MUSIC AND THE ARTS in England, c. 1670–1750

Edited by
Ina Knoth

Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670–1750

Edited by
Ina Knoth

2020

Published by
musiconn.publish
<https://musiconn.qucosa.de/>

Dresden, December 2020

This publication including its contributions are available under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International \(CC BY-NC-SA 4.0\)](#) licence.

Title: Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670–1750
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25366/2020.112>

Edited by Ina Knoth
Bookdesign by Sebastian Bolz
Front cover collage by Lennart Lamoller

musiconn.publish has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such website is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

The digital reproduction rights for all illustrations were either obtained by the authors or granted by public domain licences. However, in case of suspected copyright infringement, please contact the editor or the publisher.

This publication contains contributions first read at the conference “Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670–1750”, held at the Universität Hamburg, 27–29 June 2019. The conference and this publication were sponsored by the Universität Hamburg, the Mariann-Steegmann-Foundation, the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung and the Forum Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Hamburg e. V.

Contents

- 1 How to Deal with Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670–1750?
Some Introductory Remarks

INA KNOTH

Socio-Cultural Contexts

- 13 Sites and Sounds: The Cultural Topography of English Music,
1670–1750

JOHN BREWER

- 33 „training [...] at his father’s hands and at those of the musical
community that surrounded these families“: Musikerfamilien als
Ort der Ausbildung und Professionalisierung

MELANIE UNSELD

- 57 Raising the Status of Music and the Musician at the Academy of
Ancient Music in Eighteenth-Century London

TIM EGGINGTON

Critical Interrelations

- 75 Musik ist, was man fühlt. Der Spuk John Lockes in Charles Avisons
Essay on Musical Expression

ALEXANDER AICHELE

- 95 Art Criticism and the Professional Perspective: The Functions of Analogies between Music and Painting in Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* and William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*
INA KNOTH
- 115 The Pastoral Pipes: A New Musical Instrument and the Aesthetics of Neo-Classicism
CHRISTOPH HEYL

Artistic Interrelations

- 133 „E manca l'arte"? Die intermediale Pasticcio-Ästhetik im London des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts
GESA ZUR NIEDEN
- 157 The Contribution of Dance and Pantomime to London's Musical Culture
BARBARA SEGAL
- 181 A Theatre of Catches – Dialogue, Theatre and Ritual in the Restoration Catch
PAUL LABELLE
- 199 Self-Celebratory Musical Acts: Cecilian Odes and Other Sung Texts as a Means of Acknowledging the Place of Music within the Arts
PIERRE DEGOTT
- 217 Abbreviations
- 217 Illustrations, Tables and Music Examples
- 221 Notes on Contributors
- 225 Index

INA KNOTH

How to Deal with Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670–1750?

Some Introductory Remarks

It comes as no surprise to say that music and the arts in England from 1670 to 1750 is a very broad topic. ‘The arts’ comprise many more than the two most eminent ‘sister arts’ alongside music – poetry and painting. ‘Art’ in this publication refers to any artefact displayed or performed in order to divert or in other way please a consumer / recipient in the broadest sense. Based on this definition, there are many further arts which overlap with music in practice such as dance, gardening, architecture, sculpture and fashion. It is the aim of this publication to focus on some such interrelations and reciprocity in England, c. 1670–1750.

As Lawrence Lipking pointed out in his eminent 1970 monograph on *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, it is demanding enough to explain lines of development in ‘single’ arts in the eighteenth century.¹ Since then, a great deal of further valuable research has been done within the various scholarly disciplines involved – musicology, literary studies, art history, dance history, philosophy, cultural, political and social history to name only the most prominent. Such study enriches our understanding of innumerable topics in the field but it rarely considers all the neighbouring arts in equal measure. The question how to interrelate our knowledge of all the arts therefore is a valid one. Based on a highly sophisticated abundance of information on different cultural phenomena – with some topics inevitably being covered in greater detail than others – the cultural life of England

1 Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, Princeton 1970.

from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century still conveys an impression of overwhelming complexity or even perplexity, at least initially. However, on closer inspection, the basic reason for this appears to originate – at least partly – from the lack of any major institutionalised authority for artistic orientation during the time period in question; a situation that, in turn, was *shared* by all the arts.

