stated that

The First Work I publish'd consists of Six English Cantatas some of them without & some with Instruments; Inscrib'd To the most Noble the Marchioness of Kent. This was a Year before My Lord of Kent was Created a Duke.

Kent was created a Duke on 22 April 1710. Presumably the title page at least had been engraved before that date, and if Pepusch's memory in 1746 can be relied upon, the collection may have been printed some

36 The attractive canopied title page, used for the first time in Six English Cantatas, served also for several later publications by Walsh, including Handel's Rinaldo (1711), Galliard's Six Cantatas (1716), and Pepusch's Songs in Venus and Adonis (1715) and Six English Cantatas, Book 2 (1720). It is reproduced in Gottfried S. Fraenkel, Decorative Music Title Pages (1968), plate 154.
time in 1709. 37

The six cantatas are settings of poems by John Hughes. His preface, written at Pepusch's request, is noteworthy in that it is not a flattering dedication to some nobleman and contains none of the florid and shallow phrases characteristic of such pieces in other publications of the time; instead, Hughes presents an essay on the importance of recitative. It shows that the commonly-held view that Hughes opposed the Italian style is unfounded. He makes it clear that he has no objection whatever to recitative in itself, but only to the exclusive use of Italian words; the English language, he felt, could serve the same purpose with quite as much success. In the preface, addressed 'To the Lovers of Musick', Hughes explains that,

Mr Pepusch having desir'd that some Account shou'd be prefix'd to the Cantata's, relating to the Words, it may be proper to acquaint the Publick, that they are the first Essays of this kind, written for the most part several Years ago, as an Experiment of introducting a sort of Composition which had never been naturaliz'd in our Language.

And in the final paragraph, Hughes points out that Pepusch wants the public to know that these cantatas are

Not only the first he has attempted in English, but the first of any of his Works Publish'd by himself; and as he wholly submits them to the Judgment of the Lovers of this Art, it will be a Pleasure to him to find that his Endeavours to promote the Composing of Musick in the English Language, after a new model, are favourably accepted.

37 W. H. Husk, in his article on Pepusch in Grove's Dictionary (1880), dated Six English Cantatas as 1716, apparently confusing them with Galliard's Six Cantatas which were indeed published in 1716. This error crept into Winton Dean's Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques (1959), pp. 157-158, and was copied by Williams in his dissertation 'The Life ... of J. C. Pepusch' (1975), p. 55.
Obviously then, these cantatas are Pepusch's first settings of English words and antedate his ode Britannia and Augusta (1707). Indeed, it may have been Pepusch's cantatas and not Clayton's Italianate opera Arsinoe (DL: 16 January 1705) that introduced London audiences to recitatives in English. Giles Jacob, writing in 1720, supports this early dating for the cantatas, saying that they were "made before the introduction of Italian Opera on our Stage, tho' not published 'till afterwards".\(^{38}\) Certainly, Pepusch's Six English Cantatas were the first collection of its kind to have been published in England. Pepusch continued to compose cantatas well into the 1720s; his work as a composer in this genre is the subject of Chapter 5.

It is perhaps significant, given that Pepusch was among the earliest exponents of the English cantata, that the first recorded public performance of such a piece was given by l'Epine. The Daily Courant for 13 April 1706 advertised it as an entr'acte piece at Drury Lane: "The Cantata, which will be this day in Print, to be dispos'd of at the Playhouse". Neither the title nor the composer is given. The close association between Pepusch and l'Epine would favour Pepusch as the composer.\(^{39}\) Their musical alliance is intimated

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\(^{38}\) An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of our Most Considerable English Poets (1720), p. 82.

\(^{39}\) The fact that the piece was printed led J. R. Goodall to conjecture that it may have been an early edition of D. Purcell's 'Love I defy thee', although he does not rule out Pepusch ['English Chamber Cantata and Through-Composed Solo Song, 1660-1785', unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1979, p. 119]. Purcell's cantata was indeed printed in the Monthly Mask for September 1708, but it was customary to print only the words of such pieces for distribution at the playhouse and very few of these single-sheet copies survive.
in various references from 1705 onwards, most of them are noted in my article on l'Epine in *Theatre Notebook* (see above, p.30, fn. 6). By 1712, Sir Richard Blackmore saw them as inseparable, at least professionally, when he wrote:

Now hear the melting voice and trembling string;  
Let Pepusch touch the lyre, and Margarita sing.40

L'Epine was probably one of the musicians who accompanied Pepusch to Oxford in July 1713 to assist in the performance of his exercise for the degree of Doctor of Music. William Croft, organist and master of the children at the Chapel Royal, also received his degree at the same time.

The Oxford Act (1713)

No score for Pepusch's Act music has come down to us, but the words, beginning 'Hail, Queen of Islands! Hail, illustrious fair!', were printed in folio under the heading,

Dr PEPUASCHE's [sic] SONG / Perform'd for his Exercise in the / Sheldonian THEATRE at OXFORD / July 13. 1713 / Peace, Apollo, Britain.41

No author is given. While John Hughes might at first seem a natural candidate, it would be unjust to lay this doggerel at his

40 *Creation*, Book vii (1712). Sir Richard was physician to the Royal Household; his literary association with John Hughes has been noted above, p. 83.

41 Copies are preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library, the Bodleian Library, and the University of Glasgow Library.
feet. It does not appear in his printed works. W. H. Husk, writing in the first edition of Grove's Dictionary (1880, 'Pepusch'), described the exercise incorrectly as "An Ode on the Peace of Utrecht"; obviously he confused it with Croft's exercise which was indeed such an ode. \(^{42}\) Pepusch's Song was essentially an Ode to Queen Anne. The printed text gives six arias, two duets, a trio, a trumpet song, and a short concluding chorus; all are in da capo form. Rawlinson, in his 'Biographical Notices of Oxford Writers', described Pepusch's Ode as,

A dialogue between Peace, Apollo, and Britain printed by itself \([sic]\) to be given away in half sheet and afterwards inserted in the Comitia Philologica. \(^{43}\)

Although Joseph Trapp's text for Croft's exercise was subsequently printed in the Academiae Oxoniensis Comitia Philologica (1713), Pepusch's exercise was not included. It would seem that Croft's piece met with such resounding acclaim at Oxford that it completely eclipsed Pepusch's. The British Mercury for 15 July 1713 carried a report from Oxford (dated 10 July) which comments on the performance of Croft's Ode at the Act the previous day. The performers were drawn from the Royal Music and the Opera House in London. It goes on to say that "we expect on Monday next [i.e. 13 July] to be very well entertain'd by Dr Nepusch's \([sic]\) Exercise". Yet in the next issue of the paper (for 22 July 1713) the Oxford correspondent wrote that Croft's exercise,

In English and Latin, took up near two Hours in the Performance; and that it was so extraordinary, that at the Request of the

\(^{42}\) Croft's Exercise was actually two odes; one in Latin ('Laurus cruentas'), and the other in English ('With noise of Cannon'). The latter was printed by Walsh in 1720 under the title, Musicus apparatus academicus.

\(^{43}\) Ob: Rawl MS J fol 4 (f. 277).
University, the English Part was perform'd again on Monday following.

No mention is made of Pepusch, except to note that his name had been spelled incorrectly in the previous report. Apparently, Peace, Apollo, Britain had been performed with the English part of Croft's Ode on the Monday and had passed without notice. The performers are not known; no doubt Pepusch brought them from the ranks of the London theatre companies as Croft had done. This must have cost him a great deal of money, and Pepusch arranged for them to give several public concerts in the Town in order to recover some of the expense. By doing so, he invoked the displeasure of the University authorities. This may explain the apparent conspiracy of silence surrounding his Exercise.

Pepusch was anxious to be acknowledged as much for his scholarship as for his musicianship. A degree from Oxford would serve this purpose only if it were accepted by the academic community and thus entitle the holder to a vote in the Convocation House. For this, one was required to matriculate from a College; it was not customary for Doctors of Music to matriculate, but in Pepusch's case this was arranged at Magdalen College.

Dr. John Christian [sic] Pepusch, the eminent musician, 'stetit in comitits' (i.e. was admitted to the degree of Mus. Doc. after performance of his exercise) on 13 July


45 Hawkins, History (1875), ii. 831-32. Handel did the same at the Act in July 1733, though he chose not to submit for a degree (reported in Deutsch, Handel, 1955, pp. 319-20).
... having been matriculated at the College on the same day. It has been very rarely the case that candidates for musical degrees have been allowed to matriculate at the College; and this instance becomes noteworthy.46

Six years later, in 1719, a dispute arose at Oxford over the academic status of Doctors of Music. Few musicians then held the degree with matriculation, and Pepusch was almost certainly the cause of the dispute. Thomas Hearne, the Oxford scholar and antiquary, was adamant that Doctors of Music should not be given a vote unless they held also the M.A. degree; nor, he argued, were "Doctors of Music to be look'd upon as Doctors of a Faculty".47

The anonymous writer of The Session of Musicians concluded his waggish lines on Pepusch with

He should be satisfy'd with his Degrees
For new Preferment would produce new Fees.48

Pepusch prided himself on his Oxford degree, and a portrait, probably by Thomas Hudson, presents him as a portly figure in academic robes (reproduced as Plate 4, p. 98a).49 Henceforth he would move among the lettered class of London as Doctor Pepusch.

46 William Dunn Macray, A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford (1906), V, 3. The next example of a musician matriculating did not occur until a temporary inflow of musical candidates at the end of the century.

47 Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, edited by C. E. Doble, et al (1902), VI, 298. The only graduates entitled to a vote in the Convocation were Doctors of Divinity, Physics, or Law, and Masters of Arts.

48 See above, p. 67, fn. 33.

49 The original now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Engravings of this portrait appear in a number of printed volumes of music and books on music.
Paradoxically, the year after Pepusch obtained his degree he composed a second Royal Ode set to a text by the stammering poetaster Tom D'Urfey, a character better known for playhouse ballads than for sophisticated odes. (On his best behaviour, D'Urfey may have been the author of Peace, Apollo, Britain.) The present work, "after the Italian manner", was intended for performance at a state dinner to celebrate the Coronation of George I on 20 October 1714. No music survives, but the words were printed in D'Urfey's Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive, i (1719) as 'Ocean's Glory: Or, A Parley of the Rivers'; the first line is 'Fame and Isis joyn'd in one'. The work is more like a cantata, presumably for a solo voice (probably l'Epine) and instruments, consisting of only two arias with recitatives.

After a rehearsal in the hall on the great day, however, the musical part of the festivities was abandoned. D'Urfey had to content himself with writing a satirical ditty, "Being the Poet's and Musician's Complaint against Lord Scrape occasion'd by his hindering the Performance of a Musical Ode, made in Honour of King George, and set by Dr. Pepusch..."; also printed in Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive (i. 17). It included the stanza,

The Masters all had a meeting
With Voice, and Treble, and Bass:
But great Lord Scrape thought it fitting
To let out for hire their place.

James Scudamore, Lord Scrope, was a Tory member of Parliament from 1705 until his death in 1716. D'Urfey's spelling of 'Scrape' was no doubt intended to satirize Scudamore's meanness. This was Pepusch's
second and final attempt ingratiate himself with Royalty; the occasion (and perhaps the poet) proved ill-chosen.

Pepusch Leaves the Queen's Theatre

Heidegger's list of the Queen's Theatre band, compiled about 1712, is the last surviving reference to Pepusch at that theatre. When, on 16 March 1714, five of the Queen's Theatre singers petitioned the Lord Chamberlain for the better regulation of their benefit days, Pepusch signed on behalf of l'Epine. This does not necessarily prove that he was still with the Haymarket company, for his signature may indicate nothing more than a close relationship with l'Epine. By now, Handel had established himself as the principal figure in operatic affairs; Haym and Dieupart had fallen out of favour, and Saggione had probably left England. Their reign as joint musical directors of the Opera House had come to an end. As for Pepusch, it may be assumed that he remained in the band in some capacity until he moved to the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in the autumn of 1714.

Throughout all the comings and goings of managers, actors, and singers in 1700-12, Pepusch seems to have managed to avoid becoming embroiled in the conflicts. He progressed through the ranks to assume a position of some responsibility and influence as, by turns, violinist, harpsichordist and director of the Instrumental Musick at the Queen's

50 See above, p. 90.
51 Lbl: Add. MS 38607 (f. 44), dated 16 March 1713 (i.e. 1714). Other petitioners were Catherina Galerati, Valentino Urbani, Stephen Barbier (for Jane), and Thomas Robinson (for Anastasia).
Theatre. It must be emphasized, however, that he did not blossom out as a composer of extended dramatic works. His single attempt, the arrangement of Thomyris, is of historical significance; musically, though, it seems to have mattered little to Pepusch's development as a composer. While he performed a great deal of Italianate music during this period, Thomyris itself led him nowhere. Nevertheless, he had achieved some success as a composer of shorter vocal works in the Italian style and, beyond a doubt, had become the leading exponent (ahead of Galliard and D. Purcell) of the cantata with English words. Although it is true that the Italianate style is much less intimate in its reflection of English prosody than say Henry Purcell's methods, it will be shown later that Pepusch's settings are almost always sensitive to the text. That he was able to acquire sufficient command of English (in spite of Burney's claim to the contrary) to do this within only a few years of his arrival in England is a remarkable achievement. We may well suspect that the musical John Hughes helped him with recitative and accentuation.

Pepusch's many years in the Opera House had also provided him with a solid grounding in Italianate opera and in the direction of a theatre band. This would serve him well in his new position as musical director at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

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Chapter 3

THE DRURY LANE MASQUES (1714-1716)

By 1714, Colley Cibber (1671-1757) and his fellow actor-managers at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane were concerned over their diminishing box-office receipts. To be forced to compete with the Queen's Theatre, now firmly entrenched as London's Opera House, was bad enough, but the threat of a rival playhouse about to open in Lincoln's Inn Fields was likely to prove a far worse menace to Drury Lane's hitherto exclusive control of spoken drama. The new theatre had been built for the expropriated Christopher Rich, who intended to tempt away his ex-colleagues' audience; but he did not live to enjoy his revenge. It was his son, John, who presided over the opening on 18 December 1714. John Rich was to remain a leading influence in London's theatrical life until his death in 1761.

Musical entertainments had always attracted crowds to the playhouse, as Betterton and Christopher Rich had proved years earlier; in recent years, however, Drury Lane had offered very little music. At the start of the 1714-15 season, the actor-manager Colley Cibber could muster only a few inferior singers, all of whom were in the first place employed as actors or dancers. What he needed was an experienced musician who could satisfy the public appetite for new music, revitalize his second-rate musicians, and augment their number with better artists. Dr Pepusch
now enjoyed a considerable reputation, and Cibber had worked with him before, first under Christopher Rich at Drury Lane and later with the Queen's company. Cibber saw him as the man for the job. Though Pepusch was an Italianiser, he had never been a conspicuous devotee of opera in Italian, which would have pleased Cibber; and he was apparently ready for a change from the Opera House. Pepusch accepted an appointment as musical director at Drury Lane and for two seasons (1714-16) enlivened the repertoire with music of a quality and frequency unknown there since the Lord Chamberlain divided the companies in January 1708.

For Pepusch, the period was the most productive, though the shortest, of his whole career as a theatre musician; indeed, it was the only period in which he composed dramatic works of sufficient substance and regularity to enable us to regard him as a composer of theatre music, rather than merely of entr'acte pieces. The period is notable for another reason; it saw an ephemeral attempt, led by Pepusch, to revive the English masque. Fresh productions of popular masques from the previous century were mounted, and new ones composed. Pepusch broke the ground with four of his own:

12 March 1715   -  Venus and Adonis; libretto by Colley Cibber
5 November 1715 -  Myrtillo and Laura; libretto by Colley Cibber
12 January 1716 -  Apollo and Daphne; libretto by John Hughes
17 April 1716  -  The Death of Dido; libretto by Barton Booth

These are Pepusch's only original settings of extended dramatic works designed as independent and continuous musical narratives for the stage, and are central to our study of Pepusch as a theatre musician.

1 Williams, 'J. C. Pepusch' (1975), p. 13, incorrectly states that Pepusch moved to Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1714 and produced the English masques there.
This chapter discusses them under four sub-headings:

I. Background: a brief survey of the masque tradition, and an investigation of the events surrounding the composition and production of Pepusch's masques.

II. Principal manuscript and printed sources.

III. Scenario: a synopsis of the plot of each masque, considered in relation to the over-all musical structure.

IV. Musical style: specific comments on Pepusch's music as it relates to similar works by his contemporaries, in particular the masques of Handel and Galliard.

I. Background

The Restoration masque came to full flower in the works of Henry Purcell. In the opening chapter of English Theatre Music (1973), Roger Fiske gives a summary account of the Purcellian masque-type and its struggle for survival after the introduction of Italianate opera; it need not be repeated here. When Pepusch arrived in London, masques by Purcell and his successors were standard fare at the playhouses. As a viola player in the Drury Lane band in the early 1700s, Pepusch would very quickly have familiarized himself with this repertoire. There is, however, no direct relationship between these seventeenth-century masques and Pepusch's. The gap in the English masque tradition between the works of Purcell and Pepusch may have been bridged by the continuous musical dramas (with recitative) of John Eccles. Since music
survives for only a few of Eccles' works of this kind (of which perhaps the most important is *Semele*), it is difficult to determine the full extent of his influence. Unless more of Eccles' theatre music is discovered, we must keep to less speculative ground and study the strong continuity which may be traced in the dramatic and literary aspects of the genre.

As dramas, Pepusch's masques are a logical enough extension of the Restoration masque. The latter was normally designed as an interpolation within a play; its loosely constructed plot was neither sufficient in itself, nor yet fundamental to the play that contained it. The singers were subsidiary characters, usually figures from classical mythology in an Arcadian setting, who had little or nothing to do with the principal action; conversely, the actors in the parent play hardly ever intervened in the business of the masque. At the turn of the century, however, masque plots became rather more substantial, and a few were even separated from the parent play to stand alone as afterpieces. The success of these larger masques encouraged librettists to provide still more elaborate plots. A typical example is Congreve's *The Judgement of Paris* (1701), mentioned above in connection with the 'Prize Musick' (p. 73); much longer than usual, this piece might equally be called an opera.

At this time, the term 'opera' was applied indiscriminately to any large-scale dramatic work that contained a reasonable amount of

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2 Fiske, *English Theatre Music* (1973), p. 14, cites a performance of *Acis and Galatea* (Motteux / Eccles) on 11 December 1702 as the first time that a full-length play was followed by a half-length afterpiece. It had first appeared about 1700 as an interpolated masque in Fletcher's play *The Mad Lover*. 
music, whether in the form of songs, musical interludes, entertainments, or masques; it need not imply continuous music. This ambiguity of terminology is mentioned in the prologue (spoken by Betterton) to Motteux's masque *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (1697), with music by Eccles and Finger.

Yet is our Entertainment odd and new;
We've in our Show the First of Cuckolds too:
And what we call a Masque some will allow
To be an Op'ra as the World goes now.

A surprising feature of these later masques is that they often end tragically. To provide contrast and to help spin out the story, a comic sub-plot was often introduced. At its most classical, this brought in rustic characters in a pastoral setting, but it was not long before they declined into thinly-disguised contemporary types drawn from every-day London life. While such characters were no doubt popular with the audience, their coarse dialogue and smutty innuendos clash grotesquely with the classic background of the story.

The librettists of 1715-18 wrote their masques as independent afterpieces and created plots that were completely self-contained. Each of the Pepusch masques (except for *Myrtillo and Laura* which is, in fact, a pastoral and must be considered apart) employs mythological characters in a classical setting and has a tragic dénouement. There is no real element of comedy such as the grotesque side of Polyphemus affords in John Gay's libretto for Handel's *Acis and Galatea* (c1718). Mars, in Pepusch's *Venus and Adonis*, can in many ways be compared to Polyphemus; but to treat him (or Polyphemus) merely as a love-sick buffoon is to miss the dramatic point entirely. The only truly comic character in any of the Pepusch masques is Doris in *Apollo and Daphne*;
she is, however, not grotesque, but a person of matronly charm, and her presence does not degrade the piece into a vulgar farce.

Though the librettists seem to draw on English traditions, Pepusch's music is distinctly and intentionally Italianate. The inventively unfolding forms and frequent choruses of the Purcellian masque are replaced by da capo arias for solo voice, the arisco style by secco recitative, and the colourful timbres of brass and drums give way to typical Italian instrumentations of strings and woodwind. The overtures too are in the Italian form for three of the masques; only in Myrtillo and Laura did Pepusch prefer a French overture -- though all his dramatic pieces apart from the masques use this form, which was also Handel's favourite (even in Italian opera).

In composing the masques, Pepusch may have been influenced by certain features of the Italian serenata, a large cantata-like work, staged with scenery and costume, but without stage action and change of scene. Employing mythological characters and personifications, serenatas were usually composed in honour of some member of the aristocracy. These musical dramas were first developed in Rome towards the end of the seventeenth century, and they soon became a popular form of entertainment in court circles throughout Europe. There is every likelihood that Pepusch had heard serenatas performed while he was at the Prussian Court. It is perhaps significant that he did compose at least one work that is clearly described in the title as a serenata: 'Serenata on the Marriage of Lord Cobham to Mrs Anne Halsey", composed about the same time as the masques (discussed below, p. 262). Very little has been published regarding the Italian serenata;
time has not permitted a proper investigation of it in this present study. Nevertheless, two features of the serenata are immediately apparent in Pepusch's masques: 1) the recitative section which introduces each aria is short, and the recitatives and arias are strung together in the manner of an extended cantata; 2) with the exception of Myrtillo and Laura, each of the masques is divided into two parts or entertainments. Unlike the serenata, the masques employ scene changes and stage action as in opera. In this regard, Pepusch's masques, in particular the longest, Venus and Adonis, are virtually Italianate operatic presentations in miniature. Cibber makes the reason for this very clear in his preface to Venus and Adonis; Pepusch's Italianate music was a move calculated to fight fire with fire:

The following Entertainment is an Attempt to give the Town a little good Musick in a Language they understand.

And after attacking Italian opera and Italian singers, he continues:

It is therefore hoped, that this Undertaking, if encourag'd may in time reconcile Musick to the English Tongue. And, to make the Union more practicable, it is humbly moved, that it may be allow'd a less Inconvenience, to hear the Performer express his Meaning with an imperfect Accent, than in Words, that (to an English audience) have no Meaning at all: And at worst, it will be an easier Matter to instruct two or three Performers in tolerable English, than to teach a whole Nation Italian.

After having said so much of its Absurdities, it will be but just to allow the Excellencies of the Italian Composition; the Manner of it being indisputably superior to all Nations for a Theatre: And 'tis hoped this Entertainment will want nothing of the Italian, but the Language.

3 The most recent published information is Thomas Edward Griffin's tantalizingly brief article on the serenata in the New Grove's Dictionary (1980). I understand that Michael Talbot is now at work on the subject and his findings, when published, will no doubt help complete the picture.
Cibber's praise of Italian music here may not be entirely sincere: he knew little about music and his dislike of foreign singers and of operas in Italian is evident on many pages of his autobiography.\(^4\) Pepusch may well have pointed out to him that it made good sense to advertise the masque as containing all "the Excellencies of the Italian Composition". Perhaps, too, this was why Cibber, a man who professed such dedication to the cause of English drama, omitted all mention of the earlier English tradition of the masque. The libretto for *Venus and Adonis* was certainly modelled on the masques and semi-operas of twenty years before, but Cibber evidently had no intention of presenting his new initiative as a continuation of that tradition. Rather, as Winton Dean has observed, "the movement of 1715-18 was a conscious act in the operatic war".\(^5\)

There is, however, a second reason why Cibber was willing to accept the Italian style and let his financial acumen get the better of his patriotism.

From the first opening of the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields in December 1714, John Rich had included singing and dancing as entr'acte entertainment; Rich's music was at this time under the general supervision of the veteran playhouse singer Richard Leveridge.\(^6\) Drury Lane's general policy in 1714-15 was to do without the expense of music;

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5 Dramatic Oratorios (1959), pp. 155-56.

but between October and March they decided to offer two rather old-fashioned stage-pieces. The masque of Macbeth began an intermittent run on 21 October (the music had been composed in 1702, ironically by Leveridge); this was followed on 22 December by The Island Princess, a play by Fletcher which Motteux had "made into an Opera" in 1699, adding musical interpolations by Daniel Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, and perhaps Leveridge. Any advantage which these half-hearted revivals may have given Drury Lane was quickly neutralised when Rich mounted his own production of the same works, beginning on 25 January with The Island Princess. It was probably this fierce competition with Rich, coupled with the formidable prospect of competing with the Opera House in the Haymarket, that led Cibber to cast aside for the moment his anti-musical prejudices and invite Pepusch to collaborate with him.

There is no evidence to suggest that Pepusch had joined Drury Lane at the beginning of the 1714-15 season. The musical offerings in the first few months were infrequent and would hardly have needed a director of Pepusch's ability. It may be significant that neither l'Epine nor Barbier, the principal singers in each of the four masques, is mentioned in the bills for Drury Lane until the première of Venus and Adonis on 12 March 1715; l'Epine was in fact still singing at the Opera House in November. It seems probable that Pepusch was engaged in December or January, and that he then wooed both singers from the Opera House to begin rehearsals of the leading rôles in his first masque. By March, in any event, he and Cibber had combined to produce Venus and Adonis, a type of musical afterpiece which they hoped would defeat the opposition on two fronts: an English libretto would appeal
to a playhouse audience, and at the same time, the fact that it was set to music "after the Italian manner" would attract the more aristocratic connoisseurs of the Opera House.

In discussing such unpretentious pieces as the Pepusch masques, it would be very easy to over-rate their historical and musical importance. They did nevertheless initiate a fashion for English masques "after the Italian manner" which found its justification and immortality in Handel's *Acis and Galatea*; a pastoral masque or serenata set to a libretto by John Gay and others, composed in London in 1718 for a private performance for the Duke of Chandos. The movement was short-lived, lasting only three years (1715-18), and produced only six works: Galliard's *Pan and Syrinx* (LIF: 14 January 1718), with a libretto by Lewis Theobald, may be added to the four by Pepusch and one by Handel already mentioned.7 Although Pepusch's masques were soon dropped from the repertoire and forgotten, they are charming little works and deserve proper discussion of their dramatic and historical significance.

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7 Galliard's other surviving masques are in the Restoration style. Roger Fiske provides a general discussion of the six Italianate masques of 1715-18 in his *English Theatre Music* (1973), pp. 56-62; see also Winton Dean's comments relating to them in his comprehensive study of *Acis and Galatea* in *Dramatic Oratorios* (1959), pp. 155-59. A more recent study by Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (1980), also traces the background to *Acis and Galatea*, but hardly mentions the masques by Pepusch and Galliard. Except for my article, 'Venus and Adonis: An English Masque "After the Italian Manner"', in *Musical Times*, cxxi/1651 (September 1980), 553-57, no studies have been published dealing specifically with any of the masques by Pepusch or Galliard.
II. **Principal Musical Sources**

Many musical works for the theatre between 1700 and 1750 have been lost or survive only in part. It is unusual and gratifying to find that each of Pepusch's masques survives complete in manuscript full score. Two are located in the Royal College of Music, and two in the Royal Academy of Music. A list of the principal musical sources (both in manuscript and in print) for all four masques will provide a useful point of reference for the later commentary. A few unimportant manuscript sources and single-sheet printed editions of individual songs are here omitted: these will all be found in the Thematic Index (Appendix A).

1) **Venus and Adonis.** Lcm: MS 975(I), full score; and MS 975(II), a set of part-books as follows: Violino I (two books, one of which contains the flageolet obbligato for the aria 'Chirping warblers'), Violino II (three books), Tenore, Basso (two books, including solo sections marked for bassoon), Double Bass, Oboe I, and Oboe II. Flute parts are written in the oboe part-books. The full score also includes a trumpet in the instrumental prelude to the Second Interlude; no part-book survives. The score and part-books are copied in the same unidentified hand and were undoubtedly performing copies: the score contains stage directions as found in the printed libretto, while in the part-books the arias are cued in with the final words of the preceding recitativo. The score and all parts bear the number '33', probably the shelf-mark in the theatre library. It may be conjectured from internal evidence that the manuscripts probably date from the 1718-19 revival at Lincoln's Inn Fields. This is supported by two
observations: (a) the inclusion of the flageolet part in the part-
book for the first violin suggests that the player was John Banister
(the only violinist known to have also played the flageolet), and he
seems to have been associated with Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1714-15
and was probably still in the band in 1718-19; and (b) it will be
shown below that the rôle of Mars was sung by a tenor in the original
production at Drury Lane, but was transposed for a bass voice in the
Lincoln's Inn Fields revival -- in MS 975(I), Mars' recitatives and
arias are set for a bass.

A manuscript score and parts for Pepusch's *Venus and Adonis*
crop up in several nineteenth-century sale catalogues and are probably
the same as those now in the Royal College of Music. The first
reference is found in White's catalogue for the sale of the library
of Samuel Howard (25 June 1799). The set next showed up in Charles
Horsley's library (Puttick & Simpson: 16 April 1862), which included
volumes formerly belonging to his father William, and before that to
his grandfather J. W. Callcott (a strong supporter of Pepusch's
theoretical principles). Finally, the volumes were listed as Lot 184
of the library of "A Professor" (Puttick & Simpson: 22 August 1864):
"Venus and Adonis, a Cantata [recte, masque], MS, Full Score, and
11 band parts". This set was purchased for ten shillings by William

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8 I am grateful to David Lasocki for drawing this to my attention.
No doubt Banister was also the performer advertised to play
"a new concerto for Flagelot [sic], compos'd By Pepusch", as an
entr'acte piece with Camilla at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 3 July
1717. The flageolet player for the original Drury Lane production
of *Venus and Adonis* in 1715 probably was James Paisible (see
below, p. 115).

9 Add. MS 27689 (ff. 1-35); letter of 10 January 1799,
Callcott to A. F. Kollman, organist of the German Chapel,
St. James's, London. Pepusch is referred to on ff. 11, and
19-21.
Henry Husk, secretary of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and subsequently deposited with the rest of the Society's library in the Royal College of Music.

John Walsh published *The Songs and Symphony's in the Masque of Venus and Adonis* (C-25) under the same canopied title page as for *Six English Cantatas* of c1709-10. The edition appeared soon after the first performance and was advertised in *The Post Man* for 8-10 May 1715. Walsh's edition carried the following 'Advertisement' printed with the table of contents:

The Author thinks himself oblig'd to take Notice, that the Songs beginning

Swain thy foolish sport
Gentle Slumbers
What Heart cou'd now refuse thee

Were not Compos'd by him, but were Incerted [sic] at the desire of some persons, in the following Entertainment, haveing [sic] been Originally Compos'd in Italian.

*Venus and Adonis* is the only Pepusch masque of which all the arias were printed. In addition to the Walsh collection, at least three songs appeared in single-sheet folio editions. One of them, 'Beauty now alone shall move him', includes the note that it was "Sung by Mr Turner", who performed the rôle of Mars for the 1715-16 season only; it may be presumed that the others can also be dated about this time.

2) *Apollo and Daphne*. *Lcm*: MS 976, full score. Since this masque did not survive beyond the 1715-16 season at Drury Lane, there is no reason to suspect that a second score was ever made:
it is likely that MS 976 is the original performing score from that theatre. There is further evidence to support this. First, a note on f. 23v, "Flauta p. Mr Pass", undoubtedly refers to James Paisible, the accomplished flute and oboe player heard by Uffenbach at a London concert in 1710 (see above, p. 29). Paisible seems to have transferred from the Opera House band to Drury Lane by April 1715 (by which time his name begins to appear in the interval entertainments), perhaps at Pepusch's invitation; Paisible continued there as a regular entr'acte performer until at least May 1719. The second piece of evidence is to be found among various financial documents relating to Drury Lane, now preserved in the British Library (Egerton MS 2159). These chits from the office of the theatre managers include a copyist's bill for Apollo and Daphne (f. 35).

For the writing of the Mask of Appollo [sic] and Daphne. Eight Guineas. [i.e. £8. 8s. 0d.]
For a Perwig [sic]. Seven Guineas.
For binding the Score and Covers for the Parts £0. 5s. 6d.

The bill is undated, and the copyist is not identified.10 Mr Wilks approved payment for the periwig, as well as a copyist's bill for Myrtillo and Laura scrawled on the verso, but he was evidently not happy with the charges for Apollo and Daphne, and delayed payment. By so doing, Wilks unknowingly assisted future research; when the bill was re-submitted with a detailed break-down of the costs it not only gave the name of the copyist, but it also included a Pepusch autograph.11

10 Williams, 'J. C. Pepusch' (1975), assumes that the eight guineas was paid to Pepusch [p. 21].
11 Lbl: Egerton MS 2159 (f. 37); the bill is undated.
Written for the last Niew [sic] Masque

78 sheits of Rojall Paper

2d. p shiet amounts to ................ £7. 16s.
3 Queer of Rulet Rojal Paper .......... 0. 18s.
for Cover to all the Parts ............ 0. 3s.

£8. 17s.

Written for the Old Masque [i.e. Venus and Adonis], the hole [sic] Part of Mars,
Twice over again; the number of 74:
Songs in all the Parts: and Score:
in the hole 12 Sheits: a [sic] amounts
in the hole ............................. £1. 7s.

Total £10. 5s. [recte, 4s.]

[Signed] J. D. Fletcher

To this is added the following endorsement, signed by Pepusch as musical director: "I have Examined this bill and finde nothing unjust. J. C. Pepusch". This did not quite satisfy the managers because the verso has a note, apparently directed to Pepusch, in Cibber's hand:

Ten Pounds: Mr Fletcher must deliver all the score & Parts into the Office, and then to receive his money, when they are examined. Ten Pounds.

The memorandum is signed by the three actor-managers Cibber, Wilks, and Booth. Almost certainly "the Niew Masque" was indeed Apollo and Daphne and the copyist of what is now MS 976 was J. D. Fletcher. Regarding the copyist's charges for "the Old Masque", it may be noted that a Mr Turner took over the role of Mars in November 1715, and the re-copying of that part was for him; Fletcher's copy does not survive.

A manuscript copy of only the Overture to Apollo and Daphne, in score, is preserved in the Library of Congress, Washington (MS M. 1004. A2P., ff. 1-7). The score is headed "Symphony of Appollo [sic] and Daphne" and ascribed to Dr Pepusch. Though the scribe has not been identified, the manuscript is evidently a contemporary copy, very
similar to MS 976, but with tempo markings added.

Only one aria, 'How happy are we', is known to have been printed, and this was issued as a broadsheet in which it is described erroneously as "A Song in the Mask of Myrtillo". Several other songs described as being from Apollo and Daphne were printed, but these are not Pepusch's; there were several subsequent productions by the same title, and they are easily confused.

3) Myrtillo and Laura. Lam: MS 88 (ff. 1-55), full score.
This is one of five volumes (MSS 85-89, inclusive) in the Royal Academy of Music which comprise an important cache of theatre pieces, cantatas, and anthems, most, if not all, composed by Pepusch. Each of the volumes bears the signature of R. J. S. Stevens, dated "Charterhouse, 1817". The paste-down of each volume has the name "Dr Pepusch" followed by a volume number and "Collated, Savage", apparently all in

12 This misled Williams to assume that the aria was used in both Apollo and Daphne and Myrtillo and Laura (in 'J. C. Pepusch', 1975, p. 105). Williams, it seems, took his sources from those listed by Roger Fiske in English Theatre Music (1973). At the time of his writing, Fiske was not aware of the existence of Lam: MSS 85-89, including a full score of Myrtillo and Laura (discussed below, this page).

13 The most popular were two pantomimes of lasting success:
Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury (DL: 20 February 1725), by Thurmond, with music by Jones and Carey. This was revised for 11 February 1726 under the new title of Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin's Metamorphosis.
Apollo and Daphne; or, the Burgomaster Trick'd (LIF: 14 January 1726), by Theobald, with music by Galliard. This work contained at least one poem by John Hughes; 'Vain were graces' in Scene 1.
Apollo and Daphne had also been set as a cantata (in Italian) by Handel, and there are later cantata settings in English by Galliard (to a text by Hughes, discussed below) and Henry Carey.
Stevens' hand. Stevens (1757-1837) was organist of the Temple Church and the Charterhouse concurrently, and also served as Gresham Professor of Music. His teacher, William Savage (1720-1789) was himself a pupil of Pepusch. These Pepusch volumes consist of separate gatherings of individual pieces, each of which originally had its own page numbers or foliation. There were collated by Savage some time after 1757 and eventually bound together in similar bindings of quarter leather with marble boards. Most of the compositions seem of have been copied under Pepusch's eye: there is one Pepusch holograph -- the Cantata à 2, 'Wake th'harmonious voice' (MS 88, ff. 72-83v) -- and a few others contain autograph corrections. Together, the volumes constitute a fascinating study of Pepusch's personal copisteria.

The Myrtillo and Laura score is much worn, particularly at the bottom corners, and has been damaged by water. The fact that copyist's charges for both Apollo and Daphne and Myrtillo and Laura appear on opposite sides of the same chit (Lbl: Egerton MS 2159, ff. 35-35v)

14 Several other Savage-Stevens volumes are preserved in the Royal Academy of Music and elsewhere (see above, p. 44). Savage was, with Pepusch, an active member of the Academy of Ancient Music, and also sang as soloist in several of Handel's oratorios. His manuscripts came into Stevens' possession at the death of the Reverend George Savage, son of the musician, in 1816. For further, see Henry George Farmer, 'A Forgotten Composer of Anthems: William Savage (1720-89)', in Music and Letters, xvii/3 (July 1936), 188-99.

15 The final page of the anthem 'O Praise the Lord' (MS 86, p. 40) bears the inscription, "Finis: Dr Pepusch, 1757". This is the date it was copied (Pepusch died in 1752); it appears to be the latest manuscript copy of any piece in the five volumes. Further details concerning the contents of each volume may be found in the Inventory of Manuscript Sources (Appendix B).

16 I have been unable identify any of the copyists other than Pepusch and perhaps Fletcher, though I propose to continue research into these volumes in order to disentangle the scribal interrelationships among the Pepusch manuscripts and others.
suggests that the two masques were copied by J. D. Fletcher. This can be carried a step further when we observe that the surviving manuscript scores for both masques are definitely the work of the same scribe. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that they are the very scores by Fletcher mentioned in the copyist's bills. It may also be assumed that both masques were copied about the same time -- probably by October 1715 -- and may have been composed during the summer.17 The manuscript score for Myrtillo and Laura contains additions in a second hand, almost certainly Pepusch's. The most significant additions are:

- ff. 6-7v - Bass part (including figures)
- ff. 34-36 - Viola part, and some of Violin I
- ff. 46-47v - Bass part (including figures)

A manuscript copy of all the music up to and including the fourth aria ('Ah no, the proof of love') is preserved without ascription in a volume of keyboard works now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (MU. MS 102, ff. 22-32v). Copied in short score (with the vocal line) in an early eighteenth-century hand, the manuscript is not an important source. Another manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library (MS Mus. c. 103) contains a score and part-books, dated 26 September 1749, which the original cardboard cover describes as "No. 16 / Concerto à 4 / By Dr Pepusch". This may now be identified as the Overture to Myrtillo and Laura, wanting the fourth movement.

A number of arias were printed without attribution in single-

17 There is subtle evidence to suggest that Apollo and Daphne might even have been copied first. On f. 24v of the surviving manuscript score of Myrtillo and Laura, the scribe has a momentary lapse and writes 'Daphne' for 'Laura'. Could he have been thinking of Hughes' masque, which he may only recently have completed?
sheets as "A Song in the Mask of Martillo [sic]". One of them, 'Prepare O love the happy, happy day', is not found in either the manuscript score or the printed libretto; I have been unable to discover the parent work, and Pepusch's authorship of this song remains without confirmation. There is some confusion over other single-sheet editions assigned to Myrtillo. One belonging to Apollo and Daphne has been noted above; two others are also wrongly assigned and are in fact taken from The Death of Dido: 'Soft desires', and 'The lover for the favour presses'.

4) The Death of Dido. Lam: MS 85 (pp. 1-72), full score. This manuscript is found in another of the Savage-Stevens volumes in the Royal Academy of Music. There is nothing in the volume to assist in determining a date. Since, however, the work was not performed again after 1716, it is highly probable that this manuscript is the original performing score from Drury Lane. The scribe is not traceable in any other Pepusch manuscript.

In addition to the two arias mentioned above as being assigned to Myrtillo, one other, 'Hear me, mourning Princess', was printed in a single-sheet edition, also without attribution.
III. Scenario

Venus and Adonis

This is the longest and most operatic of the four Drury Lane masques. It was first presented at Drury Lane on 12 March 1715 as an afterpiece to the Beaumont and Fletcher play Rule a Wife and Have a Wife. The printed libretto (1715) listed the cast:

Venus [Contralto] - Jane Barbier
Adonis [Soprano] - Margarita de l'Epine
Mars [Tenor] - Mr Blackly

Very little is known of Mr Blackly (or Blackley). This is the only reference to him performing in any theatre, and Pepusch may have drafted him, perhaps from Cannons, for this occasion only. He is probably the Mr Blackley whose name is written opposite tenor parts in surviving manuscripts of Handel's Acis and Galatea and several of the 'Chandos' anthems, no doubt for a performance at Cannons. He was replaced in the role of Mars on 10 November 1715 by another tenor, Mr Turner. Mars is portrayed as a villain, avaricious, rough blusterer who would best have been sung by a bass. The rôle seems unsuited to a tenor, but Pepusch's hand may have been forced because there was no good bass in the small company of musicians then at the theatre. (Richard Leveridge must have portrayed the ideal Mars when he took over the rôle for the 1718-19 revival at Lincoln's Inn Fields.)

18 For Acis and Galatea see Lbl: MS R.M. 20. a. 2 (f. 4v); for references to him in anthems see Lbl: MS R.M. 20. d. 8 (ff. 71 and 94v).
19 Mr Turner was a regular singer at Drury Lane between 1715 and 1717. Apparently he had died by March 1718, when the Monthly Mask included a song "Sung by the late Mr Purbeck Turner at Drury Lane".
Cibber's libretto, an adaptation or rather corruption of Ovid's original story (Metamorphoses, Book x, lines 519-739), falls neatly into its two interludes. Most masques do not divide thus, and the arrangement in Venus and Adonis suggests that Cibber, no doubt prompted by Pepusch, may have thought of it as an Italian serenata, or perhaps an intermezzo in which each interlude was performed separately between the acts of a play. It does not seem likely that either Cibber or Pepusch would have been familiar with an earlier setting of Venus and Adonis by John Blow; this had been composed about 1681 for a performance at Court and was probably not known in the theatre. Certainly there is nothing to suggest that either man borrowed from it. Motteux's The Loves of Mars and Venus (1697), based on an earlier part of Ovid's story, was still popular in 1715. While no direct connection is evident between this masque and Cibber's, it may have influenced him to introduce as a third character the truculent Mars, in Roman mythology the God of War, a jealous, violent and highly troublesome lover of Venus. His jealousy and vengefulness, occasionally presented under a thin veil of humour, are useful for the purpose of dramatic and musical contrast, but obtrude strangely into Ovid's original version of the story. Cibber engineers the plot so that Mars, who does not come on stage until the Second Interlude, becomes indirectly responsible for the death of Adonis. The characters and construction of Cibber's plot find an interesting parallel in Acis and Galatea; though Gay's masque was conceived as a single continuous act, Handel later adopted a division into two sections, the

20 Indeed, Cibber's masque was performed in this way on at least one occasion; a revival at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 20 November 1718 paired it with the play Love Makes a Man, with the First Interlude given after Act ii, and the Second after Act iii.
second beginning at the point where the fearsome monster Polyphemus, slayer of Acis, makes his appearance. Winton Dean finds Cibber’s libretto "feeble and unimaginative, ... defaced by a distasteful cynicism".\(^{21}\) This seems a little hard on Cibber who was a competent man of the theatre, even if not a poet (and only occasionally a playwright) of real stature. Cibber’s libretto must, nevertheless, have stirred Pepusch’s imagination, for his music displays an originality and dramatic awareness not found to the same extent in his later masques.