Following up on this perspective, this publication's aim – of addressing music and the arts' interrelations and reciprocity – stems from some basic preconditions shared by all the arts which accordingly, raise questions on how these same preconditions were addressed by the different artists, intermediaries and consumers and, more importantly in this context, how these preconditions influenced their interactions. The arts' common ground implied here can be divided briefly into three, closely connected factors as follows:

Firstly, alternative sources of income had to be found and secured beyond court. The civil wars and Protectorate had disrupted earlier structures of cultural life with court as its centre – a situation unique in Europe at the time. Even though the monarchy was restored in 1660, further disruptions to the Court's governmental and financial stability not only influenced the building and constant re-building of an English public, further challenged by the Act of Union in 1707.² These disruptions also changed artists' possibilities for income. Artistic endeavours, hitherto a well-known component of refined entertainment as well as political representation but also dependent on financially liquid employers, had to adapt. While the court thus lost considerable – but not its entire – influence on advancing the arts, some continuing mechanisms of patronage were supplemented with a growing number of commercial offerings.³ Most of these artistic novelties from the Restoration to 1750 were short-lived and can largely be regarded as experiments, including those whose success emerged only later on. To name three examples: (1) Richard Steele's and Joseph Addison's magazine *The Spectator*

2 Some examples of these disruptions are the Glorious Revolution, political opposition between Whigs and Tories and religious disputes newly fuelled by the royal succession from the Stuart to the Georgian monarchy as well as England's numerous wars on the continent. Cf. Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, London 1992; Jeremy Black, *Convergence or Divergence? Britain and the Continent*, Basingstoke 1994, pp. 100–158; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power. War, Money and the English State*, London et al. 1989.

3 Cf. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1997, pp. 3–55.

“only” ran from 1711–1712 with a short revival in 1714 (in contrast for instance, with Edward Cave’s *Gentleman’s Magazine* 1731–1754 which continued after his death until 1907). Still, *The Spectator* continued to be highly popular, was re-issued numerous times in collected volumes and remained one of England’s best-read magazines until the nineteenth century.⁴ (2) Despite being given a royal charter in 1719, Italian opera continued to provide an unstable contribution to London’s cultural life, irrespective of the struggles of several impresarios and artists. Today however, Italian opera is considered one of the most significant artforms in London during the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵ (3) After Restoration, many pleasure gardens were opened – starting with Marylebone (c.1659) and Vauxhall (1661) –, closed and re-opened, passing through different managerial hands until those at Vauxhall and Ranelagh attained sufficient enduring success to offer a supplementary source of income for artists of all kinds.⁶

Secondly, artists had to find new ways to secure a status of artistic superiority as a central feature of professionalism. Admittedly, professionalism in the ‘modern’ sense was not established until the end of the eighteenth century,⁷ but the need to secure a respectable artistic status became increasingly urgent, fuelled as it was by the segmented, increasingly commercial cultural life that accompanied political and social developments. Again, three examples sketch an obscure situation: (1) Only some of the arts were taught at the universities and in a predominantly ‘liberal arts’ sense through lectures, not conveying practical knowledge. For instance, expertise to attain degrees in music called for substantial education outside the university, for example through an apprenticeship. (2) Only very few musicians were privileged to join the Chapel Royal and there was no comparable courtly ‘art

4 Cf., additionally with regard to its success on the continent, Fritz Rau, *Zur Verbreitung und Nachahmung des ‘Tatler’ und ‘Spectator’*, Heidelberg 1980, pp.51–103, 151–190.

5 Cf. Lowell Lindgren, “Critiques of Opera in London, 1705–1719”, in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell’età barocca. Die italienische Barockoper, ihre Verbreitung in Italien und Deutschland*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Como 1995, pp.143–165; Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music. 1719–1728. The Institution and Its Directors*, New York and London 1989; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, “The Charter for the Royal Academy of Music”, in: *Music & Letters* 67 / 1 (1986), pp.50–58.

6 Cf. e.g. Jonathan Conlin (ed.), *The Pleasure Garden. From Vauxhall to Coney Island*, Philadelphia 2013; Michael Tilmouth, “The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England”, in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England. Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, eds. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lucket, Cambridge 1983, pp.1–17, pp.3–8.

7 Cf. e.g. Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century. A Social History*, Oxford 1985, pp.3–6, 11–13, 26–29.

school' for the other arts. (3) Occupational functions traditionally held by city guilds were increasingly supplemented by clubs such as the Rose and Crown Club, the Scriblerus Club and the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music.⁸ While there were certain artistic 'core areas' to many of these clubs, members often also included 'sister' artists as well as amateurs, leading to all kinds of transfer processes of knowledge on the arts and adding to other forms of education such as common readings, artistic ventures and further interactions with patrons and other employers. Furthermore, a relatively open business market for the artists not only increased national competition – it also attracted foreign artists especially from Italy, France and Germany. London in particular developed into a metropolis for potential but rarely guaranteed lucrative artistic expression. The question of how native artists adapted and how competition affected their relation to one another is a pertinent one. The most outspoken tool to influence the consumer's penchants were the different media of the printing press – Daniel Defoe's *Augusta Triumphans* (1728) is a case in point. However, the printing press offered a range of divergent possibilities to serve the interests of various arts and artists.⁹ Within this rather opaque field of professionalisation and professional self-assertion, boundaries between different arts were negotiated – in particular between their status, respectability and (by implication) questions of suitable superordinate (critical) and art-specific education in discussion, in print and within works of art.

Thirdly, the fundamental social change in England after the civil war led to greater diversity in the arts' audiences (the plural is important) and their expectations.¹⁰ Social change with regard to those who were able to afford expensive culture such as opera seems less striking – costly offerings were still largely confined to aristocracy, gentry and the few very wealthy who

8 For greater variety cf. e.g. Edward Ward, *Compleat and Humorous Account of all the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster*, London 1745. For the social and political context of such clubs cf. Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800. The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford 2000.

9 Cf. Michael Gavin, *The Invention of English Criticism, 1650–1760*, Cambridge 2015; Jeremy Black, *The English Press. 1621–1861*, Thrupp et al. 2001, pp. 50–71; John Brewer and Iain McCalman, "Publishing", in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, ed. Iain McClaman, Oxford 1999, pp. 197–206; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 43–159.

10 Cf. Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London. A Social and Cultural History, 1550–1750*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 132–218.

would also be admitted at court.¹¹ However, there were also less expensive ways of consuming arts, for example at the theatre, at fairs, in pleasure gardens or in print. Furthermore, an increase in social mobility due to economic developments had multiple effects on arts culture, as did discussions on gender and the so-called ‘private’ and ‘public’ spheres respectively.¹² As to expectations, those gained by way of education (and corresponding ideas about the arts) were increasingly supplemented by the press and the printing market which also had an impact on how continental ideas about the arts were perceived, adapted and discussed in England. Individual preferences aside, shared preconditions arise from the fact that many (influential) consumers were not only part of audiences of a single art but participated in art perception as a more general cultural practice.¹³ By way of implication, the way they experienced a specific art cannot be understood thoroughly without learning about the way they consumed other arts – and sciences. ‘Sciences’ or, more context-specific, mostly what was then called natural and moral philosophy, was not only part of the standard university curriculum but gained larger recognition through clubs (such as the Royal Society) and, again, the printing market.¹⁴ To mention a well-known example, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, wrote about the arts in a way that was deeply interwoven with his reception of scientific thought.¹⁵ In this attempt at integrating scientific and artistic thought he was not an exception, even if – again – such attempts posed different challenges with regard to the different arts. There are many further examples to bear in mind other than the well-known adaptations of some aspects of John Locke’s *Essay*

11 Cf. Studies on high-art audiences such as Robert D. Hume, “The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740”, in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 / 4 (2006), pp. 487–533.

12 Cf. e.g. Anthony Pollock, *Gender and the Fictions of the Public Sphere, 1690–1755*, New York 2009; John Brewer, “This, That and the Other. Public, Social and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, in *Shifting the Boundaries. Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe, Exeter 1995, pp. 1–21; Michael Mascuch, “Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity. The Ethos of British Autobiographers, 1600–1750”, in *Social History* 20 / 1 (1995), pp. 45–61.

13 As Lipking remarks in spite of his general plan to address painting, music and poetry as separately as can be argued historically, “Like the arts themselves, however, the ways of describing art were also interrelated. The major works of painting, music, and poetry break through their partitions of thought.” Lipking 1970, *Ordering of the Arts*, p. 14.