The Overture, scored for two oboes, bassoon, strings and continuo, has some fine independent writing for the woodwind, and would make a delightful concert piece in its own right. The opening allegro in F major, with its concertato-style sections for oboes in consecutive thirds, is surprisingly like the sinfonia which begins Handel’s \textit{Acis and Galatea} -- another Italianate concerto movement. The allegro is followed by a slow movement in the relative minor. Here, the two oboes weave contrapuntal cantabile lines above a four-part string accompaniment of pulsating quavers labelled "adagio e staccato". This ends on the dominant of D minor which leads directly to the final allegro movement, set a major third lower in the tonic. The allegro is in the style of a minuet with the middle section, appropriately marked 'Trio', for two oboes and bassoon.\(^{22}\) Pepusch employs oboes extensively throughout the masque, using them in

\(^{21}\) Dramatic Oratorios (1959), p. 156.

\(^{22}\) In referring to the word 'Trio' in the manuscript score, Roger Fiske makes the doubtful suggestion that "this may be the first time in English music that the word was used to mean 'central section'". (English Theatre Music, 1973, p. 56)
twelve arias; in this he follows the typical scoring of Italian opera and departs from his usual policy of giving most of the work to instruments of the flute family, here used in only two arias, and then for special effects.

Cibber's libretto begins innocuously enough. The scene is a wood on Mount Ida in Crete. In the opening recitative Adonis, the embodiment of youthful beauty, innocence and vigour, sings of the natural beauties of the morning. This is followed by the aria 'How pleasant is ranging the fields', a hunting piece in $\frac{6}{8}$ time based on a typically triadic horn melody, but played on oboes. Venus descends in her chariot and makes amorous advances to Adonis, who would much prefer the excitement of the hunt. Rebuffed, she calls upon Cupid to revenge her pain in 'Cupid, Cupid, bend thy bow', a bravura aria full of energy and punctuated by brittle chords in the orchestra. The middle section of this da capo aria is in complete contrast. Pepusch sets the words 'Let his heart my torment known, What 'tis to love, and love in vain' to a simple adagio in triple time; an oboe obbligato, imitating the voice, floats above the homophonic accompaniment of the strings. After the aria, Adonis is called to the chase by the sound of hunting-horns "at a distance". Venus implores him to stay, but he snubs her romantic intentions in the aria 'How silly's the heart of a woman', a piece of simple melodic charm, set to a rather banal text

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23 Roger Fiske's suggestion that the masque was in part a skit on fox-hunting seems far-fetched (English Theatre Music, 1973, p. 58); though it must be admitted that similar satire on contemporary society was not uncommon in Italian intermezzi.

24 It is interesting that the horns are represented by the repetition of a single note written in the score and copied in the part-books for violins and oboe. It seems likely that it was played on oboe, perhaps from the wings, and included in the violin part merely as a cue.
not far removed from the diction of a ballad. In the succeeding recitative, Venus expresses her forebodings about Mars' reaction to her new love. Cibber leaves the audience in suspense by delaying Mars' entrance until the Second Interlude. The scene ends with an unusual duet, 'Farewell Venus! Welcome pleasure', in which Adonis says goodbye to Venus in a less than complimentary manner. This duet is perhaps the best-wrought piece thus far. One would have thought that Cibber's trochaic tetrameters might best have been served by a melody in common time. Pepusch's treatment is refreshing; he uses triple time and shifts the accent to the second beat. The result is a delightful interplay of accents between voice and bass. The broad vocal line is made up of a series of four-note motives, each rising in pitch until the tension is released by a downward scale to the cadence (Example 5).

Example 5: Duet - 'Farewell Venus! Welcome pleasure!' (Venus and Adonis), bars 1-7.
Note the typically strong bass with its firm sense of direction. The accompaniment, for continuo only, reflects the simplicity of the melody, but pulls it along with occasional unexpected suspensions on the weak third beat. As is usually the case in continuo duets at the end of a scene or act, the orchestra joins in the final ritornello.

The Second Interlude begins with a brisk instrumental allegro which features concertino oboe and trumpet against four-part strings. This is the only time a trumpet is used, and it provides a fitting introduction for Mars, who is alone on stage when the scene begins. He sings briefly of his burning passion for Venus and impatiently leaves in search of her. Adonis returns from the hunt, tired and unsuccessful. A short arioso, 'Come sweet repose', introduces an extended dramatic section which Pepusch treats in a more intimate chamber-music style. This includes Adonis' 'Gentle slumbers' (one of the borrowed Italian arias, as yet unidentified), and 'Chirping warblers', sung by Venus while Adonis sleeps. Venus' song features an elaborate obbligato for "flagelletto". Such bird-call arias with soprano recorder were extremely popular, and most masques or pastoral operas included one. Pepusch's flageolet part is more independent and intricate than the one he later composed for The Death of Dido ('Softest strains of music sounding'), or than the similar pieces by his contemporaries Handel ('Hush, ye pretty warbling quire!' in Acis and Galatea) and Galliard ('How sweet the warbling linnet sings' in Pan and Syrinx). When Adonis awakes, the invisible

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25 The style of writing might suggest that the concertino parts were originally intended for two oboes. The trumpet may not have been used until the revival of 1718-19 when, according to LCM: MS 975, it took the upper part and the two oboes played in unison, perhaps to help achieve a balance.
Cupid has done his work, and the youth finds himself under Love's spell. There follows an amusing and effective recitative in which Adonis' lines are echoed by Venus off-stage. He is delighted to discover that his echo is in reality Venus, for he now loves her with an undying passion. But their rapture is short-lived...

Up to this point the atmosphere of the masque has been carefree and light-hearted, but this now changes abruptly as Mars enters, launching immediately into a robust aria, 'Thus the brave from war returning'. Venus hides Adonis under some boughs before he can be seen by Mars. The pace quickens in a long recitative in which Venus denies Mars' accusations that she has been unfaithful; her protests are not enough, however, to calm his jealousy. Mars pretends to leave but, still suspicious, conceals himself in order to spy on the furtive lovers. When Adonis comes out of hiding the truth is revealed. Angered by Venus' perjury, Mars vows revenge on Adonis; Venus, in an attempt to protect her young lover, promises that she will never again be unfaithful to Mars, a promise that he finds hard to believe (Duet, '0 believe me' -- 'No, no, no, you'd deceive me'). Meanwhile, Adonis innocently leaves to join the huntsmen, apparently unable to grasp the real seriousness of the situation. In reprisal, Mars conjures up a wild boar which gores Adonis. He returns, fatally wounded, and Venus expresses her remorse with the lines:

O Terror to my Eyes!
O tyrant Jealousy!
Adonis bleeds and dies
And dies, poor Youth! for me.

26 Cibber appears to have derived his text from a song in Hughes' opera Calypso and Telemachus (1712), 'No, no, you'd deceive me'.
Pepusch sets these poignant words to a rather ordinary secco recitative, allowing himself no more than a slight increase in harmonic intensity through the use of diminished chords. This surprising restraint keeps the tone of intimacy between Venus and Adonis and, at the same time, avoids too emotional an outburst before Adonis' lament, 'O welcome gentle death', the climax of the masque. The lament is scored for strings and German flute, an instrument which Baroque composers frequently associated with grief and sorrow. The sustained phrases of the flute and voice overlap, complementing each other to give unusual breadth to this short but effective da capo aria.27 Pepusch does not rely on the descending chromatics so often met with in operatic laments; but they are not missed. His simple diatonic harmonies are better suited to the youthful innocence of Adonis.

Adonis dies. In the ensuing monologue, the grief-stricken Venus alternates between feelings of sorrow and a furious desire for revenge. Pepusch grasps the potential of the words and matches the changing moods with a variety of musical devices. The section displays a dramatic ingenuity seldom found in his other works. It begins with 'He's gone, the flitting soul is fled', rather inept verse which Pepusch, wisely perhaps, again sets as secco recitative. The printed libretto then calls for "A Short Symphony" to represent thunder and lightning. Pepusch, with equal wisdom, ignores this and moves directly, with no full close, into an accompanied recitative in which Venus calls upon the violence of Nature to avenge the death of her beloved. Her invocation therefore serves to explain and justify the fury that is now

27 A section of the music is quoted by Fiske in English Theatre Music (1973), p. 57. He presumably took his example from Walsh's printed edition of the songs (the only source known to him), and incorrectly assumes that the obbligato is for recorder.
let loose in the strings, which angrily reply to each of her phrases. When she ceases, these interpolated instrumental figures take over and are developed without a break into the short symphony previously called for in the libretto, a ten-bar piece of rapid conjunct semiquavers played while the stage is darkened. This interlude is quite similar in orchestration and style to Eccles' 'storm' music in *Semele* (c1705). As this diminishes, Venus' anger subsides and she mourns Adonis in a placid arioso, characterized by a repeated descending B flat minor scale, played adagio by all the strings. This stark unison is carried over as the accompaniment for her final aria, 'Let every tender passion feel'. She ascends in her chariot during the closing ritornello, and the masque ends with a four-part chorus (the only one in the masque), in which Adonis' companions, the huntsmen, point the moral.

There is no mention of dancing in either the score or the printed libretto. The same is the case with *Apollo and Daphne* and *The Death of Dido*. Dancing -- especially a final grand dance -- had always been a distinctive feature of English masques; in all likelihood therefore, a dance or two were added at the end of Pepusch's masques. Two un-named pieces, copied in the same hand at the end of the part-books for *Venus and Adonis*, appear to be a bourée and a musette (each in the key of F major) and were almost certainly performed with this masque at Drury Lane. They may have come in the customary place immediately following the concluding chorus, also in F major. In this particular masque, however, the dances might have more appropriately been inserted after the duet in C major that concludes the First Interlude; dancing here would certainly have added a final touch to the carefree and bucolic atmosphere of the entire Interlude. That there was dancing
in *Venus and Adonis* is confirmed later on when an advertisement for a performance at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 18 November 1718 announced that there was to be "Dancing proper to the masque".

*Venus and Adonis* was by far the most successful of Pepusch's masques. After the first performance it was presented five more times before the end of the 1714-15 season, including a benefit performance for l'Epine on 7 April. But it evidently proved to be too long for presentation with a mainpiece, and performances in subsequent seasons were confined to only one of the two Interludes on its own. (As it happens, each Interlude is reasonably self-sufficient, though they differ in dramatic purpose.) During 1715-16, thirteen such performances were given.

Pepusch, along with his leading singers Barbier and l'Epine, apparently moved to Lincoln's Inn Fields in September 1716 and none of his masques was ever staged at Drury Lane again. The revival of *Venus and Adonis* at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1718-19, when l'Epine and Barbier were joined by Leveridge in the rôle of Mars, has already been mentioned. Three of the thirteen performances given during this season are of special interest. On 20 November, the masque was performed as interval music between the acts of a play, like the two scenes of an Italian *intermezzo* (see above, p. 122). Two days later it was substituted for Henry Purcell's original music in *The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian*. Later still, on 5 April, the bills noted 

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28 The possibility that Myrtillo and Laura may have received a single performance there in 1721 is mentioned below. Pepusch's activities at Lincoln's Inn Fields form the subject of Chapter 6.

29 In 1724, Pepusch was to compose new original music for *The Prophetess* (discussed below, p. 285).
that "Care is taken that, by omitting what is least pertinent to the Business of the Masque, to reduce it to the length of one interlude". No copy of this truncated version is known to have survived.

Venus and Adonis would probably have been forgotten after 1719 had it not been for Jane Barbier. She chose it for her benefit night on 15 March 1725 (with three additional performances in April) and returned to it for her benefit on 16 March 1730. Barbier and Leveridge sang their former roles, but l'Epine had retired from the stage in 1720 and the part of Adonis was sung in 1725 by the tenor Philip Rochetti, and in 1730 once more by a woman, Mrs Manina-Fletcher-Seedo.

It comes as a surprise to find Cibber's Venus and Adonis in the advertisements for Covent Garden on 21 March 1748, when it was performed as an intermezzo with The Merry Wives of Windsor. Neither the title of the masque nor the composer is given, but the roles are named. It is extremely unlikely, though, that this Venus and Adonis was Pepusch's. His music can have held little interest for the theatre public as late as 1748, and none of his old colleagues such as Leveridge and Barbier was associated with this performance. The most

30 The masque was mistakenly called Mars and Venus in the advertisement, probably a confusion with The Loves of Mars and Venus which itself was revived for several seasons after 1716.

31 Mrs Seedo, wife of the theatre musician and ballad-opera composer, had first sung in London in 1712 under the name of Signora Manina. She may have been the former wife of J. D. Fletcher, the Drury Lane copyist.

32 The night was a benefit for the famous English tenor John Beard, who himself sang the role of Mars; others in the cast were Isabella Lampe (Venus), and Mrs Storer (Adonis). The same cast gave a second performance on 15 April, Mrs Storer's benefit night.
PLATE 5:

THE CHARACTERS FROM THE 1980 REVIVAL OF VENUS AND ADONIS
(Holme Pierrepont Hall, Nottingham, 17-20 September)

(Photos by Robin Linklater)

Venus (Elizabeth Brice)

Adonis (Margaret Perry)

Mars (Geoffrey Dalton)
probable composer was the Italian violinist Nicolo Pasquali, who may have composed the music before he left for Dublin in 1748. Only Pasquali's Overture survives, and this was printed by John Johnson as No. 5 of XII Overtures and Symphonies (c1755). It seems safe to say that Pepusch's Venus and Adonis was not staged again after 1730 until a revival on 20 June 1963 at Taynton House, Gloucester. More recently, on 17-20 September 1980, the work was produced at Holme Pierrepont Hall, near Nottingham (see Plate 5 for scenes from this production).

Myrtillo and Laura

Pepusch's second production at Drury Lane, again with libretto by Colley Cibber, was first performed on 5 November 1715 as an after-piece to the play The False Friend. The advertisements described Myrtillo and Laura as:

A new pastoral masque. Composed after the Italian manner and performed all in English. The Habits being all new. With dances proper to the Masque by Dupre, Boval, Dupre Jr., Miss Santlow, Mrs. Bicknell, & others.

The printed libretto (1715) calls it "a Pastoral Interlude."

33 Pasquali also set two other texts by John Hughes, which had previously been set by Pepusch; the cantata 'On fam'd Arcadia's flow'ry plains' (see below, p. 223), and the masque of Apollo and Daphne (see below, p. 145, fn. 44).

34 Produced by Giles Havergal and conducted by John Sanders, who also conducted a concert version (with the same performers) of the work on 10 October 1964 at the Birmingham Art Gallery.

35 Produced by Jack Edwards, with Peter Holman conducting the Parley of Instruments. The performing edition was prepared by me. For reviews of the production, see Peter Phillips in Early Music, viii/4 (October 1980), 5-6, and Andrew Best in Country Life for 9 October 1980. The printed programme, with my programme notes, is appended to this dissertation.
The chief difference between a pastoral and a masque was dramatic rather than musical: the pastoral, as here, usually had an Arcadian setting with down-to-earth characters such as shepherds and shepherdesses roaming casually through a light and loosely-organised plot. The rustic setting and peasant jollity tended to encourage a fair amount of dancing. Myrtillo and Laura falls into this pattern. The printed libretto has no preface -- Cibber's earlier preface to Venus and Adonis had presumably been designed to introduce the whole series -- but the cast is listed:

- Myrtillo [Soprano] - Margarita de l'Epine
- Laura [Contralto] - Jane Barbier
- Mopsa [Soprano] - Mrs. Willis
- Lycon [Bass] - Mr. Birkhead

Mrs Willis and Mr Birkhead, who were actors rather than singers, had subsidiary comic rôles.

The copyist (J. D. Fletcher?) of the manuscript score now in the Royal Academy of Music (MS 88) seldom identified which instruments were to play and, since no part-books have survived, it is difficult to determine the instrumentation with certainty. The directions "senza oboe" and "tutti" occasionally indicate that wind instruments were used in central arias, but there is little independent writing for them. The opening "Sinfonie" appears to be scored for four-part strings only, though concertino sections for "soli" in consecutive thirds or sixths may have been played by oboes, as in the Overture to Venus and Adonis.

The "Sinfonie" is in four movements. The first, in G major, is
a short binary movement in the homophonic dotted rhythms of the French style. This is followed by a longer movement, still in the tonic, built up as a fugato with solo episodes for the two upper parts featuring florid passages during which the viola functions as the bass. A slow movement in the relative minor, in $\frac{3}{2}$ time, concludes on its dominant, B major, and leads immediately to the final movement in the tonic, an allegro in the style of an Italian jig. The over-all structure is quite similar to that of Pepusch's sonatas and concertos; it is understandable, therefore, that the unidentified scribe who copied the "Sinfonie" in what is now the Bodleian Library MS Mus. c. 103 mistook the piece for a concerto (see above, p. 119).

Cibber's undistinguished libretto has a shallow plot which may be summarized in a few words; several of Pepusch's arias, however, deserve longer comment. Laura is infatuated with the shepherd Myrtillo, but she is a capricious young lady and proclaims from the start that the more ardent he becomes, the more she will tease him and inflame his desire for her. She falls asleep. Myrtillo comes forward during the unusually long and elaborate orchestral introduction to his aria, 'Help me, Love! I sigh, I die'; there is no preceding recitative. This aria, for strings, oboe, and obbligato flute, is one of the few in which the instruments are identified in the score. All the parts pursue independent lines throughout the aria, to make it one of Pepusch's most imaginative and sophisticated songs. Laura awakens, and Myrtillo continues his attempts to win her affections. In his aria 'Ne'er let a lover his hope give over', constantly changing musical metres reflect Laura's coquetry and his own uncertainty; the effect is pleasing, but the final weak syllable of 'cover' gains an unwanted accent.
The two lovers carry on their banter throughout several more recitatives and arias which do nothing to advance the action. When Myrtillo, in desperation, sensibly decides to retire to "some dismal cave", Laura is quite put out. In the aria 'Now you move me with complaining', she says that he has never truly loved her. The short, jagged phrases, shared in dialogue between the voice and strings, depict her as brusque and assertive. Myrtillo's 'What shall an injured lover do?' now provides a contrast: the instrumental texture is thinned out, particularly in the first section, in which the voice is accompanied by unison violins only. In this aria Myrtillo is supposedly heart-broken, but Pepusch, perhaps aware that the libretto is never far from burlesque, avoids the pathos found in the laments of Adonis and Dido. Unfortunately the result is a full aria, too long and unconvincing.

The plot is now lightened by the sound of "rural music at a distance" played on the flute; this signals the entrance of Lycon, Mopsa, and a chorus of shepherds. These simple, happy souls set everything to rights between Myrtillo and Laura. In the spirit of the seventeenth-century masque 'Entry' (Entrée), Lycon calls everyone to "pipe and dance and play". Pepusch forsakes the Italian style and introduces a jaunty little strophic song in $\frac{12}{8}$ time, 'Now all ye swains and lasses', based on the flute theme which introduced the section. Accompanied by continuo alone, this binary melody is used for three stanzas, each separated by a brief recitative; Lycon sings the first two, and Mopsa the third. Finally, Myrtillo and Laura join hands for a duet, 'Kind and tender' -- 'I surrender'. The Pastoral is brought to a traditional conclusion with a set of
dances, framed by a reprise of 'Now all ye swains and lasses', sung in unison by a chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses.

The manuscript score (Lam: MS 88) contains five dances (the first two are labelled "Entree"), each with the same tonic as in a French divertissement. The first and last pairs, in D major, are scored for four-part strings; the middle dance is in the minor mode and is scored for three treble instruments, apparently recorders. This middle dance is also found in a violin part-book now in the British Library (Add. MS 47446, f. 36), in which it is described as a "Dance in Mirtillo [sic] by Mr Shaw, Mrs Booth & ca". A note written at the end of the piece calls in a "Symphony for Flutes. Dr Pepusche [sic]". A second dance, also in D and copied on the same folio, bears no title or ascription; it may conceivably belong to this masque. The volume is signed and dated, "William Pitt, June ye 12th, 1722"; the dances must have been copied some time after Mrs Booth (née Hester Santlow) had married Barton Booth on 30 July 1719. Although Myrtillo and Laura was dropped from the repertoire after the 1715-16 season, "a Pastoral Dance from the Masque of Myrtillo", usually presented by Miss Younger or Mrs Booth, was frequently advertised as an interval piece at both houses for another decade. Only two performances of the complete masque are known after 1715-16. We may presume that the "Musical Masque of Myrtillo", advertised for a single performance at Drury Lane on 25 February 1721, was Pepusch's; though neither the composer nor the cast are given. This was a thin season for music at Drury Lane and it is doubtful that the company had

36 Clifford Bartlett directed an instrumental performance of the complete suite of dances at Bournemouth in September 1969. The suite was again performed in November 1970 by Peter Holman and Ars Nova at St. John's, Smith Square, London.
many singers with experience in the Italian style; there is a possibility that an abridged version of Pepusch's masque was given. A number of recitative sections have been deleted by pencil strokes in the manuscript score (MS 88) and, since in 1721 Drury Lane would have been more interested in the dances and lighter songs of the masque than in the distinctly Italianate feature of recitative, it seems likely that the cuts date from that time. An aria or two may also have been omitted. The second revival of Myrtillo and Laura took place at Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre on 23 April 1730. The cast was the same as for the revival there of Venus and Adonis, a little more than a month earlier: Barbier and Seedo sang the principal roles, Leveridge as Lycon was joined by Thomas Salway in the part of Mopsa. 37

Apollo and Daphne

Pepusch turned to his close associate, John Hughes, for the libretto of his masque, Apollo and Daphne. Even though it was probably completed about the same time as Myrtillo and Laura, in the summer of 1715, Hughes' masque was not staged until 12 January 1716, when it served as the afterpiece for The Tender Husband. The cast is listed in the printed libretto (1716) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Singers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apollo</td>
<td>Soprano - Margarita de l'Epine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daphne</td>
<td>Contralto - Jane Barbier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Salway was a playhouse singer from about 1722 until his death on 6 April 1743 (Lb1: Add. MS 25391, f. 60). He may have been the Soiway who was servant to Pepusch at Cannons in 1721-22 (see below, p. 207).
Peneus [Tenor] - Mr. Turner
Doris [Soprano] - Mrs. Willis

The story, taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book I (lines 452-67), was a popular one with Baroque composers; Handel set it as a cantata during his early years in Italy. His librettist emphasized the unrestrainable desire of the all-powerful Apollo:
Hughes, however, gives more consideration to the plight of Daphne, who represents humanity and the moral ideals of purity and honour. Handel's Apollo e Dafne is about the same length as Pepusch's setting, but is certainly more dramatically imagined, even though it is a cantata and not intended for theatrical performance. Handel himself used material from it in his later operas, but there is no evidence of any borrowing from it by either Pepusch or Hughes.

Hughes provided a rather pleasing libretto, but in spite of the fact that he and Pepusch had collaborated before, his verse does not seem to have inspired Pepusch; Cibber's librettos appear to have provided a greater stimulus to the composer's imagination. Of the ten arias and two duets in Apollo and Daphne, very few rise above routine. It is a much slighter piece than Venus and Adonis; the recitatives are kept short, and the arias are thinner in texture. Pepusch employs reduced instrumental forces and relies almost exclusively on an accompaniment of two parts (usually violins and violas in unison, and continuo), not unlike the economical writing found in the arias of Eccles' Semele. This provides the occasion for some lucid contrapuntal writing in which Pepusch often treats the voice, violins and

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38 For a rather esoteric discussion of the philosophical and spiritual implications of the story, see Wilfred Mellers, Harmonious Meeting (1965), pp. 226-33.
bass as equal partners in the style of a trio sonata. This same technique may also be observed in The Death of Dido.

Apollo and Daphne is scored for the usual string ensemble, along with two flutes and continuo. Only once, in a short instrumental piece, are the flutes given an independent line; elsewhere they double either violins or voice. The Overture is for four-part strings with solo and tutti markings; presumably the winds doubled them. The first movement is an imitative allegro in D major, extremely Italianate in style and ending with a nine-bar section of dotted rhythms in slower, triple time. This takes the place of an adagio and compresses the Overture into two movements. The second movement is a jig, scored for unison violins, viola, and continuo, to introduce the three-part texture which prevails throughout much of the masque.

The mythological background is as follows. Apollo (or Phoebus) was the ideal of young, manly beauty, and patron of music, archery, and the Muses. The wood-nymph Daphne was his first love. Daphne, however, had asked her father, the River-God Peneus, for perpetual virginity and had become a chaste disciple of Diana. Cupid quarrelled with Apollo and took revenge by shooting him with a sharp, golden arrow, which filled Apollo with a burning passion for Daphne; at the same time, Cupid wounded Daphne with a blunt, lead-tipped arrow designed to make her resist Apollo's love. The more the god pursued her, the faster she fled him. Hughes picks up the story at this point and, except for the introduction of a fourth character, Doris, remains faithful to his model.

He shapes the story into three continuous scenes. The first gets
off to a slow start. Peneus is alone on a river bank; Daphne enters and he urges her to yield to love. She stands by her vow of virginity and sings of her delight in the freedom of the woods and plains in 'How happy are we'. She then goes, leaving Peneus to sing his recitative and aria, 'Feeble Cupid, vain deceiver', after which he also leaves.

The scene moves to a forest clearing. Apollo enters in triumph after his combat with Python; but Apollo is now experiencing the human pain of love. He thinks that the reason Daphne does not return his love is because she is over-awed at being pursued by a god, so he disguises himself as a simple shepherd. There follows a series of not very distinguished recitatives and arias in which Apollo pleads his cause, but Daphne still rejects him. They sing the duet 'No more deny me, O cease to fly me', and Daphne leaves. Apollo sings 'Where Cupid's bow is failing' and then leaves in search of her.

Daphne returns to the now empty stage with her older companion Doris, a comic character who brings welcome relief to an uneventful plot. Mrs Willis, then aged 47, must have been ideally suited for the rôle. In the song 'When I was a maiden of twenty', Doris passes on the benefit of her experience in matters of the heart. The refreshing earthiness of her character is evident in the musical style of the aria. More like a playhouse ballad than an aria, 'When I was a maiden of twenty' stands alone in its simple binary structure and unassuming melody. The scoring appears to be for continuo accompaniment only, but the occasional marking of "senza Hauts" in the voice part implies that the oboes had at

39 Mrs Willis died at her home in Duke Street on 9 May 1739, aged 70 (Lbl: Add. MS 25391, f. 36v).
times been doubling the voice. This feature is common to many of Pepusch's arias, and in this case Mrs Willis may have been glad of support, for she was not principally a singer.

A short instrumental piece for strings and oboes heralds the descent of Apollo in the Chariot of the Sun. He has now abandoned his disguise and appears in his full majesty as a god. He strikes his lyre to introduce 'Fairest mortal, stay and hear', a florid aria in which a violin obbligato -- though not pizzicato -- represents the sound of the lyre. This is the only aria thus far that is at all ambitious or demanding. Daphne's resistance begins to weaken; she is torn between her original vow and her new feeling of wonder and love for Apollo. She makes as if to leave but stops to express her uncertainty in the aria 'Shall I return? Or no?'. This provides Pepusch with the dramatic incident he has been waiting for: his constant juxtaposition of the opening phrase, sung adagio with a contrasting allegro for the words 'Yet love thou ne'er shalt wound me', is imaginative and effective. The single instrumental line above the voice is not labelled, but there are directions for soli and tutti. It is curious that the text is missing in the manuscript score, perhaps by an oversight on the part of the copyist; or the text may have been changed. The underlay can, however, be reconstructed (with some difficulty) from the printed libretto. In the end, Daphne's honour prevails; a short duet portrays her and Apollo in a counterpoint of emotional conflict. During the final ritornello she flees, pursued by Apollo.

The third scene returns to the river bank. Daphne re-enters, still trying to evade her importunate suitor. She appeals to Peneus to destroy
her beauty. The printed libretto directs that as she sings the continuo aria 'Father Peneus, hear me, aid me', she is transformed into a Laurel-tree. This aria, very much in the style of an arioso, falls into two distinct sections. The first, in which she makes her request and is transformed, is in common time, urgent and vehement. A change to triple time for the second part, which should be sung with quiet resignation, indicates that the transformation is complete; there is, of course, no da capo. Pepusch's setting of this highly-charged scene is somewhat self-conscious and is not nearly so striking as Handel's treatment of it.40

In an accompanied recitative, the heart-broken Apollo pledges that the branches of the Laurel-tree will forever grace the brows of poets, kings, and victors. Here, Hughes cannot resist the temptation to arouse the patriotic feelings of his audience: Apollo makes reference to the chiefs of "Britannia's Isle", and among the kings and victors names "a Nassau, and a George" (the complete stanza is quoted below, p. 158). The masque concludes with 'Nature alone can love inspire', described in the printed libretto as a "Chorus, or duetto of Apollo and Peneus"; the score has it as a duet. (The addition of Daphne, now visually presented as a Laurel-tree, to the ensemble would certainly have reinforced the moral.) There is no evidence of any dances.

40 Handel leads into the scene with an energetic aria for Apollo, 'Mie piante correte'. An accompaniment of unbroken semiquavers for the violins represents Daphne fleeing, and the heavier quavers in the bass Apollo's longer strides as he pursues her. This is interrupted abruptly by a single chord played by the continuo alone as Apollo comes upon Daphne transformed. Surprised, he sings 'Qual novità? che vidi?', to begin an equally dramatic section of accompanied recitative.
Three surviving documents provide a glimpse of some of the production costs and stage mechanics. A carpenter's bill, dated 14 January 1716 (two days after the first performance), leaves a record of "ye tember [sic] and boards and nayles [sic] that was mad[e] use of for ye New masque of Apollo and daphne [sic]". The bill totals £3. 1s. 5d., and includes also "32 foot of tember to support ye stage where itt was cutt for ye tree to rise", and "1 brass whole [recte, hole, presumably a ring] and Rope to rais[e] ye tree". Among other items in the bill were brass wire for Apollo's lyre, and two iron screws for the chariot. A painter's bill included the painting of Apollo's chariot in gold, four horses, a glory, a bench of rushes, a sea, and "Daphne turn'd to a tree". A third bill, dated 11 January [1716], was for "a crown [of] Guilt leather".

Parts of Hughes' libretto are also found in a cantata, Apollo and Daphne, which was set by Galliard for solo voice and continuo. It appeared about the same time as Pepusch's masque and was published by Walsh as No. 3 of Galliard's Six English Cantatas (1716); the collection contains three other poems by Hughes. Galliard's recitatives had new texts to summarize the action, but those for the three arias were lifted from the masque. His 'Turn thee, leave thy trembling fear' is actually 'Fairest mortal, stay and hear' from the masque, but with the first and second lines reversed. Galliard's second aria, 'Father Peneus, hear me, aid me', is marked presto and, like Handel's Apollo aria, employs moving semiquavers throughout. It lacks the melodic invention and sensitivity

41 Lbl: Egerton MS 2159 (f. 24).
42 Lbl: Egerton MS 2159 (f. 22).
of Pepusch's setting, especially in the second section. The cantata ends with the final duet from the masque, set here, of course, for solo voice.

While Hughes' masque libretto is superior in literary merit to the previous ones by Cibber, its refinement must have made it seem a rather bland dish to a playhouse audience and, evidently, to Pepusch as well. Since his setting of it is, for most of the time, equally bland, his music enjoyed no lasting success and did not survive beyond the 1715-16 season. Hughes' libretto was, however, re-used on at least two occasions: Pasquali set it for Smock Alley (Dublin), 14 April 1749, and it was re-set later still by James Hook.44 Booth's The Death of Dido is cast in the same mould as Apollo and Daphne and, although it inspired Pepusch to compose better music, it suffered the same fate.

The Death of Dido

Barton Booth (1681-1733) had shown an early inclination for Latin poetry and drama during his student days at Westminster School. His

44 Roger Fiske dates Hook's masque before 1776 (English Theatre Music, 1973, p. 657); none of the music survives. Pasquali's Overture was printed as No. 7 of XII Overtures and Symphonies (Johnson, c1755); only four of the songs survive and these are included in Pasquali's XII English Songs (Johnson, 1750): No. 8 'Where Cupid's bow is failing', No. 9 'Cease to sooth thy fruitless pain', No. 10 'Tender hearts to ev'ry passion', and No. 11 'When I was a maiden of twenty'. They bear no resemblance to Pepusch's settings and are remarkable for their awkward setting of the English language.
unqualified success in the title rôle of Joseph Addison's famous tragedy *Cato* (1712) established him as a leading actor of the day and he was soon promoted to a place in the management of Drury Lane. In 1716, he was an unlikely choice for a librettist: he had no experience in writing for the stage, and his poetic works were limited to a few sentimental lines inspired by his growing passion for Hester Santlow, the dancer.\(^45\) In fact, *The Death of Dido* was to be his only dramatic piece. Booth nevertheless manages to develop a tender love story within a compact and fast-moving plot. The original story from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book iv, had earlier been translated into English verse by John Dryden (amongst others) and had also, still earlier, been arranged as a French-style dance-opera, *Dido and Aeneas* (1689), by Nahum Tate, with music by Henry Purcell. This work was much less well-known in Pepusch's time than it is now. Neither Booth's words nor Pepusch's music show much influence of their now more famous predecessor of 1689, though the two titles were sometimes confused.\(^46\)

*The Death of Dido* was first performed for l'Epine's benefit night on 17 April 1716; the mainpiece was *Wit Without Money*. The printed libretto (1716) lists the cast:

- **Dido** [Soprano] - Margarita de l'Epine
- **Aeneas** [Contralto] - Jane Barbier
- **Mercury** [Tenor] - Mr. Turner
- **Cupid** [Soprano] - Mrs. Bowman

\(^{45}\) The best known is 'Sweet are the charms of her I love', set by Leveridge. Another poem was set by Tenoe, and two others appeared in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, a pantomime with music by Carey.

\(^{46}\) An early example of this confusion is found in G[iles] J[acob], *An Historical Account of... English Poets* (1720). Jacob listed *Dido and Aeneas* under Booth, but placed *The Death of Dido* under anonymous.
L'Epine, for once not in a travesty part, took the title rôle, a more dramatic rôle than that of Aeneas (as also in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*). Pepusch may have assigned the singers with this in mind, giving preference to l'Epine's longer experience in Italian opera. Mrs Bowman (Cupid) does not appear in any advertisements before this date, and this may have been her début. She flourished for many years as a singer, dancer, and actress, and died about 1756. Pepusch gave her three arias, but each is in a simple style without da capo. Mr Turner (Mercury) had only one aria.

Pepusch scores *The Death of Dido* for the same instruments as *Apollo and Daphne*, but adds a trumpet in the aria 'Fame your glories never-dying'. Again, there is hardly any independent writing for the wood-winds; flutes are used more extensively than oboes to double the violins or voice. *The Death of Dido* is in many respects the most forward-looking of all Pepusch's masques. The Overture is short and thinly-scored; in two movements, it is simpler in construction than his previous overtures, favouring three-voiced texture and binary form. In this masque, Pepusch seems generally more conscious of tonic-dominant relationships, particularly between recitative and aria, but also in planning the over-all sequence of keys. For example, the Overture establishes G minor as the over-riding tonality and this key is used for all important arias. Another noteworthy feature is an apparent attempt to achieve both a tonal and structural balance in the masque as a whole; more will be said of this in the following discussion.

Neither the instruments nor the tempi for the Overture are indicated in the manuscript score (Lam: MS 85). The first movement, obviously an
allegro, is dominated by an elaborate line for unison violins, supported by a vigorous accompaniment for viola and bass. A brief modulatory section for four-part strings -- it can hardly be termed a movement -- consists of several sequential statements of a two-chord cadence, marked alternately forte and piano. This ends on a D major chord, played pianissimo, the dominant of a concluding minuet in G minor.

Booth divides his libretto into a First and Second "Entertainment". The First Entertainment sub-divides neatly into three sections which will be discussed in turn.

(A)  G minor - G major: Dido admits her love of Aeneas.
(B)  A minor - B♭ major: The arrival of Aeneas, and his eventual submission to Dido's love.
(C)  G minor - B♭ major: Cupid summarizes the events of (A) and (B).

(A)  Pepusch's developing ability as a dramatic composer may be observed in this short but beautifully-managed section. Helped by Booth's libretto, he achieves a remarkable balance and symmetry of musical design not apparent in his earlier works. Cupid opens the scene with an arioso, followed by a recitative and aria; this is a departure for Pepusch, since he usually begins a scene with a recitative. Handel frequently used an opening arioso rather than a recitative, in order to endow the opening of a scene with a strong emotional colouring. Pepusch's procedure was governed by a similar sensitivity to the gentleness of Booth's opening lines, 'In vain the god of sleep bestows, Rest on fair Eliza's eyes'. Cupid stands watching while Dido, the legendary Queen of Carthage, lies there sleeping, but even in her sleep
she is troubled by her secret love. At the words 'Venus her command has given', the mood changes, and this is accordingly set to secco recitative. In the aria which follows, 'Soft desires, glooming fires'. Cupid carries out Venus' order and places Dido under his spell. Dido awakens, enraptured by her "delightful vision, pleasing dream". Again, the words cry out for special treatment, and Pepusch elects to balance Cupid's scene by repeating the same formal design for Dido. 'Delightful vision' is set as an arioso, and this changes to recitative when Dido recounts her dream; in the dream, though not yet in reality, Aeneas had pledged her his eternal love, and their proposed marriage had met with Juno's approval. In the aria 'Gentle Morpheus, still relieve me', she pleads that future dreams may bring her the same deceiving happiness. A listing of key sequences for both Cupid's and Dido's sections reveals an over-all design:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CUPID</th>
<th>DIDO</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arioso</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>F major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>ending in D minor</td>
<td>ending in G major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>G major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cupid knows well that Dido's love for Aeneas is hopeless, and his music centres around the minor mode. The switch to the major mode reflects Dido's false optimism; an optimism which is reinforced when Dido's aria returns us to the major form of Cupid's original tonic, G.

(B) Trumpet music, called for in the libretto but not in the score, signals the approach of Aeneas. Dido sings another recitative and aria in excited anticipation of his arrival. At last, the Prince
of Troy makes his entrance and in the aria 'Fame, your glories never-
dying' he assures Dido of undying fame when his mission to re-found
ruined Troy in Italy is accomplished; the sound of Fame's golden
trumpet depicts the glory that will come to Dido through Aeneas' deeds.
The central section of this aria is more intimate; Aeneas sings of
Dido's beauty, and Pepusch does not miss the opportunity for dramatic
contrast. He changes from martial common time to a melting $3\over 8$, and
reduces the accompaniment from full orchestra (with trumpet) to violin
and continuo. After this quiet episode, the opening sections returns,
all the more striking because of the respite. While composers generally
adopted the da capo form as a matter of course, its use here serves a
real dramatic function: not only does it provide a vigorous finale,
but it also subtly anticipates Aeneas' eventual decision to follow his
divine mission and reject Dido's love. For the moment, however, Cupid
prevails. Dido and Aeneas, each having had a recitative and aria, now
join hands for the duet 'Softer pleasures', in which Aeneas admits that
he is in love with her. The duet, significantly in the key of B♭ major
(the relative major of the over-all tonic, G minor), marks the end of
the action in the First "Entertainment". But there is more by way of
epilogue.

Before the stage is cleared for the scene change, Cupid
returns to summarize events for the audience. Beginning from G minor,
his recitative leads to the aria 'The lover for the favour presses',
again in B♭ major, thus recapitulating a little the tonal movement of
the previous two sections. Cupid is satisfied with his success. The
final line, "surely conquers in the fight", has an ironic twist:
earlier in the scene these sentiments were associated with Aeneas, but
here the victor is Dido. Aeneas, the military conqueror, has himself been vanquished by love, or so for the moment it appears.

This postscript by Cupid seems at odds with Pepusch's custom of ending a scene with a duet. But the action of the scene is effectively concluded by the previous number, 'Softer pleasures'. While Booth's printed libretto clearly makes a distinction of two "Entertainments", with Cupid's recitative and aria concluding the First, the manuscript score makes no such division. It would seem that Pepusch wishes to avoid any break, and used Cupid's aria not merely to sum up the First Entertainment, but also to make a smooth transition to the instrumental interlude in D minor which begins the Second Entertainment.

The music for this interlude returns to the style and texture of Venus and Adonis. It features an elegant dance-like motive played on violins in consecutive thirds, and imitated by two flutes. The minor mode establishes the prevailing mood for the Second Entertainment.

Aeneas is alone in a grove and, as he waits for Dido, he sings of his love for her in a placid aria in siciliano style, 'Charmer of my soul'. Heavenly music is heard -- a short piece for strings and flute, alternately loud and soft -- but instead of Dido, it is Mercury who appears. He brings a reprimand from Jove, who has sworn to take vengeance if Aeneas further delays his departure from Carthage. Having delivered his message, Mercury ascends to the clouds again, leaving Aeneas to contemplate his dilemma. A recitative with some poignant harmonies leads into Aeneas' aria 'Let me die renowned in story'. This aria is crucial to the drama. The gods have given Aeneas a divine mission;
he is a hero who must not give way to amorous dalliance. In 'Let me die renowned in story', however, Booth portrays Aeneas not only as a glorious warrior, but also as a man of deep emotion and noble motives, who is prepared to disobey the gods and die for his new love. Pepusch contributes several musical felicities. The choice of the key of $E_b$ major sets off the importance of this aria; it is the only piece in that key, and the only one in this scene to employ the major mode. For the vocal line, Pepusch borrows an idea from the duet 'Farewell Venus' (Venus and Adonis), again emphasizing the second beat of triple time. Two solo violins and continuo add exquisite touches. The writing is managed so as to always have two lines (but never more than two) weaving in counterpoint above the continuo; the voice is accompanied by solo violin, and the ritornello sections are played by the two solo instruments. The two-voiced texture of the vocal sections seem almost to suggest a duet between Aeneas and the absent Dido. 'Let me die' is an intimate aria of tender and fragile beauty, and forms the musical highlight of the masque.

Dido, who is waiting elsewhere in the grove, sings her own love-song, 'Softest strains of music sounding'. The words speak of "warbling choirs", and, not surprisingly, the score labels the parts for flute, violin 1, violin 2, viola and bass. The flute part comes as a disappointment in that it is not really an independent obbligato, as it is in 'Chirping Warblers' (Venus and Adonis), and for much of the time is content to silver the line of the first violin. A note in the score suggests that the part was played on an oboe at one or more performances.

Aeneas enters, now in despair, for he has come to his senses and
knows what he must do. In a recitative accompanied by the strings, he tells Dido of Jove's command, which, though it breaks his heart, he must obey. The two sing a parting duet, 'Leave me now my fate bewailing', after which Aeneas retires and is seen no more. His departure marks another dividing line in the action, which Pepusch observes by returning to G minor for the duet: the wheel has come full circle.

Booth now prepares the scene for Dido's death. With Aeneas gone, he introduces Cupid and Mercury again in order to have characters on stage for the traditional closing ensemble. According to the printed libretto, the two descend from opposite sides of the stage while soft music plays, but there is no music for this in the manuscript score. Booth's Dido is a more magnanimous character than the proud and vindictive Dido of Virgil's original story; Tate and Purcell also catch this gentle quality. In Booth's masque, she accepts the departure of Aeneas and her own untimely death submissively. No bitter accusation or sharp despair is allowed to adulterate the purity of her personal sacrifice.

Cupid comes forward and begins the aria 'Hear me, mourning Princess', with no preceding recitative. In this simple continuo song, a perfectly-balanced binary structure, he comforts Dido and promises to carry her soul "to the groves where lovers rest". In the lament 'Oh, I feel the friendly blow', Dido is resigned to her fate. Occasional suspensions in the flute obbligato and voice add a tragic poignancy above the homophonic string accompaniment. Though the piece provides the desired effect, it is not as memorable as the lament 'Welcome,
gentle death' in Venus and Adonis, and certainly bears no comparison with the aching pathos of Purcell's setting of Dido's lament.

A brief recitative, in which Mercury promises to watch over Aeneas in peace and war, emphasizes that the hero is blameless. The masque concludes with a duet sung by Cupid and Mercury, putting forward the customary moral. There is no evidence of any dances.