14 Cf. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee. The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*, New Haven and London 2011, pp. 89–112 (chapter “Penny Universities?”).

15 Cf. e.g. Timothy M. Costelloe, *The British Aesthetic Tradition. From Shaftesbury to Wittgenstein*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 11–21.

Concerning Human Understanding (1689) with interests of literary criticism in Addison's essays "On the Pleasures of the Imagination" (*Spectator*, 1712).¹⁶

In summary, these three factors constitute a disruptive but common socio-cultural ground for artists and an array of entrepreneurs and audiences. Among others, it resulted in various discussions on – and re-evaluations of – the interrelations of the arts. These discussions were most prominently monitored via the increasing printing market but also via the agency of influential patrons, diplomats, philosophers, men of letters and further artists. Therefore, the arts were not only interrelated but depended on one another to a certain degree within a diverse 'public' sphere. Considered together, these reasons – while they are not novelties per se – still call for an ever-fresh look on English 'arts culture' from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century.

There are several prominent reasons which support the idea of making music the linchpin of such scholarly attention. Music was a crucial component of England's rich and manifold cultural life which emanated mostly from London but also spread throughout the so-called 'provinces'. Of course, music was an element of both successful and unsuccessful artistic ventures and was both praised and criticised in various degrees. Yet despite the recurring attacks which music suffered at the hands of other artists, many of which might have stemmed – at least in part – from a sense of competition, many 'rival' artists still acknowledged music's popularity with the audiences. For example in 1723, the versatile writer Jonathan Swift commented to the notorious playwright and poet John Gay on music's significance – referring specifically to Italian opera in public entertainment – as follows: "As for the reigning Amusement of the town, tis entirely Musick."¹⁷ Over thirty years later, the Swiss enamellist Jean André Rouquet looked back on his three decades in England and, referring to the different attractions of the pleasure gardens, similarly concluded, "But all this is only the additional, the concert is the essential part."¹⁸ And, even more generally, albeit grudgingly:

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 37–46.

¹⁷ Letter Jonathan Swift to John Gay, 3 February 1723, in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D. D.*, 5 vols., ed. David Woolley, Frankfurt am Main 1999–2014, vol. 2, 2001, p. 446–447.

¹⁸ Jean André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, Dublin 1756, p. 103. Rouquet had lived in England from 1722 to 1752.

“Thus the opportunities of diverting the time are numberless in England, and especially in London; but music forms their principal entertainment.”¹⁹

While music continued to play a diverging role at the restored court, it famously found its way to ‘public’ display by John Banister’s concert advertisements in the 1670s. However, even at that time such concerts were neither singular nor new although it took until the second half of the eighteenth century for a regular concert life to be established.²⁰ Meanwhile, from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century, music of all kinds and genres was present in many parts of everyday life and a frequent little, twin or big sister to all the arts. Its salient compatibility with different arts makes it a reasonable linchpin for diving into the reciprocity of the arts. Opera is the most obvious example, but there are numerous other instances: theatre was unthinkable without symphonies, interludes, songs and dance; printed music often had title pages depicting celestial or terrestrial music making; music was a theme in poetry, literature of all sorts as well as painting; musical instruments were designed in significant artful ways etc.

Regarded from a scholarly perspective, even music’s most individual features can serve to re-think other arts’ features through a comparative lens. Namely, music stood out in the increasingly frequent quests to compare the arts based on their mimetic qualities – music’s notorious weakness in this respect and its still unquestioned effect on the emotions rendered both critical and creative overlaps as challenging as they were indispensable. With its ephemeral nature as a time-art, music intensified or contradicted poetry without ever being explicit or palpable; it turned bodies into beautiful figures in dance without (necessarily) taking control; it was grasped and abstracted to a fixed picture in painting; its sounds were explored by instrument makers and generously spread into the air by performers while its secrets were carefully kept within professional and other distinguished circles. Music provided for variability with stunning complexity even in its simple forms – pleasing to many but never to all.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 105.

²⁰ The first advertisement for one of Banister’s concerts was published in the *London Gazette*, 30 December 1672. For the beginnings of English concert life cf. Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, London 1955; Catherine Harbor, *The Birth of the Music Business. Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660–1750*, 2 vols., PhD thesis Royal Holloway, University of London 2013; Michael Tilmouth, “The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England”, in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England. Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, eds. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett, Cambridge 1983, p. 1–17.