Though Pepusch's music was not performed again after 1716, Booth's libretto was re-set by Thomas Arne, whose version received its first performance at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 12 January 1734. Apparently it enjoyed a degree of success, but none of Arne's music was published, and nothing survives in manuscript. Pepusch's masque enjoyed a modern revival at Holme Pierrepont Hall (near Nottingham) on 14-19 September 1981; produced by Jack Edwards and conducted by Peter Holman from a performing score prepared by me (see Plate 6 for scenes from this production).
(Holme Pierrepont Hall, Nottingham, 14-19 September)

Dido and Aeneas sing their parting duet, 'Leave me now my fate bewailing'

Dido sings her lament, 'Oh, I feel the friendly blow', as Cupid, Mercy, and their attendants look on.

(Photos by Robin Linklater)
IV. Musical Style and Influences

Italian opera is the musical basis for the Pepusch masques. There is no spoken dialogue, and Pepusch uses all the formal structures and musical stereotypes common in Italian Baroque opera: recitative (secco and stromentato), arioso, arias, duets, and short trio sections. As in opera, too, there is only very restricted use of the chorus.

The following table gives a breakdown of the several formal conventions as they are found in each of the four masques: Gallic's Pan and

Table 2: The Italianate Masques of 1714-18 -- Breakdown of Formal Structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accom Recit</th>
<th>Arioso</th>
<th>with da capo</th>
<th>without da capo</th>
<th>Duet</th>
<th>Trio</th>
<th>Chorus</th>
<th>Inst Mov'nts</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myrtillo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dido</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan (1718)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acis (1718)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Not included above are (a) secco recitatives (b) trios (which are in all cases very brief and in arioso style) (c) short instrumental flourishes and dances; overtures are counted as a single item, regardless of the number of movements within the overture.

Syrinx, and Handel's Acis and Galatea are included for comparison.

Pepusch was no innovator and seems to have been content to work within existing conventions. A comparison of his dramatic style with that of Handel and his contemporaries reveals no great individuality; the characteristics of Baroque style are fairly narrowly circumscribed
and individual traits are less evident than in later periods. Furthermore, these Drury Lane masques represent only an episode in Pepusch's long theatrical career, an episode whose brevity precluded him from establishing his own hallmark in this genre; he could not gain experience by the repeated task of composing many new works. Nevertheless, a consideration of the manner in which he utilized current operatic techniques will supplement what has already been said and will reveal that he was a theatre composer of some skill and imagination. It is unfortunate, then, that he did not continue to realize his potential as a composer of half-length dramatic pieces after the Italian manner; reasons for this are suggested later in this chapter.

The chief ingredients of Baroque opera were the recitative and aria. Here the librettist is of crucial importance. He must not only be concerned with the over-all dramatic impact and continuity of his story, but he must also ensure that his lines are enhanced by a judicious choice of poetic imagery, metre, rhythm, and rhyme scheme. Each stanza should stand on its own as an aesthetically acceptable piece, be suited to the musical function for which it was intended, and serve to stimulate rather than inhibit the composer. Before considering Pepusch's musical settings, a few brief comments on the anatomy of the poetry are in order.

In writing words to be set as recitatives, each of the three librettists -- Cibber, Hughes, and Booth -- follow much the same pattern. The poetry is invariably rhyming verse with a strong preference for iambic tetrameter. Lines of ten syllables are less frequent and are

47 It is interesting to note that Theobald's Pan and Syrinx is different; most of the poetry is in free verse with a distinct preference for line lengths of ten syllables (i.e. the usual blank verse of the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre).
reserved to give greater breadth and import to the presentation of
noble or intense ideas such as death, divinity, conquest, love, or
triumph. Hughes is especially conscious of this; the following
stanza, in which Apollo pledges that the Laurel-tree (Daphne trans-
formed) will forever be a mark of honour, is typical:

No thunder e'er shalt blast thy Boughs, (8)
Preserv'd to grace Apollo's Brows, (8)
Kings, Victors, Poets to adorn; (8)
Oft in Britannia's Isle thy prosp'rous Green (10)
Shall on the Heads of her great Chiefs be seen, (10)
And by a Nassau and a George be worn. (10)

While Italian recitative texts favour lines of seven, or eleven
(or occasionally five) syllables, the accentual nature of the English
language with its frequent final monosyllables can seldom accommodate
them. In the masques, lines of five or eleven syllables are rarely
found in the recitatives. Seven-syllable lengths are more frequent
and are found naturally in trochaic verse or brought about by employ-
ing a feminine ending in iambic trimeter.

Verses intended for setting as arias demand greater attention to
the formal structure of the stanza. As in Italian opera, the most
common fixed forms in the masques are the quatrains and the tercet.

(a) Quatrains: There are twenty-four arias or duets in this
form, employing line lengths with syllable counts of either
8888, 8666, 6666, or 8787. The rhyme scheme varies, but the
most frequent is a single quatrains rhyming ab/ab (the oblique
stroke indicates the end of the first section of a da capo
aria). Double quatrains are found less often; in these cases


the rhyme-scheme may subscribe to the Italian practice of using the rhyme-scheme to link each quatrain (abab/acac, or abbc/addc), which gives greater unity to the da capo form, or each stanza may have a different rhyme scheme (abab/cddc). Examples of both methods may be found in the libretti of Cibber and Hughes, though Booth elects not to use a rhyming link.

(b) Tercets: The four masques contain a total of eighteen arias and duets which utilize the tercet. These three-line stanzas are usually employed in pairs, scanning either 887/887 or 776/776. The masque librettists prefer to ignore the customary rhyme-scheme of the tercet as found in literary works not specifically written for musical setting (aaa bbb), so that their rhyme-scheme again links the two stanzas (aab/ccb); a practice also favoured by Italian librettists.

While both Hughes and Booth are content to remain, for the most part, within the limitations of the quatrain and tercet (and this is also true of Theobald and Gay), Cibber is more adventurous. In his lighter texts, especially those from the pastoral masque of Myrtillo and Laura, Cibber explores freer forms, employing generally longer stanzas, and a variety of poetic feet and rhyme schemes. See, for example, the following aria texts:

In Venus and Adonis

'How silly's the heart of a woman' (Adonis)

9898/33336 33338 (abab/ccdde ffgge)
'Beauty now alone shall move him' (Mars)
87/844447 (ab/acccddb)

'How pleasant is ranging ye fields' (Adonis)
8 11/8436 (ab/accb)

And in Myrtillo and Laura

'Ne'er let a lover' (Myrtillo)
554547/554 674 (aababc/dde ffg)

'Help me love, I sigh, I die' (Myrtillo)
77/8446 847 (ab/cddc eeb)

'Kind and tender' (Myrtillo & Laura)
447/55558 (aab/ccdddb)

Cibber and Hughes include a fair mix of poetic metres and generally follow the practice of using dactylics for happy and jaunty texts, and trochaic metre for forthright and imperative lines. Booth, however, makes no such consideration and chooses the trochaic foot indiscriminately for all but two of his fourteen arias and duets. Fortunately, Pepusch recognizes the problem that this creates in the setting of more sensitive poems, such as 'Gentle Morpheus, still relieve me', and he compensates for it in his musical rhythm.

Winton Dean, in Chapter 9 of Handel and the Opera Seria (1969), discusses the various musical treatments of recitative and aria in the Baroque period. Even though Dean's discussion is largely restricted to the context of Handelian opera, the categories of compositional and dramatic techniques that he describes are common to the period and can

be applied to Pepusch. These are classified below, with selected musical examples from the masques. It will be shown that Pepusch employed most of the techniques favoured by Handel, the dramatic composer par excellence; it would be unfair, however, to labour comparisons between the two men. It must be remembered that in 1714-16 Pepusch and Handel were working under very different conditions. Pepusch was writing for a playhouse audience and for singers who, with few exceptions, were far less able than those at the Opera House. Furthermore, masques were much shorter than operas and allowed only a brief space for the musical development of a character or dramatic situation. This forced an economy which was an advantage to Pepusch, who lacked the natural dramatic instinct and musical breadth of Handel.49

**Treatment of the Aria**

In *Venus and Adonis* and *Myrtillo and Laura*, the orchestration is generally rather thick; many aria accompaniments are scored for four-part strings, with the winds (usually oboes) used for selective doubling of the violins and as an independent colour. This is similar to Handel's orchestration; other composers such as G. M. Bononcini, however, preferred a lighter texture. It has been noted earlier in this chapter that in the two later masques Pepusch moves to this lighter texture, employing violins (in unison), viola, and bass. The preferred woodwinds are flutes, but there is little independent writing for them.

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49 Pepusch's dramatic music may be more appropriately compared with Handel's cantatas and serenatas, but even in this comparison Pepusch's musical architecture and dramatic perspectives are on a smaller scale.
It may be seen above, in Table 2, that Pepusch followed the Italian Baroque tradition in his preference for arias in da capo form. Most of his arias begin with an instrumental ritornello, which may be only a few bars in length, or may become a more sophisticated instrumental section as in Myrtillo's 'Help me love, I sigh, I die'. The introduction is usually of the concerto type, a ritornello which anticipates the vocal theme and is brought to a cadence before the voice enters. In general, the words of the opening phrase are repeated to different music, but sometimes the same musical phrase is used or developed.

In arias with highly emotive words, the voice often comes in after the opening ritornello with an unaccompanied phrase, performed ad libitum; a popular device in Italian vocal (and occasionally, instrumental) music. Pepusch adapts this 'devise' (sometimes called an anticipatory fragment) to suit his dramatic purpose. Most commonly, it is an integral part of the aria, the theme and the words being derived from the opening full phrase. Such is the case in 'Charmer of my soul' (The Death of Dido), where the devise serves to heighten Aeneas' expression of love for Dido. Here, Pepusch uses the devise to dovetail recitative and aria; since the words of the opening phrase are taken from the last line of the preceding recitative, Pepusch regards the aria as a continuation of the dialogue and begins it without introduction. A second type of treatment, rather uncommon, is observed in 'Kind and tender', the closing duet in Myrtillo and Laura. The words for the opening tercet of the duet are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Myrtillo:</th>
<th>Kind and tender,</th>
<th>4 (a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laura:</td>
<td>I surrender.</td>
<td>4 (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both:</td>
<td>All my joy's to thee alone.</td>
<td>7 (b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pepusch lifts 'Kind and tender / I surrender' out of the duet proper
and sets it as a devise. He is now able to set the remaining lines more appropriately to a dance-like melody in triple time. The problem now is that this new tune is not really suitable for the customary repetition of the words from the devise. Pepusch wisely decides not to repeat the devise text and inserts a much happier line, 'Oh the pleasure has no measure', which is not found in the printed libretto. The devise now stands alone, contrasting in music and text with the rest of the aria. The added line restores the poetic balance, thus:

Devise  
- Myrtillo: Kind and tender  
  Laura: I surrender.  

First line of Duet proper  
- Both: Oh the pleasure  
  Has no measure  
  All my joy's to thee alone.  

One further example is given, not only because it demonstrates a third treatment of the devise, but also because it provides evidence of performance practice. In 'Fairest mortal, stay and hear' (Apollo and Daphne), the devise is first heard at the very outset, played on a solo violin. There then follows a thirteen-bar opening ritornello which, while it starts with a melodic idea anticipating the voice, veers away with new material, to be recalled later in the closing ritornello. A comparison of the violin and vocal devises (Ex. 6) suggest that in

Example 6: Aria - 'Fairest mortal, stay and hear'
(Apollo and Daphne)

(a) Violin solo (bars 1-2)

(b) Voice (bars 16-17)
performance the singer was expected to embellish the devise; in this particular aria, perhaps in imitation of the written-out embellishments of the solo violin.

The second (or middle) section of Pepusch's da capo arias is, in accordance with the practice of the time, much shorter than the exposition. The musical ideas are generally borrowed from the opening ritornello or vocal phrase with variation of mode and colour; less commonly, new material may be introduced. Almost always there is a reduction of instrumental forces, achieved either by paring down the accompaniment to continuo only, or by limiting the upper instruments to violins playing short, motivic interjections. The key-relationship between the two sections is generally predictable. From an examination of approximately 100 arias by Pepusch, selected from his masques, cantatas, and odes, it emerges that in major-mode arias he almost invariably ends the middle section in the mediant (minor); a few end by going down a minor third to the sub-mediant (minor). (For example, an aria in G major will normally modulate to B minor, but may sometimes modulate to E minor.) Well over two-thirds of Pepusch's surviving arias are set in major keys: by 1715, minor-key arias were going out of fashion. This was a pity, for the few arias that Pepusch composed in the minor are more adventurous in their use of tonality than those in the major. The middle section of arias in the minor mode is more likely to end in the relative major or the dominant or sub-dominant. In addition to a change of key, the two sections are further contrasted, when the libretto suggests it, by a change of metre and tempo; a technique also employed by the Italians and Handel. The most striking Pepusch examples are 'Cupid, Cupid, bend thy bow' (Venus and Adonis), and 'Fame your glories never dying' (Dido and Aeneas), both of which are
set in the major mode.

**Da capo** arias and duets of an intimate nature are often scored for voice and continuo only; a final ritornello for full strings is added when the piece ends a scene. 'Farewell Venus, welcome pleasure', which includes the First Interlude of *Venus and Adonis*, is typical.

Pepusch and Handel both received their early musical training in Germany, in a school of composition firmly grounded in sacred polyphony for choir and organ. For Handel, this was tempered by several years in Italy, although his Teutonic background returns to the surface on occasion, especially in his choral works, and he rarely sacrifices his native vigour and energetic basses to Italian suavity. Pepusch probably did not have this first-hand experience with the softer Italian style and was forced to assimilate what he could from scores and from performances of Italian music that he heard in London. He is never quite able to divorce himself from the lessons he had learned with Grosse and Klingenberg; his predilection for a linear approach to composition, already observed in his instrumental works before 1714, is retained to become a characteristic feature of his masques. Examples of contrapuntal writing are plentiful; sometimes it is the interweaving of the vocal lines of a duet, or it may become more sophisticated to produce a Bach-like dialogue between an instrumental obbligato and the voice. More often than not the bass line is taken into the counterpoint, as in his trio sonatas. It is interesting to compare the following example from *Myrtillo and Laura* (Ex. 7) with Example 3 (above, p. 65) taken from an early sonata à 3, 'called Smalcoal'.
Example 7: Aria - 'Now you move me with complaining'
(Myrtillo and Laura), bars 19-21.

Imitation is an effective device to increase intensity and
generate excitement. It is used for this purpose in 'No more deny me',
in which the imitative entries build up to be released in the melisma
on the word "fly" (Ex. 8); Handel used the same technique in some of
his early arias.

Example 8: Duet - 'No more deny me' (Apollo and Daphne),
bars 17-21.
Pepusch also draws on his contrapuntal skill for moments requiring greater sensitivity, and frequently writes an intimate two-part counterpoint joining the vocal and instrumental lines in delicately-calculated imitations. If a full sound is required, additional instruments are added. This is the case in Adonis' aria 'On love what greater curse can fall': in bars 1-5, a line for voice and oboe in unison is balanced against a second line, also played in unison, for violins and violas. (Pepusch often uses the upper strings as a bass in this way, avoiding that relentless churning of the basses which can make one regret the Age of the Continuo.) The vocal phrase is repeated in bars 6-10, accompanied by the same instrumental line but now given to cellos and double basses in unison. The following example from a rather sentimental aria in The Death of Dido shows the same procedure in reverse. (The voice enters at bar 13 and repeats, note for note, the violin I theme from the introduction.)

Example 9: Aria - 'Soft desires, glooming fires'
(The Death of Dido), bars 13-32.

AENEAS
(and FLUTE)

VIOLIN I + II

VIOLA

BASSO CONTINUO
Note how the bass of the upper strings at bar 25 is designed to create an airy contrast to the thicker sound of a lower instrumental bass.

Pepusch is fond of rhythmic diversity in the melodic phrase, and he makes particularly deft use of two common cross-rhythms. The first is the shifting of the accent to the second beat of a triple-metre aria, as in the style of the chaconne or sarabande. The duet
'Farewell Venus, welcome pleasure' has already been mentioned in this regard (see above, p. 125, Ex. 5). The second is the hemiola, the practice of introducing three larger duple beats within two bars of triple time to provide a rhythmical broadening and emphasize the cadence. There are a few instances where Pepusch writes a hemiola inside the phrase, in the less common fashion beloved by Handel. This may be used in conjunction with vacillating time signatures. 'Ne'er let a lover' (Myrtillo and Laura) contains examples of the hemiola before a cadence (Ex. 10a) and within the phrase (Ex. 10b).

Example 10: Aria - 'Ne'er let a lover' (Myrtillo and Laura)
(a) Bars 4-8

(b) Bars 73-79

See H. H. Wintersgill, 'Handel's Two-length Bar' in Music & Letters, xvii/1 (January 1936), 1-12.
In Example 10b, the first of the \(\frac{3}{2}\) bars may be seen as a hemiola, a notational alternative to two bars of \(\frac{3}{4}\); but the bar of \(\frac{1}{2}\) introduces a genuine disturbance of the regular triple time, presumably designed to suggest the unexpected, sudden "seizing". The constantly changing time signatures throughout this aria remind one of similar treatment in Handel's 'Bel piacere è godere fido amor' (Agrippina), composed several years earlier in 1709.

There is a combined total of forty-seven arias in Pepusch's masques, of which only ten do not use the da capo form. The latter usually fall within a binary structure and have the flavour of a play-house ballad. They are reserved for simple, rustic characters such as Doris in Apollo and Daphne; such minor rôles were often given to less able and experienced singers, or to singing actors, and the use of the simple ballad style may reflect what they were used to and capable of. The distribution of the arias among the singers is shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: SINGERS -- DISTRIBUTION OF ARIAS (1715-16)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Epine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Turner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Turner's role in Venus and Adonis was originally sung by Mr. Blackly.
It is readily apparent from this, that all four masques were designed principally for the singers l'Epine and Barbier. L'Epine had the higher voice, but even so, most of her rôles were travesty parts. Throughout her years at the Opera House she had been frequently called upon to sing male rôles (perhaps in part because she was no beauty); the tradition of 'breeches' parts was widespread in Italian opera, though usually it was a female contralto who took over when no castrato was available. L'Epine's one female rôle in the masques was Dido, still a soprano part. Barbier took the mezzo range in each of the masques: in Venus and Adonis, her part is frequently written in the alto clef and extends down to the A below middle C. Turner was a regular singer in the masques after October 1716. Pepusch appears to have considered him suitable for a supporting rôle with Italianate music, but perhaps too refined a singer for the rôle of Lycon in Myrtillo and Laura. Willis and Burkhead had little to do.

Mrs. Bowman, who may have had no formal training in Italian ornamentation, was given no da capo arias, but her three songs, simple though they are, demand a good command of the higher register -- the flowing line of 'Hear me, mourning Princess' rises to a high A\textsuperscript{b}. She was also entrusted with a fair amount of recitative.

Treatment of Recitative

Pepusch is at his most conservative in his recitatives, which are stolid and conventional. The following example, however, shows that he could demonstrate a more daring style.

For further on l'Epine's vocal ability and her previous rôles in Italian opera, see my article 'Françoise Marguerite de l'Epine'.

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Pepusch is inclined to rely on harmonic rather than melodic effects to enhance an emotional situation. In Example 12, Myrtillo muses over the sleeping Laura. The transition to the warmth of the relative, E♭ major, at "Myrtillo" is effective; the melting chromatic ascent of the bass to C major at "she dreams" is a subtle stroke, with
its unexpected false relation between voice and bass.

The vocal lines of Pepusch's recitatives are always sensitive to the emphasis and flow of the words, a prime requisite for any recitative setting. Although he occasionally indulges in word-painting in the arias (see above, Ex. 8), his recitative settings are tastefully circumspect where other composers might have been more adventurous. Observe the treatment of the text in Example 13.

Example 13: Recitative - The Death of Dido

(a) The cry "he comes" rises a perfect fourth in expectation (though perhaps a $6_3$ chord on F might have heightened the effect); the high F in the voice at "shield me" is the stronger for its punctuating rest. (b) Though note values should hardly ever be taken literally in the performance of recitatives, the relative lengthening of the two crotchets at "sorrow" suggests that the music should languish briefly.
The word is further distinguished by the rise of an augmented fourth in the voice. (c) The treatment of "He bends" drags downward in sympathy with the image and the sound of the word. (d) "Despair" is given a feeling of melancholy by the third descending in similar motion to a fifth with the bass. This unusual form of the Phrygian Cadence was not employed by Handel. Another example of its use by Pepusch, again at the word "despair", may be seen above, Ex. 11.

Some Baroque composers tended to break their recitatives up by the excessive use of the full close; Galliard in particular is guilty of this. Pepusch, on the other hand, has a feeling for larger rhetorical spans. He aims for continuity and reserves the perfect cadence for places where the poetic phrase has an obvious resting-point. For intermediate punctuation he often employs the Phrygian Cadence, usually in its conventional form (with the vocal line rising the interval of a second). It is used without exception for questions. Pepusch's handling of the cadence points enables the actor to underline the essentials of the action effectively, without unnecessary interruptions from the continuo.

In the surviving manuscript scores, the continuo bass is sparsely figured. The figures are usually obvious from the vocal line and bass; and since Pepusch himself no doubt directed from the harpsichord, he would hardly have needed more than an occasional reminder. (While the Opera House generally used two harpsichords, there is nothing to suggest that the playhouses had more than one.) Winton Dean and others have discussed details of Baroque practices in the performance of operatic
recitative. Since it is not known for certain whether the double bass was generally included in the continuo ensemble, it is interesting to note from the part-books for *Venus and Adonis* that only the Violone part contains the bass for the recitatives; it is omitted from the two books labelled "Basso" (viola da gamba or cello). *Secco* recitative was undoubtedly accompanied by harpsichord and violone in this masque and probably in the others as well.

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**English Musical Influences**

The librettists of the Drury Lane masques, as we have seen, found their models in the English tradition; but Pepusch's music is decidedly Italianate and un-English. There are nevertheless occasional examples which display the broad melodies and solid harmonies characteristic of the English school. It is in the binary songs, rather than the *da capo* arias, that these influences are most manifest. Roger Fiske selects 'Fair blooming creature' from *Apollo and Daphne* as an example, probably because of the unusual flattened seventh in the melody. He could have chosen equally well from at least half-a-dozen songs, including 'Ah sweet Adonis' and 'How silly's the heart of a woman' (both from *Venus and Adonis*), 'How happy are we' (*Apollo and Daphne*), 'The lover for the favour presses' (*The Death of Dido*), and

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53 *English Theatre Music* (1973), p. 58. Pepusch again uses the melodic flattened seventh in the dances from *Myrtillo and Laura* and in the second aria of the cantata 'Cleora sat beneath a shade'. 
'O happy Myrtillo' (Myrtillo and Laura). Perhaps the most Purcellian of all examples is this one from Apollo and Daphne.

Example 14: Aria - 'Tender hearts to ev'ry passion' (Apollo and Daphne), bars 1-11.

The melodic extension of the phrase (bars 8-11) is noteworthy. Pepusch often employs such musical touches to give his melodies a distinctive contour and sense of purpose. The characteristic has already been mentioned with regard to his instrumental music (see above, p. 64, Ex. 2), and is especially evident in his cantatas. Pepusch's vocal melodic style and setting of English are discussed at more length in relation to the cantatas in Chapter 5.

Masques by Galliard and Handel

Cibber's interest in masques as afterpieces at Drury Lane
diminished after the production of *The Death of Dido* in April 1716. The more enterprising John Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields did not share Cibber's musical inhibitions and took it upon himself to continue what Cibber had begun. For about fifteen years after 1716, Rich employed both Pepusch and Galliard as his chief musicians (discussed below in Chapter 6). Pepusch, apparently, was no longer interested in composing masques; but Galliard was. In collaboration with Lewis Theobald, a lawyer turned poet, Galliard presented Rich with two new masques for the 1717-18 season: *Pan and Syrinx* (14 January) and *Decius and Paulina* (22 March); the latter was inserted into Act v of Settle's play *The Lady's Triumph*. Hardly any music survives for *Decius and Paulina*, but a perusal of the printed libretto (1718) suggests that it was in the style of the Restoration masque. The complete score of *Pan and Syrinx* is preserved in the British Library (Add. MS 31588), and includes revisions made by the composer for a revival in October 1726. The piece has continuous music and is called "an Opera" in the manuscript score. While the Italianate style is less obvious than in Pepusch's masques, there is little doubt that Galliard chose them as his model.

Theobald's plot, like that of Hughes' *Apollo and Daphne*, is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but the dramatic design is in many respects more like *Myrtillo and Laura*: there is much dancing, the story has a happy ending, and the two humorous characters (a Sylvan and a Nymph) may be compared to Lycon and Mopsa. Galliard's setting of the strophic song 'Let nature henceforward neglect' is passed from the Nymph to the Sylvan and then used as a dance, in much the same way as in Pepusch's masques. The same holds true for an earlier masque by Leveridge, *Pyramus and Thisbe* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 11 April 1716): only the libretto survives. (Fiske, p. 59, wrongly gives Drury Lane as the venue.)
'What tho' the nymph deny you'. Perhaps not surprisingly, Galliard uses the same instrumental forces as Pepusch, but tends to favour the thin-textured scoring found in Apollo and Daphne and The Death of Dido. Galliard's music rarely rises above the pedestrian. His arias lack the rhythmic diversity and melodic invention of Pepusch's, and the recitatives are often marred by all too frequent cadential interruptions and insensitive prosody. The best of Galliard's arias is Pan's 'Surprizing change', beautifully orchestrated for two recorders, violins and viola in unison, bass recorder and continuo.

Handel's Acis and Galatea, sometimes described as a 'masque', is the only other piece from this period that resembles Pepusch's masques in scope and style, though it was intended for private performance for the Duke of Chandos at Cannons and was probably not staged by Handel. Pepusch and Handel were both serving together at Cannons in 1718, and it seems probable that the former may have discussed with Handel his own experience in setting English masque-libretti. Winton Dean has observed that the libretto by John Gay (and others) is modelled after Hughes' Apollo and Daphne; it is

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55. The recitative settings were greatly improved in the 1726 revision. Other changes included new material for the role of Diana (sung in the revised version by Isabella Chambers), the addition of two horns to the orchestra, and the transposition of the Nymph's music for Thomas Salway, a tenor. Salway may seem an unlikely Nymph, but such unusual casting was not unknown when circumstances dictated it.

56 For further comment on this aria, and a musical example, see Roger Fiske, English Theatre Music (1973), pp. 60-61. Fiske is wrong in his assumption that because the string part is written in the alto clef but not labelled in the score, it was automatically intended as a viola solo. The part lies within the range of the violin and, indeed, in the 1726 revision the part is clearly labelled for violins and viola in unison (Lb: Add. MS 31588, f. 79).

57 It was, however, later staged by Arne at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 26 March 1731.

58 Dramatic Oratorios (1959), p. 157. Like Apollo and Daphne, Gay's Acis and Galatea also takes its story from Ovid's Metamorphoses.
known that at least one item, 'Would you gain the tender creature', is actually by Hughes. Handel's masterly music, with its colourful oboe writing and rhythmic energy, has many points of resemblance with that of *Venus and Adonis*. The similarity between Handel's single-movement Sinfonia and the first movement of Pepusch's Overture is especially striking, as is the irruptive nature of the characters of Polyphemus and Mars. Nevertheless, while Pepusch may have advised Handel on the general plan of *Acis and Galatea*, it would be foolish to argue that the 33-year-old Handel patterned the detail of his music on Pepusch's. It is remarkable that several of Pepusch's arias could pass muster as Handel's; but it is very likely because both composers combined a Germanic influence of counterpoint and rhythmic energy with a melodic grace learned from Italian opera. It is interesting to observe that Pepusch does not, however, follow Handel's marked preference (in *Acis and Galatea*) for arias in triple metre; he also avoids Galliard's penchant for songs in binary form.

Space does not permit a detailed comparison of the masque libretti, but it is immediately apparent that the structure of Gay's libretto differs from the Pepusch masques in two respects: (a) Gay's recitatives are extremely short, and some items, indeed, lack any introductory recitative; and (b) Gay also provides Handel with the many choruses (apparently ensembles for the soloists) that are a prominent feature of *Acis and Galatea*. The masque is consequently less like Handel's operas, most of which lack choruses, and though it can be staged, it makes a better effect in concert performance. 

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59 For a sample of Pepusch arias that are particularly Handelian in style, see Winton Dean, *Dramatic Oratorios* (1959), p. 158. Several further arias might also be added to the list.
Syrinx also had choruses interspersed throughout; while they are of little musical weight, they are nevertheless more substantial than Pepusch's final choruses, placed at the end of his masques like the coro sung by a solo ensemble at the end of an Italian opera.

**Pepusch's Limited Influence on Later Masques**

None of the theatre masques of 1715-18 outlived their time. While the eighteenth-century theatre composer did not expect longevity for his works, let alone immortality, Pepusch was no doubt disappointed that the life of his masques was measured in months rather than several years. Except for a single performance of Myrtillo and Laura in 1721 and again in 1730, only Venus and Adonis enjoyed revivals after 1716, and it, too, fell into obscurity after 1730. The demise of Pepusch's masques may be attributed to a combination of factors.

(1) Pepusch's masques were essentially miniature Italianate operas, without choruses, with a limited amount of dancing, and sung in English. As such, they had a certain limited appeal for a playhouse audience, but were not of sufficient substance to compete successfully with the fully-fledged operas of Handel, Bononcini, Ariosti, and others at the Opera House. Though most of these operas remained popular for longer than the masques, they also died -- but their style continued to thrive and develop.

(2) By 1716, dancing was coming into vogue as an entr'acte entertainment. John Rich, who might have kept the masques going longer, instead chose to concentrate his money and effort on the
promotion of the harlequinades and pantomimes which eventually became all the rage in the 1720s. He played a prominent part in them himself, in his famous character as 'Lun'.

(3) Pepusch himself appears to have lost interest. He composed no new masques for Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there is also no evidence that he ever followed Handel's lead and tried to mount a performance of his own masques at Cannons. Such a project would have required some adaptations to accommodate them to the voices available at Cannons; except for altering the part of Mars for Leveridge in 1718, there is nothing to suggest that Pepusch ever attempted a revision of any of his masques. Obviously, he was content to forget this phase of his career and give priority to other musical activities.

(4) When at last there arose a renewed interest in masque-type entertainments, through the activities of Arne, Lampe, and Greene in the 1730s, Pepusch had retired from the theatre. His da capo arias and style of orchestration were by then out-dated, and he made no attempt to re-enter the arena.

Though the music died, the libretti of the earlier period did survive into the 1730s and 1740s, to be re-set by various composers, as mentioned previously in this chapter. In some cases, parts of the

60 None of Pepusch's masques is included in a catalogue of the Duke's library drawn up by a Mr Noland in 1720 (US-SM: MS ST 66). Further reference to Noland's catalogue and to the Pepusch titles contained therein is made below in Chapter 4.
libretti were adapted by other librettists, in particular Thomas Morell. But the influence of Pepusch's Italianate music on the new generation of masque-composers was negligible. Too much had happened in the intervening years; ballad opera and burlesque had conditioned the audience to demand racy songs and fewer recitatives. Pieces like Lampe's burlesque The Dragon of Wantley (1737) gave them the kind of fare they wanted; Arne's Comus (1738) regaled them with some exceptionally fine music, but it was broken up and diluted by a good deal of spoken dialogue. In this regard, Comus and other pieces of the same kind by-passed the masques of 1715-1718 to return directly to the Restoration prototype.

One piece that did owe something to the 1715-1718 tradition was Maurice Greene's Florimel (1734), a "dramatic pastoral" in two interludes, set to a libretto by John Hoadly. This was Greene's first dramatic work, composed for a private performance in Winchester. The dramatic situation is similar to that of Myrtillo and Laura, but Hoadly's poetry is graced by a refinement of language that he may have learned from Hughes' Apollo and Daphne. Myrtillo is also a principal character in Florimel, and it is interesting to note that in at least two surviving manuscript scores the rôle is written as a travesty part. Greene's masque has continuous music: the brisk recitatives could pass for Pepusch's, and the arias (over half in da capo form) are scored in the same manner as those in Apollo and Daphne.

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61 Examples are given by Winton Dean, Dramatic Oratorios (1959), pp. 156-57. Morell was of course also librettist for several of Handel's oratorios, including Judas Maccabaeus and Joshua.

Although the arias are not as contrapuntal as Pepusch's, an audience of the mid-1730s must have found them unusually polyphonic in conception.

The fact that Pepusch's masques had little or no influence on the later development of the genre does not lessen their importance. In his time, Pepusch stood as virtually the sole guardian of the English tradition of all-sung musical drama, created in competition with the Italian opera which itself served as the musical model for their creation. The masques of 1715-1718 represent a significant attempt to write dramatic music of real musical sophistication for a new audience outside the fashionable habitués of the Opera House.

* * *
Pepusch appears to have begun his long tenure as Rich's musical director at Lincoln's Inn Fields at the start of the 1716-17 season. However, it is immediately apparent from contemporary newspaper notices that his theatrical activity was considerably curtailed, perhaps even halted, in 1717-18 and again during the years 1719-23. This may have been because he was heavily engaged in organizing the musical establishment of the Duke of Chandos at Cannons, Edgware.\(^1\) Handel also was absent from London from the summer of 1717 to late 1718, and it is generally accepted that both he and Pepusch were together at Cannons during this time.\(^2\) Handel's stay at Cannons was brief, but Pepusch continued throughout the 1720s to combine two employments as the Duke's musical director (or Kapellmeister) at Cannons and as John Rich's musical director at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Though Pepusch's years at Cannons are an important aspect of his career, they call for no elaborate discussion in a study which concen-

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1 James Brydges (1674-1744), Earl of Carnarvon (1714), was not created a Duke until 29 April 1720, but it is convenient in making reference to him before this date to use the better-known title 'Duke of Chandos'.

2 The false assumption that Pepusch resigned in 1718 in favour of Handel has long been abandoned.
trates on his life in the theatre. A musical analysis of the church music that he composed at Cannons, which has few points of contact with his theatrical music, must await some future opportunity. Meanwhile, we will interrupt our survey of his theatrical career and do our biographical duty by inserting at this point a brief account of his life at Cannons, summing up existing knowledge. The more important events are recorded in surviving documents relating to Cannons and the Duke of Chandos, some of which bear Pepusch’s signature. Most of these documents are preserved among the Stowe manuscripts now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. From them, C. H. C. Baker and Muriel Baker compiled their biography of Chandos, The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges ... (1949), and this is the chief printed source of information.3 While offering a broad historical survey of life at Cannons, the Bakers were only incidentally concerned with the music and musicians; they give various quotations from the Stowe manuscripts in an abridged form, usually without proper citation of origin, and omit a few other references to music from the Stowe manuscripts. Graydon Beeks, Junior, in his recent PhD dissertation 'The Chandos Anthems and Te Deum of George Frideric Handel (1685-1759)' (University of California, Berkeley, 1981), devotes the first chapter to a general survey of music at Cannons and provides a corrective supplement to the Bakers' account of the music, as well as a more consistent attempt to interpret those facts relating to the 'Cannons Consort'. Dr. Beeks also includes a valuable list of "Musicians at Cannons" (Appendix A) throughout the brief history of the Consort, along with a short biography for each. His work need not be repeated

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3 There are earlier printed sources, but they lack detail and the information concerning Pepusch is unreliable. They are listed in the Bibliography under the authors; Richard Clark (1836), John Robert Robinson (1893), W. H. Cummings (1915), R. A. Streatfield (1916), and J. C. Sibley (1918).
here, though it will be referred to for background information relating to our investigation into Pepusch's activities at Cannons.

The exact date on which Pepusch came under the patronage of the Duke of Chandos, or even when the Duke first began to recruit musicians for his Consort, remains uncertain. The earliest ascertainable contemporary evidence of Pepusch at Cannons is found in a letter, dated 21 May 1719, from Chandos to a Mr Culliford.⁴ He had written previously to Chandos to obtain a position for his kinsman; Chandos replied that:

If the Gent. you mention is a good Musitian, I don't know but if he is willing to be one of my Consort (who consist for the most part of Masters, & those who are not so perform as well) I shall have Room for him in a little Time: and in this Case let him speak to Dr Pepusch, who is ye Director of it & will give Me an Accot. of his Performance.

Though no earlier records survive, it is probable that by 1719 Pepusch had already been in the Duke's employ for a number of years. Chandos' interest in music can be traced back to his student days at Oxford about 1690.⁵ He later accumulated a fortune as Paymaster General to Queen Anne's forces during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), and this would have given him the financial means to expand his musical interests to include his own Consort. He may have begun to do this on a small scale while he was still living in London; from 1700 he lived in Golden Square, and in 1710 bought a

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⁴ US-SM: MS ST 57, xvi, p. 163. The identity of the musical Gentleman who was seeking employment remains unknown.

⁵ See Margaret Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719', in The Bodleian Library Record, ix/2 (March 1974), 83-99 (pp. 83, 85). James Brydges matriculated from New College on 21 June 1690. It is known that he was an amateur recorder player and later attended music meetings in London in 1697-1701.
While it is not known for certain whether Chandos employed resident musicians at this time, it seems likely that he would have held musical evenings at his home -- and there is little doubt that he would have engaged the best musicians from the Opera House and the theatres. Pepusch may have been among them. In the absence of any evidence, it seems reasonable to presume that Chandos did not begin in earnest to build up his Consort until after he had acquired the Cannons property upon the death in May 1713 of his first wife's uncle, Warwick Lake. If so, then the date of 1712, first given by Hawkins and accepted by Williams (1975) and Grove's Dictionary (until the revised edition, 1980) and others, is too early for Pepusch to have become musical director at Cannons. The supposition that he accepted the appointment shortly after taking his doctorate in July 1713, or even that Chandos had used his influence and his funds to help Pepusch obtain it, is appealing but unlikely. It is true that the cachet of an Oxford degree would have enhanced the prestige of the Duke's future musical director and, through him, the musical status of Cannons; but in 1713 Cannons had no chapel, and the parish church of Stanmore Parva (alias St. Lawrence, Whitchurch), then being rebuilt at the Duke's expense, was not ready until the next year. There is a suggestion that the Duke was

6 We know from a surviving copy of an inventory of the Duke's musical instruments, compiled in August 1720, that a spinnet, a harpsichord, and a bass viol were kept at Albemarle Street (US-SM: MS ST 66).

7 Baker & Baker, James Brydges (1949), p. 114. Extensive alterations and additions to the existing structure were begun in July 1713 and continued piecemeal until 1720.


9 Chandos used the parish church as his pro-chapel until he was able to construct his own chapel in 1720. Even then, the Chandos family maintained a strong contact with the parish church; the Duke and other members of his family are buried in the mausoleum he built there. The name of the parish was changed to Little Stanmore after 1734.
considering hiring musicians in November 1715, when his second wife, Cassandra, enquired of the Duchess of Bedford about the terms under which she retained her Bass-violist.\(^{10}\)

If the Consort had been planned as early as 1715 with Pepusch as maestro di capella, then his continuing theatrical activities at Drury Lane in 1715-16 would have left him little time for any major practical involvement; his contribution to the music of Cannons could at that time have been only of a casual or advisory nature. We know that, at least later on, Chandos provided accommodation at Cannons for Pepusch, but apparently he was not required to be in full-time attendance; and indeed he retained his house in Boswell Court throughout the entire Cannons period.

It seems unlikely that Pepusch could have been heavily involved with the music at Cannons before the autumn of 1716; this would have coincided with, and perhaps motivated, his move to the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields and a season of suddenly diminished activity in the theatre. Handel's arrival at Cannons in 1717, coupled with Pepusch's greater availability, permitted a musical collaboration which must have realized the Duke's fondest desires, with Pepusch as director of the music (and sometimes composer), and Handel as composer extraordinary. On 25 September 1717, Chandos wrote with pride to John Arbuthnot that:

Mr Handle has made me two new Anthems very noble ones & most think they far exceed the two first. He is at work for 2 more & some Overtures to be plaied before the first lesson.\(^{11}\)

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\(^{11}\) US-SM: MS ST 57, xv, pp. 231-32. Quoted in Baker & Baker, p. 125; and also in Deutsch, *Handel* (1955), p. 78. The anthems referred to are those of the set known as the 'Chandos Anthems'. It is interesting to note from the letter that the chapel also had purely instrumental music.
In the same year, the anonymous author (Charles Gildon?) of *Canons* [sic]: A vision, a laudatory poem addressed to Chandos,

wrote this of the music:

Here every Pow'r of Harmony is found;  
Of Flute, of Hautboys, and the Trumpets sound;  
The Harp, the Lute, and sprightly Violin,  
With lengthen'd Notes, the Symphony begin,  
The Warbling Trebles, and deep rolling Base,  
With Raptures fill the blest Selected Place.

There is no mention of Pepusch, but making all due allowance for poetic licence, the Duke's music was plainly in full operation in 1717. Sir David Dalrymple attended a service in the Parish Church in May 1718 and observed that Chandos,

Has a choorus [sic] of his own, the Musick is made for himself and sung by his own servants.12

The Musicians

It is difficult from surviving documents to reconstruct the exact make-up of the 'Cannons Consort', or to fix precise dates of tenure for those individual members of whom there is some record. The most valuable document is an audit journal of household accounts which contains signed receipts for quarterly payments to specific musicians, and covers the period from 26 December 1717 to 29 September 1720.13


13 US-SM: MS ST 87, pp. 5-152. Roger Fiske mistakenly states that this list of musicians was drawn up by Pepusch (English Theatre Music, 1973, p. 88). The audit journal records payments on Lady Day (25 March), and at Mid-summer (21 June), Michaelmas (29 September), and Christmas (25 December).
Baker and Baker used this document as the basis for their printed roster of musicians at Cannons, but also (and confusingly) added names found in other sources covering a twenty-year period. They estimated that the 'Canons Consort' must have numbered about thirty vocal and instrumental performers, but this number may not necessarily have been constantly maintained. Jonathan Swift had heard in February 1719 that Chandos had about twenty-four musicians. The audit journal confirms the presence of only half that number; Swift's estimate is, however, corroborated by a surviving list of the Chandos household on New Year's Day 1720/21, in which we can identify twenty-three musicians; thirteen instrumentalists (including one position for first violin that was then apparently vacant) and nine singers.

Including the audit journal and list of the household (1720/21), there are altogether five surviving documents among the Stowe manuscripts now in the Huntington Library that give the names (and sometimes the salaries) of musicians employed at Cannons from time to time between Christmas 1717 and New Year's Day 1722. The musicians listed in each of these documents are given by Graydon Beeks in his dissertation 'The Chandos Anthems ...' (1981), as follows:

1) The Audit Journal (MS ST 87) - Beeks, Example 1 (pp. 18-20)

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Dr. Beeks, in his Appendix A, presents a concise biographical dictionary of all instrumentalists and singers mentioned in the above sources. It will be sufficient here to list the names of the musicians, along with the quarterly salary and, where known, the instrument or voice part.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
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<td>cello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bell</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>tenor/counter tenor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Signor Biancardi</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>violin</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Pardini</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>cello (Beeks suggests double bass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peirson</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>treble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johann Christoph Pepusch</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>master of the music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Perry</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>bass singer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thomas Rawlings
Rigs (perhaps Amos Rogers?)
Amos Rogers
William Rogers
John Ruggerio
Thomas Salway
Layson Sayse
[Gaetano] Scarpettini
George Vanbrughe

£  s.  d.
7. 10. 00   violin
?           treble
?           tenor singer
7. 10. 00   violin
?           treble
7. 10. 00   oboe(?)
7. 10. 00   violin
7. 10. 00   bass singer

Dr Beeks also includes three other musicians who were apparently active at Cannons after 1722:

John Hudson, violin	Paid £17. 1s. in 1725-26 as 'Fiddler'. Perhaps he was the same "Mr Hudson of the Musick" at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre about this time (see below, p. 290).
Thomas Jones, harp	Active in 1733.
John Tetlow, violin	Active in 1736.

It is interesting to note that some names are already familiar to us from the theatre and concert bills (Haym, Bitti, Chaboud, Mercy, Pardini, and Vanbrughe); others appear in notices after 1720 (Monro, Salway, and Scarpettini). It is sometimes thought that Francesco Scarlatti (Alessandro's brother) and John Beard (the famous English tenor) were in the 'Cannons Consort', but this is highly improbable.

17 The Consort may have received an influx of unemployed instrumentalists who had lost their position at the King's Theatre when productions of operas ceased in 1717.
18 The possible involvement of both Scarlatti and Beard is dismissed by Deutsch in Handel (1955), p. 111.
The Duke, in his letter to Mr Culliford in 1719, made it clear that not all his musicians were professionals; some were, in fact, also employed as servants in the Chandos household (for example, Girardo, Monro, Pardini, and William Rogers). And it may be that there are some servants who played in the Consort, but who are not now identifiable as musicians. It appears that boy trebles were also taken on as pages, and this may explain why none is listed in the Audit Journal among the adult musicians. There are other omissions in the Journal, the most notable of which are the failure to record payments to Pepusch before Michaelmas 1719, or any at all to Handel. The latter may have enjoyed special arrangements, but this was not true for Pepusch. By the Duke's own admission in the above-mentioned letter to Culliford, Pepusch was the musical director in May 1719 and, consequently, should have been included in the Midsummer payroll -- and, no doubt, in all those preceding it. The Audit Journal records Pepusch's annual stipend of £100 thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Michaelmas 1719</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Christmas 1719</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[January?] 25 in advance to Lady Day 1720</td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Midsummer 1720</td>
<td>£20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His name is missing from the payroll for Michaelmas 1720, but in place of his signature is a note, signed by Thomas Rawlings on 8 November 1720, which reads:

Rec ... by the Hand of Mr Philpott Twenty-Five Pounds for the use of My Mast. Dr Pepusch.

Pepusch's salary was equal to that of Tileman Robert, the house steward, but it was double the amount received in 1718 by "Nicolino Hayme", presumably Pepusch's former colleague at the Queen's Theatre.
in the Haymarket. Pepusch was responsible for every aspect of Chandos' music: he would have selected anthems and other music for the chapel, auditioned candidates for musical positions, accounted for the Consort's finances, and looked to the general discipline and welfare of the musicians. W. H. Cummings has pointed out that Pepusch, as a German, would "well understand that such an appointment [as Kapellmeister] involved no obligation to act as organist". Pepusch's strict control extended even to the musicians' table, where no stranger could take a meal without the Doctor's leave. Pepusch himself had a chair at the Chaplain's table.

The surviving salary accounts for the musicians provide a picture of gradual expansion throughout 1718-1720. By the summer of 1720, Cannons was flourishing. Chandos went to great and sometimes amusing extremes of ostentation to emulate the household arrangements of royal and ducal courts of Europe. A ducal chapel was to be the crown of his plans, and in late August the Consort moved from the parish church to the newly-completed chapel constructed on the estate. The Weekly Journal for 3 September 1720 reported that:

His Grace the Duke of Chandois's Domestic Chappel at his Seat at Cannons near Edgworth [sic], is curiously adorned

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19 The use of the diminutive 'Nicolino' led Deutsch to suggest that the Haym at Cannons may have been a son of the theatre musician (Handel, 1955, p. 111); there is no evidence that he had a son. Haym's position at Cannons is not clear, but it is evident from his salary that he occupied an important seat in the band. He also composed at least one anthem for the chapel, 'The Lord is King'. A manuscript copy survives and is dated at Cannons, 171[?](Cfw: MS 2. F. 20, f. 2): the last number is illegible, but the year is likely 1717 or 1718. Grove's Dictionary (fifth edition, under 'Haym') gives 1711, two years before Chandos took over Cannons.


with Paintings on the Windows and Ceiling, had divine Worship perform'd in it with an Anthem on Monday last [i.e. 29 August], it being the first time of its being opened.

The chapel could not have been quite complete because the same newspaper informed its readers on 17 September that the chapel was "finish'd this Week". Unfortunately, the anthem performed at the opening remains unidentified. Deutsch thinks that it was one of Handel's 'Chandos Anthems'. For such a momentous event, both the Duke and Pepusch would probably have wanted to utilize the full complement of musicians then in the Consort. A tentative roster may be reconstructed from those named in the Audit Journal and elsewhere as being at Cannons about 1720.

**VOCAL**
- Treble - Peirson, Rigs, Rogers, Salway, and others
- Alto - Bell, Gethin
- Tenor - William Rogers
- Bass - Perry, Vanbrughe

**INSTRUMENTAL**
- Violin I - Bitti, Ruggerio, Scarpettini
- Violin II - Girardo, Rawlings, Burgess
- Viola - De la Main
- Cello - Angel, and perhaps Pardini
- Double Bass - Pardini?
- Oboe - Keitch
- Bassoon - Linnert
- Trumpet - Lemon
- Organ - Monro

If necessary, Pepusch might have played violin. Other performers may have been hired for the occasion perhaps, for example, one or more

22 Handel (1955), p. 112.
of the tenors -- Blackley, Row, and Hardres -- named in Handel's autograph score of *Acis and Galatea* (Lbl: MS R. M. 20. a. 2). Almost all of Pepusch's extended verse-anthems (mentioned later in this chapter) were composed for the above combination of voices and instruments, and one of them may have been selected for performance at the opening of the chapel. We shall see that his Magnificat was composed about this time, and it is an even more likely contender.23

A case for Handel's Haman and Mordecai has also been put forward, but this has been challenged by Winton Dean on the grounds that the work is theatrical and not suited to a chapel performance.24 Sacred Italian operas and oratorios were, nevertheless, sometimes staged in churches and it is within the realm of possibility that the Chandos chapel might have been able to accommodate a modest production.25

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The Chandos Music Library

John Macky, writing in 1722, was impressed with Cannons. He describes the chapel and grounds, and states that the musicians, in addition to playing for chapel services, also provided dinner music for the Duke: at the end of the spacious dining room there was "a Room for his Musick, which performs both Vocal and Instrumental, during the Time he is at Table; and he spares no Expense to have the best".26

\[\begin{align*}
23 & \text{This possibility is also suggested by Grayden Beeks, 'The Chandos Anthems...' (1981), p. 48.} \\
24 & \text{Dramatic Oratorios (1959), p. 191.} \\
25 & \text{It is known that the renovations to the parish church had included a small stage area for such productions, but I have been unable to ascertain whether or not the design of the new chapel made such a provision.} \\
26 & \text{A Journey Through England (1722), ii, 9; also noted in Deutsch, Handel (1955), pp. 144-45.}
\end{align*}\]
Macky does not give the dimensions of the Musick Room. Regrettably, no programmes survive for these musical evenings or for the chapel services. Some idea of the Cannons repertoire can, however, be gathered from a surviving catalogue of the musical library, though the volumes themselves were dispersed about 1747 when the whole Cannons establishment was broken up.

In preparation for the move to the new chapel in August 1720, an inventory was made of the musical instruments and library. A catalogue of the music, numbering 127 items, and another of the instruments were compiled by a Mr Noland (of whom nothing else is known). Both catalogues were subscribed by Pepusch on 23 August 1720. As one might expect, works by Handel and Pepusch form the bulk of the library, with pride of place given to Handel's 'Chandos Anthems'. Among the other composers represented are Haym, Galliard, Albinoni, Bononcini, Lully, Bassani, and Corelli. The chapel was well supplied with verse-anthems, but the catalogue contains no settings of the Communion Service, and surprisingly few Canticles; most of the latter are festive settings. Contemporary, or near-contemporary composers of English church music, such as Croft, Weldon, and Jeremiah Clarke, are missing; even Blow and Henry Purcell are scantily represented. Secular

27 US-SM: MS ST 66. An annotated list of the complete contents of both catalogues is given by Graydon Beeks in 'The Chandos Anthems...' (1981), pp. 95-123 (Appendix B). An abridged and modernized version is printed in Baker & Baker, James Bridges (1949), pp. 134-40. The catalogue of instruments is also reprinted in Deutsch, Handel (1955), pp. 109-10. In it, Item 15 refers to a harpsichord which "stands at my house in Boswell Court". Deutsch presumes that this refers to the Duke's "Lake property" in Boswell Court; but since the catalogue appears over Pepusch's signature, surely the entry refers to his own house there.

28 Of the set of 'Chandos Anthems', the anthem 'O praise the Lord ye Angels of His' is missing from Noland's list.
music for the dining room and salon was no doubt chosen from the volumes of cantatas (in English and Italian), instrumental sonatas, and concertos. Many of the items were apparently unbound and copied on single sheets for use in performance. The Pepusch works included in the catalogue are listed below in Table 4, pp. 211-17.

It will be noted in the Addendum to Table 4 that Pepusch himself compiled a revision of Noland's catalogue which was delivered to the Duke on 23 October 1721. No copy of this second catalogue survives, but Dr George Baxter, the Duke's domestic chaplain and librarian (later, secretary), made a comparison of the two and noted the additions and variants. The revised catalogue added five new pieces: Pepusch's Magnificat, three current operas -- Astartus (Bononcini), Rhadamistus (Handel), and the third act of Muzio Scevola (Handel) -- and Handel's Suite des Pieces pour le Clavecin. The Suite des Pieces and each of the three operas can be dated later than August 1720, when Noland compiled his catalogue, and it follows that Pepusch's Magnificat must also have been composed between August 1720 and October 1721, perhaps, as has been noted, for the opening of the Duke's chapel; the score may not have been finished in time for inclusion by Noland.  

From a comparison of the minimum instrumental forces available at Cannons (as determined from the various surviving documents relating to the Consort) with the scoring of all anthems listed in Noland's catalogue, it is possible to assign a provisional period of composition

30 Graydon Beeks believes that at least from Item 104 onwards, Noland listed the pieces in order of acquisition and, presumably, in the case of newly-composed works, in chronological order ('The Chandos Anthems...', 1981, p. 48).
for each of the Pepusch anthems. In general, works by Pepusch (and Handel, too) which appear to have been composed especially for use at Cannons may be placed in one of two categories:

1) Works composed before December 1719: scored for two violins, oboe, bass, and continuo; based on the assumption that the 'Cannons Consort' did without viola until De la Main's arrival on 28 November 1719, and without trumpet until A. G. Lemon came in June 1719. Quite a number of the anthems in Noland's catalogue are scored without either viola or trumpet. The most notable examples are eleven of the twelve 'Chandos Anthems' by Handel (as well as his masque of Acis and Galatea), each of which was composed in the period 1717-1719. To these may be added anthems by Galliard and Haym.31 Of the Pepusch anthems for which the instrumentation is known, only one omits viola: 'O give thanks unto the Lord' (Noland No. 98) is scored for three violins, oboe, and bass.

2) Works composed after November 1719: scored for two violins, viola, oboe, bass, and continuo, and sometimes trumpet. The use of flutes is extremely rare, and there is no evidence of a second oboe.32

31 Two pieces by Galliard do not include viola: Item 18[a], 'Te Deum', and Item 19, 'It is a good thing to give thanks'. Six anthems by Haym do not give the scoring, but it is known that one of them, Item 15, 'The Lord is King', is scored for two violins, oboe, and basso continuo (see above, p. 194).

32 The only example of a flute part in any of Pepusch's surviving anthems is found in 'Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous', in which it replaces the oboe for a short section. Very likely the Cannons oboist also doubled on flute.
No catalogue of the Chandos music library after 1721 survives and it is difficult to tell which of Pepusch's other works were composed and performed there. Presumably, the remaining anthems (with the exception of the two *alla breve* motets, 'Beatus vir' and 'Laetatus sum', whose *stile antico* places them within the orbit of the Academy of Ancient Music) were composed for Cannons shortly after 1721. The following anthems survive in manuscript score, but are not listed in either Noland's or Pepusch's catalogue. The reference number in my Thematic Catalogue (Appendix A) is given after each title.

'Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord' [9:001]
(Lam: MS 87, ff. 67-111): SSTB soli, SATTB chorus; vln 1, vln 2, vla, vlc, org.

'I will magnifie Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast set me up' [9:003]
(Lam: MS 86, pp. 1-19): T solo, TTB chorus; continuo only. Text and musical setting differ from Noland's Item 95, 'I will magnifie Thee, O God, my King'.

'O praise the Lord, laud ye the Name of the Lord' [9:008-010]
NOTE: Pepusch composed three different settings of this text, no doubt in order to accommodate the changing musical forces at Cannons.

i) (Lam: MS 86, pp. 20-40): T solo, TTTB chorus; continuo only.

ii) (Lcm: MS 810, ff. 74-85v): AAB soli, SATB chorus; interestingly scored for two bass instruments and organ. The manuscript bears the note "By Dr Pepusch for the Duke of Chandois Chapel at Edger [sic]".

iii) S or T solo, and continuo only; printed in *Divine Harmony, Second Collection* (Walsh, c1717), and copied in several manuscript sources. This is the only Pepusch anthem known to have been published. The musical setting bears some similarities to the SATB setting listed above (ii).

Except for the single anthem in *Divine Harmony*, Pepusch's church music was not widely known or circulated outside Cannons and the Academy of Ancient Music. None of his church pieces is to be found in the
standard eighteenth-century collections of English church music edited by Tudway, Boyce, and Arnold. Only two anthems were included in the catalogue of anthems in current use in the Chapel Royal, printed intermittently after 1712 under various editions. The anthems are:

'O God, Thou art my God' (In Catalogue edited by Pordage, 1749)
'I will give thanks unto Thee (In Catalogue edited by Pearce and Wesley, 1856).

Neither of these anthems is listed in any other editions of the Catalogue, nor are they mentioned in any other source. The morning and evening services that Burney attributed to Pepusch at Cannons, if they ever existed, have disappeared.

To complete our record of Pepusch as a composer of church music, we will mention here two hymn-tunes ascribed to Pepusch in late eighteenth-century publications. One tune appeared in Harmonia-Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (printed by Thomas Butts, c1765); it was later included, along with a second tune by Pepusch, in Chapman's Young Gentlemen and Ladies Musical Companion (1774). Both tunes were probably composed after 1737, during Pepusch's retirement at the Charterhouse. They are not particularly good and have long since been dropped from the congregational repertoire.

The Savage-Stevens manuscript volumes now preserved in the Royal Academy of Music (MSS 85-89, discussed above, pp. 117-18) contain five

33 The titles were, however, copied from the Chapel Royal catalogues by Myles Birket Foster and included in his Anthems and Composers (1901); he added 'O praise the Lord' (SATB version).
secular pieces of which at least one, and perhaps as many as three, may belong to Pepusch's Cannons period. The works are:

1) Overture to The Carousers (MS 85, pp. 73-116)
2) The Musick in Massaniello or a Fisherman a Prince (MS 85, pp. 117-47)
3) Victorious Caelia, charming fair (MS 88, ff. 56-71v)
4) Hymen source of human bliss (MS 89, ff. 7-38)
5) Great Phoebus, who in thy unwearied race (MS 89, ff. 94-119)

Although each of the pieces appears without attribution, its inclusion in this manuscript collection implies that Pepusch was the composer; however, the fact that the contents of these volumes were originally individual manuscripts, later collated by Savage after Pepusch's death, leaves room for doubt. None of the five unattributed pieces has been mentioned by previous biographers. The copying appears to be principally the work of three unidentified scribes, henceforth referred to as Scribes B, C, and D; similar notational hands are observed in other manuscript works in the collection that are ascribed to Pepusch, some of which have additions by Pepusch himself. These copyists were evidently associated with Pepusch, either at Cannons, or the theatre, or both. Though corroborative evidence is lacking, each of the five pieces may be attributed tentatively to Pepusch.

35 Pepusch works which may have been copied by these scribes are:

Scribe B - '0 be joyful' (Lam: MS 86, pp. 43-121); copied in conjunction with Pepusch.
Scribe C - Possibly 'Rejoice in the Lord' (Lam: MS 87, ff. 1-64).
Scribe D - 'Lord, Thou art become gracious' (Lam: MS 87, ff. 129-208); copied in conjunction with Pepusch. This scribe is the most active of the three. His work may also be found in Lam: MSS 37 and 90, which contain mainly opera arias and cantatas (including some by Pepusch) from the 1720s.
The first two pieces, *The Carousers* and *Massaniello*, can be classified as theatre pieces and will be dealt with in Chapter 6. The third, 'Victorious Caelia, charming fair', a cantata for two voices and chorus with instruments, is very likely the piece referred to in Noland's catalogue Item 109. The manuscript seems to have been copied by Scribe D, with additions by Pepusch (see the viola part, ff. 63-65v and 66v). In all probability it was composed for l'Epine and Barbier at the theatre -- the chorus is incidental and sings only a short concluding section -- and a copy found its way into the Cannons library.

'Hymen source of human bliss' appears to be a wedding ode or cantata, very similar in style and structure to Pepusch's *The Union of the Three Sister Arts* (first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 22 November 1723). The manuscript is the work of Scribe D, with additions by Pepusch (see Violin 2, ff. 14-16, 18-19, 23v-24, and 26-28). There are four soloists (SATB) personifying Harmony, Virtue, Wisdom, and Hymen, and each has one aria. The arias (all in da capo form) are linked by secco or accompanied recitatives; the work begins and ends with a chorus (SATB). The textual content seems too specific for use merely as an entr'acte or afterpiece; if it is indeed a theatre piece, it is possible that it was intended for insertion as a nuptial Entertainment within a play. The line 'With joy I fill this spacious dome', from Hymen's opening aria, may however refer to a more elegant venue such as Cannons; perhaps it may have been composed as a serenata in honour of the wedding of the Duke's eldest son, which took place on 1 September 1724. It is worth noting that in MS 89 the viola part is written in the score but was subsequently crossed out. At first sight, this perhaps suggests that an already existing work may have been adapted
for a Cannons performance before November 1719; but, if so, the exclusion of the work from Noland's catalogue and from Pepusch's revision of it cannot be explained. We need not, however, altogether rule out the possibility that the work was given at Cannons later on after 1721, when the household began to decline and may once more have had to do without a violist.

'Great Phoebus, who in thy unwearied race' is headed, in MS 89, "Upon St. Cecilia's Day". The copyist appears to be Scribe B, but there is no evidence of Pepusch's hand. The work is quite Italianate in style, with an over-all structure of chorus (SSATB), soprano aria, duet for two tenors, trio (SAB), and chorus (SATB), all linked by secco recitative. While this ode may have been composed for the theatre, it may be significant that the scoring matches Noland's Item 108, "A Piece of Musick for his Grace the Duke of Chandois's Birth Day [6 January]". The text for a second Birthday Ode that Pepusch composed for Chandos makes an association between the Duke and Phoebus; 'The muses once to Phoebus came', Noland's Item 110. If 'Great Phoebus, who in thy unwearied race' were intended for an occasion at Cannons, then the inclusion of a trumpet in the final chorus suggests a performance after November 1719.

This completes the list of Pepusch's known compositions certainly or possibly composed for Cannons; the majority of them, as we have seen, were written around the period 1719-1722. Most of the few surviving documents which refer to Pepusch at Cannons also come from this same period -- a time during which he disappears from the theatre notices -- which suggests that he was most active there during those years.
An Inventory of Documentary Evidence of Pepusch at Cannons (1720-1722)

The documents for 1719 have already been mentioned; those for 1720 and later are cited below in chronological sequence to tell their own story. In cases where the reference has not previously been published, a summary is given or the relevant passage is quoted. All documents, with the exception of those for 3 and 29 January 1722, are to be found in the Huntington Library.

1 January 1720 [Friday]:
'Regulations for the Fires' (MS ST 44, Pt. I, pp. 23-24). Dr Pepusch's room is listed as "North Side Stables, First Floor".

26 January 1720 [Tuesday]:
Autograph letter, Pepusch to Mr Grey, the paymaster, informing him that George Vanbrughe has been admitted to the chapel singers (MS ST 87, memorandum attached to p. 126).

5 February 1720 [Friday]:
Autograph letter, Pepusch to Grey, informing him that Thomas Rawlings has been admitted to the chapel singers (MS ST 87, memorandum attached to p. 91).

23 August 1720 [Tuesday]:
Pepusch signs Noland's catalogue of musical instruments and books (MS ST 66).

8 November 1720 [Tuesday]:
Rawlings signs the Audit Journal for Pepusch's salary to Michaelmas 1720.
17 December 1720 [Saturday]
Lionel Norman, steward, reported on visiting the "Music Gentlemen's Chambers" (MS ST 44, Pt. II, pp. 4-5).
Pepusch occupied Room No. 42, North Stables, First Floor.

1 January 1721 [Sunday]
Pepusch is included in a list of 103 members of the Chandos Household on New Year's Day (MS ST 44, Pt. I, pp. 27-28). He is listed at the Chaplain's Table, No. 3, "Master of the Musick, Dr Xpr Pepusch".

19 June 1721 [Monday]
In an attempt to cut expenditures, the Duke set up an Audit Board composed of himself, the Duchess, and Dr Baxter. The Board met weekly from 16 January 1721.
Audit Board memorandum (MS ST 24, vol. i-ii, p. 29):
That for the future no stranger be suffer'd to Dine at the Music Table without Dr Pepusches [sic] leave. ... And that they be enter'd Dayly in a Book kept for that purpose to be laid before the Audit Board every Monday morning.

22 September 1721 [Friday]
Audit Board memorandum (MS ST 24, vol. i, p. 46):
Order'd.
That Dr Pepusch be allow'd for his Bill Charg'd for writing music &c. [£] 37: 16: - [£] 20: 00: 0
For his Bill for Dr Rogers & Salway
For his Bill for the Musick Servant &c.
For his Bill for mending Instruments
For his Bill for a new Bass Violin
Tot.
92: 16: 2
60: 12: 2
That Mr Norman pay to Dr Pepusch this sum of Sixty Pounds Twelve Shillings and Two Pence and take his Recpt in full
of all demands whatsoever to Michaelmas next excepting only Salarie.

23 October 1721 [Monday]
Pepusch compiles and delivers to the Duke a revised catalogue of the music library; discussed above, p. 197.

1 January 1722 [Monday]
Pepusch is included in a list of 93 members of the Chandos Household on New Year's Day (MS ST 44, Pt. I, pp. 37-38). It is interesting to note also that the last person listed is "Tho: Salloway belonging to Doct'r Pepush [sic]".

3 January 1722 [Wednesday]
Autograph letter (in French), Pepusch to Dr Baxter (Lb1: Egerton MS 2159, f. 41; reproduced in MGG, X (1962), under 'Pepusch').

29 January 1722 [Monday]
Autograph music manuscript, signed and dated at Cannons (Ob(n): Tenbury MS 1175, p. 87; see also above, p. 51).

Pepusch's Final Years at Cannons

Chandos had survived the collapse of the South Sea Company in 1720, but his finances had been severely shaken. The grandeur of Cannons reached its apogee about 1720 and thereafter began to pale; a programme of increasing retrenchment failed to stave off its ultimate decay. The Audit Board's order of 22 September 1721 shows that Pepusch's accounts were scrutinized and pruned -- he received only two-thirds of the amount submitted. Initially, the cut-backs were
confined to smaller items of non-musical use, such as newspapers and scented wigs. But Pepusch and the music appear, nevertheless, to have been early victims of the austerity imposed by a shrinking budget. The list of the Chandos Household on New Year's Day 1722, contains only eight names that can be identified with certainty as musicians, reduced from twenty-six the previous year. Only Pepusch, Sayse, Monro, Pardini, Girardo, Salloway, Amos Rogers, and William Rogers survived, and all except Pepusch served also as waiting pages; presumably the other musicians were no longer employed on a regular basis. If, indeed, the absence of Pepusch's name from the theatre notices in 1719-23 indicates his full-time involvement at Cannons, then his re-appearance in the bills for 1723-24 may suggest that, because of the Duke's financial difficulties, Pepusch's duties at Cannons had by then been cut back; this would have encouraged him to increase his activities at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. We known that his salary at Cannons was reduced in 1725: he received £23. 16s. on 26 July for "his attendance on Sundays and all demands", and a second payment of £26. 4s. "per advance". Later, on 13 January 1726, he was paid £34. 12s. for "attendance, singers &c. and all demands" (US-SM: MS ST 82, p. 173). In that same year, Dean Swift had apparently asked Pepusch to consider one of his singers, presumably for the chapel choir at Cannons, for on 8 November 1726, Dr John Arbuthnot wrote to Swift:

I am sorry your commission about your singer has not been executed sooner. It is rot Nanny's fault [Arbuthnot's daughter, Anne Nancy?], who has spoke several times to Dr. Pepusch about it, and wrote three or four letters, and received for answer, that he would write for the young fellow; but still, nothing is done.36

36 As quoted in George A. Aitkin, John Arbuthnot (1892), p. 114.
Pepusch's delay in replying may have been the result of financial restrictions placed on the Consort, or perhaps his own interest in the music at Cannons was waning. It will be shown in Chapter 6 that surviving account books for the 1724-25 season at Lincoln's Inn Fields also list payments to Pepusch, thereby confirming that, in 1725 at least, Pepusch led a peripatetic existence, journeying from London to Edgware as the occasion required.

In spite of hard times, the Duke managed to continue his patronage of the arts, but on a far less ambitious level. His subscriptions to newly-published works, for example, now was limited to those authors with whom he had a close acquaintance, such as Lewis Theobald and Alexander Pope. When a Mr Long of Cambridge aspired to present the Duke with a sphere of glass, Chandos was inclined to accept only if it were "a very curious thing of its kind": in a letter of 10 August 1725, he requested Dr Desaguliers, the vicar of Stanmore Parva, to ascertain its real value; "Dr Pepusch will acquaint you where it is, and let me know your opinion of it as soon as may be".

There are no further references to Pepusch at Cannons until a memorandum written by Dr Baxter on 18 August 1729. Then deliver'd to Dr Pepusch a Catalogue subscrib'd by him as above [i.e. 23 October 1721, now lost] for him to look over his Music in Town and find whether he has any of the Pieces contain'd in it amongst his Books & Papers in order to his returning them.

Memorandum
I set my name or the first Letters of it upon every Page of the Catalogue. I then deliver'd [it] to the Doctor.

On the face of this we can postulate that Baxter, the scrupulous librarian, was attempting to locate and restore missing items to a

music library that may have suffered from neglect. We do not know whether he was merely making a routine check, or whether Pepusch's resignation prompted him to take steps to recover items which he suspected had found their way to Boswell Court. Pepusch was apparently slow to comply: three years later, a similar demand was made. On 9 March 1732, Chandos wrote to Baxter, who had himself left the Duke's service the previous year and had recently sent the Duke some keys.

I did not know you had given him [James Farquharson, one of the Duke's secretaries] the Cataloges [sic] of Musick books and Instruments wch Dr Pepusch is to deliver up, but now ye keys of ye Musick press are come, I'll [sic] have those books that are in it examin'd by ye Catalogue, & he shall send to Dr Pepusch to make good such as are not there.

Pepusch may have remained at Cannons after August 1729, but the above letter strongly suggests that little use was being made of the music, and that Pepusch had resigned before March 1732. There is no record that the Duke appointed anyone to succeed Pepusch, and certainly the Duke was no longer able to bear the expense of employing any musician of distinction.

Dr Pepusch had served his patron well as Kapellmeister for about fifteen years. While Cannons provided the stimulus for Pepusch to compose church music and thus opened a new phase in his diverse career, much more was demanded of him than merely looking after the chapel music: he held an important place in the Chandos Household, managed the Duke's musical affairs, and directed performances both in the chapel and in the drawing room. As well as composing over a dozen anthems for the chapel, he presented the Duke with several occasional pieces for his musical evenings. A commanding figure during the rise and short-lived brilliance of Chandos' establishment, Pepusch soon had to witness the end of the musical splendour that had been the 'Cannons Consort'.

COMPOSITIONS BY PEPUSCH INCLUDED IN
A CATALOGUE OF ANTHEMS, CANTATAS, AND OTHER MUSICK BELONGING
TO HIS GRACE, JAMES, DUKE OF CHANDOS &c.

(US-SM: MS ST 66)

Compiled by Mr Noland and subscribed by J. C. Pepusch on 23 August 1720. Noland uses two columns of numbers, presumably the first indicates the location of the volume on the library shelves, while the second is merely an item number for his catalogue. Noland’s description of each item is quoted verbatim below in Column (A), but some punctuation has been added for clarity; square brackets indicate editorial additions. Column (B) gives the reference number in my Thematic Catalogue (see below, Appendix A). Column (C) gives the present location of the chief manuscript sources which seem to fit Noland’s description, but does not necessarily imply that the surviving manuscript is the original from Cannons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelf No.</th>
<th>Item No.?</th>
<th>(A) Noland’s Description</th>
<th>(B) Catalogue Appendix A</th>
<th>(C) Manuscript Sources and Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 6         | 19[a]     | A Score Book with a better Cover than the rest of the Anthems in wch are written yē following Anthems  
In thee o [sic] Lord put I my trust  
I will magnifie thee  
compos’d by Mr Hendel | -- | -- |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelf No?</th>
<th>Item No?</th>
<th>(A) Noland's Description</th>
<th>(B) Catalogue Appendix A</th>
<th>(C) Manuscript Sources and Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0 Sing unto the Lord</td>
<td>9:021</td>
<td>Probably Ob(n): Tenbury MS 620, and Lwa: MS C.G. 24. Both MSS in score: STB soli, SSATB chorus; vln 1, vln 2, vla, bc. See also below, Item 97.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0 be joyful, compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>9:006</td>
<td>Possibly bound in Lcm: MS 1097 (ff. 1-85); the contents match Noland's description except that the cantata for voice and oboe (Item 25) is by Pepusch (the only piece by Galliard is 'Chi fra' laccio [sic]', a cantata for voice and flute. Other works in MS 1097 (chiefly by Blow) are copied in a different hand and on different paper. No part-books are known to have survived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>One Book full of Cantatas, 3 of them for two Voices and Instruments, one for a Voice alone by J. C. Pepusch. ... The Instrumental Parts ... are copy'd in 4 Books and all bound up in rust leather. [Item 25 is a Cantata for voice and oboe, composed by Galliard, and also included in the above volume.]</td>
<td>6:020, 6:012</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6:016, 6:017</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6:018, 7:001,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>7:003, 7:004.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>A Score Book in which are written the following Cantatas:</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Love Frowns in beauteous Myra's Eyes</td>
<td>6:007</td>
<td>The three Cantatas in English (Items 28-30) appear as Nos. 1-3 in Pepusch's Six English Cantatas (Walsh, 1720); no source is known for the three in Italian (Items 31-33).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Cleora Sat beneath a shade</td>
<td>6:008</td>
<td>Altogether, the six Cantatas described by Noland may have comprised a manuscript volume listed in Eitner's Quellen-Lexikon (1900-4) as Six Cantatas, &quot;Three in English, acc. with a Flute, three in Italian [sic], acc. with a V. (fur Sopr.). Autogr. 34 Bll. quofol.&quot;, then in the possession of B. Wagener. Eitner confused these six Cantatas with the six in English printed by Walsh. Attempts to trace the MS volume have been unsuccessful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>When Loves soft Passion</td>
<td>6:009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>These 3 Cantatas are for one Voice and a Flute.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Non ti bastava Oh Clori</td>
<td>6:025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mirar il car oggetto</td>
<td>6:024</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>A Severa Battaglia</td>
<td>6:021</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shelf No.</td>
<td>Item No.</td>
<td>(A) Noland's Description</td>
<td>(B) Catalogue Appendix A</td>
<td>(C) Manuscript Sources and Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>[continued] These Six Cantatas are compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>A Book in Score of 18 Cantatas in Italian [by various composers including:]</td>
<td></td>
<td>No source known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Fonte fonte adorato, alto by J. C. Pepusch</td>
<td>6:023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Cruel, Ingrata, Canto by J. C. Pepusch. p: 44.</td>
<td>10:006</td>
<td>Possibly Lam: MS 90 (pp. 31-36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Six English Cantatas, 2 of them for a Voice without Instruments, and 4 wth Instruments In score by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>6:001-006</td>
<td>Almost certainly Six English Cantatas (Walsh, 1710). Only one is actually for voice and continuo, but Noland may have considered the cello obbligato in No. 2, Alexis, as a continuo part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>The Instrumental Parts [of Item 54; a volume, in score, of three concertos and five cantatas by Haym] being Copy'd in 5 Books in which there are also Symphonys for Songs and 3 Concertos by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>The works remain unidentified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>I will magnifie thee, for one Treble and Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:002</td>
<td>Lbl: Add. MS 37072 (ff. 2-5), and elsewhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>0 come let us sing, for three Voices, two Trebles and a Bass, wth Instr: In score.</td>
<td>9:019</td>
<td>No source known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelf No.</td>
<td>Item No.</td>
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<td>(C) Manuscript Sources and Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0 Sing unto the Lord, for two Trebles and a Bass, wth Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:021</td>
<td>No source known. Perhaps an arrangement of Item 19[a].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0 give thanks, for one Treble, one Contralt [sic], one Tenor, and one Bass, wth Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:007</td>
<td>Ob(n): Tenbury MS 620 (ff. 90-119): SATB soli, SATB chorus; vln 1, vln 2, vln 3, ob, bc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>The Lord is King, for one Treble, one Contralt [sic], one Tenor, and a Bass, with Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:022</td>
<td>No source known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0 Be joyfull, for one Treble, one Contralt [sic], one Tenor, and a Bass, with Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:006</td>
<td>Lam: MS 86 (pp. 43-122): (S)SATB soli, SATB chorus; vln 1, vln 2, vla,vlc, ob, org. Probably an original Cannons manuscript. See also above, Item 19[a].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Lord thou art become gracious, for one treble, two Contralts [sic], one Tenor, and a Bass, with Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:004</td>
<td>Lam: MS 86 (pp. 1-86): SATB soli, SAATB chorus; vln 1, vln 2, vla, vlc, ob, tpt, org. Probably an original Cannons manuscript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Rejoyce in the Lord, for one Treble, one Contralt [sic], two Tenors, and a Bass, with Instruments in Score.</td>
<td>9:012</td>
<td>Lam: MS 87 (ff. 1-64): SATTB soli, SATB chorus; vln 1, vln 2, vla, ob (fl), tpt, org -- &quot;done at Cannons: for xmas Day&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>The Voices and Instruments of these 8 Anthems [i.e. Items 95-102] are copy'd in Single Papers for each Anthem, compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>No part-books appear to have survived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelf No.</td>
<td>Item No.</td>
<td>Noland's Description</td>
<td>Catalogue Appendix A</td>
<td>Manuscript Sources and Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Two Sctts, finely bound, of the Six English Cantatas for one Voice and Instruments wch were humbly subscribed and presented to his Grace the Duke of Chandos. The Instruments of all these Cantatas are Copy'd in Single Papers consisting of two Violins, one Tenor, one Bass, one Flute, and one Trumpet, compos'd by J. C. Pepusch</td>
<td>6:007-012</td>
<td>Six English Cantatas, Book II (Walsh, 1720). The parts in manuscript do not appear to have survived. Discussed below in Chapter 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>A Piece of Musick for his Grace the Duke of Chandos's Birth Day, in score, the Voices consisting of one Treble, one Contralt [sic], 2 Tenors, and a Bass. The Instruments, 2 Violins, 1 Viola, 1 Hautboi, 1 Trumpet, 1 Violencello [sic], wth the Organ part: the Voices and Instruments are Copy'd on Single Papers. Compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>7:010</td>
<td>No source known. The Duke was born on 6 January 1674. See also below, Item 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>A Cantata for 2 Voices &amp; Instruments wth a Chorus in Score consisting of Voices 1 Treble, 1 Contralt [sic], 1 Tenor, 1 Bass: Instruments 2 Violins, 1 Tenor, 1 Violencello [sic], compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>7:011</td>
<td>Almost certainly Lam: MS 88 (ff. 56-71v): 'Victorious Celia, charming fair', SA soli, SATB chorus: vln 1, vln 2, vla, bc (Thematic Catalogue, Appendix A, No. 7:002).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>A Cantata, 'The Muses once to Phobus [sic] came', for a Voice and Instruments, wth a Symphony compos'd for his</td>
<td>6:029</td>
<td>No source known. See also above, Item 108.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelf No.</td>
<td>Item No.</td>
<td>(A) Noland's Description</td>
<td>(B) Catalogue Appendix A</td>
<td>(C) Manuscript Sources and Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Four Concertos for 6 parts, the Parts copy'd on Single Papers, by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>The works have not been identified; no part-books appear to have survived for any of the known concertos à 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Five Concertos for the Trumpet, the Parts consist of 1 Trumpet, 1 Hautboi, 4 Violins, 1 Tenor, and a Bass, compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>No source known. See Addendum below (p.217) for two additional concertos for Trumpet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Cantata, 'Strephon young uncaulis [recte, uncautious?] Boy', for one Voice and Instr., compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>6:027</td>
<td>No source known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>Cantata, 'an hapless Shepherd on the plain', for one Voice and Instruments, with a Symphony [sic] before it, compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>6:013</td>
<td>Bu: MS M.1497A (without foliation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Cantata in French, 'Sur les Flots inquiets de la Mer amoureuse', for one Voice and a Bass, without Inst: Compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.</td>
<td>6:028</td>
<td>No source known.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Concerto for the Hautboi, Compos'd by J. C. Pepusch.

All these Pieces of Musick I have in my care Agust [sic] the 23 1720.

ADDENDUM: The following may be added, based on information contained in a memorandum written by Dr G. Baxter, dated 18 August 1729. (US-SM: MS ST 66, a loose sheet inserted in Noland's Catalogue; not mentioned in Baker & Baker, James Brydges, 1949.)

Observations upon comparing Two Catalogues of his Grace's Musical Instruments. One wrote by Mr Noland and subscribed by Dr Pepusch in 1720. Aug 23. The other wrote by the Dr himself and delivered to his Grace Octob: 23: 1721 [now apparently lost].

Dr Baxter points out several descerekencies between the two catalogues, and includes additional pieces as Items 128-132. Two observations regarding works by Pepusch are of interest:

Item 112  In Noland's Catalogue Five Concertos for the Trumpet. In the Drs Catalogue Seven Concertos &c.

Item 128  In the Drs Catalogue & not in Nolands [sic]. being The Magnificat by J. C. Pepusch. [9:005. Copy in Lbl: Add. MS 34072 (ff. 6-37v).]
It has been shown in Chapter 2 that Pepusch may have begun to compose cantatas as early as 1705, and was among the first composers to adapt this indigenous Italian form to English words. It may be determined from surviving scores and contemporary references that he composed at least thirty-three cantatas for solo voice (twenty-five in English, seven in Italian, and one in French), and four cantatas for two voices, all to English words. Regrettably, in the case for fifteen of the solo cantatas (nine in English, five in Italian, and one in French) either the music has been lost or, where a musical setting does survive, Pepusch's authorship cannot be confirmed. It will be shown that fourteen of Pepusch's cantatas appeared in print before July 1720; a further thirteen can be found in Noland's Catalogue of the Cannons musical library, so that altogether twenty-seven cantatas were composed before August 1720. We shall suggest that this date holds good as a terminus ante quem for most of the remaining ten pieces. Pepusch's greatest activity in this sphere seems to have embraced the period from about 1705 to 1720; very likely a fair number of the cantatas were composed especially for l'Epine before she retired from the stage in 1720.

The cantata da camera was intimate chamber music for virtuoso
singers and was principally intended to entertain a sophisticated
and discerning audience in the Italian accademie and in the private
concerts of the nobility. In England, however, the surviving records
of cantatas in public performance suggest that such pieces appealed
mainly to less sophisticated hearers, namely the prosperous middle-
class audience of the public concerts and theatres where cantatas
were included along with instrumental sonatas and concertos as popular
entr'acte pieces. The more cultured audience of the Opera House had
little time for cantatas, especially in English, and preferred to hear
their favourite Italian singer in an operatic scene.

Perhaps the closest English equivalent to an Italian accademie
is to be found in the music-meetings of Thomas Britton, though it
would appear that cantatas held hardly any interest for Britton and
his friends; very few cantatas (in either Italian or English) are
found among the hundreds of instrumental works in the Italian style
that made up his library in 1714. Only a handful of composers tried
to compose cantatas to English texts; Pepusch, no doubt because of his
strong connection with the concert rooms and the playhouse, was the
most prolific of them, and the most successful. Even so, he wrote far
fewer cantatas than many continental composers. Indeed, the total out-
put of cantatas in English by all composers before 1800 hardly exceeds
two hundred, a total surpassed by many individual composers of cantatas
in Italian: Scarlatti himself composed over six hundred. French com-
posers were more enthusiastic than English in adopting the cantata:
by 1720 they had published over twenty books of them, whereas only six
collections of English cantatas had appeared.

The English cantata of the eighteenth century has been little
studied; cantatas composed before 1730 have suffered particular neglect.
The only published study to discuss the early cantatas in any detail is Malcolm Boyd's 'English Secular Cantatas in the Eighteenth Century'. More recently, however, an unpublished dissertation by J. R. Goodall provides a long-overdue examination of the origins and development of the English cantata. Dr Goodall gives a perceptive and thorough discussion of the structure and musical style of solo cantatas by Pepusch and his contemporaries, and of their influence on the next generation of English composers (chiefly Arne, Stanley, and William Hayes). We shall refer to his findings in our discussion of selected musical examples, supplementing them and otherwise commenting upon them where necessary. Attention will be given to those stylistic elements that distinguish Pepusch's English canatatas from those of Galliard and Daniel Purcell. The full extent of Pepusch's contribution in this genre has not hitherto been established. The main thrust of my study, therefore, will be to present bibliographical and historical details which fell outside the broad scope of Goodall's dissertation, and also to consider Pepusch's cantatas for two voices, a genre which he did not discuss.

The following printed collections, listed in chronological order and all published in London, are the principal sources for English cantatas before 1721:


<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Pepusch</td>
<td>Six English Cantatas [Book I] (Walsh); discussed above, p. 92.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>D. Purcell</td>
<td>Six Cantatas (Cullen).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Galliard</td>
<td>Six English Cantatas (Walsh); uses the same canopied title page as Pepusch's 1710 collection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>George Hayden</td>
<td>Three Cantatas (Walsh); a collection of less importance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Pepusch</td>
<td>Six English Cantatas, Book II (Walsh); uses the same canopied title page as Pepusch's 1710 collection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>XII Cantatas in English (Walsh); includes two cantatas by Pepusch.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Though Pepusch's *Six English Cantatas* of 1710 was the first collection of its kind to be published in England, it had been preceded by the publication of several individual cantatas in English by other composers. *The Muses Mercury: or Monthly Miscellany* for December 1707 printed the words only of "A Cantata set by Mr Leveridge" -- 'The lark now leaves his watery nest'; this was followed by Daniel Purcell's 'Love I defy thee', printed (with the music) in the *Monthly Mask* for September 1708. The words were by John Hughes. Later, in November 1709, the *Monthly Mask* advertised three single cantatas (though none is identified) set to music by Daniel Purcell, Eccles, and Pepusch.³ While the first cantata in English to be published was Daniel Purcell's, it does not necessarily follow that he was the first composer working in England to compose in this form. If, as we have suggested in Chapter 2, Pepusch had actually begun to compose English cantatas as early as 1705, then almost certainly he was the first to adapt the

³ Goodall (p. 118) assumes, plausibly enough, that the cantatas were 1) D. Purcell, 'Love I defy thee', 2) Eccles, 'They say you're angry', his only known cantata, and 3) Pepusch, 'See from the silent grove' *(Alexis).*
Italian form to English words.4

Pepusch continued to compose cantatas in the decade following 1710; no doubt their popularity as concert and entr'acte pieces encouraged John Walsh to issue a second book in 1720. Six English Cantatas, Book II, dedicated to the Duke of Chandos and inscribed by "his Grace's most devoted and obedient Servant, J. C. Pepusch", was advertised in The Post Boy for 28-31 May 1720 as "Music just publish'd". The date is supported by the fact that Pepusch's dedication must have been written after Chandos was created a Duke just a few weeks earlier, on 29 April.5 The volume has the same canopied title page as Book I (1710), but with the title imprint changed to read:

Six / English Cantatas / for one Voice / Four for a FLUTE / and two with a TRUMPET / and other Instruments / Compos'd by / J: C: Pepusch / Book ye Second

Also in 1720, Walsh reprinted Pepusch's Six Cantatas [Book I], but without the preface, and issued a new collection of XII Cantatas in English ... of Several Authors that included two by Pepusch: 'The God of love had lost his bow' (author unknown), and 'On fam'd Arcadia's

4 But compare Goodall (p. 118), who is of the opinion that "the credit for having produced the very first English cantata belongs almost certainly to Daniel Purcell". He bases this on a manuscript copy of 'Love I defy thee (Oc: Mus MS 1146) which bears the date 1707, the year before the cantata appeared in print; it presumably antedated Leveridge's cantata.