The act of considering music's reciprocity with other arts unquestionably requires interdisciplinary perspectives. After the so-called 'cultural turn' of the 1990s and the many further 'turns' through which, ideally, a broader perspective in the humanities could be achieved, this notion might seem like over-accentuation. However, this publication explicitly acknowledges that interdisciplinarity is in fact still challenging and at times may result in conflicting views on the 'same' subject. For example, the same interrelation between painting and music may appear quite different to an art historian and to a musicologist. Further divergences may become evident between disciplines with even greater differences in methodological approach. The risk of scholarly misunderstanding – which can never be completely excluded – is heightened in comparison with publications that do not stray outside disciplinary boundaries. However – and more importantly – the chance to extend the disciplinary perspectives is also increased if we accept the invitation to learn from other scholarly traditions' expertise – and to engage in discussion. This volume aims to inspire, stimulate and encourage further interdisciplinary research on this topic.

The ten contributions to this publication form a set of relevant case studies. They do not pretend to cover the whole breadth of reciprocity between music and the many other arts that composed England's cultural life during the time from 1670 to 1750. However, despite their inevitable selectivity, the chapters strive to address several major aspects. In this sense, they serve as an introduction while at the same time adding new insights to the topic. The first section places music and the arts in their socio-cultural context from different perspectives. John Brewer's contribution offers a topography of music within English culture from a broad socio-political perspective, presenting and re-assessing different scholarly perspectives on cultural developments of the time span in question from the 1980s onwards. It considers music's multifarious connections to other arts as well as its many guises which vary depending on place, occasion and evaluation with regard to ominous contemporary ideas of 'taste'. Turning specifically to the musicians' perspective, Melanie Unseld addresses basic education practices beyond the court. Since apprenticeship and comparable educational measures typical to most of the arts largely relied on an oral tradition within 'larger families' and their connections, the boundaries of these 'families' also comprised the mixing of different art(ist)s. For a look beyond apprenticeship as

a form of contemporary professionalisation, Tim Eggington offers an insight into the various measures which different members of the Academy of Ancient Music took in order to advance music – well in line with contemporary demands to argue the nobility of an (ancient) art but music-specific at the same time.

Such standards were naturally developed dependant on a targeted consumer's learning, as described above. Accordingly, consumers, artists and other agents involved in the production and distribution of the arts such as instrument makers, arts sellers, theatre managers and managers of other cultural venues targeted critical devices to argue the arts' respectability – meeting voices which tried to prove the very reverse. Considering the beginnings of 'modern' arts criticism in this period, (the plural is intentional for emphasis), the relevance and interrelations between these groups are exquisitely complex. As revealed by the three contributions which consider parts of such critical interrelations, the plurality of measures taken to upvalue music as well as other arts often included the employment of knowledge from higher learning which might be loosely transformed in the adaptation process. They were invoked from blurred lines between arts and sciences which, despite distinctions between 'natural' scientific objects and artistic practice, grew even more prominent by a mimetic ideal. Due to music's weak mimetic potential, this meant that trying to argue music's excellency with ideas put forward by 'natural' and 'moral philosophy' was just as widespread as it proved problematic when considered in detail. Looking for Charles Avison's sources to his arguments in his *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752) from a philosophical perspective, Alexander Aichele reveals rather loose (that is unsystematic) borrowings from a variety of so-called empiric treatises and not only – if at all – from Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Nominally shared but differently applied aspects were not only common to music's borrowings from philosophy but also to standards in comparing different arts. My own chapter takes a closer look at analogies as a common device to infer as well as impart knowledge in its use in music and painting criticism written by musicians and painters. At the same time, artists were not the only ones trying to employ common standards of learning as well as 'politeness' to their advantage. Christoph Heyl gives a particularly curious example of aesthetic and marketing strategies to promote a new instrument with invented ancient roots: the Pastoral Pipes.