5 MGG (1962) and La Musica (1971) both give the publication date as 1712 in error. Grove's Dictionary (1954) says that in 1716 Pepusch "published 'Six Cantatas' (in English and Italian) and 'Six Cantatas', the words by John Hughes". The latter volume is Walsh's publication of 1710. However, no Italian cantatas by Pepusch were ever printed. Obviously, A. Hughes-Hughes and W. H. Husk, writing for Grove, were misled by a similar entry in Eitner's Quellen-Lexicon (1900-04); for this, see above, p. 212. The error is corrected in the 6th edition of The New Grove (1980), under 'Pepusch'.
flow'ry plain' (John Hughes). XII Cantatas carried an advertisement for Pepusch's Six English Cantatas, Book II, and was itself advertised in Walsh's Songs in ... Numitor, published before 16 June 1720. It may therefore be concluded that XII Cantatas was printed at some time between the other two, probably in early June. The collection seems to be made up of cantatas which may previously have been issued as single sheet folios: for example, Pepusch's 'The God of love' was printed from the same plates as a surviving single edition, but the page numbers were changed; D. Purcell's 'Love I defy thee' also had been printed before (c1708).

All the surviving scores of Pepusch's cantatas, manuscript and printed, employ the soprano or treble clef for the solo voice. No doubt this was for notational convenience, because some cantatas, as we shall see, were certainly sung by Mr Turner the playhouse tenor; later in the century, Alexis (Cantata 2 of Six English Cantatas, Book I) also became a favourite tenor solo. The vocal type was more precisely specified for only one cantata, 'Fonte, fonte adorato', which Noland listed under Item 35 as "Alto", though no copy survives to confirm this. There is no evidence to suggest that Pepusch ever composed a cantata for bass voice, but it is possible that some of his strophic English songs were included in Leveridge's repertoire.

Music survives for only eighteen solo cantatas known to have been composed by Pepusch, in both English and Italian. Table 5 (p. 223a) provides an inventory of them, which will serve as a basis for further discussion. Some printed cantatas survive also in manuscript;

6 Hughes' poem was later re-set by Nicolo Pasquali and included in his Thorough Bass made Easy (1757).
Table 5: SOLO CANTATAS BY PEPUSCH FOR WHICH MUSIC SURVIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Six Cantatas, Bk. I (1710):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. As beauty's goddess (The Island of Beauty)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. See from the silent grove (Alexis)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fragrant Flora, haste appear (The Spring)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Miranda's tuneful voice and fame (Miranda)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. While Corydon, the lonely shepherd (Corydon)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Airy Cloe, proud and young (Cloe)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>x, x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Cantatas, Bk. II (1720):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Love frowns in beauteous Myra's eyes</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td></td>
<td>x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cleora sat beneath a shade</td>
<td>Slaughter</td>
<td></td>
<td>x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. When love's soft passion</td>
<td>Blackley</td>
<td></td>
<td>x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Menalcas once the gayest swain</td>
<td>Gee</td>
<td></td>
<td>x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kindly fate at length release me</td>
<td>Theobald</td>
<td>x, x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. While pale Britannia pensive sat</td>
<td>Cibber</td>
<td>x, x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII Cantatas (1720):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On fam'd Arcadia's flow'ry plains The God of Love had lost his bow</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surviving in Manuscript Only:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An hapless shepherd (Bu: MS. M 1497A)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S'io peno e gemo (Lcm: MS 1097)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twas on the eve (Lcm: MS 1097)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorrei scuoirr l'affanno (Lcm: MS 1097)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
details may be found in the Thematic Catalogue (Appendix A). Doubtful attributions and cantatas for which no music survives will be mentioned later in this chapter.

Though Noland's Catalogue of 1720 contains many of Pepusch's cantatas (including Walsh's Book II, which is dedicated to Chandos), no cantatas can be shown to have been composed specifically for performance at Cannons; at least six, on the other hand, can be linked more or less firmly with the playhouse (see below, pp. 225-6). The six cantatas of Book II employ texts by six different poets; three of them -- John Hughes, Colley Cibber, and Lewis Theobald -- are known to have had theatrical connections, although Theobald also enjoyed the Duke's patronage. The broader, more dramatic vein of Cibber's 'While pale Britannia pensive sat' and Theobald's 'Kindly fate at length release me', as well as their full scoring for orchestra rather than chamber ensemble or solo obbligato, strongly suggest that they were intended for entr'acte performances in the theatre. Indeed, 'While pale Britannia pensive sat' had been heard at Drury Lane in 1715, as noted below, p. 225.

It must be borne in mind when attempting to date cantatas that they did not normally get into print until they had already become popular in the concert rooms and theatres; Cibber's 'While pale Britannia pensive sat', performed in 1715 but not published until 1720, is a case in point. References to English cantatas abound in surviving theatre and concert notices, and it is appropriate to list here those

Goodall (p. 122) believes that the majority of Pepusch's cantatas were composed "during his employment at Cannons, where they were no doubt regarded as entertainment appropriate to the princely atmosphere...".
which specifically mention Pepusch. The following are recorded in *The London Stage* (while the singer is always identified, the title of the cantata is not normally given):

7 April 1715 (Drury Lane): Pepusch's masque of *Venus and Adonis*, "And a new English Cantata (never performed before) by Mrs Margarita, called the Britannia, compos'd on the occasion of His Majesty's happy arrival in his Dominions". There is little doubt that the cantata was Cibber's 'While pale Britannia pensive sat'. This was l'Epine's benefit night, so presumably she chose the piece as an effective vehicle for her talents.

20 April 1715 (Drury Lane): The mainpiece was Nicholas Rowe's play *Lady Jane Gray*; but "In the play a Cantata, The Meditation, by Dr Pepusch". This is 'No, no, vain world', a cantata for two voices (discussed below, p. 258).

23 November 1715 (Drury Lane): Singing by Mr Turner, particularly "an English Cantata compos'd by Dr Pepusch"; Turner also sang an English cantata by Pepusch (perhaps the same one) on 23 January 1716, and again on 12 April. A fragment of a bill signed by the theatre copyist Luke Pippard and dated 11 April 1716 gives a clue as to which cantata Turner sang on 12 April:

Dr Papush [sic] song with ye parts Call'd ye Spring wrigting in three shiets. 3-0.

And at the bottom of the bill is written:

---

8 There may have been an earlier performance, since George I arrived in England on 18 September 1714 and was crowned on 20 October.

9 Lbl: Egerton MS 2159, f. 29.
Rec'd of M° Turner ye Sum of nine shillings for songs &c.

The cantata The Spring is John Hughes' 'Fragrant Flora, haste appear'. Obviously it was not only those cantatas with elaborate instrumental accompaniment that found their way to the playhouse stage, as The Spring has the more frequent chamber-style scoring of voice, obbligato (here a violin), and continuo.

25 April 1719 (Lincoln's Inn Fields): "A new Cantata compos'd by Dr. Pepusch and sung by Mrs. Fletcher" (her benefit). Probably one of those later published by Walsh in 1720.

31 March 1726 (Lincoln's Inn Fields): "Alexis"; sung by Isabella Chambers (her benefit), a pupil of l'Epine (now Mrs Pepusch).

17 March 1727 (Little Theatre, Haymarket): A Friday concert in Lent; "a new Cantata on St. Patrick's Day, set to Musick by Dr. Pepusch. Sung by Mrs. Foresyth". The piece remains unidentified.

26 April 1727 (York Buildings): A concert included "An English Cantata in Praise of Musick by Dr. Pepusch ... the Instrumental by the Best Hands from the Opera". The singer was Mrs Davies, though the piece remains unidentified.

29 April 1731 (Lincoln's Inn Fields): An unidentified English cantata by Pepusch, sung by Mrs Wright (her benefit), "accompanied by a Trumpet".

Mrs Chambers and other theatre singers who first appeared after 1716 will be discussed in Chapter 6.
13 May 1731 (Goodman's Fields): "Alexis"; sung by Mrs Hill.

Pepusch set verses by several English poets, but John Hughes was by far his most frequent collaborator. The remaining poets who can be identified are each represented by a single cantata. Cibber and Theobald have already been mentioned. Nothing is known of John Slaughter, James Blackley, or Mr. Gee. The latter may have been John Geree whose 'Phillis who know's how well' appeared in The Monthly Mask for October 1704, set to music by "Mr Wilford". Perhaps Blackley was the tenor who sang in Pepusch's Venus and Adonis, and Handel's Acis and Galatea (see above, p. 121).

It will be remembered that John Hughes, Pepusch's poet par excellence, evidently knew Italian conventions in music and poetry, and, though he was a champion of music to English words, readily accepted the merit of Italianate style (discussed above, p. 93). We can imagine that his knowledge and experience must have been valuable to Pepusch, especially in composing recitative. Indeed, Pepusch's cantatas are completely Italianate in over-all musical structure: they adhere to the classical sequence of recitative-aria-recitative-aria (sometimes the first recitative is omitted), almost always tonally related. All arias are in da capo form, though a significant variation of the da capo formula may be observed in the first aria of Hughes' 'On fam'd Arcadia's flow'ry plains' (XII Cantatas), which employs a rondo-type structure of A-B-A-C-A, deriving quite naturally from the poetry:

The Poor Rate Books (Shere Lane Ward) in Westminster Central Library show that a Mr Gee, perhaps the poet, was Pepusch's neighbour in Boswell Court. Another possibility is Orlando Gee, whose name is included in a printed broadsheet list of Fellows of the Royal Society, 1719-23.
Dr Goodall notes that this form was not in common use among English composers until much later and that this example is unique among English cantatas of the period. Examples of the rondo-aria may, however, be found among Italian works, in particular those of Handel and Steffani.

While Pepusch would have certainly chosen Italian models, Dr Goodall is quite right to question Burney's statement that he based his English cantatas on Gasparini's -- a claim which shows how little Burney knew about the cantatas of either composer. Goodall himself believes, with Hawkins, that Pepusch "looked above all to Scarlatti's mature works as models of the Italian style", and that Scarlatti's influence is most apparent in the arias. The point is valid, but care must be taken that it is not interpreted to mean a wholesale assimilation of Scarlattian features. Scarlatti's cantatas are in general longer than Pepusch's; and it may also be noted, for example, that while the aria alla siciliana is found in abundance in Scarlatti cantatas composed after about 1705, Pepusch used it only twice (in the first arias of 'When love's soft passion', and of The Meditation, a cantata for two voices, discussed below). It is a pity that he did not make more use of the siciliana, because the above examples are both charming pieces in which voice and instruments interweave with unusual delicacy.

12 'English Chamber Cantata' (1979), p. 158.
13 'English Chamber Cantata' (1979), pp. 134-35; and Burney, History (1935), II, 988. Burney contests an earlier claim by Hawkins that Pepusch had used Scarlatti as a model. [Hawkins, History (1875), II, 831.]
It will be shown that, rather than take his style from any one model, Pepusch adopts an eclectic approach, fusing together vocal and structural techniques from Italian opera and cantata (hardly any of which are exclusive to Scarlatti), with instrumental idioms typical of Corelli, and a choice of keys and instrumentation which reflect an English influence. Running through all the cantatas is a remarkably easy control of counterpoint and an awareness of thematic development that evinces Pepusch's German heritage.

Italian influences may also be observed in the poetry which Pepusch chose for cantata settings; as might be expected, this is especially true for the poems by John Hughes. Cantata texts in general, whether in Italian or English, were usually trivial ephemera, often, apparently, written by amateurs who remain unknown. The common theme is rural courtship in an Arcadian scene. Idyllic subjects are handled in an artificial and detached manner; the verse of the English cantatas is in the neat framework of the Augustan lyric. All but two of Pepusch's settings use poems of this kind ('As beauty's goddess' and 'While pale Britannia' are exceptions in that they are patriotic pieces). The typical cantata text has several rhymed stanzas designed to accommodate the alternation of recitative and aria. As in Pepusch's cantatas, stanzas intended to be set as arias generally employ one of two poetic forms observed earlier in Pepusch's masques; either a pair of tercets (aab/ccb) or a single quatrain, in the case of Pepusch's cantatas almost invariably in lines of eight syllables. The variety of poetic metres and rhyme-schemes noted in the masques (particularly in those by Cibber) is not to be found in the cantata arias. Recitative texts, however, employ lines of more varied length, and are of course generally longer than aria texts. Hughes especially is aware of this distinction;
his cantata *Corydon* is typical:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1st Section</th>
<th>2nd Section</th>
<th>Rhyme Scheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>10,888</td>
<td>10,8,10,10</td>
<td>(abba cdcd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aria I</td>
<td>776/776</td>
<td></td>
<td>(aab/ccb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>8888</td>
<td>888886</td>
<td>(aabc cbded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aria II</td>
<td>87/87</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ab/ab)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note how the two sections of each aria are linked together in the Italian tradition by a common rhyme-scheme. Another of Pepusch's poets, John Slaughter, in his single piece 'Cleora sat beneath a shade', seems to be less familiar with the Italian method of laying out cantata verses; his poetic structure is straightforward and rather naive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1st Section</th>
<th>2nd Section</th>
<th>Rhyme Scheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>8888</td>
<td></td>
<td>(abab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aria I</td>
<td>88/88</td>
<td></td>
<td>(aa/bb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>7888</td>
<td></td>
<td>(abab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aria II</td>
<td>88/88</td>
<td></td>
<td>(aa/bb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content of cantata texts is essentially lyrical, rarely exhibiting strong passion, and calls for skill on the part of the composer to keep the listener's interest alive within a highly conventional musical structure. The circumscribed formal design proved to be an advantage for Pepusch, who is at his best working within a compact form. He was much less happy, for example, in trying to match the extended prose texts of the verse-anthems which were not specifically designed for musical setting and posed serious problems for him.

Since music survives for only two cantatas in Italian by Pepusch -- 'S'io peno e gemo' and 'Vorrei scuoprir l'affano' -- it is not possible to arrive at any firm conclusions regarding his treatment of the form.
in its native language. It may be said, however, that in the two surviving examples Pepusch's music is slightly less reserved than it is in those to English words. Here we find occasional chromaticisms and a tendency towards more angular and athletic melodies not generally typical of Pepusch; but even in this they fall short of the native Italian product. Pepusch is at his most Italianate in the extremely florid vocal line of the single aria 'Per sentier fiorito', now preserved in the Royal Academy of Music, London (MS 37). The parent work is not known, but it may have been one of the Italian cantatas listed by Noland and since lost. In the case of 'Vorrei scuoprir l'affano', another setting by the Venetian composer Tommaso Albinoni provides a rare opportunity for us to compare a contemporary original Italian setting with one by Pepusch.\(^{14}\) Space does not permit a detailed comparison, but it may be observed that while Albinoni concentrates on a sensuous and emotive vocal line, Pepusch's music has more rhythmic energy and harmonic and contrapuntal interest. The following examples from the first aria, 'Occhi parlate', will make the point:

Example 15: Aria - 'Occhi parlate' (Cantata 'Vorrei scuoprir')

(A)  
1) Pepusch, bars 7-9

2) Albinoni, bars 6-11

\(^{14}\) Albinoni's setting is printed as No. 5 of Ausgewählte Kammer-Kantaten der Zeit um 1700, edited by Hugo Riemann (Leipzig, 1911).
Albinoni's word-painting at "ristoro" is not matched by Pepusch, but then it could be argued that the lover lacks consolation and that the word ought not to be illustrated by a musical image.

Pepusch shows an unusual daring in a very Scarlattian secco recitative, 'Al' hor ch'un guardo solo'. The section is constructed over a descending chromatic bass, and the harmonic progression from a chord of E minor to a Neapolitan Sixth on D to introduce "languidi" is effective (Example 16). This use of harmonic nuance to colour the text is characteristic of Pepusch, as is the expressive change of...
rhythm with a dotted crotchet, off the beat, for the first syllable of "languidi".

Altogether, the surviving solo cantatas by Pepusch contain a total of thirty-seven arias. In contrast with the prevailing Italian fashion, twenty-nine arias are set in the major mode; and these include three of the four arias with Italian texts. His fellow-composer Daniel Purcell distributes arias equally between major and minor keys, while Galliard distinctly subscribes to the Italian preference for the minor mode. The emotional content of the aria texts within a cantata appears to determine the key relationship of the arias: when the emotion or mood is similar, Pepusch sets each aria in the same key, otherwise different keys are chosen with the intervening recitative, naturally, acting as a modulatory bridge between them. But in a cantata, the recitative sections must do more than simply get the singer from one aria to the next as conveniently as possible.

Though a cantata might be described as an operatic fragment, it must not be overlooked that operatic recitative is rarely for a single soloist, and depicts events which advance the drama. Cantata recitative, on the other hand, is more like an operatic scena for a solo character, except that in an opera such a scene will be a moment of high drama and self-revelation, with the recitative normally enhanced by orchestral accompaniment. A cantata, by comparison, seems much less grand and eventful. Even so, the recitative must modulate effectively, and must therefore present a subjective emotional progress from one state of mind to another. Let us examine Pepusch's over-all key-scheme in two selected cantatas.
I. 'Airy Cloe' (Each aria set in the same key):

Recitative  C - e  Proud Cloe taunts her love-sick swain
Aria I  C  She casts him away
Recitative  a - a  The swain resolves to be Love's Fool no more, but coy Cloe dissuades him
Aria II  C  She deplores whining lovers

II. 'While Corydon the lonely shepherd' (Each aria set in a different key):

Recitative  B♭ - Eb  Pastoral scene; Corydon distracted by the sweet music of love
Aria I  C  Corydon, sweet charmer, is wooed by gentle love
Recitative  F - d  Corydon is smitten by love
Aria II  B♭  He knows the pain of love

It is interesting to note that in the above examples, as in all cantatas that begin with a recitative, Pepusch sets the final aria in the home key of the opening recitative section; a practice often found in Scarlatti's larger cantatas.

Though Pepusch took care over his recitatives, they hardly ever come in for elaborate musical treatment. He preferred to lavish his attention on the arias. We may observe that Pepusch's arias are in three respects distinguishable from those of Galliard and D. Purcell: in 1) instrumental colour, 2) shaping of the vocal line, and 3) sophisticated thematic organization and development. Each is discussed in turn.
1) **Instrumental Accompaniment**

Pepusch, like Handel, prefers to have one or more instruments concertising with the voice; only three of Pepusch's surviving cantatas are accompanied by continuo alone. Galliard, on the other hand, composes almost exclusively for voice and continuo, and D. Purcell never includes more than a single solo obbligato part above the voice and continuo. There seems little doubt that Pepusch's experience as an instrumental composer and contrapuntist affected his choice of scoring in the cantatas and enabled him to write more complex accompaniments. The contrapuntal lines and energetic motives remind one of Steffani's duet cantatas. Pepusch takes extreme care over his obbligato parts, which never lapse into stereotyped echoes of the vocal phrase. Purcell is frequently guilty of this; his complete indifference to the individual potential of the obbligato instrument condemns it to a tedious routine, echoing snatches of the vocal melody. With Pepusch, instrumental sections are an integral part of the counterpoint and the musical structure, sharing with the voice in the exposition and development of thematic ideas. This is clearly evident throughout the aria 'Love frowns in beauteous Myra's eyes' (Example 20). It may be noted that, having participated equally with the presentation of the theme, the obbligato flute then takes the lead over the voice in the middle section of the aria and gives the only full thematic statement (bars 69-75, and 78-84). Here the voice almost assumes a secondary role, though it reasserts itself with the modulatory twist at the end (bars 85-87).

Less frequently, the obbligato part has its own theme, announced
in the opening ritornello and then played either in whole or in part against a different theme in the voice. The equal partnership of voice, obbligato and bass instruments in the manner of a trio sonata is maintained. (The first aria from 'Cleora sat beneath a shade' is a good example.) Even when the accompaniment is confined to continuo alone, the bass line is seldom limited to a merely supportive role and has vital things to say in interaction with the voice. This characteristic has been noted previously in our discussion of the instrumental sonatas and the masques; among the cantatas it is strikingly apparent in the first aria from 'Twas on the eve', an aria all' unisono with the instruction "Nell' arie [sic] Tutti Stromenti all ottava" (Example 21, pp. 249-51).

In three cantatas -- 'Airy Cloe', 'Kindly fate', and 'While pale Britannia' -- the instrumental forces are increased from solo obbligato and bass to full strings with oboe or trumpet. Musically these pieces exhibit a more assertive vocal line and are generally more operatic than the other English solo cantatas. (It has been suggested above that these cantatas in particular may have been intended for the theatre.) In the first aria from 'Airy Cloe', for example, the imperious command "Leave me!" strikes straight in with no introductory ritornello; the instruments iterate the singer's command (Example 17).

Example 17: Aria - 'Leave me, silly shepherd, go!' (Cantata 'Airy Cloe'), bars 1-3.
In 'Kindly fate', Burney's favourite and the only solo cantata to utilize the operatic convention of the devise, the instruments take on an even greater importance; the 20-bar introductory ritornello for strings and trumpet is a completely self-contained section, a feature common in operatic arias. Another cantata, 'An hapless shepherd', for two violins and bass, goes a step further; the opening recitative is preceded by an independent movement for instruments. According to Noland's catalogue of the Cannons library, Item 110, 'The muses once to Phoebus came' (a cantata for which no music survives), apparently had a similar instrumental prelude.

2) Melodic Style

In spite of Pepusch's predilection for instrumental participation, the instruments are never allowed to obscure or detract from the vocal line. Just as his treatment of the ritornello sets his English cantatas apart from those of his contemporaries, so does his careful shaping of the melodic phrase. Pepusch's extraordinary flair for gracious melody pervades his secular vocal compositions, the masques as well as the cantatas, and is a quality for which he has never received due credit. His characteristically diatonic progressions, untouched by any straining for chromatic effect, are deceptively simple; this may have misled both Burney and Hawkins to pronounce the false judgement that Pepusch was a dry composer, deficient in the powers of invention. Nothing could be further from the truth. Pepusch writes very effectively for the voice, and his phrases are unusually grateful to sing; he must have learned a good deal from his long professional and domestic association with l'Epine. The contour of
the phrase is always musical and expressive, generally sympathetic
to the textual flow and accent. On the whole, the accusation that
he was never at home with the English language is as unfair and
unperceptive when applied to him as it is when applied to Handel:
nor can we fairly compare Pepusch's settings with those of Purcell,
whose idioms would have conflicted with an Italianate style. Some-
times Pepusch hits on an unashamedly emotional tone, most uncharacter-
istic of his time and anything but 'dry'. While his melodies display
firm qualities of rhythmic balance, Pepusch does not follow Handel in
constructing the phrase as a successive expansion of motivic ideas,
flowering and renewing themselves in melodic self-generation. Pepusch
prefers to achieve a sense of breadth by circumventing the expected
cadence point and permitting the phrase to run on in a natural and
perhaps more predictable melodic extension than Handel's. This dis-
tinctive feature has already been noted in Pepusch's sonatas, and there
are copious instances of its application in the vocal works. Observe
in Example 18 how Pepusch veers away from the obvious full close at
bars 22-23 -- here a Handelian feature -- and continues uninterrupted

Example 18: Aria - 'On Rosalind so many Graces wait' (Cantata
'Twas on the Eve'), bars 18-25.
for three more bars before finally completing the phrase, which consists of three 3-bar sections with delightfully wayward cross-rhythms.

The melodic fluidity and delaying of the expected cadence is enhanced by the hemiola treatment which also serves to give proper emphasis to the words. The same effect is achieved in 'Love frowns in beauteous Myra's eyes' (Example 20, bars 24-29). Compare these sweeping melodies with the following examples, typical of the artificial and short-winded phrases of Galliard and D. Purcell:

Example 19:

(a) Aria - 'Turn thee, leave thy trembling fear!' (Cantata No. 3, 'Apollo and Daphne', from Galliard's Six English Cantatas, 1716), bars 7-13.

(b) Aria - 'Why was she made so fair?' (Cantata [No. 3], 'She whom above myself I prize', from D. Purcell's Six Cantatas, 1712), bars 9-12.
It is these short, often obvious melodic structures, rather than the elongated lines of Pepusch, that were later imitated by Arne and Stanley. John G. Williams suggests that there is an affinity between the vocal styles of Arne and Pepusch, but the basis for his comparison turns out to be a few strophic songs without obbligato, and the airs in The Beggar's Opera, a work containing no original songs by Pepusch. It is true that Pepusch's dozen or so surviving songs have certain qualities which place them in the English playhouse tradition, but these qualities, shared by hundreds of other songs by a host of English composers, are uncharacteristic of his vocal compositions as a whole. If Arne and other composers of his generation did seek Pepuschian models, then they must have looked for them in the few binary arias in the masques. But Pepusch's quintessential melodic style is at its finest and most obvious in the cantatas, and here there is little similarity with the style of Arne's larger vocal pieces.

It would be wrong to think of Pepusch's cantatas as no more than charming examples of felicitous melody. It is above all his coherent organization and development of thematic elements which give them a musical and intellectual appeal unique among English cantatas.

3) Thematic Organization

Pepusch's skill as a contrapuntist is undisputed. The polyphonic style permeates his sonatas and concertos (most of which were composed

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15 'J. C. Pepusch' (1975), chpt. 8.
Example 20:  Aria - 'Love frowns in beauteous Myra's eyes'
(From Cantata No. I, Six English Cantatas, Book II, 1720), complete.
Love frowns in beauteous Myra's eyes.

Myra's eyes, Ah, nymph those cruel looks, those cruel looks give o'er. Love frowns

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Ah, nymph those looks give o'er. Love frowns in beautiful My-ра's eyes, Love frowns in beautiful My-ра's eyes, Ah, nymph those cruel looks, Ah, nymph those cruel looks; those cruel looks give o'er, Ah, nymph those cruel looks give o'er; those cruel looks give o'er.
Ah, nymph those looks give der.

While love is frowning

beauty dies.
beauty dies

And you can charm no more, No,

You can charm no more, You can charm no more, No, no,

no, you can charm no more.
before 1714), and is also evident in his *Six English Cantatas* (1710). However, it becomes the very essence of his later cantatas. Except for an increase in contrapuntal activity and musical sophistication in general, there appears little to distinguish the early cantatas from the later ones. Pepusch's clever application of contrapuntal techniques not only contributes to structural unity, but also provides the catalyst in a development of thematic ideas. How this is achieved may be observed from an examination of the exquisite opening aria of 'Love frown's in beauteous Myra's eyes' (Example 20), one of Pepusch's finest, as Malcolm Boyd suggests. A brief analysis will show how the music is organized, and how Pepusch's methods relate to other cantata arias by him and also by his contemporaries.

'Love frown's in beauteous Myra's eyes' is structured around three principal themes, identified in the musical example as (a), (b), and (c).

SECTION I:

1) Introductory Ritornello (bars 1-14): The ritornello foreshadows the opening vocal phrase. Theme (a), in F major, is introduced by flute and bass in imitation, ending in the dominant at bar 7. The flute continues with theme (b), always heard against its countermelody, theme (c), whose longer note-values and suspensions provide a contrast to the conjunct quavers of theme (b). One might imagine that the quavers of (b) suggest the flashing frown of her eyes, quelling and daunting the lover (represent by theme c), whose gaze is forced slowly downwards. This returns us to the tonic to conclude the introduction. (In other arias Pepusch sometimes
introduces new material which later may or may not be worked into the aria.)

2) First Vocal Sentence (bars 14-36):
   i) Opening phrase (bars 14-23); a truncated version of theme (a) is presented by the voice as a brief unaccompanied statement akin to the motto or devise. The instruments complete the phrase with themes (b) and (c) as in the introduction, but with the parts inverted. (The motto opening is common in D. Purcell's arias, but Pepusch often chooses a completely vocal exposition of the full phrase; he uses a devise only once.)

   ii) Repeat of the opening phrase (bars 23-36); the voice repeats the complete phrase, accompanied by instruments, to end in the dominant (in minor mode arias, usually the relative major).

3) Second Vocal Sentence (bars 36-61): The motto fragment of theme (a) is heard in F major, first in the flute and then imitated in fugal style by the voice (bars 36-37). This is subsequently inverted (bars 39-40) and extended to lead back to themes (b) and (c). Here the flute is given theme (b) and, for the first time, the voice sings theme (c). The parts are reversed for a repeat which concludes the first section in F major.

4) Short Ritornello (bars 61-66): Derived from the closing bars of the second vocal sentence and ending in the tonic.
SECTION II (bars 66-87):

Pepusch normally begins Section II in the relative minor (or relative major). In this particular aria he delays moving from the tonic until bar 68, and treats the preceding vocal presentation of new material, theme (d), as a motto statement in the tonic key; modulating away only with the flute entry of theme (d) in D minor at bar 69. The subtle development of thematic ideas from Section I is typical. In orchestral arias from the masques, as in Italian opera, in Section II there is usually a reduction of instrumental forces (sometimes pared down to continuo only); but the equal partnership between voice and solo instrument is retained in 'Love frowns', and this is typical of the cantatas. Section II normally receives its own tonal framework; after a brief modulatory passage (here in G minor) the section concludes either by returning to the key in which it began (the relative minor of the home key), or with a minor chord on its dominant (i.e. the mediant of the home key). In this example, bars 66-75 are repeated with another line added (bars 75-84), followed by a short vocal codetta (bars 84-87) to end the section in A minor, the mediant of the home key. (It is usual for arias in the minor mode to conclude Section II in the dominant of the home key.) The aria will, of course, return immediately to the tonic for the da capo. We have already noted these characteristic key-sequences in our discussion of the key-relationship of movements within Pepusch's sonatas. The same procedure can be seen in the cantatas of Galliard and D. Purcell. The fact that a larger number of their arias are set in the minor mode gives the false impression that they are more aware of the tonic-dominant relationship.
Example 21: Aria - 'Bright Cloe's eyes and airy shape'.
(Cantata 'Twas on the eve', Lcm: MS 1097), complete.

Bright Cloe's eyes and airy shape keep every heart at her command.

Bright Cloe's eyes and airy shape keep every heart at her command.
Bright Clo-e’s eyes and ai-ry shape, Keep ev-ry

heart, Keep ev-ry heart at her com-mand, —

at her com-mand. Bright Clo-e’s eyes and ai-ry

shape Keep ev-ry heart, Keep ev-ry heart at her com-mand,

Keep ev-ry heart at her com-mand.
No wisdom can her snores escape, No force her pow'r withstand.

No wisdom can her pow'r withstand, No force, No force her pow'r withstand.

\[ D.C. \]
Before leaving 'Love frowns', it is worth noting that the second aria in the same cantata, 'Love and the graces smiling', contains a twelve-bar canon at the octave for flute and voice. No other instance of pure canonic treatment has been found in Pepusch's vocal works; it is used here in alla breve notation, a feature of the stile antico seen also in the cantatas of Scarlatti.

The aria 'Bright Cloe's eyes and airy shape' (Example 21) from the cantata 'Twas on the eve', contrasting in tempo and mood with the previous musical example, also demonstrates Pepusch's melodic and contrapuntal ingenuity, but here exercised in only two parts (it is an aria all' unisono). This is a narrative cantata in which three swains successively extol the virtues of their nymphs: Thyrsis sings of Cloe, Corydon of Rosalind, and Colin of Sylvia. (If each character could have been represented by a different singer, the cantata might have been staged.)

In 'Bright Cloe's eyes', Pepusch subdivides the opening theme in A minor into two phrases, labelled (a) and (b) in our example. This is played in full as an introductory ritornello. The repeat is shared by voice, theme (a), and bass, theme (b). At bar 6, the voice picks up theme (b) in imitation while the bass goes immediately into a new musical idea, theme (c); a deft motive which grows in importance. It is heard as a countermelody juxtaposed with theme (b), as in 'Love frowns', and forms the basis for the ritornello at the end of Section I. At bar 11, the bass and voice exchange themes to repeat and extend the opening sentence in a counterpoint which is inverted at bar 15. Section II (bars 21-29) re-states each of the thematic ideas, now set in the major mode for contrast. The vigorous two-part counterpoint bears the hallmark of Stradella; the closely knit phrases and rhythmic
drive provide added excitement.

Our brief analysis suggests that Pepusch's musical style in the cantatas was very individual and quite distinct from that of Galliard and D. Purcell. It is now possible to conjecture that settings of several cantatas, hitherto thought to have been lost but which survive in manuscript without ascription, may be tentatively attributed to Pepusch. The solo cantatas for which either no music is known to survive, or music survives without firm confirmation of authorship are listed below.

Table 6: SOLO CANTATAS BY PEPUSCH FOR WHICH NO MUSIC IS KNOWN TO SURVIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First line</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Attribution to Pepusch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foolish love I scorn thy darts</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>Hughes' Poems (1735), I, 159-60; Set by &quot;Mr. Pepusch&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On silver Tiber's vocal shore (Cupid and Scaramucci)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>Hughes' Poems, I, 146-7; Set by &quot;Mr. Pepusch&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why, too am'rous hero, why? (The Soldier in Love)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>Hughes' Poems, I, 161-2; &quot;A Cantata Set with Symphonies by Mr. Pepusch&quot;. The final aria has a trumpet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Strephon by his folded sheep (Pastoral)</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>Hughes' Poems, II, 66-67; Set by &quot;Dr. Pepusch&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fame and Isis join'd in one (Ocean's Glory)</td>
<td>D'Urfey</td>
<td>Set in 1714... D'Urfey, Songs Compleat (1719), I, 17; see above, p. 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strephon young uncautious boy</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 124; for solo voice and instruments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The muses once to Phoebus came</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 110; for solo voice and instruments with a symphony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cantata on St. Patrick's Day (Text not known)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 17 March 1727.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cantata in Praise of Music (Text not known)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Performed at York Buildings on 26 April 1727.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Italian:</td>
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<tr>
<td>A severa battaglia</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crudele ingrata</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fonte, fonte adorato</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 35; for alto voice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirar il car' oggetto</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non ti bastava Clori</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In French:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sur les flots inquiets de la Mer amoureuse</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Noland's catalogue, Item 125.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Very likely the four poems by John Hughes were set before the poet's death in 1720; his Poems on Several Occasions was published posthumously by J. Tonson and J. Watts in 1735. The three poems which identify Pepusch as "Mr. Pepusch" may perhaps be dated some time before Pepusch received his doctorate in July 1713, since other poems in the collection known to have been set by Pepusch after this date refer to him as "Dr. Pepusch". Two of Hughes' poems require further comment. 'Young Strephon by his folded sheep' was in fact set by Galliard and appears as No. 6 of his Six English Cantatas (1716); while it is not unusual for a text to be set by different composers, there remains a possibility that the attribution to Pepusch in Hughes' Poems may be erroneous. 'Foolish love I scorn thy darts' survives in two manuscript sources; these are two quite different compositions, both without ascription. In each case the piece has been inserted in a volume of works with which it has no connection. In Lbl: Add. MS 29963 (ff. 133-36v), 'Foolish love' is the only English text among a compilation of Italian cantatas (one of which is dated 1712). The source for the second version is Lbl: Add. MS 33287 (ff. 49v-50), two volumes now bound in one and containing anthems and theatre pieces by Blow and Henry Purcell. Neither of the scribes for the cantata can be connected with any Pepusch manuscript. A decision must therefore repose on stylistic analysis alone. On this basis, the setting found in Add. MS 33287 can hardly be by Pepusch; the short, unvaried phrases, the over-use of repetitious dotted rhythms, the rigid, mechanical phrasing of the recitatives, and the absence of da capo form for the second aria all argue against Pepusch as the composer. Daniel Purcell is a more likely candidate. Conversely, the setting in Add. MS 29963 is characteristic of Pepusch's style and probably was composed by him.
None of the Italian cantatas, nor the single one in French, is known to have been published, and only one of them survives in manuscript; a setting of 'Crudele ingrata' is found without ascription in Lam: MS 90 (pp. 31-36). The musical style (in particular the cello obbligato after the manner of Pepusch's *Alexis*) and the fact that the copyist is Scribe D (see above, p. 202), justify us in provisionally assigning the work to Pepusch. It should be mentioned that two arias in Italian survive separately and are ascribed to Pepusch in their manuscript sources: 'Dalla pesca ò donne belle' (Lkc: MS without pressmark, f. 92), and 'Per sentier fiorito, e molle' (Lam: MS 37, f. 19). The original works from which they may have been taken are not identified, but they may derive from one or more of the cantatas now thought to be lost.

We may speculate that Pepusch composed one other English cantata not mentioned above in our list of works: he may have set John Hughes' short poem *Venus and Adonis*. Two arias from this piece which survive in manuscript (Lbl: Add. MS 31993, ff. 46v-52) have been attributed to Handel by William C. Smith. No introductory recitatives survive. While Handel was a prolific composer of Italian cantatas, he was not apparently interested in the cantata to English words, since the only English cantata of which his authorship can be confirmed is 'Look down, harmonious saint' for tenor voice. Though Handel may have set *Venus and Adonis* -- the words are included in Hughes' *Poems* (1735) as "Set by Mr. Handel" -- Smith does not make out a strong enough musical case to prove that the music in Add. MS 31993 is by Handel.

There is some reason to attribute both arias to Pepusch on three counts: 1) his close association with John Hughes; 2) the fact that the manuscript is copied by Scribe D, whose connection with Pepusch we have already established (see above, p. 202); and 3) the musical style, which is very similar to Pepusch's. If Handel were indeed the composer of the arias in Add. MS 31993, then we must at least conclude that, since Pepusch's cantatas differ in style from his dramatic works, Handel must have used Pepusch's English cantatas as his model.

Cantatas for Two Voices

In addition to Pepusch's Devonshire Ode (1707) and Peace, Apollo, Britain (1713), each scored for two voices and instruments, only four other works for this combination appear to have survived; these are essentially cantatas and are set to English words.

Table 7: CANTATAS FOR TWO SOLO VOICES BY PEPUSCH FOR WHICH MUSIC SURVIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>vln 1</th>
<th>vln 2</th>
<th>vla</th>
<th>ob 1</th>
<th>ob 2</th>
<th>fl 1</th>
<th>fl 2</th>
<th>tpt</th>
<th>Harp</th>
<th>bc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, no, vain world</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>(The Meditation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>To joy, to triumphs</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>dedicate the day</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Princess of Wales)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wake th'harmonious voice</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>and string</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Lord Cobham)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victorious Caelia,</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charming fair</td>
<td>(SATB)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Apparently none of these cantatas was ever printed, but they survive complete in manuscript sources. The first three listed are
found in two sources: 1) the Savage-Stevens volumes of Pepusch works now preserved in the Royal Academy of Music, and 2) in a collection of nine cantatas (all but one by Pepusch) bound in MS 1097 at the Royal College of Music. This latter source contains notational inaccuracies and some of the instrumental parts in the score are incomplete. Generally an unreliable source, the cantatas in MS 1097 appear to have been copied from the Savage-Stevens manuscripts. The details may be tabulated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Lam (Primary Source)</th>
<th>Lcm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, no, vain world thy joys are frail</td>
<td>MS 89 (ff. 79-93); originally numbered in fascicles of four folios. The soiled condition of the outside folio suggests that the gathering had existed for some time before it was collated in MS 89 by William Savage. The copyist is not among those we have associated with Pepusch's stable.</td>
<td>MS 1097 (ff. 1-16v); as Cantata 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To joy, to triumphs dedicate the day</td>
<td>MS 89 (ff. 39-78); originally ff. 1-40, some numbers cropped. A neat copy by Scribe C, perhaps for presentation.</td>
<td>MS 1097 (ff. 55-77v and 82-85, bound out of order); as Cantata 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wake th'harmonious voice and string</td>
<td>MS 88 (ff. 72-83v); a rough copy, almost certainly a Pepusch holograph.</td>
<td>MS 1097 (ff. 17-28v); as Cantata 2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fourth cantata, 'Victorious Caelia, charming fair', survives only in Lam: MS 88 (ff. 56-71v), but without title or ascription; an attribution to Pepusch has already been put forward in Chapter 4.

All four of the cantatas for two voices follow the traditional scheme

18 The Savage-Stevens manuscripts are discussed above, p. 117. For a possible connection between Lcm: MS 1097 and the Cannons Library, see above, p. 212.
of recitative and aria. Each of the two soloists is given a single recitative and aria, framed by the addition of an opening and closing duet (in one case, a closing SATB chorus), which are always in the same key. The recitatives are rather longer than those in the solo cantatas; arioso and accompanied recitative occasionally highlight the more emotional parts of the text. The arias and duets employ da capo form without exception. In these duet cantatas, however, Pepusch relies far less on the contrapuntal devices that we have noted above as a unifying factor in the solo cantatas. While a linear approach remains the norm, the lucid trio-texture of the solo cantata -- essentially intimate chamber-music -- is here replaced by heavier instrumental writing which suggests an orchestra. The style is largely dramatic, and the arias in particular are more like those of the masques than those of the solo cantatas. Indeed, three of the duet cantatas (and perhaps all four) were composed during the same period as the masques (1714-16) and were performed by the principal masque-singers, l'Epine and Barbier. Certainly 'No, no, vain world' has an interesting connection with the theatre.

'No, no, vain world', as we have seen (above, p. 225), was apparently composed for insertion in Nicholas Rowe's drama *The Lady Jane Gray*, which was first performed at Drury Lane on 20 April 1715; on that occasion the advertisement noted that "In the Play a Cantata, The Meditation, by Dr. Pepusch" was to be performed. The words of the cantata may not have been by Rowe. They are not included in the 1715 edition of the play, nor are they found elsewhere in his collected works. They were, however, printed anonymously on a single sheet, probably for distribution at the playhouse, under the title:
The / MEDITATION / A CANTATA / Sung by Mrs. MARGARITA
[de l'Epine] and Mrs. BARBIER, / In the TRAGEDY of /
The Lady Jane Grey. / Set to Musick by Dr. PEPSCH.

This text is identical to that set by Pepusch in 'No. no, vain world': the same six stanzas appear, all cast rather monotonously in ballad quatrains (8686, rhyming abab). The words are appropriate for insertion into Act V: imprisoned in the Tower, Lady Jane is maintaining an all-night vigil in preparation for her impending execution in the morning, and is kneeling "as at her Devotion". 19

'No, no, vain world' is undoubtedly the best and most consistent of the four duet-cantatas. A few bars of the opening duet will demonstrate its dramatic nature; note also the instrumental independence and polyphonic style.

Example 22: Duet - 'No, no, vain world thy joys are frail'
(Cantata, The Meditation), bars 5-10.

19 It was probably the devotional mood of the poem and its choice of metre (verses scanning in 8686 iambics are met with frequently in metrical psalters) that misled Malcolm Boyd into listing the piece as a sacred cantata in his article on Pepusch in The New Grove (1980).
John Hughes' text 'To joy, to triumphs dedicate the day' was printed in 1716 with the following description on the title page:

An / ODE / For the / Birth-Day of Her Royal Highness [Caroline] / The Princess of Wales, / St. David's Day, the First of March, 1715/16. / Set to MUSICK by Dr. J. C. Pepusch, / And perform'd / at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society / of Ancient Britons / Written by Mr. HUGHES.

Thomas Jones, secretary and treasurer of the Society at the time, provides a contemporary account of the performance. The Society was inaugurated on St. David's Day of the previous year by a group of fervent Welshmen; a few weeks later the Prince of Wales agreed to be honorary president. On 21 February 1716 they met again to make plans for an annual St. David's Day celebration, at which time the meeting voted that "an Ode compos'd in Honour of the Day by the ingenious Mr. Hughes, and set to Musick by the famous Dr. Pepuch [sic]" should be performed at the celebrations, then only a few days off. Apparently 'To joy, to triumphs' was already composed and must have been completed soon after Hughes and Pepusch finished the masque of Apollo and Daphne.

20 Thomas Jones, The Rise and Progress of the Most Honourable Society of Antient Britons (1717), p. 40. From internal evidence it can be determined that Jones wrote the account in the summer of 1716.
in the closing months of 1715. When the great day came, the Society attended service at 10:00 a.m. at St. Paul's Covent Garden, then proceeded to St. James's Palace to pay their respects to their Royal Highnesses, and from there to Haberdasher's Hall in Maiden Lane. Jones continues: "All being seated, the excellent Ode ... was performed by Mrs. Margaretta, & Mrs. Barbier. [Hughes' poem is printed here.] As soon as the performance of the ODE was over, Dinner was brought to the table".  

The work may have been heard again at a subsequent celebration because another edition of the words only, apparently issued in advance of a performance, gives the date as "the Second of March next (St. David's Day being on a SUNDAY)", but without the year or the names of the singers. The Day fell on a Sunday in 1719, 1724, and 1730. L'Epine would have been available in 1719, but it is improbable that she would have sung after her retirement in 1720. (In the unlikely event of a performance after 1719, then her pupil, Isabella Chambers, may have substituted for her.) Mrs Barbier was, of course, still singing in 1730. The spirit of the poetry implies that, as a literary piece, 'To joy, to triumphs' may properly be called an Ode; the musical setting, however, is essentially a cantata. It takes the form of a dialogue between Fame (the vocal range suggests that this part was sung by L'Epine) and Cambria, the Latin name for Wales. The piece is

21 Society of Antient Britons (1717), pp. 42-48. Jones' account was revised and printed anonymously in 1825; the revision states incorrectly that the work was performed on 1 March 1714 -- even before the Society was founded [p. 4]. I suspect that the confusion arose from a misunderstanding of the old style of dating. Giles Jacob, An Historical Account of the English Poets (1720), p. 82, is also wrong in giving 1715.
distinguished for its rather long *secco* recitatives, which change to arioso style to laud Princess Caroline, and introduce string accompaniment for a eulogy of Britain's glorious heritage (though 'Britain' may still have referred to Wales at this time). The addition of a harp for Cambria's aria 'Heavenly muses tune your lyre' is an appropriate compliment to Welsh musical traditions. The use of a harp as a continuo instrument was not unknown, but 'Heavenly muses' is one of those rare instances in which it functions as an independent obbligato instrument, providing a decoration of arpeggiated semiquavers above the strings and flute; the continuo part is played on organ. This is the only time that Pepusch is known to have composed for the harp.

Traces of an English influence may be seen in the clearly-defined phrases -- unusually terse for Pepusch -- and in the dotted rhythms of the opening duet, which is accompanied by strings, oboe, and trumpet. Williams goes too far, however, in declaring that this cantata is very Purcellian, with a structure and musical style based upon English models.\(^{22}\) This might be said with greater confidence of 'Victorious Caelia', but the over-riding influence in 'To joy, to triumphs' is Italian.

This is also true of Pepusch's setting for two voices of a second poem by Hughes, 'Wake th'harmonious voice and string' (not 'bring' as catalogued in index card at the Royal Academy of Music). This is described in a manuscript note to Pepusch's music in Lam: 88 as a "Serenata for two voices on the Marriage of Lord Cobham to Mrs Anne Halsey". While in all probability the score is in Pepusch's hand, this

annotation is not. Unfortunately the date of the marriage is not given, nor is it to be found in the standard reference volumes on British peerage, members of Parliament, and genealogies that I have examined. Sir Richard Temple, a veteran soldier and parliamentarian, was created Baron Cobham on 19 October 1714; four days earlier he had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary to Venice. It may be conjectured that he married Anne Halsey (daughter of Edmund Halsey of Southwark, himself a member of Parliament in 1717-22) soon after his return from Venice in June 1715. If so, it would seem that Pepusch and Hughes enjoyed a concentrated period of collaboration in 1715-16, producing a masque, two cantatas for two voices, and perhaps several of the solo cantatas.

The music of 'Wake th'harmonious voice' is bright and confident. In both arias Pepusch returns to the trio-texture of the solo cantatas, but here the counterpoint is less intense. An oboe obbligato adds colour and grace to 'The list'ning muses all around her'. The gentle lines of the second aria, 'In tender sighs he silence breaks', are prefaced by a devise, and the principal theme (in \( \frac{3}{8} \) time) is aptly shaped to complement the words. In the final duet, the similarity of both words and music with those of an air in Cibber's *Myrtillo and Laura* is worth noting (Example 23).

Example 23:

(a) Air - 'Now all ye swains and lasses' (*Myrtillo and Laura*), bars 1-5.

\[ \text{Example 23:} \]

23 Lord Cobham remained in England to serve as Constable of Windsor from 6 July 1716 to 1 June 1723. He was created Viscount Cobham in May 1718.
It is impossible to tell which of the two came first. Examples in which Pepusch borrows thematic ideas from his own previously composed works are scarce, and only one other, also found in Myrtillo and Laura, is known: Laura's aria 'Now you move me with complaining' is based on the opening phrase of 'Lovely Isle, so richly blest', the second aria from the solo cantata 'As beauty's goddess', composed earlier and printed in Six English Cantatas (1710). If Pepusch were short of time and musical ideas while he was composing Myrtillo and Laura around July to October 1715, it may be that Cobham's wedding cantata had recently been composed and performed and was fresh in his memory. I have nowhere discovered Pepusch borrowing directly from the music of other composers.

It would be irresponsible to pretend that each of Pepusch's cantatas is a neglected masterpiece, and 'Victorious Caelia, charming fair' is one of the few that fall below his reasonably high standard of composition. Assuming that it is indeed the same piece as that
listed as Item 109 in Noland's catalogue (see above, p. 215), then it may be dated from about the same period as the other duet cantatas; certainly before August 1720. The music has a distinctly English flavour typical of musical fare at the playhouse, a flavour that reappears in some of the works that Pepusch later wrote for the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields (discussed below, Chapter 6). The rather vapid concluding chorus (SATB) is placed as it might be in a theatre piece, but the choice of an alto clef for the second voice might equally suggest a performance by a countertenor at Cannons. In any event, the piece has little to recommend it. Pepusch's contrapuntal artifice and melodic spontaneity seem to have deserted him; the result is unimaginative instrumental writing, dull melodies, and empty sequences, especially in the opening duet. The main fault is a certain flaccidity of rhythm -- a deficiency not often found in Pepusch's music, though it recurs in the solo cantata 'Miranda's tuneful voice'.

Pepusch was a busy man, and to focus on his occasional weaknesses as a composer is to do him an injustice. In an age when mediocrity was commonplace among composers of English secular music, Pepusch's poorest efforts are usually more distinguished than the best work of his English contemporaries. By and large his cantatas are excellent examples of the English branch of the genre; even the works of Arne and others later in the century cannot challenge their artistic refinement, careful construction, and handling of instrumental accompaniment. Pepusch's melodic eloquence and ease of counterpoint was rarely matched in England, save by Handel, before 1730. His chief model, Alessandro Scarlatti, surpasses him in elegance, subtlety and imagination, but Pepusch would never have claimed to be a European master at that level of attainment. His qualities as a melodist were
later rivalled in England, but not surpassed, by the cantatas of John Stanley. The German musical historian Eugen Schmitz was needlessly unkind when he summed up Pepusch's relative position with these words: "Alles in allem darf er in der Reihe der englischen Kantatenkomponisten aber doch als der 'Einäugige unter den Blinden' gelten".  

Pepusch evidently took some pride in these miniature works for, as he informed Richard Rawlinson in 1746, the two books of Six English Cantatas were his only works to have been printed with his authorization (see above, p. 55). His cantatas must have enjoyed considerable popularity, for Walsh re-issued both volumes about 1730. They were re-printed from the original plates, but with the name of Walsh's former associate, J. Hare, stamped out and the number 290 added to the imprint on the title page of both volumes.

Cantatas in general began to decline in popularity after 1750. Burney wrote in his History that "opera scenes, or single songs, now supply the place of cantatas in all private concerts". It comes as a surprise, then, to discover that one of Pepusch's cantatas, 'See from the silent grove' (Alexis), had an exceptionally long life as a favourite concert piece and survived well into the nineteenth century. Today, it is perhaps the best-known of his cantatas; but not the finest, in spite of Hawkins' grudging assessment of its merits. A brief summary of its history will make an interesting postscript to this chapter.

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24 Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate (Leipzig, 1914), p. 312. "Among the ranks of the English cantata composers, it is fair to allow that he was the 'one-eyed man among the blind'."


26 History (1875), II, 909; "His cantata 'See from the silent grove' is the only one of all he ever published that has any pretence to elegance".
Alexis may have been the cantata by Pepusch that Walsh advertised in The Monthly Mask for November 1709 (see above, p. 221, fn. 3); if so, it was the first of Pepusch's cantatas to be printed. Several broadsheet editions of Alexis dating from about this time survive. One was engraved by Thomas Cross, Junior, but all lack a date and a publisher's name. All are headed "A Cantata, Compos'd by Sign'r Pepusch" and are for solo voice and continuo only. In Walsh's Six English Cantatas (1710), Alexis is included as Cantata 2, and the second aria, 'Sounds tho' charming', now has an independent bass part labelled "violoncello", while the arpeggiando accompaniment is labelled "Cembalo". We shall see below that these roles were exchanged for performances later in the century, and this may already have been the case in 1710.

George Bickham included Alexis in his Musical Entertainer, Volume II (1737-38), and at least three other single editions (all without date or publisher) were issued about 1740; these are best identified by their RISM numbers, P1255, P1256, and P1258. These four publications all contain minor errors which were caused by a misreading of the faded impression of Walsh's 1730 reprint; Walsh's plates were well-worn from use, having served for three separate runs since 1710. The cantata was printed again in Harmonia Vera (1771), and in Vocal Music or The Songsters Companion (1772). After this, Alexis owed its continued popularity to the fact that it became a standard concert piece in the repertoires of three leading tenors; Samuel Harrison, John Braham, and Thomas Vaughan.

When, in 1776, the Concerts of Antient Music were established, Harrison became their principal tenor and regularly sang Alexis at
the weekly meetings at Tottenham Street Rooms. An edition, as "Revised and Sung by Mr. Harrison at the Antient and Vocal Concerts", was printed by Richard Birchall. No date is given, but since the Vocal Concerts, first organized by Harrison in 1792, operated for only two years, it may be concluded that the publication dates from this time. In this edition, as in all subsequent publications, the cantata was transposed a tone lower to bring it into a more comfortable range for tenor. Harrison sang Alexis at his last public performance on 8 May 1812; he died the following month. Two years later, A. Burgh recalled Harrison's singing of 'Sounds tho' charming':

The exquisite manner in which the late Mr. Harrison sung [sic] this charming air, as exquisitely accompanied on the violoncello by Linley, is still fresh in the recollection of the present musical world.27

Robert Lindley, principal cellist at the Opera House, continued to perform Alexis with John Braham and Thomas Vaughan; the latter succeeded Harrison at the Concerts of Antient Music. The various issues of The Harmonicon for the years 1823-32 contain numerous references to performances of Alexis by either Braham or Vaughan, both usually accompanied by Lindley. Their performances were not confined to the Concerts of Antient Music, however; Alexis was heard at festivals at York, Norwich, Liverpool, and Oxford.28 Of special interest are performances by Braham and Lindley at the Birmingham Triennial Festival in 1829 and at the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester in 1827. Vaughan and Lindley also performed Alexis at the Three Choirs

27 Anecdotes of Music (1814), II, 444.
Festival at Hereford in 1828 and at Gloucester in 1829.

About 1820, the Regent's Harmonic Institution issued,

Alexis, A favorite Cantata ... Sung with the greatest applause at the Ancient, Vocal, & Philharmonic Concerts. Arranged and an entirely new Accompaniment added by T. Greatorex.29

The watermark is dated 1819 and it appears that the publication was issued about that time; the Institution was re-named the Royal Harmonic Institution about 1820. Greatorex's arrangement is printed on five staves; voice, cello, bass, and piano. The continuo is realized, and the bass is essentially the same as Walsh's original. It is significant that in 'Sounds tho' charming' the Alberti-style figure which Walsh labelled "Cembalo" is now given to a second cello as an obbligato part and is further elaborated. No doubt it had been the practice for some time to treat this line as an obbligato part. The employment of the cello as an obbligato explains a comment in The Harmonicon (1827, p. 204) which refers to the performance at Worcester: "Lindley's accompaniment (as it always has done and always will do) robs the singer of his deserved laurel". (Lindley was famous for his impromptu embellishments.) Most of the editions after Walsh add occasional grace notes, but Greatorex takes considerable liberties in adapting the vocal line in the recitatives and in decorating the arias. He adds a part for cello in the first aria also, and dispenses with the da capo form, now long out of fashion, by omitting the middle section and reprise.

29 Thomas Greatorex, a chorus singer at the Concerts of Antient Music, was a pupil of Benjamin Cooke, himself a pupil and close friend of Pepusch during his last years (see below, pp. 337-39).
Lindley would have met his match in John Braham, who was even more well-known for his propensity to ornament the vocal line and introduce cadenzas \textit{ad libitum} at the cadences. One of the several manuscript sources for \textit{Alexis} (Lam: MS 90, ff. 208-11) contains cadential decorations added in pencil by a later hand. While the manuscript itself may be dated about 1730, the precise date of these additions cannot be ascertained. They probably, however, represent late eighteenth-century performance practice and would have been sung by a male voice; the manuscript addition is written a major third lower than given below in Example 24, and the final ending, in octaves with the continuo bass, would suit a bass or baritone better than a tenor or soprano.

Example 24: \hfill (I = Lam: MS 90; II = Walsh, 1710 edition)

(a) Aria - 'Charming sounds that sweetly languish'
(Cantata, Alexis), bars 16-17.

(b) Aria - 'Sounds tho' charming can't relieve thee'
(Cantata, Alexis), bars 63-64.
Perhaps the last time Alexis appeared in print in the nineteenth century was in the Musical Library, Volume IV (1837). This is a somewhat simplified version of Greatorex's arrangement.

When John Braham died in 1856, Alexis lost its last exponent (Vaughan had died thirteen years earlier) and it was at last dropped from the repertoire after a surprisingly long run of uninterrupted favour.

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Our narrative now returns to the London theatres in 1716. Throughout the 1715-16 season, which saw a flurry of new masques and cantatas by Pepusch at Drury Lane, John Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields had met the competition by mounting his own masque productions; these included Leveridge's Pyramus and Thisbe, and revivals of Eccles' Acis and Galatea and William Turner's Presumptuous Love. During the next season, Rich embarked on an earnest attempt to build up his company of singers and musicians. Like Cibber two years before, he turned to Pepusch as his new musical director.

Very few documents survive to provide firm evidence of Pepusch's long tenure at Lincoln's Inn Fields from about 1715 to about 1733. The only periods for which we can construct a more detailed picture from theatre account books are the seasons 1724-25 and 1726-27.1 Otherwise, evidence of Pepusch's activities must be gathered mainly from those contemporary newspaper advertisements which either mention him by name, or give news of the performance of works with which he is

known to have been connected. These references, coupled with an examination of surviving scores, are sufficient to show that, while Pepusch played an important role as director of the Band, he did not have much to offer Lincoln's Inn Fields as a composer, and wrote only a few short pieces. The comparative lack of contextual evidence for this period has led some historians into confusion, so that some of Pepusch's theatre pieces have been overlooked and others mis-attributed. An attempt will be made to clarify the issues and to place his limited involvement as a composer in its proper perspective, especially in regard to pantomime and ballad-opera.

Pepusch presumably took over the duties of musical director in September 1716, although this is not confirmed by hard evidence; the advertisements do not mention him until 3 July 1717, at which time "a new concerto for Flagelet, compos'd by Dr. Pepusch" was performed with Camilla at Lincoln's Inn Fields. It may be significant that the singers l'Epine and Barbier both transferred from Drury Lane to Rich's house for the 1716-17 season, and it would seem likely that both women (but particularly l'Epine) would have followed Pepusch, their friend and mentor for many years. With these two, Rich's company could now boast five singers with operatic experience: Mrs Manina-Fletcher and Richard Leveridge (both of whom were already with the company), and Mr Lawrence (who moved there this season from the Opera House). They were joined later by a new leading lady, Isabella Aubert. In all, a roster of singers that was unusually impressive for a playhouse company.

It is not surprising, then, that Pepusch chose to revive three operas from his earlier days at the Opera House. He began on 2 January 1717 with Camilla. Revivals of Calypso and Telemachus on 7 February,
and Thomyris on 9 May completed the twice-weekly operatic offerings for the season. All three operas were sung entirely in English. Calypso and Telemachus had a libretto by Pepusch's old friend John Hughes, set to music in 1712 by Galliard. At that time it had not been well received, surviving for only five performances, but the connection with Hughes and the fact that four of the five original singers were now with Pepusch must have made the work a natural choice for revival. Galliard, too, may have had a say in this. As well as Calypso and Telemachus, another work of his, the masque of Oedipus, was performed in May; probably it was in this season that Galliard joined Pepusch to begin their long association as the principal musical figures at Lincoln's Inn Fields -- Pepusch as musical director, and Galliard as a member of the Band (perhaps serving as Pepusch's deputy) and, later, house composer.

John Rich had a remarkable feeling for shifts in public taste, and he made no mistake in expanding the number of musicians in the company. How much his gamble paid off can be seen from a comparison of the gross receipts for operas with those for plays; the following is typical: for the play Woman's a Riddle on 4 January 1717 the receipts came to £28. 4s., while the very next night, Camilla brought in £129. 10s.²

Rich continued to emphasize music in 1717-18, but there were no operas; l'Epine, Manina-Fletcher, and Aubert were not available, and the company could not muster the voices for a major production.³

² As reported by Avery in The London Stage, Part II, 1700-1729 (1960).
³ Aubert moved to Drury Lane, and Manina-Fletcher performed only in the concert rooms. l'Epine, apparently, did not sing anywhere during the winter, for a Lenten concert on 5 March 1718 advertised singing by her and noted that she had "not sung in public this Winter".
Instead, Galliard's new masques of Pan and Syrinx and Decius and Paulina were fed into the repertoire, which already included the standard works of this type, such as Dioclesian, The Island Princess, and The Tempest. Barbier and Leveridge stayed on as the main singers. There is no record of Pepusch in any of the surviving notices and none of his works was performed. It is probable, as we have suggested, that he was absent, exceptionally busy with the Duke of Chandos' musical establishment, and that Galliard was left in charge at the theatre.

Pepusch was definitely back and in command for the 1718-19 season. His first step was to strengthen the complement of singers; l'Epine and Manina-Fletcher returned, and Mrs Pulmon made her début as a prima donna, replacing Mrs Aubert. Pulmon's stage career appears to have been limited to this one season. Mrs Aubert resumed her place the next year. The first major musical production for the season was a revival of Pepusch's Venus and Adonis on 18 November 1718. This was followed by revivals of Thomyris on 9 December, and Camilla on 24 February.

Thomyris received ten performances during the season of 1718-19. Although no printed libretto for this revival is known (nor, indeed, for the earlier revival in 1717), we can be sure that Pepusch composed seven new songs for the 1718 production: they were published by John Walsh as The Additional Songs in the Opera's of Thomyris & Camilla ...

4 Pulmon seems to have retired after making a good marriage: "We are informed that a Marriage is on Foot between Mr Jacobs, late Lieutenant Colonel in the Lord Hinchingbrook's Regiment and Mrs Pulmon, the famous Singer at the New Play-house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields". [Mist's Weekly Journal for 2 January 1720]
Compos'd by Dr Pepusch, advertised in The Post-Man for 12-14 May 1719. Only one additional song for Camilla appears in the collection; 'Save me, with joy possess me', sung by Mrs Pulmon. Of the additional songs in Thomyris, only two were set to new words: 'How blest is a soldier', sung by Leveridge, and 'To live nor know the joys of love', a duet for l'Epine and Barbier which was probably inserted at the end of Act III, Scene ii. The remaining arias were re-settings of old texts from the 1709 printed libretto. Three arias from Act I -- 'Cares on a crown attending', 'Rouze ye brave', and 'No more let sorrow' -- were re-set for Mrs Pulmon in the title rôle, as was her duet with Manina-Fletcher in Act III, 'When duty's requiring'. Baldo's aria in Act II, Scene i, 'To see a fop with monkey graces', is a re-working of the 1709 text 'Who can see, tho' of late 'tis so common'. This piece was not in the original libretto of 1707 and appears to have been added during Haym's revision of 1708. Pepusch's 'To see a fop with monkey graces' eliminates some awkward mis-accentuations in the 1708 version. In general, Pepusch's additions and revisions up-date the original songs with more elaborate string parts and ritornelli.

It is possible that both Camilla and Thomyris were further filled out with other new songs that did not reach print. L'Epine had Camilla for her benefit on 16 April 1719, at which time she sang "a new trumpet song"; then, a week later, a performance of Thomyris for Pulmon's benefit was advertised as containing "a new Trumpet song by Mrs. Pulmon". The composer is not given; Pepusch may have composed them specially for the benefit nights as he did for Manina-Fletcher.

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5 This aria is included among 28 arias from Camilla preserved without ascription in Lam: MS 90 (ff. 125-92); all are to English texts and almost certainly were first introduced in the earlier revival of 1717. This may also hold true for Walsh's additional songs in Thomyris. The MS contains a number of other additional songs not found in the printed libretto of 1707; Pepusch may have composed all or some of them.
on 25 April 1719 (see above, p. 226), or the pieces may have been chosen from his cantatas.6

It was a common enough habit to insert new arias into existing operas, lengthening and refurbishing them, particularly when a new singer assumed a rôle. This was also the case with Decius and Paulina, which in 1718-19 ceased to do duty as the masque in The Lady's Triumph and was expanded into an independent afterpiece.7 The rôle of Marcellus was added for l'Epine, who had not taken part in the original production.

Towards the end of the 1718-19 season, on 11 April, Galliard provided new music for D'Avenant's play Circe (1677), now revised by Lewis Theobald. Though called an opera, Circe contains only a handful of songs.8 (Perhaps the most popular of them was 'Oft on the troubled ocean's face', which had been lifted out of Decius and Paulina.) According to the printed libretto (1719), Pepusch contributed at least one song, 'Cease valiant hero! Cease to grieve', sung in Act II by Mrs Manina-Fletcher in the role of Iris.9 No music is known to have survived.

6 Two surviving cantatas by Pepusch have parts for a trumpet: 'While pale Britannia pensive sat' (Cibber, c1715), and 'Kindly fate at length release me' (Theobald, c1718).

7 Another example may be found in the 1726 revision of Galliard's Pan and Syrinx (see above, p. 177) in which the rôle of Diana, a subsidiary character in 1717, was expanded for the new prima donna, Mrs Chambers.

8 Roger Fiske, English Theatre Music (1973), p. 59, calls Circe "a full-length all-sung opera". This is not supported by an examination of the printed libretto (1719).

9 The words of this song are found in D'Avenant's original version, to which Theobald added a stanza beginning 'Pleasure and delight shall meet thee'. D'Avenant's opening line is echoed in a chorus found in Act II of Handel's Acis and Galatea, 'Cease, Galatea, cease to grieve', though the remainder of the verse is different.
Pepusch is mentioned in advertisements for two concerts during Lent, 1719. The first was a benefit for William Douglas (sometimes known as the Black Prince) at Hickford's Room on 11 March; the programme included "A new trumpet piece" by Pepusch.\textsuperscript{10} The second concert, at Coignand's Great Room on 18 March, featured singing by l'Epine and Pulmon, accompanied on the harpsichord by Pepusch. The performance was a benefit for George Vanbrugh.\textsuperscript{11}

After 1718-19, there is no further mention of Pepusch at the theatres or London concerts until November 1723. Although this does not necessarily indicate a complete severance from Lincoln's Inn Fields, it clearly suggests that his involvement was at least tenuous. It would seem that during the period 1719-23, while Pepusch was heavily occupied with his duties at Cannons, the musical direction of the Theatre rested mainly or wholly with Galliard. It was he who had to try to fight off the competition from the opera, now re-established at the King's Theatre, and from the French company of comedians which performed four nights a week in John Potter's new theatre in the Haymarket.\textsuperscript{12} But Galliard lacked Pepusch's drive and enthusiasm for mounting large-scale musical productions. Within a year, all the

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Daily Courant} for 7 March 1719. The piece may have been one of the trumpet concertos listed in Noland's catalogue of 1720 (see above, p. 217); no music appears to have survived.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Daily Courant} for 17 March 1719. Vanbrugh, a bass singer and song composer, was a member of the 'Cannons Consort' (see above, p. 192).

\textsuperscript{12} There had been no opera at the King's Theatre since Handel's departure for Cannons in 1717. However, the Royal Academy of Music, supported by an influential group of the nobility and boasting some of the best singers in Europe, opened its doors on 2 April 1720. Potter's New (or Little) Theatre, situated opposite the King's in the Haymarket, opened on 29 December 1720. It had no resident company and never seriously threatened the established houses. For a decade it was used primarily for concerts on a nightly rental basis.
principal singers had left. L'Epine retired from the stage in 1719, and Barbier sang only once in 1719-20. In the following season, Aubert, Manina-Fletcher, and perhaps Leveridge were away; there were no new singers to take their place, and the music at Lincoln's Inn Fields fell into the doldrums. It was very probably during this lull in Pepusch's theatrical career, when he was apparently a made man in secure employment at Cannons, that he married l'Epine.

Pepusch's Marriage to l'Epine

It is generally accepted that l'Epine left the stage in 1719 in order to marry Pepusch. By then the pair had been professionally associated for almost fifteen years. Several different dates for the marriage, ranging from 1718 to 1730, have been put forward by historians, none of whom suggests where the ceremony might have taken place. A search of marriage records has failed to decide the matter. Uncertainty over l'Epine's religion and her parish of residence complicates the issue. In spite of the commonly-held belief that she was Italian and, therefore, probably a Roman Catholic, there is a possibility that her father may have been a French Huguenot. The area of investigation
is narrowed by the record of the baptism of "John Pepusch of John Christopher and Margareta" on 9 January 1724 at St. Clement Danes Church in the Strand. The facts that the son was baptised into the Church of England and that l'Epine was later to live with Pepusch at the Charterhouse and was buried in its grounds -- an honour never granted to a non-Anglican -- support the notion that the couple were married according to the Anglican rite.

The Parish Register of St. Clement Danes, which survives intact for 1707-31, contains no record of the marriage. Cannons would seem an ideal location for the wedding of a favoured member of the Chandos Household. If so, then the marriage must have taken place after August 1720 in the new chapel, whose records have not come down to us: the Parish Register of Stanmore Parva (Volume 2, 1671-1729), preserved in the Vicarage, contains no mention of Pepusch (or any other musician for that matter). Pepusch and l'Epine seem to have been married some time between 1717 (when both apparently were absent from the theatre) and before the son's baptism in 1724. A dating of about 1720, shortly after her retirement, is most likely.

15 From the Parish Register, preserved in the Westminster Central Library. Pepusch's residence at Boswell Court lay within the boundaries of this parish.

16 A report in Mist's Weekly Journal for 8 September 1722 confirms that weddings did take place at the Cannons chapel. Private chapels did not have to be licenced to perform marriages until after the Act to prevent clandestine marriages was passed in March 1754.

17 Williams, 'J. C. Pepusch' (1975), p. 14, assumes that because l'Epine was referred to as "Mrs. Margarita" in some advertisements of 1716 then she must have been married by that time. It was the custom to refer to female singers, married or single, as "Mrs" or "Signora", and l'Epine had been so called on many occasions before 1716. Conversely, the fact that she was never called Mrs Pepusch during her theatre career also proves nothing.
The Middle Years at Lincoln's Inn Fields (1723-27)

Nothing by Pepusch had been performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields since his song 'Cease valiant hero! Cease to grieve' was introduced in Circe in April 1719. On St. Cecilia's Day, 1723, he broke his silence with a performance of the ode The Union of the Three Sister Arts at Lincoln's Inn Fields. For the first time since the 1719-20 season the Theatre once again had a respectable complement of singers. It is difficult to avoid crediting this improvement to Pepusch's return; a similar improvement was observed in 1718-19, a season which also witnessed an increase in Pepusch's theatre activities after a probable absence the previous season. Now, in 1723, Leveridge and Barbier rallied to his side, and Pepusch recruited two new singers, Isabella Chambers and Thomas Salway. Both of them had connections with Pepusch. Chambers was a pupil of Mrs Pepusch and made her début at Hickford's Room on 8 March 1722; her first performance in the theatre took place in April 1723 at Drury Lane. Salway's association with Pepusch at Cannons has already been noted above (p. 207).

For his musical personification of the sister Arts, Pepusch selected Mrs Chambers (Cecilia), Leveridge (Homer), and Legar (Apelles). The work was advertised as an Entertainment with proper dances, and was

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18 Burney, History (1935), II, 986, was under the false impression that the ode was composed for a concert at York Buildings. The newspaper advertisements and Walsh's printed edition of the music (1723) both give the venue as Lincoln's Inn Fields.

19 Mr Legar (or Laguerre or Legard) probably was seconded from the company of dancers. For a decade after 1723, he and Leveridge were popular for their duet performances of drinking songs. Dr Fiske is probably correct in assuming that the tenor, dancer, actor, and scene painter (known also to have worked at Cannons) of this name were one and the same person. [English Theatre Music (1973), p. 631]
given its first performance on 22 November as an afterpiece to The Merry Wives of Windsor. The only known musical source is an edition by John Walsh which, according to the title page, was "Publish'd for December" [1723]. Walsh includes the overture, four arias, two duets, a trio with chorus, and a final SATB chorus. There is also a short arioso and an accompanied recitative. Walsh usually, if not always, omitted secco recitatives from stage works, and The Union had probably contained them; it is unlikely, for example, that the final chorus in D major would have followed the penultimate number, an aria in E minor, without a modulating secco recitative.

The Union, with its choruses and dances (for which no music survives), is more in the style of the Restoration 'interpolated masque' than any of the Drury Lane masques. 20 The French-style overture in G major has three short, continuous movements, scored for four-part strings, two oboes, bassoon, and continuo. The third movement has some independent writing for the oboes and bassoon, characterized by imitative suspensions. The final chord of B major serves as the dominant of Cecilia's opening arioso in E minor. All the arias and duets use da capo form. It is interesting to note that in Cecilia's aria 'Now my darling sons, rejoice', Pepusch employs a formal structure then still uncommon by writing the first section in binary form with internal repeats; the over-all design is $A : B \parallel C \parallel AB$. In The Union, Pepusch largely abandons his usual contrapuntal style, and the

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20 Though Walsh's title page agrees with the newspaper advertisements in calling the piece an Entertainment, it is interesting that he later described it in his Catalogue of 1741 as a "Mask made for St. Caecelia's [sic] Day". [p. 13, No. 294]
instrumental accompaniment foreshadows the lighter musical idioms of Arne and Lampe, no doubt reflecting the changing tastes of the theatre audience. The most striking departure is found in the duet 'By great Cecilia's influence fired', sung by Apelles and Homer. Both voices sing the same text in a strictly homophonic setting; the instrumental accompaniment, though it introduces new melodic ideas, does not engage in a single point of imitation. Pepusch was here writing for Legar and Leveridge, both of whom were more comfortable singing playhouse ballads than Italianate arias. In Walsh's edition, the arias and duets are scored for one or two violins and continuo, with an oboe added for the above-mentioned duet, and a viola for the final chorus. The viola was frequently omitted from printed editions in order to save space, though in the pieces which lack it in Walsh, Pepusch's music nevertheless seems complete.

As a theatre work, The Union is rather modest, built on a smaller scale and showing less musical refinement than the Drury Lane pieces. Although it was intended as an occasional piece for St. Cecilia's Day, it received six more performances before the end of December. It was brought out again on 15 April 1725 for Pepusch's benefit and was performed twice more in November of the same year.

In the autumn of 1723, the box office receipts fell to the pitiful sum of £11. 9s. 6d. for the play Troilus and Cressida on 21 November; but they climbed to £116. 3s. 6d. for The Union the next night. Pepusch's music evidently had popular appeal. Even this was surpassed by the handsome takings from the raised prices and full houses for The Necromancer or Harlequin Doctor Faustus on 20 December. At a time when a run of a dozen nights was considered exceptional, this pantomime
by Theobald and Galliard enjoyed almost fifty performances before the end of the season, and this in spite of the fact that it played opposite Thurmond's equally successful pantomime, *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, at Drury Lane. This sudden expansion of pantomime, much more spectacular in its scenes, machinery, and stage effects than its predecessors, was to provide the main attraction for the next eight years in the rival playhouses' fight to win an audience.

It was usual for pantomimes to include sections of vocal music as a masque at the end, as comic interludes interpolated in the grotesque scenes, or as the masque portion of a double plot in which masque and harlequinade alternated. Theobald and Galliard (Rich's pantomime team) preferred the structure with double plot, no doubt because Lincoln's Inn Fields had a company of able singers who could support a pantomime with major musical interpolations. Drury Lane (with Thurmond and Carey, among others) was not so fortunate.  

Although Pepusch had lightened his musical style with *The Union*, he apparently had no inclination to compose for the pantomimes, and his contribution to this repertoire is negligible. He did, however, continue to compose shorter dramatic works as masque-like insertions in plays. At least one such work, perhaps two, figured in the 1724-25 season at Lincoln's Inn Fields. There is evidence that Pepusch re-set the music in *Dioclesian or the Prophetess* for a revival on 28 November 1724; and he may have composed new music for the play *The Rise and Fall of Massaniello* when it was acted in April.

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21 For further concerning the music in pantomime, see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music* (1973), pp. 67-93.
Dioclesian was advertised for 28 November as "revis'd with alterations, the vocal parts all new set to music, with proper dances". There is no mention of Pepusch, and not a single note of his music for it survives. However, Mrs Pendarves (later Delany) attended a performance and, in a letter dated 12 December 1724 to her sister Ann Granville, named Pepusch as the composer.

I was to see the opera of Dioclesian, but was very much disappointed, for instead of Purcell's musick which I expected we had Pepuch's [sic], and very humdrum it was; indeed I never was so tired with anything in my life. The performers were, Mrs. Barbier, Mrs. Chambers, (a scholar of Margarettas), Legard and old Leveridge.22

Mrs Pendarves was a loyal Handelian with a bias towards Italian opera: her harsh and perhaps prejudiced view of Pepusch's setting was not shared by the public at large, who during that season supported a run of thirty performances -- twenty-six of them on consecutive nights. Considering the great popularity of pantomimes, this was no mean feat for a musical drama. Evidently Pepusch's music was well-received from its very first performance; Mr Mist was able to report in his Weekly Journal for 5 December 1724 that:

On Saturday last [i.e. 28 November], at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, was revived, the dramatic Opera of Dioclesian, written by Mr Dryden [rather, adapted from the original of Beaumont and Fletcher]; the Decorations were magnificent and new, and the Musick new set, which was received with extraordinary applause.

Surviving salary accounts for Lincoln's Inn Fields suggest that, in addition to the usual songs for the singers mentioned by Mrs Pendarves, there were also pieces for chorus. When choruses required

22 The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany, edited by Lady Llandover (1861), I, 101-2.
more weight than an ensemble of the principal singers could provide, then ad hoc singers were engaged. Throughout the run of Dioclesian in 1724-25, a Mrs Omash, Mr Reading, and "Young Moase" each received five shillings per night as "Chorus singers". The accounts also show that on 4 December Pepusch was paid ten pounds "on account for Musick in the Prophetess". Two further payments, each of ten pounds (probably for the balance), are recorded on 28 December and 9 March.

We come now to the two unascribed theatre works preserved in the Savage-Stevens collection in the Royal Academy of Music, MS 85; The Music in Massaniello (ff. 117-47) and The Carousers (ff. 73-116). Their possible attribution to Pepusch has been discussed above (p. 202).

Thomas D'Urfey's play The History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello or A Fisherman Prince (1699 and 1700) is in two parts, each part a complete five-act play in itself; the music had been composed by Daniel Purcell, Samuel Akeroyd, and Leveridge. (The Hamburg composer Reinhard Keiser also composed an opera based on the same story.) For the revival at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 31 July 1724, the play was advertised as "Not acted these 20 years. Carefully revised and altered from Mr. D'Urfey". There is no mention of new music.

23 Lbl: Egerton MS 2265. Reading and Moase were first paid on 30 November, with regular payments thereafter. Mrs Omash, of whom nothing else is known, received a lump sum payment on 18 March for singing "28 times in the Prophetess". Reading was a regular subsidiary singer at the theatre. "Young Moase" (or Mose, or Moss) probably was Grant Moss, who had a benefit concert at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 12 March 1727. He may have been the "Boy, a scholar of ... l'Epine", whom The Daily Post for 16 May 1720 advertised to sing at Drury Lane the following night. If Moase were a protégé of Mrs Pepusch in 1724-25, then this may explain why the account book shows that his salary was sometimes paid to Dr Pepusch.
However, when the play was staged again the next year, on 29 March 1725, the bills noted that the ballad 'In Praise of Fishing' (first line, 'Of all the world's enjoyment'), from Part I (Act IV, Scene i) was new set and would be sung by Leveridge. (Oddly enough, Leveridge had composed and sung the original song in 1699.) The same advertisement also advertised "A solemn Piece of Music (Vocal and Instrumental) performed at the Confirmation of the Charter, and sung by Leveridge, Legar and Salway". Avery, in The London Stage (Part II), lists this piece as if it were performed as an entr'acte; in all likelihood, this was Pepusch's music (now MS 85) and was intended for insertion as an entertainment within the play.24 In the second act of Massaniello (Part II), Thomas Annello de Amalphi (alias Massaniello, the military General) has freed the city of Naples, and a monument to the occasion is being unveiled amidst great pomp and ceremony in the Cathedral. Cardinal Fillomarino enters bearing the ancient Charter of Naples, which he presents to Massaniello, the hero of the moment. No printed libretto for the 1724-25 version is known, but in the 1699/1700 edition this ceremony concludes with the song 'Glory thou mortal paradise', in praise of the Peace. Evidently the 1724-25 version compressed Parts I and II into a single play and replaced this song with a short entertainment not included in 1699. The piece in MS 85 has appropriate words, and the music calls for solo tenor, baritone, and bass voices; this requirement fits the advertised singers, Salway, Legar, and Leveridge.

The manuscript score includes three arias (all without da capo) -- one for each of the soloists -- and three trio sections. There is no

24 The music in Lam: MS 85 does not, however, contain the song 'In Praise of Fishing'.

chorus and only one short recitative (accompanied). Scored throughout for four-part strings and two oboes, the work is disappointing and relies heavily on melodic commonplaces. It must be included, along with The Union, among Pepusch's less inspired compositions.

The Carousers has even less to recommend it. Nothing is known of the date and place of the first performance of this rather insipid bacchanal entertainment; it is not listed in The London Stage. However, the music requires the same vocal and instrumental forces as Massaniello and may date from the same period. The Carousers has single arias (in da capo form) for each of the two soloists (tenor and bass), a trio for tenor, baritone and bass, some secco recitative, and a final chorus for the unusual combination of ATBB. This vocal scoring might well have been calculated to exploit the best singers at Lincoln's Inn Fields in about 1723-27, and The Carousers is certainly the kind of piece for which Salway, Legar, and Leveridge were well-known. The alto part could have been sung either by Mrs Barbier or "Young Moase".

The manuscript score (MS 85) sheds no light on its provenance, but the direction "All drink whilst the Introduction to the Chorus is playing" shows that the work was intended for the stage, probably as an interpolation in a play. The copyist cannot be identified confidently from other Pepusch manuscripts, although a second scribe, present in additions of textual underlay, is also found in similar additions to Myrtillo and Laura (also bound in MS 85); this

25 Compare, for example, The Carousers (Lam: MS 85, ff. 82-97) and Myrtillo and Laura (Lam: MS 85, ff. 46v and 47v).
associates *The Carousers* firmly with a piece that was undoubtedly intended for and performed on the stage under Pepusch's direction. An examination of the music, however, reveals that it can hardly have been composed by him. Particularly obvious is the absence of Pepusch's varied and energetic rhythms; the interminable passages of unbroken quavers are more typical of Galliard.

Pepusch composed no further original dramatic music after 1725, though he continued to serve as Rich's musical director. The surviving account-books for Lincoln's Inn Fields, covering the seasons 1724-25 and 1726-27, provide a unique insight into the financial affairs and personnel of that theatre. A reconstruction of the complete scene would be valuable, but, for the moment, we will limit our references to Pepusch and his immediate circle.

**The Company of Musicians at Lincoln's Inn Fields (1724-27)**

The two volumes contain salary payments to actors and musicians, many entries of "bills for ye musick", and various small amounts for copyists' charges. All the bills relating to the operation of the theatre's music were presented to the managers by Pepusch in his capacity as musical director.

An analysis of the salary payments is revealing. The usual total payment to the Band per night came to £3. 14s. 2d. Any increase or

26 Cited above, fn. 1.

27 The copyists named are Vincent, Stede, and Lund. No samples of their handwriting are known.
decrease (implying the addition or loss of a player) is in units of 3s. 4d. each night, which may be taken to represent the average nightly income for a regular player, though a few received more, and a few less. From this it may be estimated that the regular Band comprised from eighteen to twenty musicians, excluding trumpet, french horns, kettle drums, and side drum. These were freelance players, hired as needed, who earned five shillings on each occasion, except for the side drummer who received only two.\textsuperscript{28} Intermittent entries mention by name certain members "of the Musick"; they are Lennard, Gillier, Rawlins, Short, Grimaldi, and Hudson. The last-named is listed with regularity for "6 days extra"; the duty remains a mystery. Lennard (or Linnert?), Rawlins, and Hudson may also have served under Pepusch at Cannons (see above, pp. 191-92). When an extra singer was needed in 1726 for the rôle of Latinus in \textit{Camilla}, Pepusch may have turned again to Cannons for Mr Pearson; perhaps Pierson the Cannons treble, who by now would have grown up into a mature male singer.

Pepusch, the senior member and supervisor of the Band, evidently did not have a regular contract with the management (perhaps from his own choice) and received two pounds per week if he attended for each of the six nights; this was double the average payment to Band members. During Lent, and at other times when no music was performed, those not on contract had their salaries reduced accordingly. For the most part, Pepusch's weekly income for 1724-25 matches such fluctuations in payments to Leveridge, Salway, and Legar (Barbier and Chambers were on

\textsuperscript{28} Ten years later, after Rich had moved his company to his new theatre in Covent Garden, nothing had changed. Accounts for 1735-36 (Lbl: Egerton MS 2267) show that the Band and freelance musicians were paid at the same rate as in 1724-25.
contract and did not suffer this financial uncertainty); this suggests that Pepusch was normally present with the Band when music was sung on the stage. During the successful run of Dioclesian on consecutive nights from 28 November to 31 December 1924, his salary remained constant at the weekly maximum confirming that he was present, no doubt as conductor, for each performance of his music. A check of payments to Pepusch and the singers against the performances advertised in 1724-25 and 1726-27 indicates that Pepusch was usually present for all large-scale musical productions (which, at this time, were chiefly pantomimes), but that he was not always there when the music was limited to entr'acte pieces which did not require the full Band.

In 1724-25, Pepusch's total salary payments came to £52. 6s. 8d: less than he had earned in 1707 (see above, p. 89). In 1726-27 the total fell to £46. 13s. 4d., but this was supplemented on 9 March by a payment of ten pounds for an unspecified service. It is possible that the records for 1724-25 are incomplete. The last payment made to Pepusch and all singers (except Leveridge) was on 3 April, yet Venus and Adonis, in addition to other musical pieces, was performed throughout April. Of course, Pepusch received occasional extra payments for copying parts (though these were small amounts which may have been paid to him to pass on to a copyist), and two lump sums for composing the music in Dioclesian. It may be noted that no further payments to Pepusch for new compositions are listed in either volume. To his theatre income may be added his estimated salary from Cannons in 1725 (something less than £100 per annum) and whatever he might have earned from concert room performances and from private teaching. Making fairly generous allowances for these extras, we may calculate that his total annual income would probably not have exceeded £350.
The account books record the regular weekly payments of salaries to the actors and singers on each Saturday during the season. Pro rata payments were made to those on contract. The following table lists the highest-paid of the musical personnel and provides an interesting comparison of their relative importance in the eyes of the management.