The final section explores different aspect of artistic interrelations with contributions embracing aspects of music and painting, dance, theatre performance and literature. Artistic interrelations are easily the broadest part of this publication's overall topic, rendering the selectivity of the aspects addressed by the four chapters even more striking. However, all contributions invoke new perspectives on music and a sister art. Gesa zur Nieden explains how George Frideric Handel's pasticcios can be considered as specifically English adaptations of French pasticcio aesthetics. Barbara Segal's chapter gives an overview on the different areas where music and dance functioned together, thereby indicating a number of stances of artistic interrelations, many of which call for substantial additions to the current state of research. Paul Labelle invites a re-thinking of the performative potential and effect of a likewise largely neglected musical genre: the catch. Finally, Pierre Degott opens up a broader, in a more general sense political aspect. In his chapter, he sheds new light on how St Cecilia celebrations towards the middle of the eighteenth century were increasingly used not just to advance music but to form a joint venture of the arts to advance English culture – separate from the well-known attempts at an English opera. To repeat a central aim of this publication, the call of these case studies for further research is always implied.

This volume holds revised papers first presented at a homonymic conference at Hamburg University in June 2019.²¹ Many people helped to make the conference and this publication possible to whom I owe and happily acknowledge my heartfelt gratitude. First and foremost, I thank all contributors for joining in this venture and sharing their valuable research. Furthermore, the publication owes much to the expertise and helpful suggestions from both the conference board and the peer reviewers who have been most supportive. The conference and this publication could only have been realised by way of generous financial support by the Universität Hamburg, the Mariann-Steegmann-Foundation, the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung and the Forum Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Hamburg e.V. I also thank the Universität Salzburg, Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, for

21 For more information on the conference, cf. <https://musicandarts.blogs.uni-hamburg.de/> (last access 14 October 2020).

granting digital reproduction rights for one of their most precious sources.²² Furthermore, many colleagues and friends have helped with their advice and support along the way. I particularly thank Stephen Rose, Oliver Huck, Ivana Rentsch, Irene Holzer, Andrea Hammes, Sebastian Bolz and Sue Ryall.

²² See in Barbara Segal's contribution, figure 9.1, p. 159. The digital reproduction rights for all further illustrations were either obtained by the authors or granted by public domain licences, see the [list of illustrations and music examples](#) in this publication. However, in case of suspected copyright infringement, please contact the editor or the publisher.

JOHN BREWER

Sites and Sounds

The Cultural Topography of English Music, 1670–1750

Where to begin? A publication on music and the arts between 1670 and 1750 covers a multitude of possibilities – many musical genres, both ancient, modern and popular: masques, concerti, anthems, opera seria, comic and ballad opera, dance, oratorios, sonatas, catches, odes – the list goes on. These genres were performed at many sites, what the Newcastle composer and organist Charles Avison narrowed down to “the Church, the Theatre, or the Chamber”;¹ but should also include (an odd omission this) the court, as well as the pleasure garden, the tavern and, a different sort of site here, though a vital one, the published musical score. And of course music rubbed shoulders with the other arts – visual and literary – not only in treatises that considered their distinguishing qualities,² but in contexts where the arts were combined and competed in performance – in the royal palace, the theatre or the flamboyant mixed-media of the pleasure garden.

Music (and we might add theatre) history writing on this period is extraordinarily dense, erudite and detailed – and also overwhelmingly about London rather than the nation at large – so that it is very difficult to command a general picture of what was changing or happening. I am not a musicologist or even really a music historian, but a historian of culture, politics and society, so in addressing the topic of music and the arts I want to step back and see how we might frame it within some of the debates that have taken place over the last thirty or forty years about the history of eighteenth-century England more generally. My discussion is indicative not

1 Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, London 1752, p. 105.

2 Cf. Laurence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, Princeton 1970.

definitive, ruminative rather than categorical, a matter of posing questions and offering suggestions.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a number of historians developed a new picture of eighteenth-century England, one that was (a) self-consciously intersectional – by which I mean that it sought to bring together the social, political, economic and cultural – and (b) was also self-consciously opposed to the two prevailing (but actually highly compatible) views of eighteenth-century England, one of which rather approvingly saw eighteenth-century history as the history of a small elite,³ the other that, rather more censoriously, envisaged eighteenth-century England as a patrician society engaged in a complex struggle with a plebeian culture.⁴ These traditional views were opposed by a new interpretation well captured in the title of Paul Langford's New Oxford History published in 1989, *A Polite and Commercial People*.⁵