**COMPARISON OF MUSICIANS' SALARIES, 1724-25**

**With Contract:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yearly Salary</th>
<th>Approximate Weekly Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chambers, singer</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochetti, singer</td>
<td>£220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbier, singer</td>
<td>£200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Without Contract:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fee Per Service</th>
<th>Maximum Weekly Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leveridge, singer</td>
<td>13s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legar, singer</td>
<td>10s. 0d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEPUSCH</td>
<td>6s. 8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freelance musicians</td>
<td>5s. 0d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salway, singer</td>
<td>4s. 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of the Band</td>
<td>3s. 4d.(approx.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salaries for 1726-27 remain unchanged except for increases to Barbier (£220 per annum) and Leveridge (£5 maximum per week). Of greater significance for this season is the addition of Galliard's name among those on contract. In 1724-25 he was listed only for a lump sum payment for his music in *The Necromancer*; it may be presumed that he was then a member of the Band, none of whom is named in the salary accounts. No doubt his value as a composer was enhanced the following season by two new and successful pantomimes, *Harlequin a*
Sorcerer (13 November 1725) and Apollo and Daphne or The Burgomaster Trick'd (14 January 1726). Rich then seems to have made sure of keeping Galliard's services in 1726-27 by drawing up articles which gave the composer £100 per annum, paid in instalments of £4 each week.29

Pepusch's income from the theatre was augmented by his benefit nights. The first he ever received, for all his years of service, was on 15 April 1725. The programme included as the main piece Dryden's The Spanish Friar (c1680); afterpieces were The Union and Alexis and Dorinda. Nothing is known of this last piece: it may have been a serenata or cantata for two voices -- the bills list Rochetti as Alexis, and Barbier as Dorinda -- perhaps composed by Pepusch. It received only one further performance, on 22 April. There must have been special music on the benefit night, either between the acts or within the play, because the theatre accounts for that night record the hiring of kettle drums, side drum and trumpet. These instruments were not required for The Union, and apparently not for Alexis and Dorinda either, since they were not hired for its second performance.30

The following season, Pepusch again enjoyed a benefit night, on 6 May 1726. On this occasion the acting company presented The Squire of Alsatia (1688) by Shadwell. This has led some historians to suppose,

29  Lbl: Egerton MS 2266; the first entry for Galliard comes on 30 September 1726, "Mr Galliard in part of £100 for the ensuing season", and the last on 20 March 1727, "Mr Galliard in full for his articles for £100 this Season".

30  John Eccles had earlier composed music for the Procession in The Spanish Friar; the SATB chorus 'Look down ye blest above' is preserved in Lbl: Add. MS 29378 (ff. 139-139v). This appears to be the only music that survives, and the manuscript is for SATB choir without instrumental accompaniment. There is no evidence that Pepusch ever composed new music for this play.
without evidence, that Pepusch composed music for this play. The printed libretto (1688) contains two songs only: 'Still wilt thou sigh' in Act II, Scene i, and 'Hark, how the Duke of Lorrain comes', in Act III, Scene i. The first is inserted into the drama in a rather contrived way and is sung by a music teacher and his daughter. The music master has the appropriate name of Mr Sol-fa; he may conceivably have been identified in the public's mind with Pepusch himself, and this may have prompted the management, with a touch of friendly humour, to select the play for his benefit. Pepusch may have re-set either of the songs or written new music, but nothing appears to have survived. He did not choose any of his own dramatic works as an afterpiece; instead, he made his benefit night an opportunity to introduce three new voices: Mrs Forsyth, Mrs Davies, and Mrs Grimaldi (perhaps a relative of that Mr Grimaldi 'of the Musick'). In all likelihood they were pupils of Mrs Pepusch, who may have used her husband's benefit as the occasion for their débuts. Her former pupil, Isabella Chambers, also sang. None of the débutantes went on to a career in the theatre, although during the Lenten concert season of 1727 we find Mrs Forsyth and Mrs Davies again associated with Pepusch, when each singer performed one of his cantatas (see above, p. 226).

31 The claim is made in Grove's Dictionary (1920), under "Pepusch", in which the play is called a masque; copied in La Musica (1971), under "Pepusch".

32 The rôle is minor, and no singer was listed for it. By 1726, Pepusch had earned conspicuous respect as a teacher, and he vigorously emphasized the old-fashioned hexachordal system of solmization.
The Final Years at Lincoln's Inn Fields (1727-c1733)

In the first half of the 1727-28 season, Camilla, Thomyris, and Dioclesian each were given a few performances on nights when there was no pantomime. It is not known if Pepusch's music was used for Dioclesian, or if his additional songs of 1718 were included in this revival of Thomyris; the printed libretto for Camilla of 1726 does not, however, include Pepusch's 'Save me, with joy possess me'.

Camilla was the first to open on 2 November, and for the third performance on 7 December took in only £17. 16s. A theatre receipt, dated 21 November 1727, shows that Pepusch received ten pounds "for Writing the Score and [sic] Camilla into parts". Thomyris began on 12 January and was also doomed to fail: it had enjoyed only three performances before 29 January, when John Gay's The Beggar's Opera began its unprecedented run of over sixty nights and swept all other operas from the stage.

Gay's famous satire has evoked very full discussion from many scholars. Gay wrote the songs to fit existing popular tunes.

33 Lbl: Egerton MS 2266, f. 40.
34 A wry comment in The Touch-stone (1728) unfairly blames Camilla for Thomyris's lack of success [p. 15]:

This season they reviv'd Thomyris at Lincoln's Inn Fields; but that being rather a better Opera and more justly performed than the other [i.e. Camilla], the Town would not go near it.

Written by A. Primcock (i.e. James Ralph?), this satirical account of London life was reprinted in 1731 as The Taste of the Town. Both Thomyris and Camilla were offered again in 1728-29, but they were withdrawn after only two performances each.

and Pepusch, Rich's current musical director, has been credited with arranging the basses and composing the Overture. John Watts printed the libretto in February 1728, less than a month after the first performance. Watts included the airs (their basses were not added until the third edition of 1729), though not the Overture, and made no mention of Pepusch. The music for the Overture was included in Watts' second edition of the libretto in April 1728. Here the Overture is ascribed to Pepusch, but there is no firm evidence that Pepusch himself arranged the airs; any attribution to him must remain open to question. Though Pepusch was no doubt the music director for the production in 1728, The Beggar's Opera contains no original tunes by him, nor does his name appear in any surviving contemporary advertisements. Indeed, George A. Aitken in his Life and Works of John Arbuthnot (1892) notes that:

Arbuthnot's daughter, Anne, is said to have furnished Gay with the airs for the Beggar's Opera, which are all Scotch. This story rests upon the testimony of Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, Edinburgh, who was intimately acquainted with Anne's brother, George. [p. 120, fn. 1]

(John Arbuthnot was a distinguished physician and writer whose literary circle included Swift, Pope, and Gay.) It is possible that Rich's original intention was to have the airs sung without accompaniment, but that Pepusch was engaged to arrange them shortly before the final rehearsal, as Roger Fiske suggests, or even after the first performance. Burney was over-generous in showering plaudits on the settings for their sound and correct bass lines, which he said were "so excellent, than [sic] no sound contrapuntist will ever attempt to

While the basses are indeed uncluttered, they are often clumsy and rather dull, and sometimes produce awkward harmonies; see, for example, Air No. 30 (to the tune 'How happy are we'). Allowing for the fact that the airs may have been arranged in a hurry, the basses are generally more like the exercises of a fumbling beginner than the elegant and confident bass lines we have come to expect from Pepusch. Could Pepusch have farmed out some or all of the sixty-nine airs among his private pupils, as Haydn did folk-song arrangements? If time were pressing, what better way to meet a deadline? Many of the arrangements are certainly not the work of a composer who (as Burney said of Pepusch elsewhere in his History) "could by a stroke of his pen, smooth the wildest and most incoherent notes into melody, ... suggesting a base from which there was no appeal" [II, 989].

The music for the Overture to The Beggar's Opera is quite a different matter. This compact two-movement Overture for strings, oboes and continuo, bears the hallmark of Pepusch's contrapuntal ingenuity and rhythmic energy. The first movement, in B flat major, is in binary form and employs the dotted rhythms of the French style. This is followed by an Italian jig, also in B flat, which Pepusch cleverly bases upon the melody of Air No. 47 (to the tune 'One evening having lost my way'). The rollicking spirit of the opening phrase, introduced in fugal style, is carried on breathlessly throughout the movement; stretto entries (bars 28-29), alternately in tonic and dominant, increase the excitement. The dancing triplet rhythms come to a halt with a sustained 4 chord on the sub-dominant, and the piece 6

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38 History (1935), II, 986. Burney must have forgotten Dr Arne, or else wished to insult him.
is brought to a rather portentous conclusion by a two-bar coda which returns to the grandiose dotted rhythms of the opening movement — perhaps an attempt by Pepusch to inject a little musical satire after the manner of Gay's libretto.

The veteran singers (Barbier, Leveridge, Chambers, Manina-Fletcher-Seedo, Salway, and Legar) who were still with the company were overlooked when the cast was selected for The Beggar's Opera. Gay admits in his introduction to Polly (1729) that there was not one notable singer among the performers. He and Rich seem to have decided that actors, not singers, were needed. Miss Ferton and Mr Walker, neither of whom was known as a singer, took the leading roles. Pepusch clearly had little to say about it, or he would presumably have spoken up loyally for his singers. Perhaps the singers themselves declined to sing such simple music -- no one could have anticipated its resounding success; on the other hand, it is difficult to imagine Leveridge shying away from the type of ballad song for which he was renowned. Since The Beggar's Opera was too long to allow time for an afterpiece, the run of sixty-two nights for the season kept the singing company off the stage: for those not on contract, this must have curtailed their income. They were grateful to sing between the acts on those infrequent nights when other plays were given.

For several years, Pepusch took part fitfully in the stream of ballad operas which followed the success of The Beggar's Opera. The following are those with which he is thought to have been associated as composer or arranger.

Polly (John Gay, 1729, but not performed): Gay's sequel to The
Beggar's Opera was banned by order of the Lord Chamberlain. The libretto and songs were published in 1729, but the first performance had to wait until June 1777. The musical arrangement is usually attributed to Pepusch, but without confirmation.

The Wedding (Essex Hawker, 6 May 1729): This was first performed for the author's benefit and advertised as "a new Tragi-comi-pastoral farcical opera", which introduced "a Skimmington, after the Hudisbrastick manner". It was printed by W. Mears (1729 and 1734), with the Overture by Pepusch, who may also have arranged the airs. The work met with little success.

The Rape of Helen (John Breval, 19 May 1733): This ballad opera is attributed to Pepusch in a brief article by A. J. E. Lello. His attribution rests on the single piece of evidence that the printed libretto (1737) lists Air No. 25 as having been set to the tune of "Doctor Pepush's [sic] Minuet in Orestes". No music survives. Lello's claim must be viewed with suspicion. (Orestes is mentioned below.)

The Wonder of the World, or The Honest Yorkshire-Man (Henry Carey, 15 July 1735): There is no reference to Pepusch in either the printed libretto (1736) or the London advertisements. However, the following notice appeared in Dublin for a performance at Aungier Street on 15 January 1736:

39 The printed libretto (1729) describes a skimmington as "a procession to ridicule marital quarrels". Hudibras is a satirical burlesque-heroic poem in octosyllabic couplets by S. Butler.

40 'Dr Pepusch (1667-1752)', in Musical Times, xciii/1311 (May 1952), 209-10.
Carey wrote this ballad-farce during the summer of 1734, and Fleetwood, the manager at Drury Lane, held the copy for nine months before rejecting it. After the première in the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, the work enjoyed a successful run at Goodman's Fields. The Overture was never published and is lost.

The above list sums up all that we know for certain about Pepusch's connection with ballad operas. Using this slender evidence, historians have built up the myth that Pepusch was one of the chief composers and arrangers for the genre. As a result, Pepusch's reputation today as a composer rests almost exclusively on his accidental involvement in projects which afforded no scope for the full exercise of his abilities, in an area that interested him hardly at all. By 1728, Pepusch's interest in the theatre was in any case flagging: as will be shown in Chapter 7, he was directing his attention more and more to scholarly pursuits. Whatever the significance of The Beggar's Opera as a turning point in English musical drama, to describe it as Pepusch's major contribution to the theatre demonstrates an ignorance of his work and character. It is extraordinary, too, that a composer who is alleged to have led the field in the ballad-opera repertoire should be represented in that repertoire by only one of his own tunes -- and even that turns out to be a doubtful attribution. The song is 'The play of love'. Leveridge had popularized it at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1725.

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41 Quoted in T. J. Walsh, Opera in Dublin (Dublin, 1973), p. 41. Carey actually composed new music for ten songs; the remainder were taken from Handel, Porpora, Greene, and traditional sources.
and there is reason to suspect that he, and not Pepusch, composed
the music. The tune was subsequently used in three ballad operas:
The Village Opera (Charles Johnson, 1729), The Jealous Clown (Thomas
Gataker, 1730), and Love and Revenge (author unknown, 1729).

Ballad operas, of course, relied largely on the re-use of
existing songs. The absence of songs by Pepusch may partly be
explained by the fact that, compared with other composers such as
Eccles, Carey, Holcombe, Leveridge, and D. Purcell, Pepusch wrote
very few songs -- only thirteen are known -- and not one of these
became a great favourite. The ballad-opera librettists turned
chiefly to D'Urfey's Pills to purge Melancholy, first printed in
1699, with a final expanded edition in 1719-20 running to six volumes.
This vast anthology of over a thousand songs included none by Pepusch.
Select arias from the Drury Lane masques had been printed as ephemeral
broadsheets, but by 1728 they had probably been forgotten, except for
Walsh's print of the da capo arias in Venus and Adonis; they were
neither known to a wide public nor easily available in printed form
to the poets of ballad operas.

The dozen or so surviving Pepusch songs did not begin to appear
in printed collections before 1730, and it may be that most of his
strophic songs were composed around that time in response to the public

42 The notices for Lincoln's Inn Fields on 18 March 1725 included
"A new song, The Play of Love, composed and sung by Leveridge".  
The term "song" was loosely applied to any short and incon-
sequential poem, with or without music, and this reference may
be to the words only. The song is also ascribed to Leveridge in
The Opera Miscellany (c1730). The only source to ascribe the
music to Pepusch is The Musical Miscellany, II (1729). Elsewhere
the tune appears without ascription; for details, see below,
Appendix A, 8:015.
demand for this type of piece, a demand fostered by the new ballad operas. His songs surprise us with their simplicity and melodic charm; once again, not at all what one might expect from a composer whom Hawkins and Burney both accused of being a dry pedant. A complete listing of these miscellaneous songs, including bibliographical details and thematic catalogue, may be found below in Appendix A (8:001-015). A few of them are known to have been inserted in dramatic works.

Revivals of old plays were often dressed up and made more attractive by re-setting their original songs or interpolating new ones. Songs were rarely integral to the dramatic action, and, since they might be interchanged among different plays, they were not usually included in the printed libretto. Pepusch's 'Celimina of my heart' is a jocular dialogue between the characters of Wildblood and Jacinta (as Damon and Celimina) in Act V of Dryden's play An Evening's Love, or the Mock-Astrologer (1671). Some of his other songs may similarly have been composed for insertion into plays. Pepusch also provided a song or two for specifically musical dramas. His 'Cease valiant hero! Cease to grieve' for the 1719 production of Circe has been mentioned earlier in this Chapter. Lewis Theobald later re-shaped and adapted Circe under the title of Orestes, produced on 3 April 1731 at Lincoln's Inn Fields; no music survives, and Pepusch's song is not included in the printed libretto. Styled "a Dramatic Opera", Orestes is essentially a drama with a few songs largely unrelated to the action. In Act III, Scene iv, the singers enter and, "ranging themselves down each-side the Stage, sing the following Song to a Minuet". The composer is not given; the piece may have been one of several popular minuets by Geminiani, or (as Roger Fiske suggests) Pepusch's minuet
referred to in *The Rape of Helen*. Using his own suggestion as evidence, Dr Fiske goes on to deduce that Pepusch composed all the music for *Orestes*. A safer conjecture is that Theobald turned yet again to Galliard for the music.

Another dubious attribution to Pepusch is the pantomime of *Perseus and Andromeda*. The song 'When severest woes impending' appeared in Walsh's *The British Musical Miscellany, III* (1734), under the heading "Set by Dr Pepusch in Perseus & Andromeda". There were three pantomimes based on the Perseus legend, each of which various sources have attributed to Pepusch. However, it is highly improbable that, with the possible exception of this one song, Pepusch composed music for any of them.

The three separate productions and the sources which attribute each to Pepusch are:

1) **Perseus and Andromeda, or The Shipwreck.** Drury Lane: 2 April 1717
   By John Weaver
   Attributed to Pepusch by:
   - *La Musica* (1971)

2) **Perseus and Andromeda with The Rape of Columbine, or the Flying Lovers.** Drury Lane: 15 November 1728
   Revised by Weaver from his 1717 production.
   Attributed to Pepusch by:

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3) **Perseus and Andromeda, or The Spaniard Outwitted.**

Lincoln's Inn Fields: 2 January 1730

Probably by Lewis Theobald

Attributed to Pepusch by: Smith & Humphries, *John Walsh* (1968), p. 267; on the false assumption that this was a revision of Weaver's 1717 production.

Dr Fiske states without reservation that, for Weaver's 1728 production,

Drury Lane persuaded Pepusch to write the music, his fame the greater for the recent success of *The Beggar's Opera* at Lincoln's Inn Fields. ... Most of the mythological scenes were danced rather than sung, but Pepusch composed (and published) a number of songs for subsidiary characters.44

This claim is totally unfounded and can be disproved on several counts. The only song to be included in Weaver's printed summary of the plot (1728) is 'In London Town there lived well-known a Doctor', sung in the first comic interlude to the tune 'Thomas I cannot'. This tune comes from the 1717 version, and nowhere is its composition credited to Pepusch. In fact, Pepusch had joined Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields before the presentation of Weaver's pantomime in 1717. No doubt Rich would have regarded a desertion to the other house, either in 1717 or 1728, as treachery, yet Pepusch continued under his management until about 1733. (Performers were allowed to change theatres for benefit concerts during Lent, but hardly at other times, for pantomimes were the bread and butter of the box office and competition was keen.) Furthermore, 'When severest woes impending' is the only printed song from *Perseus and Andromeda* actually ascribed to Pepusch, and this song is included in the printed libretto (1730) of the production at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The song belongs to the comic part

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and follows the recitative 'Dispel that horrid gloom'. Though the printed libretto gives no author or composer, the pantomime is undoubtedly the product of the Theobald-Galliard collaboration; Pepusch may have contributed this one song. A second song from Theobald's *Perseus and Andromeda*, 'How pleasant a sailor's life passes', was printed anonymously in *The Musical Miscellany, VI* (1731), and elsewhere (see below, Appendix A, 10:011/ii); its attribution to Pepusch in *The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music* (1957) must be considered unfounded.45

The newspaper advertisements during the early years of ballad opera indicate a notable and unexplained revival of interest in the performance of Pepusch's instrumental music, which is seldom mentioned in the notices between 1714 and 1729. The renewed popularity coincides with Pepusch's decreasing activity as a composer of dramatic pieces for the theatre and probably reflects his own priorities. Pepusch's circle of scholarly friends, particularly at the Academy of Ancient Music, would surely have frowned on the pantomimes and ballad operas which had almost completely taken over the playhouse stage. Pepusch placed a high value on his academic connections and it would have been in keeping with his character for him to protect his reputation within this circle. The theatres at that time offered little opportunity for the performance of all-sung dramatic works, and Pepusch may have found a happy alternative in the composition of extended instrumental pieces for concert performance. This would both have satisfied his own musical tastes and met with the approbation of the musicians and

45 This conclusion is supported by Fiske in *English Theatre Music* (1973), p. 86. It may also be noted that RISM lists the ballad-operas of *Sylvia* (George Lillo, 1731) and *The Lottery* (Henry Fielding, 1732) as Pepusch's, on the basis that each contained a single song from *Perseus and Andromeda*. 
scholars whom he most respected. His revised edition of Corelli's sonatas and concertos, published in two volumes by Benjamin Cooke (not the musician) in April 1732, would also have served this end.46

In Volume I, dedicated to Sir Richard Corbet, Cooke acknowledges that,

I have not only had the Inspection of some of our Most Eminent Masters; but have prevailed on the Learned Dr Pepusch, according to his usual Humanity, and well known Accuracy in Musical Productions, to revise it...

Of Pepusch's instrumental works known to have been performed between 1729 and 1733, a concerto grosso (Hickford's Room; 16 April 1729), a sonata for violin and harpsichord (Little Theatre; 26 May 1733), and a concerto for two oboes (Little Theatre; 1 December 1733), may all have come from his instrumental period before 1714. However, a unique attempt at mixing play and concert music in Congreve's The Old Batchelor (1693), revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 9 May 1732, may have been the occasion for some new music:

Instead of Act Tunes will be perform'd Select Pieces of Musick adapted to various Instruments, Being design'd as a Concert Intermix'd with the Play. For the Overture: a Grand Concert [i.e. Concerto] compos'd by Dr Pepusch, in which the Kettle Drums are principal, accompanied with Trumpets, Hautboys, Violins, &c. ... The Kettle Drums to be beat by Mr Benj. Baker.47

A Grand Concerto (as well as Handel's Water Music which was also included in the programme) would hardly have fitted the context of

46 The Score of the Four setts of Sonatas, Volume I, was advertised in The Daily Post for 6 April 1732, and The Score of Twelve Concertos, Volume II, in the same newspaper for 28 April 1732; both volumes were advertised as "This day is publish'd". Another edition of the two volumes was issued by John Walsh soon afterwards.

47 From an advertisement reported in The London Stage, Part III (1961).
this particular play; but congruity was not a theatrical virtue in
the 1730s. No surviving works by Pepusch are scored for Kettle Drums.
Perhaps his Grand Concerto was the same as "A New Grand Overture,
compos'd by Dr. Pepusch" which was advertised -- again with Handel's
Water Music -- for performances at Rich's new theatre in Covent Garden
on 1, 8, and 24 May 1733.48

The newspaper notices suggest that throughout 1732-33 Pepusch
operated concurrently at both of Rich's theatres (Lincoln's Inn Fields
and Covent Garden). He is not mentioned as being at either theatre
after this season: presumably he had retired, though the precise date
of his retirement has not been determined. Pepusch was now over 65
years old and may have decided that it was time to go when Rich moved
his whole company to Covent Garden for good at the beginning of the
1733-34 season. The old theatre had been conveniently located for
Pepusch, virtually on the doorstep of his house in Boswell Court;
Covent Garden was further away. The hypothesis that he retired in
June or July 1733 gains strength when we note that Barbier and Chambers,
his faithful associates, left Rich at exactly that time period and
moved to Drury Lane for the 1733-34 season.

Summary

In a short space of time, the London theatrical scene had under-
gone rapid expansion. By 1733, the Town was supporting no fewer than

48 Covent Garden opened to the public on 7 December 1732. For
the rest of that season Rich juggled his company between his
two theatres. In 1733-34, Lincoln's Inn Fields was hired
out, most frequently to the Opera of the Nobility, headed
by Senesino and Porpora.
six theatres (the King's, Drury Lane, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Covent Garden, the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and Goodman's Fields). All of them presented music. Had Pepusch been younger, he would undoubtedly have accepted the challenge, taken up in 1732-33 by Arne, DeFesch, and J. C. Smith, to compose operas in English; he had responded to a similar challenge from Cibber in 1714. As it was, Pepusch apparently found no inspiration in Rich's pantomimes and ballad operas. His few works composed for Lincoln's Inn Fields reflect influences from the English masque tradition, but they are not of great musical importance. The Italianate masques of 1714-16 remain his most interesting dramatic works. The significance of Pepusch's career during the seventeen years from 1716 to 1733 lies in his role as Rich's musical director; he had steered the singers and the Band with admirable consistency and flexibility through the successful years of pantomimes and had launched them into the ballad opera era.

It is less obvious today, but equally significant, that Pepusch, through his revivals of Camilla, Thomyris, and Calypso and Telemachus, had managed to keep alive a small but continuing interest in operas sung in English. He now relinquished those responsibilities to younger musicians who possessed more energy and enthusiasm than his encroaching years permitted, and was henceforth able to spend more time in the less wearing academic pursuits of teaching and antiquarian study.

His life-long penchant for the music of earlier times was mirrored in the choice of music for his benefit concert at Hickford's Room on 31 March 1732. He might have filled the stage with "the best hands of the Opera House", or packed the house by performing the current ballad airs; instead, (besides his own compositions) he advertised music by Lupi, Pretti, Byrd, Colonna, Steffani, Corelli, and Henry Purcell.

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* * *
Pepusch's retirement from the theatre no doubt gave him full opportunity to indulge his love of old music and musical treatises; but his scholarly activities had begun long before 1734. His passion for the study and collection of early theoretical treatises and of printed and manuscript music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had probably been born in the days of the music meetings at Thomas Britton's -- Britton, it will be remembered, was himself a notable collector of musical scores and treatises -- and this passion continued throughout his life. Perhaps the most significant event for this aspect of Pepusch's career was the establishment in 1726 of the Academy of Ancient Music. At the Academy's private concerts, the music of an earlier era (chiefly church anthems and motets), which was almost totally neglected at this time, was regularly brought to life in performance. Dr H. Diack Johnstone has provided an authoritative account of the organization and operation of the Academy: we need mention here only those points relating directly to Pepusch.\(^1\)

It was long believed that the Academy of Ancient Music was founded in 1710. A memorial plaque to Pepusch, set up in the Charterhouse Chapel in 1767 by the members of the Academy, gives 1710 as the foundation date. This was taken as correct by Hawkins, Benjamin Cooke, and J. Doane, and for a long time no historian questioned their view.

Dr Johnstone and other present-day scholars, however, prefer a dating of 1726, based on primary evidence found in 'Orders Agree'd to by the Members of the Academy of Vocal Musick, Fryday, Jan'y 7th, 1725/6'. On this day, plans to formalize the Academy were drawn up and the first subscription of 10s. 6d. was called for on 21 January 1726. The Order Book contains a record of subscribers, financial accounts, and resolutions to May 1731. The name was changed to the Academy of Ancient Music soon afterwards.

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2 The complete inscription is printed in Hawkins, History (1875), II, 908. Grove's Dictionary (1954), under 'Pepusch', gives 1757 as the date of the unveiling; obviously a typographical error. The memorial tablet may still be seen in the Charterhouse Chapel and is placed on the wall of the staircase leading to the organ loft.

3 Before the tablet was erected, Hawkins gave "about 1724" in his 'Life of Signor Steffani, a celebrated Musician', in The Gentleman's Magazine (November 1761), p. 491. He later came to agree with the 1710 dating: see An Account of the ... Academy of Ancient Music (1770), without author but probably by Hawkins, p. 4., and his History (1875), II, 805. For 1710, see also the preface to Cooke's Morning Hymn (1773), and J. Doane, 'A History of the Academy of Ancient Music From its Commencement in 1710, to the present Time', in A Musical Directory for the Year 1794.


The piece is Marenzio's madrigal to 'Dolorosi Martir'. Obviously, the unidentified scribe was one of the founding members.

5 Lbl: Add. MS 11732 contains a note on the last folio, apparently in the hand of Vincent Novello, who presented the volume to the library in 1840; 'Original documents relative to the first establishment of the 'Academy of Vocal Musick', which afterwards became the celebrated 'Kings Concerts of Ancient Musick"'. This last is not true. The Kings Concerts were founded independently in 1776 by the Earl of Sandwich and others.
sixth subscription in December 1728, alludes in his Diary to a foundation date of around 1726. The entry is dated 31 August 1731.

The gentlemen of the King's Chapel set up their club of vocal and instrumental music. ... For two or three years our concert proceeded with great union, till last year two accidents fell out that divided us.6

Whatever the date of the formal institution of the Academy, it presumably grew out of the continuing work of the small group of artists who had first come together at the concerts of Thomas Britton; it is plausible enough to assume that after Britton's death they would have carried on gratifying their common passion in some kind of loosely organized society. News of the organization of the Concert Spirituel in Paris (1725) and the recent establishment in London of the Philharmonic Club (1724) and the Philo Musicae et Architecturae Societas (1725) may have encouraged them to enter into a more formal association as the Academy of Vocal Music; though none of these societies was devoted to the performance of early music.7

On that Friday in January 1726, thirteen gentlemen assembled at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, opposite St. Clement Danes Church in the

6 Historical MSS Commission (1920), 63, Egmont Diary, I (1730-33), pp. 201-2. The accidents would appear to have been the death of Abate Steffani, the Academy's honorary president (see below, p. 314), and a dispute over the authorship of the madrigal 'In una siepe ombrosa', involving Bononcini and Lotti. See the pamphlet Letters from the Academy of Ancient Music at London, to Sig' Antonio Lotti of Venice: with his Answers and Testimonies (1732); copy in the National Library of Scotland.

7 The Philharmonic Club, founded by Talbot Yourg, was sometimes called the Swan and Castle Concerts after the tavern in which it met. The Philo Musicae met at the Apollo tavern with Geminiani as musical director; membership was limited to Freemasons.
Strand. They included Pepusch, Galliard, Maurice Greene, and Bernard Gates. Greene and Gates were key figures, in that with them came some of the best choral singers in London; Greene was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Gates, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. The gentlemen of these two choirs composed the majority of members in the first few subscriptions, called for irregularly, but roughly twice a year. The Academy also relied on St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal for its trebles. At this first meeting it was agreed to meet fortnightly on Fridays from 7 to 9 o'clock (f. 1). It was further decided that membership would be limited to "such as profess Musick, and shall be approv'd of by the Majority [of two-thirds]" (f. 1). This resolution was given the strange qualification that composers (presumably those who were not also performers) might be admitted by general consent, but that, except for members of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals, vocal performers were not eligible for admission. This appears to be a move to bar theatre singers. The meeting further resolved that a number of directors, not exceeding seven, were to be elected who would be responsible, each in turn, for selecting and conducting the evening's music.

By the eighth subscription on 9 April 1730 (the last subscription to be recorded in the Order Book), there were eighty-two members (ff. 11-12v). The Academy enjoyed the distinguished patronage of Lord Percival, Lord Plymouth, and the Earl of Abercorn. The register includes

8 The founding members are listed in the Order Book, f. 2. The Crown and Anchor was situated on the corner of Arundel Street with the entrance on the Strand. The upstairs room used by the academicians measured 84 x 35 feet. The Academy continued there until 1784, when it moved to the newly-constructed Freemason's Hall. The old tavern was pulled down in 1790. For further information on the Crown and Anchor, with an engraving of the building, see Robert Elkin, The Old Concert Rooms of London (1955), p. 54.
the names of many of London's leading musicians: mentioned in one or another of the subscriptions are Croft, Bononcini, Haym, Geminiani, Dieupart, Festing, Pier-Francesco Tosi, and -- a notable exception to the rule concerning vocal performers -- the castrato Senesino. The subscription-lists provide an interesting cross-section of the performers, composers, singers, clergy, and nobility with whom Pepusch associated in the early days of the Academy. As one of its prime movers, Pepusch continued to exert a profound influence on the affairs of the Academy until his death. Some idea of his importance can be gained from a list of eleven resolutions passed at a meeting on 26 May 1731, and appended to the Order Book (ff. 16-16v). The following will serve as examples:

1. That Dr Pepusch, Mr Gates, Mr Galliard, [and] Mr Needler do examine the Copiest [sic] bills & sign them in order for the Treas to pay them.  

4. That Dr Pepusch, Mr Gates, Mr Galliard, Capt Bagnal & Mr Needler do make a list of Musick to be perform'd ye next Season.  

6. That Mr Bishop [i.e. Hawley Bishop, the secretary] be desir'd to write a Historical Account of the Academy & that Dr Pepusch & Mr Galliard do supply him with Materials.  

Another motion indicates that Pepusch must have been looked upon as a

9 Henry Needler (d. 1760), of the Excise Office, joined the Academy at the sixth subscription. Hawkins is wrong when he includes Needler among the founding members. Professor E. Taylor, in a lecture delivered at Gresham College in 1847 (Lcm: MS 2151), stated that Needler was a pupil of Henry Purcell, but this has not been verified. Needler served the Academy as manager, leader of the orchestra, and copyist. His characteristically neat and fluent notational style can be seen throughout Lbl: Add. MSS 5036-5049, and elsewhere. Some of these manuscripts, in particular certain works in Add. MS 5054, may have been transcribed from volumes in the Academy's library. Needler and his wife Hester became close friends of Pepusch (see below, p. 342, for mention of Hester in Pepusch's Will).

10 No such chronicle survives. For a later account written in 1770, see above, p. 310, fn. 3.
sort of artistic director or coordinator:

5. That the Managers do each of them deliver a Score of a piece of Musick to Dr Pepusch by ye latter end of August next for his Examination.

The academicians devoted a great deal of attention to building up their library of music. In a short time they had acquired a unique collection of printed and manuscript volumes of music by early English and European composers whose compositions had fallen out of use by the end of the seventeenth century. It was the Academy's practice to issue printed Word Books containing the texts of items performed, of which copies were presumably made for the library. These Word Books were published fitfully after 1732, and from them it is possible to gain some idea of the kind of pieces to be found on the library shelves.11 As might be expected, the bulk of them is devoted to Latin church music by such composers as Palestrina, Bassani, Colonna, Lassus, Negri, and -- a contemporary for once -- the Academy's honorary president, Agostino Steffani (Bishop of Spiga).

Steffani was elected president on 1 June 1727.12 While he never left Hanover to visit the Academy in London, there was an active correspondence between him and the academicians.13 Before he died in

11 The largest collections of these Word Books containing the programmes given at various meetings are preserved in the British Library, Reference Division, and the Leeds Public Library (Taphouse Collection). The Academy also printed a catalogue of the library as The Words of such Pieces, As are most usually performed by the Academy of Antient Music (1761; second revised edition 1768).

12 The date of election is given in the Order Book (Lbl: Add. MS 11732, f. 4v). For further on Steffani see Colin Ronald Timms, 'The Chamber Duets of Agostino Steffani', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976.

February 1728, he had sent several of his works for inclusion in the Academy's library. Some of these had been borrowed by Maurice Greene, for the Order Book records a resolution under 26 May 1731 instructing Pepusch "to demand of Dr Green the Six Mottetts ye Bishop of Spiga sent the Academy".14 (Greene had departed earlier to set up an Academy at the Apollo Tavern.)

The academicians were careful to determine their precise interpretation of the word 'ancient'. The following definition was accepted at the May meeting of 1731, and is recorded in the Order Book (f. 16):

N.B. By ye Compositions of the Ancients is meant of such as lived before ye end of the fifteenth Century.

The word 'fifteenth' is probably used here according to Italian usage (cinquecento = sixteenth century), for it was subsequently crossed out and "Sixteenth" inserted in the same hand. Later, in 1770, the writer (Sir John Hawkins of An Account of... the Academy of Ancient Music took pains to make it clear that the members of the Academy

Desire it to be understood, that they apply the epithet ancient to the compositions of the sixteenth century, and that they carry their researches no farther back than ... Palestrina and his contemporaries. [p. 18]

This publication was a plea for new members; in the light of the musical

14 Order Book (Lbl: Add. MS 11732), f. 16. The Academy's printed catalogue of 1761 contains only two works by Steffani; 'Qui diligit Mariam' and 'Gettano il re'. A manuscript copy of the latter work is preserved in DRC: Mus MS E-15, p. 48, with a note in the transcriber's hand; "Sent to our Academy at ye Crown Tavern, 1726".
tastes of 1770, it was necessary to state the aims of the Academy very clearly so as not to mislead potential applicants. The public at large was still not very interested in old music.

Pepusch and his fellow academicians were not content simply to preserve these Renaissance pieces on library shelves. Such pieces had previously been collectors' items, of interest only to men like Dean Aldrich and Joseph Cotton, who ferreted them out of piles of manuscripts at book-sellers in St. Paul's Churchyard; but they could now be heard as living music by the initiates who were admitted to the upstairs room at the Crown and Anchor on alternate Fridays. These men were pioneers, and their motives and methods attracted suspicion and ridicule from those who accepted the normal judgement of contemporary taste. Hurlothrumbo Johnson, whoever he may have been, lampooned the Academy:

That indefatigable Society, the Gropers into Antique Musick, and Hummers of Madrigals, they swoon at the Sight of any Piece modern, particularly of your [i.e. Handel's] Composition, excepting the Performances of their venerable President, whose Works bear such vast Resemblance to the regular Gravity of the Antients, that when dress'd up in Cobwebs, and powdered with Dust, the Philharmonickspiders could dwell on them, and in them, to Eternity.15

The criticism of the 'President' was more likely levelled at Pepusch than at the late Bishop Steffani, for Pepusch had been satirized as "Dr. Pushpin" in an earlier passage in the same pamphlet. Deutsch believes that Pepusch was the target, but is misled into stating that Pepusch had served as president since 1734, the year the pamphlet first appeared. Pepusch, however, was never officially styled

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15 Quoted in Deutsch, Handel (1955), pp. 344-57 (352). The pamphlet, entitled 'Harmony in an Uproar: A Letter to F-d-k H-d-l, Esq', was first printed in March 1734.
'president' -- after Steffani's death, that position had been left vacant as a mark of respect -- though he continued to be a director.

The charge that the Academy neglected the works of modern composers is not altogether true: over twenty works by Handel may be found in the Word Books of performances or in the printed catalogue of 1761. Pepusch, too, was represented by the following works:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Edition of Word Book/Catalogue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beatus vir qui non abiit</td>
<td>1734, 1757, 1761, 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessed is the man</td>
<td>1747, 1761, 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnificat anima mea</td>
<td>1746, 1749, 1756, 1759, 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O give thanks unto the Lord</td>
<td>1759, 1761, 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O sing unto the Lord a new song</td>
<td>1750, 1761, 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejoice in the Lord</td>
<td>1751, 1761, 1768</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The catalogue for 1761 also includes the following note under Carissimi's Jephtha: "This piece being originally designed for voices only, the instrumental parts are added by Dr. Pepusch". A later footnote adds, "The following air ['Plorate colles'], as far as the word Ululate, is entirely by Dr. Pepusch".

Pepusch's music apparently does not survive. The Latin motet 'Beatus vir' is preserved in a large volume of motets in the hand of Henry Needler, perhaps belonging to, or copied from, the Academy's library (Lb1: Add. MS 5054, pp. 311-17). This motet is found also in Lcm: MS 660 (ff. 3-5v), along with a further motet by Pepusch, 'Laetatus sum'. While this second motet is not included in any of the Word Books that I have examined, its antique alla breve style suggests that it was composed for the Academy. This is supported by the fact that a section of the piece (bars 39-50), to the words "domum Domini ibimus", is based
on the canon 'Non nobis Domine', sometimes spuriously attributed to
William Byrd. (It may be seen from the Word Books that the Academy's
evenings were invariably divided into three parts or acts and concluded
with the singing of this canon.)

When Greene and Gates withdrew from the Academy about 1731 follow-
ing the Bononcini-Lotti dispute, they took their choristers with them.
This left the Academy without treble voices, a critical blow, since
the repertoire was almost exclusively confined to vocal music. To
remedy this, the Academy established a seminary with Pepusch at the
head. This seminary appears to have come into operation as early as
26 May 1731 when the Order Book records a resolution that "D[r] Pepusch
do consider of a Method for inserting the Names of Such Boys yt
distinguish themselves in their Performances" (f. 16). Doane says that
they began with four boys, to be "instructed in English Grammar,
Writing and Arithmetic, and to be taught to sing, accompany on the
harpsichord, and to compose"; Pepusch was allowed 50 guineas for their
support. No doubt he drilled the boys in solmization by hexachords,
the foundation on which he based his own theoretical principles.

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16 John S. Bumpus was of the opinion that Pepusch was the first to
attribute this canon to Byrd (A History of English Cathedral
Music, c1908, I, 67). His evidence is that the canon is mentioned
as being by Byrd in A Treatise on Harmony (1730), a work some-
times attributed to Pepusch (see below, p. 337). Galliard set
the canon as a Sinfonia for two violins (Ob: MS Mus. d. 142,
ff. 5-8), possibly for use at the Academy. A modern transcription
of the two motets by Pepusch is found in Williams, 'J. C. Pepusch'
(1975), Vol. 3.

17 Musical Directory (1794), p. 78. Hawkins says that Pepusch him-
self received a stipend (amount not specified), "the largest the
Academy could afford tho' greatly disproportionate to his merit".
[Account of ... The Academy (1770), pp. 8-9.]

18 Pepusch revived the practice of solmization by hexachords, and
perhaps influenced Bernard Gates who introduced it into the
training of the choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral (Hawkins,
History, 1875, II, 832).
Among the students thus educated were Isaac Pierson (a favourite of Pepusch whom he taught alongside his own son) and Benjamin Cooke. Pierson, a talented lad, died before he came to maturity. Cooke was born in 1734; following his training at the Academy, he remained a pupil and close friend of Pepusch and became a life-long member of the Academy.

An undated letter from Pepusch to "Mr. Immins [i.e. John Immysns] to be left for him at the Crown and Ancker [sic] over against St. Clements in the Strand", makes reference to the care of the children:

My indisposition has hindered me from sending you either letter or musick before now. here is enclosed an other piece of musick upon the same words as that I send [sic] you before. The curiosity of it is that this is the in- version of the former Mottet, the Treble of this is the Bass of the former sung or writt backwards and so are all the rest of the parts inverted. The authors name is Constanzo Porta. ... I am exceeding glad to hear of your having found a good voice, but I recommend you not to neglect the other Children. My Lord [James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn?] desires me to give his Service to you all and he drinks your healths & to the advancement of musick every day. I am Dear Sir yours and all the Harmonious Bretheren's Most obedient humble Servant.

J. C. Pepusch.

This letter, with the manuscript copy of Porta's music ('Vobis datum est nosce mysterium') still attached, is preserved in the Stanford University Library, California. Pepusch's letter appears to be the

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19 Pierson is mentioned in Hawkins, History (1875), II, 886, and Doane, Musical Directory (1794), pp. 78-79. For Cooke's training at the Academy, see his preface to Morning Hymn (1773), dedicated to the Academy of Ancient Music "in whose school I was educated". Cooke's further association with Pepusch is discussed later in this chapter.

20 Porta's 'Vobis datum est' is also printed at the end of G. M. Artusi's L'Artusi, ovvero, Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica (Venice, 1600), from which no doubt Pepusch's copy was made. Needler also copied it in Lbl: Add. MS 5054 (p. 145), perhaps for the Academy.
second he had written to Immyns on the same subject. Both letters appeared in Joseph Warren's sale catalogue (Puttick & Simpson: 23 May 1872) and as a single lot passed through the libraries of Julian Marshall and W. H. Cummings. The firm of Maggs Brothers listed the two letters separately in their 1931 sale catalogue, and thereafter they parted company. No trace of the earlier letter can now be found.

Hawkins had Pepusch's Diary in his possession when he wrote his History, and this Diary, now lost, told of a week's visit Pepusch made to his friend and pupil James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn, at his seat in Witham, Essex. during the summer of 1733. The letter quoted above, however, seems to have been written during a longer visit, perhaps in a subsequent year.

John Immyns served as copyist for the Academy and amanuensis to Pepusch, though not one surviving Pepusch manuscript can be linked with him. Immyns had apparently taken over responsibility for the Academy's young scholars in Pepusch's absence. He is best remembered today as the founder of the Madrigal Society in 1741.

Another reference to Pepusch's seminary at the Academy comes in the autumn of 1738, when Handel asked the managers for the services of

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21 Hawkins, History (1875), II, 885.
22 Immyn's authentic handwriting can be seen in Lbl: Add. MS 5055.
their choristers during the coming season of oratorio. 24 Samuel Howard, "the assistant" (presumably he had succeeded Immyns), was directed to accompany the boys to the theatre. The Academy agreed to a similar request in 1740.

In addition to the students of the Academy, there were other young musicians who came under Pepusch's private tutelage throughout his career in London. Monro, Salway, and possibly Rawlings were among his pupils at Cannons (see above, p. 191). There is a record of at least two young men who signed up as apprentices to Pepusch: Thomas Cole (son of Thomas) at £21. 10s. in 1715, and John Oliver (son of Dorothy, widow) at £20 in 1730. 25 Cole was probably that Mr Cole who played harpsichord solos at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 12 March 1720 and again on 18 March 1721. He later became organist at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, but died a lunatic on 20 April 1730. 26 Nothing is known of John Oliver.

Other pupils are mentioned in various sources, some of which cannot be otherwise corroborated. Their names are listed below, with the source which credits Pepusch as teacher. In the case of lesser-known figures a line or two of commentary has been added.