In seeking to stake out this new position, a number of major arguments were advanced against the two traditional views. First, the old interpretation was seen as largely neglecting the very large number of those who were neither patricians nor plebeians, or as treating them as essentially followers of patrician values, lacking any autonomous power because they were trapped within what has been described as a 'client economy', one of dependence on the patronage of an elite whose values they aped and largely unquestioned.⁶ The group whose identity the new interpretation was seeking to capture was comprised of members of the professions (lawyers, doctors, clerics), shopkeepers and retailers (there were more than 140,000

3 This view is now largely associated with the work of J. C. D. Clark, though it had a long prior history. Clark's seminal work is *English Society, 1660–1832. Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, Cambridge 2000, first published in 1985. For a critical overview and appraisal see Joanna Innes, "Jonathan Clark, Social History and England's 'Ancien Regime'", in *Past and Present* 115 / 1 (1987), pp. 165–200.

4 This can be entitled the vision of the great social historian E. P. Thompson. Three works are central to this view: E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, London and New York 1991; id., "Patrician Society, Plebeian People", in *Journal of Social History* 7 / 4 (1974), pp. 382–405; id., "Eighteenth-Century English Society. Class Struggle without Class?", in *Social History* 5 (1978), pp. 133–165.

5 Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England, 1727–1783* (The New Oxford History of England), Oxford 1989; see also his follow-up, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798*, Oxford 1991.

6 Thompson 1978, "Eighteenth-Century English Society", pp. 142–143; Nicholas Rogers, "Aristocratic Clientage, Trade and Independency. Popular Politics in Pre-Radical Westminster", in *Past and Present* 61 (1973), pp. 70–106.

shops in England by the 1760s; over 21,000 in London),⁷ clerks, farmers, merchants, tradesmen, entrepreneurs and manufacturers and skilled craftsmen, as well as those who occupied the shady penumbra of minor gentility.

As critics have pointed out, the scale and number of persons involved here is very imprecise. In my view the figures are all highly suppositious, both about numbers of families and particularly those about income. But we are probably dealing with a group that may well have constituted only round about 10% of the population; at most 20%, though some have gone so far as to claim a figure of 40%.⁸ The assumption that somehow we are talking about a middle class – and here there has been a lot of such loose talk – is clearly erroneous (such language and conceptualization had to wait until the very late eighteenth century), and though the term ‘middling sort’ was frequently used, there were considerable differences (of both wealth and lifestyle), not to say political and religious affiliation, between say minor gentry and wealthy artisans.

Second, though socially heterogeneous, this group was seen as united by shared values that have been broadly characterized as ‘polite’ or ‘politeness’. Though in its origin the notion was aristocratic – the earl of Shaftesbury was no plebe – and though its origins lay in an attempt to move beyond or away from the religious and political contentiousness of the seventeenth century, its extraordinarily wide dissemination through a (relatively) free press, the world of periodical, pamphlet, book and graphic print, and through the practices and norms of social institutions, voluntary associations such as book clubs and debating societies, assemblies and coffee houses created a systemic culture of politeness, or what was often referred to as ‘gentility’.⁹ I say

7 These figures are from a survey by the Commissioners of Excise in 1759. See The National Archives, Kew, Customs 48/16, fols. 19–20. More generally see Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England*, London 1989.

8 The most judicious discussion of these figures and the issues they raise is in Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort. Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780*, Berkeley 1996, pp. 1–21. For one of the most recent attempts to unravel the figures see Robert C. Allen, “Class Structure and Income Inequality during the Industrial Revolution. Lessons from English Social Tables, 1688–1867”, in *Economic History Review* 72 / 1 (2019), pp. 88–125.

9 The foundational analysis here is Lawrence Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness. Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, Cambridge 1994, as well as a number of his articles, including “Gender and the Public / Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century. Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure”, in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 / 1 (1995), pp. 97–109; “Politeness for Plebes. Consumption and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England”, in *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800. Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, London and New York 1995,

systemic because the technologies of reproduction – the printing press and, to a lesser extent, the reproductive image – whether wood cut or engraving – both disseminated and interconnected the different sites and practices of politeness. The magazine, newspaper and periodical brought together within their pages discrete cultural activities, linking literature, music, painting and theatrical performance in the minds of their readers. They did not create a hierarchy of the arts but mixed them together in the fashion of a medley or magazine. Such a system was not built overnight and certainly was far more elaborated by the 1760s than in the late seventeenth century. Indeed, it was largely non-existent before the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695.¹⁰