24 Doane, Musical Directory (1794), p. 79. This information has not been verified. It is not included in Deutsch, Handel (1955).
25 'The Apprentices of Great Britain, 1710-1762', Society of Genealogists, unpublished typescript (1921-28). See VI, 1208 for Cole; and XXII, 4295 for Oliver. I am indebted to Dr H. Diack Johnstone for drawing my attention to this reference.
26 Biographical Dictionary of Actors ..., (1973- ), III (1975), under "Cole".
Pupils of Pepusch who later became Professional Musicians

William Babel (c1684-1723)  Hawkins, History (1875), II, 826.


Travers dedicated his  Eighteen Canzonets  (c1745)  to Pepusch. 27


Samuel Howard (1710-1782)  Dictionary of National Biography (1949-50), under 'Pepusch'.


James Nares (1715-1783)  Dictionary of National Biography, under 'Pepusch'.


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27 The preface reads in part:

Sir, Tho' I know your Candour and Generosity to be such, that you are better pleased to do Acts of Courtesy, than in receiving thanks for them when done; Yet I must beg your acceptance of these small musical Performances, and with them (as a publick Testimony of Gratitude) my most sincere & hearty acknowledgements for your kind Instructions in the Science we profess.

... I shall therefore conclude with my earnest Wishes for the continuance of a Life so valuable as is yours to all Lovers of Virtue, or the true Study of Musick; that I may long enjoy your Friendship, and have the Happiness to approve myself, Sir, Your infinitely obliged and most humble Servant, John Travers.
George Berg (? - ?):
Nothing is known of Berg, except that he composed glees and catches in the 1760s. He may have been German.

John Bennet (? - 1784):
In the MS source cited, Burney says that Bennet played viola in the theatre and sometimes sang in choruses; "He knew the Laws of counterpoint very well, but had not a spark".

To this list of pupils who later became professional musicians may be added the following amateurs:

Miss Jackson (? - ?):
Née Harrison of Staffordshire, later married Benjamin Cooke. She was step-daughter to George Shelvocke (a beneficiary in Pepusch's Will) and worked with him at the General Post Office.

Sir John Turner (1712-1780):
Called to the Bar in 1736, and member of Parliament for King's Lynn (1739-74).

Juliana Osborne, Duchess of Leeds (1705-1794):
Became Duchess in 1725, and though she re-married in 1732, she continued to call herself the Dowager Duchess of Leeds until her death.

James Hamilton (1685-1776), Earl of Abercorn, and Lord Paisley

Travers, Boyce, Howard, Nares, Savage, and Cooke all went on to assume important positions in the major Cathedrals or in the Chapel Royal. With the exception of Boyce, all had a long and active association with the Academy of Ancient Music, and all but Travers and Savage
obtained doctorates from either Oxford or Cambridge. In a letter dated 10 January 1799, Dr J. W. Callcott wrote to A. F. Kollman, organist of the German Chapel, St. James's:

You must have heard frequently of the great reputation Dr. Pepusch enjoyed in this country. He came over here with a great stock of learning derived from the pure sources of the last century. ... He established a school which yet flourishes of which Dr. Boyce was one of the brightest ornaments.28

Indeed, Pepusch's influence can be traced through successive generations of pupils and teachers well into the nineteenth century, as the following genealogy will illustrate:

TABLE 7: Genealogy of Pepusch and his Pupils

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{T. Linley, Jr.} & \quad \text{Sir John Goss} \\
(1756-1778) & \quad (1800-1880) \\
\text{J. S. Smith} & \quad \text{T. Busby} \\
(1750-1836) & \quad (1775-1838) \\
\text{J. Battishill} & \quad \text{R. J. S. Stevens} \\
(1738-1801) & \quad (1757-1837) \\
\text{T. S. Dupuis} & \quad \text{Wm Jackson of Exeter} \\
(1730-1796) & \quad (1730-1803) \\
\text{T. Attwood} & \quad \text{Sir George Smart} \\
(1765-1838) & \quad (1776-1867) \\
\text{E. Ayrton} & \quad \text{T. A. Walmisley} \\
(1734-1808) & \quad (1814-1856) \\
\text{J. W. Holder} & \quad \text{Sir John Goss} \\
(1764-1832) & \\
\text{Cooke} & \quad \text{T. Greatorex} \\
(1758-1831) & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\footnote{L1: Add. MS 27689 (ff. 19-20). Callcott was collecting material for his Musical Grammarians (1806), and Kollman had been asked to compile certain biographies for a revision of Gerber's Lexicon (1812).}
Though Pepusch's own church compositions were soon forgotten, his teaching and example lived on in English church music through the work of his pupils and their successors, almost all of whom became leaders in the development of English cathedral music in the nineteenth century. It cannot be coincidence that a sense of tradition and heritage, an attitude which Pepusch must have inculcated in his scholars, can still be traced through an examination of surviving sale catalogues for the libraries of men such as Attwood, Ayrton, Stevens, and Smith. As A. Hyatt King has written,

There seems little doubt that the primum mobile, the great impetus to collecting on a large scale and to the related growth of musical scholarship [in England] came from Pepusch. Though he wrote little himself, his influence on a younger generation must have been powerful.29

Pepusch was an inveterate bibliophile. He was one of the first collectors who was a true musical scholar, combining curiosity about the musical history and theory of earlier ages with a practical interest in the performance of early music. He took pride in his conscious quest for new knowledge: he once told Charles Burney that, "When I was a young man ... I determined never to go to bed at night, till I knew something that I did not know in the morning".30 Pepusch was not only the driving force behind the establishment of handsome musical libraries at Cannons and the Academy of Ancient Music; he also amassed a personal library comprising performance scores, rare volumes of early theoretical treatises, and other old books. (For further information on Pepusch's bibliographic interests, including specific

30 Burney, History (1935), II, 987.
publications to which he subscribed and a list of the present location of certain volumes, manuscript and printed, from his library, see my article 'J. C. Pepusch: An 18th-century Musical Bibliophile', in Soundings, ix, 1981-82, pp. 11-28.) Perhaps his most famous acquisition was the manuscript volume of keyboard music now known as the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, which takes its name from a subsequent owner, Lord Fitzwilliam. Pepusch's special interest in early music may be seen in the sale catalogue for the library of John Gostling (Langford: 26 May 1777). Lot 73 "Musurgia seu Praxis Musicæ Autore Ottomaro Luscinio, 1536", has the note:

A most curious Dialogue on Music, illustrated with wooden cuts, and so scarce that Mr. Maittaire once took pains to abridge it in a letter to Dr. Pepusch, at the same time recommending it to him as worthy [of] the most diligent Research. [All in italics.] 31

By 1734, Pepusch's augmented library had no doubt outgrown the space available at his house in Boswell Court, and he moved into larger quarters in Fetter Lane, "the next door but one to the south corner...leading into Bartlett's-buildings." 32 Surviving tax accounts enable us to date the move precisely. Pepusch paid the Poor Rates on Boswell Court up to the end of October 1734, and his name first appears in the Land Tax Assessment for Fetter Lane in 1735; he paid £3. 2s. Od., the full tax for the year. 33 It may be concluded that the Pepusch

31 Michael Mattaire (1668-1747) was a scholar and antiquary whose laborious writings on topography and the classics earned him the reputation of being dull and "puzzle-headed". His magnificent library was sold in an auction lasting no less than forty-four evenings beginning in November 1748. The letter to Pepusch appears to have been lost.

32 Hawkins, History (1875), II, 885.

33 Guildhall, MS 11316/110, Land Tax Assessment, Fetter Lane, Parish of St. Andrew Holborn, Ward of Farringdon Without. Also for the years 1736 and 1737 (MSS 11316/113, and /116).
family took up residence at Fetter Lane some time in November or December 1734.

Pepusch was generous in making his library accessible to those who might benefit from it. William Oldys recorded in his diary two visits to the Fetter Lane address to inspect Pepusch's library. The first was on 7 July 1737:

Saw Dr. Pepusche [sic]; to have further talk about his rare old musical collections.  

And on 23 September 1737, Oldys wrote:

Dr. Pepusch offer'd me any intelligence or assistance from his antient collection of musick for a history of that art and its professors in England.  

Oldys never completed his proposed history. However, he worked with David Erskine Baker and Sir John Hawkins as a writer for The Universal Spectator, and Hawkins may have had access to his notes.  
In 1740, John Ward, a friend of Oldys and himself a Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College, published The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, in which he expressed his gratitude to Pepusch for communicating information from his large collection of manuscripts concerning

35 A Literary Antiquary, p. 15
36 A Literary Antiquary, p. 15, fn. 5. See also Percy A. Scholes, The Life of ... Sir John Hawkins (1953), pp. 119-20. For a discussion of Oldys as a collector and literary figure, see Lawrence Lipking, The Ordering of the Arts (1970), pp. 66-85. Lipking describes Pepusch as Hawkins' mentor (p. 267) and assumes that Oldys passed along to him the "manuscripts of Dr. Pepusch" (p. 236). I have found no evidence to support either claim; it will be shown below that Pepusch's library was dispersed following his death.
John Bull. Bull, as the first Gresham Professor of Music from 1596 to 1607, held a great interest for Ward; conveniently for us, he listed the volumes (sometimes with a note on their contents) then in Pepusch's possession.37

Pepusch must have been delighted when in 1738 he was able to establish contact with a celebrated continental bibliophile. On 23 July he began a correspondence with the theorist, teacher, and composer Padre Giambattista Martini of Bologna, with a view to the exchange of musical scores and books. Even when excited by the prospect of obtaining some valuable items for his own library, Pepusch did not forget his students. He asked Martini,

Si lei ha qualche libri o publicati in stampa o manuscritti per l'organo o cembalo per far la mano alli giovani o in mani[e]ra di fughe o ricercate o toccate lei mi fera piacere di mandarmi qualche cosa.38

Pepusch seems to have lent scores from his library to enable others

37 Lives of the Professors of Gresham College (1740), II, 203-8. See also my article 'J. C. Pepusch ...', in Soundings, ix (1981-82), 11-28. Burney makes the rather harsh comment that "It has been said, that the late Dr. Pepusch preferred Bull's compositions to those of Couperin and Scarlatti, ... an assertion which rather proves the Doctor's taste was bad, than Bull's Music good". [History (1935), II, 95-96.]

38 I-Be: MS I. 23, ff. 45-46. This appears to be the only letter of the correspondence to survive.

If you have any books either printed or in manuscript for the organ or harpsichord to give practice to the hands of the young in the style of fugue or ricercar or toccata, you would favour me in sending me something.

to make copies of motets and madrigals that were not otherwise available. Several such copies are mentioned in the Word Books of the Academy of Ancient Music, or survive in manuscript with the note "From an ancient Manuscript in Dr Pepusch's Library", or something similar.39

It is regrettable that his priceless library, which had proved such a treasure-house for his fellow musicians and scholars, should have suffered the same fate as so many other private collections: it was broken up after his death. By the terms of Pepusch's will (see below, p. 342), all printed or manuscript scores and parts suitable for performance were bequeathed to his beloved Academy of Ancient Music. The remaining books and treatises were divided equally between his pupil John Travers and Ephraim Kellner (d. 1762). The latter, a compatriot of Pepusch, was a bass player in the theatre band; nothing else is known of his life. Little did Pepusch realize that not one of the three beneficiaries would take steps to preserve the volumes as a collection for posterity. Kellner's library became the centre of a legal wrangle after his death and was eventually auctioned in 1763; three years later, Travers' was also sold by auction. The Academy's library, according to Hawkins "perhaps the most valuable repository of musical treasure in Europe", was dispersed soon after the dissolution of the Academy in 1792.40 Today, only a few volumes from Dr Pepusch's cherished library can still be traced.

Shortly after William Oldys had inspected Pepusch's library at

39 The titles and sources are listed in my article, 'J. C. Pepusch...', see above, fn. 37.
40 Account of ... the Academy of Ancient Music (1770), p. 9.
Fetter Lane in September 1737, the organistship of the Charterhouse fell vacant on the death of Thomas Love: through the influence of his pupil, the Duchess of Leeds, Pepusch obtained the position, whose light duties and quiet residence well suited his academic vocation. His former patron, the Duke of Chandos, was at this time a Governor of the Charterhouse and may also have helped him to secure the appointment. Pepusch's election was minuted on 2 December 1737:

Dr Pepusch Organist. Whereas Mr Love late Organist to this hospital is dead, we do nominate and elect John Christopher Pepusch Dr in Musick to be Organist in ye room and place of ye said Mr Love deceased.42

Before the end of the month, the Pepusch family had moved into the organist's apartment at the Charterhouse, which adjoined the music gallery in the Great Hall.43 While most men his age might have welcomed complete retirement (given an adequate pension), Pepusch, now aged 70, embarked on what is best described as a twilight career; a final chapter, but not an epilogue to his life.

The Charterhouse, as its name suggests, had originally been established as a Carthusian monastery in 1371. The House was dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII and for a time became a nobleman's residence. It was purchased in 1611 by Thomas Sutton and converted into a hospital (i.e., a residence for pensioners) and a school for poor children. In the early eighteenth century it accommodated eighty pensioners (with

41 Hawkins, History (1875), II, 907.
42 'Charterhouse Assembly Orders' (MS volume preserved in the Charterhouse), under the year 1737, p. 373. See also Gentleman's Magazine (1737), p. 767.
43 The house in Fetter Lane was unoccupied throughout 1738 (Guildhall, MS 11316/119).
the prerequisite that they must be respectable, religious, and gentlemen by descent) and forty poor boys. 44 Joseph Addison and Richard Steele first met as Charterhouse boys, and John Wesley was another alumnus. Music was merely an adjunct to a syllabus that principally emphasized classical studies. In the Rules and Orders printed in 1748, which were strictly enforced, there was no regulation governing either music or the chapel, except that all residents were required to receive communion at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. But the position of organist was by no means a sinecure, and the duties included "teaching the poor scholars to sing, and playing the organ at Divine Service". 45 Philip Bearcroft (Preacher, 1724-53) and Nicholas Mann (Master, 1737-53) would between them have superintended the work of the Reader, the Sexton, and the Organist. 46

Attempts to document Pepusch's life at the Charterhouse are frustrated by the scantiness and inaccessibility of the records. The Institution's vaults sustained severe bomb damage in 1940, and those documents that were salvaged remain uncatalogued and are not open to the researcher. Apparently no eighteenth-century musical manuscripts survive. It is unlikely that mattins and evensong were sung daily;

44 Charter-House, Its Foundation and History (1849), pp. 70, 87. The Charterhouse, or Sutton's Hospital as it is sometimes called, still exists. The school has now moved to Godalming, Surrey, but the ancient buildings remain a shelter for the aged. Within a stone's throw of the bustle of Smithfield market, the Charterhouse Chapel and grounds (long since reduced from the original twelve acres) provide an unexpected oasis of silence and historic beauty.

45 Charter-House (1849), p. 64. The duties could not have been heavy: Pepusch's successor, John Jones, held the post for forty-three years while concurrently organist both of St. Paul's and the Temple Church.

46 [Robert Smythe], Historical Account of Charter-House (1808), p. 293.
the principal service would probably have been Sunday mattins. We may be sure that Pepusch was called upon for a special music effort on Founder's Day, 12 December (the day of Sutton's interment in 1614). The observance began in the chapel with a solemn service and sermon, followed by an oration (in Latin) in the Governor's Room. The rest of the day was given over to social enjoyments and a banquet. No evidence survives to suggest that Pepusch composed special anthems for these annual celebrations, or was expected to. Indeed, none of Pepusch's surviving compositions can be linked with his years at the Charterhouse. For the celebrations in 1748, however, it seems that Pepusch took the occasion to introduce a new anthem by his pupil Benjamin Cooke; 'Let all the just to God with joy'. Cooke composed a second anthem for 1749, 'How good and pleasant', which was repeated in 1750 and 1751. Both works are scored for soli, SATB chorus, two treble instruments and continuo. Presumably the instrumentalists and some of the singers were specially engaged for the performances.

While the Charterhouse may have provided an ideal retreat for Pepusch's scholarly pursuits, he was not prepared to seclude himself completely from the every-day musical life of London. Granted, he no longer appeared as a performer in the concert rooms. The last mention

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48 R. J. S. Stevens, the organist after Jones, did not supply original music for Founder's Day in 1819 and 1820; instead he chose works by Negri (see Lam: MS 57, f. 1, and MS 58, f. 1).
49 Both anthems are preserved in Lcm: MS 806 and are inscribed as performed "in the Hall of the Charter-House on Founder's Day", with the date.
of Pepusch in the newspaper advertisements appeared some months before he moved to the Charterhouse, and records his benefit concert at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on 29 April 1737. Lord Percival was there: "I dined at home, and in the evening went to Mr. Pebuch's concert at the Crown and Anchor". Pepusch did, however, continue to play a prominent role in the private concerts at the Academy of Ancient Music.

The "Acts of Courtesy" to which Travers referred in his dedication of his Eighteen Canzonets (see above, p. 322) were presumably such actions as we can trace in 1738, when Pepusch lent his support as one of the founding members of Michael Festing's Society for the Support of Decay'd Musicians. Travers may also have had in mind Pepusch's continuing interest in and patronage of new publications: his name appears frequently in subscription lists, including those for his former students Boyce (Twelve Sonatas for Two Violins, 1747) and Nares (Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord, 1747). He also subscribed to four Handel operas, adding his son's name for Faramondo (1738). Two years later, in 1740, Pepusch, Galliard and Greene jointly provided a written endorsement to James Grassineau's Musical Dictionary. Burney and Hawkins both state that Grassineau served as amanuensis to Pepusch and that the Doctor had supervised the compilation of the Dictionary, though these claims have not been proved. Other evidence

50 Historical MSS Commission, 63, Egmont Diary, II, 396. It is surprising that, after an association of ten years with the Academy, Lord Percival not only spelled Pepusch's name incorrectly, but also referred to him as "Mr"; all other references later than 1713 give him the title "Dr". The concert was billed as music "Antient and Modern", but was in all probability not mounted by the Academy of Ancient Music.

51 A list of the first subscribers is given in Deutsch, Handel (1955), p. 459. The Society received its charter in 1790 and still exists today as the Royal Society of Musicians.
of his interest in the coming generation of musicians is found among a bundle of uncatalogued appointment and resignation papers now preserved in the Lichfield Joint Record Office: a testimonial to John Alcock's musical ability and to his musical education under Charles King and John Stanley bears the signatures of King, Stanley (by rubber stamp), John Robinson, and J. C. Pepusch.52

Pepusch's own son displayed great musical talent, but his promising career was abruptly terminated by premature death. Burney says that the boy, an only child, died in 1739; Hawkins gives no date but states that he died before his thirteenth birthday (i.e. c1736). Hawkins is definitely wrong, since master Pepusch was alive on 7 January 1738, when The Craftsman carried Walsh's first call for subscriptions for the printing of Faramondo. An examination of the Charterhouse burial records, however, casts some doubt also on Burney's date of 1739.53 From 1710 to 1754, the only surviving records of burials cover the brief period from January 1739 to June 1741, and these contain no entry for young Pepusch. Unless he was buried elsewhere, and this seems unlikely, then his death must have occurred either between 7 January and the end of December 1738, or shortly after June 1741. The earlier dating would provide a compromise between Burney and Hawkins and would also support the view that the son died at a tender age -- about 15 in 1738. The reviewer of Hawkins' History, writing in the Gentleman's Magazine (1777), p. 273, attributed the boy's death to an unusual and improbable cause:

52 I am grateful to P. B. Marr for drawing my attention to this document.
53 Registers and Monumental Inscriptions of Charterhouse Chapel, Harleian Society, XVIII (1892).
Dr. Pepusch's son, we must add, died in consequence of a surfeit by eating cucumber, when heated by playing at cricket.

During the Charterhouse period, Pepusch apparently became fascinated by Greek music, a subject which held little interest for the practical musician of the day and was left entirely to scholars. In 1745 he presented a paper, 'Of the various Genera and Species of Music among the Ancients', to the Royal Society; the work was subsequently published in *Philosophical Transactions*, XLIV (1746). Pepusch may have been assisted in drawing up the paper by the mathematician Abraham de Moivre (1667-1754) and his pupil, George Lewis Scott (1708-1780), with perhaps some further help from Sir John Turner. The thesis added nothing new to the existing body of knowledge regarding the Greek Genera, and it received little attention. Scott referred to it in several articles on music theory and science in his *Supplement to Chambers' Cyclopaedia* (1753), and Hawkins spoke of it rather critically in his *History* (I, 39). Callcott, in his letter of 10 January 1799 to Kollman (see above, p. 113), came to Pepusch's defence: it was his opinion that the paper had been

Undeservedly censured by our English Historian Hawkins & totally unnoticed by your countryman Forkel in his History as far as I have yet observed.

It may have been the memory of this learned paper that was to

54 Burney, History (1935), II, 988. According to Burney, neither de Moivre nor Scott had much regard for Pepusch's scholarship. The former used to call him "a stupid German dog, who could neither count four, nor understand any one that did". Turner, it will be remembered, was probably a pupil of Pepusch (see above, p. 323.

55 Forkel did make a passing reference to Pepusch's essay in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Volume I (1788). He also mentioned Pepusch in connection with Grassineau's Dictionary.
call down accusations of pedantry upon Pepusch's head; at the time, however, it enabled Pepusch to realize his burning ambition to join certain of his colleagues from the Academy of Ancient Music and become a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was elected on 13 June 1745, at the age of 78. It comes as a surprise, though, to discover that the name of Pepusch, a graduate of Oxford and for forty-five years a leading figure in the musical life of London, was listed by the Society under "Persons of other Nations": he had never taken the trouble to be naturalized.56

Pepusch must have transmitted his ideas on Greek musical theory to the young Benjamin Cooke, who, about the year 1769, was stimulated to write down a number of his own thoughts on the subject. Cooke's biographer explained that "Kirkman ... had constructed some harpsichords on Dr. Smith's principles, dividing the G sharp and A flat &c. ... and Mr. Cooke had been worried for his and his master's [Pepusch's?] ideas and opinions on the subject".57 Cooke's manuscript, deposited in the British Library, was destroyed by bombing in World War II. Another of his manuscripts, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, has a note on a similar type of instrument once owned by Pepusch:

Dr Pepusch had an Instrument which I well remember; the sharps and flats were all cut cross ways in two peices [sic], and a key inserted between the natural Semitones; but he never us'd it, and in all the Years I knew it, it was never once attempted to be put in tune; as I understood this was a difficult matter; it was only a Spinet, and at last he parted with it, but to whom I know not.58

56 'A List of the Fellows of the Royal Society' (single sheets printed annually; the British Library has bound these together for the years 1664 to 1767). Pepusch is listed for 1746 to 1752.
58 Ob(n): Tenbury MS 1344, f. 132. Notes written chiefly in response to Dr Smith's theories on harmony; MS was completed before April 1786.
Over the years, Pepusch had built up an enviable reputation as a teacher of composition. He is sometimes credited with *A Short Treatise on Harmony*, published anonymously in 1730, with a revised edition in 1731 under the title *A Treatise on Harmony*. It is more than likely that the work was in fact compiled by his pupil, James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn, who no doubt would have based it on Pepusch's theoretical principles. As a nobleman, Hamilton may have preferred an anonymous publication. He may have been assisted in drawing up the diagrams by his friend Brooke Taylor (1685-1731), a mathematician with an interest in music.

There is even less reason to ascribe to Pepusch the *Rules, On a Short and Compleat Method for attaining to Play a Thorough Bass*, written by "An eminent Master", included in John Walsh's Catalogue No. 18 under Pepusch's name, along with the *Treatise on Harmony* discussed above. The *Rules ... for attaining to Play a Thorough Bass*, published about 1730, had appended to it a dictionary of musical terms, which was a reprint of *A Short Explication of such Foreign Words...*, first published by J. Brotherton in 1724. There is no further evidence that Pepusch was the author of either the *Rules* or the dictionary.

A manuscript volume in the hand of Benjamin Cooke (*Lcm*: MS 823) contains notes on theory covering a period from 1745 to 1751, during

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59 This hypothesis is put forward by both Burney (History, 1935, II, 987) and Hawkins (History, 1875, II, 885). John G. Williams, 'J. C. Pepusch' (1975), discusses Pepusch's work as a theoretician, with special reference to *A Short Treatise on Harmony*, in Chapter 7 of his dissertation. Williams accepts Pepusch as the author.
which time he was a pupil of Pepusch. The manuscript includes over thirty canons labelled "the Doctor's", each dated weekly from 16 January to 8 September 1751, obviously the products of weekly lessons in counterpoint at the Charterhouse. The final item reads, "The 1st part of the following melody wrote by the Doctor Sept. 8, finished by BC Sep: 11" [1751] -- less than a year before Pepusch's death. The theoretical notes are similar in content to Lbl: Add. MS 29429, 'Notes on Harmony', supposedly a Pepusch autograph. It is possible that a few examples may be in Pepusch's hand, but this collection of miscellaneous folios on harmony is the work of several scribes. The chart of the hexachord and Guidonian scale (f. 13) exhibits the neat and meticulous hand characteristic of Henry Needler; a similar example is found in Ckc: MS 251 (ff. 21v-23). Other portions of Add. MS 29429 have the phrase, "but the Doctor says"; these are possibly copied by Cooke. Both the hand and the content are similar to Lbl: Add. MS 29298, and Ob(n): Tenbury MS 1344, each of which is a Cooke autograph. Cooke may also have been the copyist for 'A Short Account of the Twelve Modes of Composition and their Progression in every Octave'. 60 This treatise was apparently dictated by Pepusch in his latter years, but was never published. I have been unable to trace a copy of it.

Henry Carey, the theatre musician and poet, paid tribute to Pepusch's skill in the science of music with these lines from the poem 'The Laurel-Grove; or, the Poet's Tribute to Music and Merit':

60 First mentioned by W. H. Husk in his article on Pepusch in Grove's Dictionary (1884).
Lovers and connoisseurs of sound agree
That musick's art, Pepusch! owes much to thee;
For thou, a painful champion of her cause,
Hast methodiz'd her controverted laws.
Thy long unwearied labour and deep thought
Her problems have to demonstration brought,
Whose rules, unerring, such conviction give
That till the science dies thy name must live.61

Pepusch's wife, his companion since about 1706, had lived long enough to share the satisfaction of his election to the Royal Society in 1745, but died in the following year. Cooke noted the sad event in his diary under Sunday, 10 August 1746:

I was at the (Surrey) Chapel in the morning, but in the afternoon went to Vauxhall with the Doctor, Mrs. Pepusch being dead.62

The London Evening-Post for 12-14 August 1746 gives further details:

On Tuesday was privately interr'd in the Charter-house Burying-Ground, the Wife of the learned Dr. Pepusch. She died last Friday [i.e. 8 August], and was formerly deservedly famous, under the Name of Signora Margaretta.63

Now alone, the octagenarian lived on, cheered only by his books and by the steady procession of visitors -- pupils, academics and

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62 Unfortunately, Cooke's diary is now lost. This fragment from it is quoted in the sale catalogue of the library of James Shoubridge (Puttick & Simpson: 30 June 1873), in which the diary is listed as Item 352. No buyer is noted. The reference to Vauxhall is to the pleasure gardens in that part of Westminster. There is no evidence to link Pepusch professionally with either Vauxhall Gardens or other similar entertainments at Marylebone and Ranelagh.
63 No burial records for the Charterhouse survive for this period, nor is there any reference to Mrs Pepusch in Monumental Inscriptions (1892). Burney and Hawkins both give the date of death incorrectly as 1740.
friends -- who came to see him at the Charterhouse. He would surely have welcomed George Shelvocke, for instance, who had been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1744. On 29 April 1748, Mrs Rich, second wife of the theatre patentee and a zealous convert to Methodism, took Charles Wesley to see Pepusch, "whose music entertained us much, and his conversation more". There is no evidence to suggest that Pepusch was interested in Methodism, though while living in Fetter Lane he was a neighbour to the Fetter Lane Meeting House of the Methodists. It is nevertheless conceivable that his contact with Wesley encouraged him to compose the two hymn-tunes mentioned above (p. 201).

Two months after Charles Wesley's visit, Wesley's brother John called at his alma mater and spent an hour or two talking with Pepusch. According to John Wesley's journal, the old Doctor asserted that

The art of music is lost; that the ancients only understood it in its perfection; that it was revived a little in the reign of King Henry VIII by Tallis and his contemporaries; as also in the reign of Queen Elizabeth who was a judge and patroness of it; that, after her reign, it sunk for sixty or seventy years, till Purcell made some attempts to restore it; but that ever since the time, ancient art, depending on nature and mathematical principles, had gained no ground, the present masters having no fixed principles at all.

Dr Fiske reads this as a reflection on Handel as one of "the present masters"; but, while Handel must be included among them, Wesley's words afford little foundation for the notion that Pepusch

64 Pepusch, for all his antiquarian interests, was never a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; his name is not found in 'A List of the Members ... 1717-1796' (1798).
disliked Handel or his music. The picture of Pepusch as a sullen rival who resented having to acknowledge Handel's superior merit, painted by both Hawkins and Burney, has no other evidence to support it. Pepusch and Handel had been colleagues and collaborators at Cannons; the programmes of the Academy of Ancient Music, for which Pepusch had probably been mainly responsible, included many of Handel's compositions; and Pepusch had subscribed to several of Handel's published operas. While the relationship may not always have been cordial -- they were, after all, rivals -- the belief that a deep-seated animosity existed between the two masters cannot be substantiated.67

It is a pity that Hawkins and Burney did not know Pepusch when he was a sought-after performer at the public concerts and a composer of sonatas, cantatas, and theatre pieces in the latest Italian fashion. Instead, they met him only at the end of his days at the Charterhouse, as a kindly if somewhat austere academic whose ideas were out of key with prevailing thought, and whose music, so far as they knew it at all, contained anachronisms offensive to their own modern tastes. As Quantz said in 1752, "The old musicians complain of the melodic extravagances of the young, and the young mock the dryness of the old".68

At the age of 85, and now in failing health, Pepusch made his Will,


which is still preserved in the Public Record Office. The will has not been printed before and is given here in its entirety; some punctuation has been added for clarity.

I, John Christopher Pepusch of the Charterhouse, in the County of Middlesex, Doctor in Musick, do declare this to be my last Will and Testament. I give to Benjamin Cooke, George Berg and Joseph Bryan, to each of them, one five guineas piece of gold. I give to Miss Thomas the sum of five guineas. To Mr John Travers, I give my gold Medal, presented me by the Musick Academy. My Watch I give to Mr John Helot. My gold Snuff box I give to Mrs Needler, wife of Mr Needler of the Excise Office. I give to Elizabeth Goudge, my Servant, Two guineas, beside what is due to her. To Elizabeth Sheppard, who has attended me lately, Three guineas. All my moveables, books of Musick and others, I give to the said John Travers and to Ephraim Kellner, equally to be divided between them; except such Musick printed or written in parts ready to be performed which may be useful to the Academy of antient Musick, meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, which Musick I give to the said Academy. I give my own Portrait in my glass Scrutore [escritoire?] to George Shelvocke, Esquire, of the Post Office. All my Wearing Apparel I give to Mr John Warecker. All the residue of my Money, Effects, and Estate whatsoever, I give and bequeath to the said John Travers and Ephraim Kellner, to be equally divided between them. And of this my Will, I appoint Nicholas Mann, Esquire, Master of the Charterhouse, Executor: In Witness whereof I have to this my last Will set my hand and seal, the 9th day of July 1752. [Signed] Pepusch.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the said John Christopher Pepusch, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who at his request have subscribed our Names as Witnesses thereto, in the presence of the said Testator and of each other. [Signed] Tho: Melmoth. J. S. Colepepper.

Of the beneficiaries either not mentioned previously in this dissertation or not identified in the Will, it may be conjected that Joseph Bryan was a pupil of Pepusch, and John Warecker perhaps a pensioner at the Charterhouse. Nothing is known of the others. The

witnesses both were officers of the Charterhouse; Thomas Melmouth was Registrar and Solicitor, and John Spencer Colepepper, Receiver. An addendum, dated 21 May 1753 and placed at the end of the Will, informs us that Nicholas Mann subsequently renounced his execution of the Will and that its administration was then assigned jointly to Travers and Kellner.

Pepusch's scrawled signature, without the usual initials, indicates severe infirmity. He died eleven days later, on Monday, 20 July. The Gentleman's Magazine (1752) printed this obituary under the list of deaths for 20 July (p. 337).70

Dr. Pepusch, organist of the Charterhouse, celebrated for his learning as well as fine composition and skill in musick.

Richard Rawlinson provides an account of the funeral service in the Chapel of the Charterhouse on 23 July:

His corpse was interred in the Chapell of the Charter House and was attended by the Gentlemen and the children of the Academy of antient musick (of which he was the chief) together with some of the Choristers of St Pauls, who all sing [sic] an anthem as well as ... part of the Funeral Service.71

In August, Richard Leveridge, himself now over 80, wrote two acrostics on Pepusch as a memorial to his friend. These two veterans

70 See also General Advertiser for 22 July 1752, Covent-Garden Journal for 25 July 1752, and London Daily Advertiser for 22 July 1752. The latter wrongly states "Yesterday died" (i.e. 21 July).

71 Ob: Rawl MS J. fol 4, f. 202 (bound in reverse). The item, under the heading 'Joan. [sic] Christoph. Pepusch', includes a eulogy on Pepusch's "virtues of generosity and extensive beneficence".
of the London theatre had been associates for over fifty years. The first poem was apparently addressed to the Doctor's scholars:  

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Prepare, prepare all sons of harmony,
Exert your deepest skill in melody;
Pepusch commands! His pow'r all must obey,
Under the influence of his mighty sway.
Such is your duty, such the debt you owe
(Contracted from his learning, well you know)
Honour his name and sing the notes below.

Great Pepusch, patron of musick;
Let every voice sound out your name,
To honour the rolls of endless fame.
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This acrostic was set to recitative by Benjamin Cooke, with the final three lines set to the tune of 'Non nobis Domine', the canon now associated with the Academy of Ancient Music. Leveridge's second acrostic has no music, but a manuscript note advises that "These lines are proper to be put under a Picture".

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Patron of Musick, Prince of Harmony,
Eternal Honours justly wait on Thee.
Posterity with Pride shall sound your Name;
Upon the loudest Instruments of Fame;
Such is your Worth, that round the World 'twill raise Contention who shall give the greatest Praise;
Had I the Pow'r 'tw'oud [sic] crown my Head with Bays.  
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George Shelvocke paid a more intimate tribute to his close friendship with Pepusch by engraving the back of Pepusch's portrait by Zincke, mounted in gold, with the following inscription:

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72 Lcm: (Cooke Collection), MS 806, f. 1.

73 Lcm: (Cooke Collection), MS 806, f. 2v. An alternative last line has been added in the same hand as the original words: "Had I the Pow'r 'tw'oud crown the Head (with Bays) of Richard Leveridge".
Bequeathed to G. Shelvocke Esq., G. P. O. by the last will and testament of J. C. Pepusch, Doctor of Music in the university of Oxford, the most learned and as such the most excellent of his profession: died 1752.  

Pepusch was still highly thought of as a scholar and theorist in 1800, when Callcott wrote that everyone in London "estimates the musical learning of Pepusch very high & Berlin may justly boast of having produced though it may blush not to have retained so great a Theorist". But the epithet "the learned Dr Pepusch", applied as a mark of distinction during Pepusch's lifetime, soon became a stigma that prejudiced the opinions of historians and obscured his true value as a composer and practising musician. The present study has attempted to put this aside and, within the framework of a biographical survey, to document Pepusch's activity as a leading figure in English music throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. The brevity of our discussion of his instrumental and church compositions and of his scholarly interests is not meant to imply that these are unimportant, and I hope to take up their challenge in a later study. There was not room in a dissertation dealing with so long a life and such a very wide range of interests and activities, to look in detail at every aspect of Pepusch's work; only his substantial contribution to English theatre music, therefore, could be treated with the full critical attention it deserved.

Pepusch had arrived in London in the late 1690s as an experienced composer of instrumental music, and he continued to supply sonatas

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74 [H. Cooke], Account of Doctor Cooke (1837), p. 5. Dr Cooke, as we have mentioned, married Shelvocke's step-daughter (see above, p. 323). The present location of this portrait is not known.

75 Lbl: Add. MS 27688, ff. 15-16 (reversing the volume); letter, Callcott to Kollman, dated 25 August 1800.
and concertos for public concerts until about 1714. Throughout this period, he was also active in the theatre band and participated in the production of the first Italian operas in London. He was not, however, inspired or invited to compose for the Opera House; instead, he chose, very early on, to follow a compromise course, setting English words after the Italian manner, first in cantatas and later, when the opportunity presented itself, in the masques that he composed for Drury Lane. Pepusch's cantatas are more sophisticated in musical structure and style than those of his London contemporaries and are among the finest examples of the genre in England. His best dramatic music comes from 1714-16, the period of concentrated activity at Drury Lane, and includes his most elaborate and extended works, the four Italianate masques which have been the main focus of this study. While their popularity was short-lived, these dramatic miniatures provided an important link in the tradition, if not in the musical style, of the English masque. In the years that separate Purcell and Arne, Pepusch's masques served to keep alive some interest in all-sung musical drama to English words at a time when Italian opera was otherwise suffocating such efforts. It has been shown that the cantatas and masques represent Pepusch as a composer of real skill and melodic invention, and we hope to have corrected the commonly-held view that his music is dull and unimaginative. For all his German birth and training, Pepusch well deserves a place in the forefront of those minor composers before 1730 who strove to maintain and extend the native traditions of London theatre music.

Pepusch wrote much less music after 1720, and the few works for the stage which were composed after this date are not of great importance. These are generally less Italianate than their predecessors,
and Pepusch seems to have been less at home in this new style. Throughout the 1720s, Pepusch appears to have been content to manage the musical affairs of Cannons and Lincoln's Inn Fields and to leave the composing of new theatre pieces to Galliard and others. By then, though, his reputation was well established as a prominent composer and the chief of the circle of playhouse musicians.

It is difficult, at this distance in time, to estimate Pepusch's contribution as a practical musician to the musical life of his period. The fruits of the composer's labours may be preserved for posterity's judgement, but one cannot really assess the merit of a long-dead performer, only gather together what is explicit and implicit in the judgements of his contemporaries. Certainly, Pepusch's excellence as a continuo player was applauded by those who attended the concert rooms and theatres, and his prestige and influence as a musical director at Cannons and at the playhouses was considerable. He was unquestionably the presiding spirit of the Academy of Ancient Music; add to this his role as a teacher, and we see that the number of leading musicians in several spheres who came under his tutelage or influence at one time or another during his long life was truly remarkable.

His reputation has nevertheless faded with time. The cantata Alexis alone sustained the memory of his music down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when it, too, was forgotten. The "endless fame", so optimistically pledged by Richard Leveridge, has hitherto been confined, ironically, to Pepusch's minor and uncharacteristic involvement in The Beggar's Opera. Perhaps the present study will serve to stimulate a juster appreciation of this most unusual musician.

* * *
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MOTTEUX, P[eter]. Thomyris, Queen of Scythia. An Opera, as it is Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Most Humbly Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Ryalton, By P. Motteux (London, 1707)

(C) LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES RELATING TO PEPUSCH AND THE THEATRE

Note: Sources are listed alphabetically by country and city; volumes are then listed numerically by call-number, without regard for letter prefix (if any). Manuscript sources of compositions by Pepusch are listed separately below, Volume II, Appendix (B).

Bundesrepublik Deutschland (West Germany)

Hanover, Niedersächsisches Haupstaatsarchiv


Great Britain

Glasgow, Euing Music Library

R. d. 23: Manuscript volume of anthems by William Savage, with his biography written by his pupil Richard John Samuel Stevens, Charterhouse, February 1829.

Lichfield, Joint Record Office

A bundle of uncatalogued appointment and resignation papers labelled 'Vicars'; signed testimonial to John Alcock's musical ability, 1746.

London, British Library (Department of Manuscripts)

Egerton 2159: Theatrical documents, containing an autograph letter from Pepusch to Dr Baxter (f. 41, 3 January 1722), as well as an undated copyist's bill (c1716) at Drury Lane, bearing Pepusch's signature (f. 37).

Egerton 2267: Account-Book for Covent Garden Theatre, 1735-36

Egerton 2422: Index to English Songs, compiled by T. Oliphant.

Add. 5060: Theoretical principles (with musical examples), presumably by Pepusch, copied probably by Henry Needler, c1750.

Add. 11258: Francis Coleman's Opera Register, Queen's Theatre (later, King's) in the Haymarket, 1712-34.

Add. 11732: "Orders Agreed to by Members of the Academy of Vocal Music [i.e. Academy of Ancient Music], Fryday, Jan' ye 7th, 1725/26"; contains lists of subscribers, financial accounts, and resolutions to May 1731.

Add. 25390-92: "Notitia Dramatica 1702-1795", in three volumes, compiled by Isaac Reid.

Add. 27674, xxiv: copy of Pepusch's paper on the Genera and Species (Royal Society), from a collection of 36 volumes made by John Wall Callcott for a proposed dictionary of music.

Add. 27688-89: letters, J. W. Callcott to A. F. Kollman, throughout to period 1798-1803; several mentions of Pepusch's theoretical principles.

Add. 29429: various papers relating to harmony, and modes of the ancients, presumably by Pepusch, but NOT autograph.

Add. 32249-52: Theatre playbills, collected by Frederick Latreille. i. 1702-20, ii. 1720-31, iii. 1731-39, and iv. 1739-46


Add. 48345: unbound collection of musical memoirs by Charles Burney, c1740-50.

London, The Charterhouse
Charterhouse Assembly Orders, 1737.
London, Gresham College (Guildhall Library)

11316/110, /113, and /116: Land Tax Assessment for Fetter Lane, Parish of St. Andrew Holborn, Ward of Farringdon Without, 1735-37

London, Public Record Office

The following manuscript volumes contain papers relating to the office of the Lord Chamberlain in the early eighteenth century:

L.C. 5/154
L.C. 5/155
L.C. 7/3

PROB. 10.2134 ERD/1048: Original copy of Pepusch's Will (July 1752)

London, Royal College of Music

806: Anthems by Benjamin Cooke. Also contains two acrostics on Pepusch by Richard Leveridge.

823: Exercises in harmony by Benjamin Cooke.

2142: A history of opera in London; manuscript copy of lectures given by E. Taylor at Gresham College, c1847.

2151: English church music; manuscript copy of lectures given by E. Taylor at Gresham College, 1847.

London, Parish of Stanmore Parva (Whitchurch), Edgware

Vestry minute-book and parish registers for 1671-1729.

London, Westminster Central Library

Overseers Accounts: Boswell Court, Shere Lane Ward, 1707-1735.


Oxford, Bodleian Library

J. fo1. 4: "Continuation of Wood's Athenae Oxonienses", by Richard Rawlinson, c1740-55.

Oxford, New Bodleian Library


Italy

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale

I. 23: Correspondence of Padre Martini; autograph letter, Pepusch to Martini, 23 July 1738.

United States of America

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Houghton Library (Harvard Theatre Collection)

Thr 464.4.15*: Papers belonging to Vice-Chamberlain Coke, c1700-10.

New York, N.Y., Public Library

Drexel 1968: copy of papers belonging to Vice-Chamberlain Coke.

San Marino, California, The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

The following volumes belong to the collection known as the Stowe manuscripts (ST), which contain documents relating to the domestic and financial affairs of James Brydges, Duke of Chandos.

ST 24, i-ii: correspondence.


ST 57, xv, xvi, xxvi, xxxix: correspondence.

ST 66: catalogue of the instruments and musical library belonging to the Duke; as compiled by Mr Noland, and subscribed by Pepusch on 23 August 1720.

ST 82: accounts for 1722-32.

ST 83: inventory of Cannons, 1725.


HM LO 8340: correspondence of Hugh Campbell, Earl of Londoun, c1718.
Stanford, California, The Stanford University Libraries
(Department of Special Collections)

Number 94, Letter from Pepusch to John Immyns, undated, but about 1734. A single folio manuscript copy of Porta's 'Vobis datum est nosce misterium' is attached to the letter.

Washington, D. C., The Folger Shakespeare Library

The following volumes contain miscellaneous bills and receipts for the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

Y. d. 95: 1713-16
W. b. 110: 1713-16
W. b. 111: 1714-16

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