It was important to this analysis that, as Richard Steele made clear in the *Spectator*, politeness / gentility was not attached to a particular class of people but was performative, attached to particular values and specific modes of conduct. It was not so much a platform for action – though it did connect to certain sorts of philanthropic reform, an area closely linked to musical performance¹¹ – as a way of being and self-presentation. Activities helped create communities, as much as they were a reflection of certain shared values. But as with all sorts of performance, there were right and wrong, upright and misleading, harmonious or discordant ways of acting. There was always a potential – indeed, even a high probability – that the culture of politeness, in its pursuit of virtue, might be corrupted into vice.¹²

Third, this body both constituted and instructed a public that made claims to be arbiters of taste, morality and policy.¹³ Of course, these claims to be of or speak for a public were in most cases controversial and contested but there was a broad understanding that public scrutiny was the

pp. 362–382; “Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century”, in *Historical Journal* 45 / 4 (2002), pp. 869–898.

10 John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Chicago 1997, esp. pp. 125–197, 427–489.

11 Cf. Donald Burrows, “Handel and the Foundling Hospital”, in *Music and Letters* 58 (1977), pp. 269–284.

12 John Brewer, “‘The Most Polite Age and the Most Vicious’. Attitudes towards Culture as a Commodity, 1660–1800”, in Bermingham and Brewer (eds.) 1995, *The Consumption of Culture*, pp. 341–361.

13 I do not want here to say very much about its relation to Jürgen Habermas’s “bourgeois public sphere”, though it’s my sense that Habermas was retrospectively imported into British history in order to bolster an argument that was already being made, and that now notions of civil society or public sphere, though widely used by historians of Britain, reject as much as they embrace of Habermas’s model. For a general discussion see Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe (eds.), *Shifting the Boundaries. Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century*, Exeter 1995.

right road to good judgment. This applied to the peculiar political culture of eighteenth-century England but was especially true in matters of taste, the topic on which I will focus here. As Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury put it:

Without a public voice, knowingly guided and directed [the qualification is important, J. B.], there is nothing which can raise a true ambition in the artist; nothing which can exalt the genius of the workman, or make him emulous of fame, and of the approbation of his country, and of posterity [...] When the free spirit of a nation turns itself this way, judgments are formed; critics arise; the public eye and ear improve; a right taste prevails, and in a manner forces its way.¹⁴

Avison concurs in his *Essay on Musical Expression*:

the public Ear should be always consulted; and of which, I have so good an Opinion, that, were this Difference between a just, or false Taste, but fairly submitted to its Decision, I should not dispute, but the Composition which was most natural and pleasing, would bid fairest for the general Approbation.¹⁵

These remarks both use the term ‘public’ in only one of the several ways in which it was deployed in the period. Here, the concept of ‘public’ has to do with a qualitative judgment pertaining to a general good, what Samuel Johnson called “regarding the good of the community”.¹⁶ Public in this sense is an abstraction, not given a location. But, of course, as Johnson also pointed out, in addition public has a spatial sense as, in his words, “open to many”.¹⁷ The term therefore encapsulates the paradox or tension between a notion, to use Shaftesbury’s term, of ‘disinterestedness’ and the interests of those who wished to promote a public for culture by playing on and profiting from its appeal to the passions. Or, to put it another way, a tension between a relatively coherent public of shared values and tastes, and a heterogeneous body of disparate paying punters. This is an issue to which I will return.

14 Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 3 vols., ed. Douglas den Uyl, Indianapolis 2001, vol. 3, p. 403.

15 Avison 1752, *Essay on Musical Expression*, p. 73.

16 Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, London 1755.

17 Cited in John Brewer, “This, that and the other. Public, Social and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, in Castiglione and Sharpe (eds.) 1995, *Shifting the Boundaries*, pp. 1–21, pp. 8–10.

Both Shaftesbury and Avison speak of taste – “a right taste”, a “just Taste”. Taste is, of course, the key term here: it is applied to all the arts – literature, music, painting, architecture and sculpture. It does the ideological work of distinguishing the right sort of response to works that are all understood to excite feelings and the passions, to play upon the imagination. Taste as a correct emotional response to art and music is often described, as in Avison, as the result of “a peculiar and internal Sense; but of a much more refined Nature than the external Senses”, those external senses rather associated with grosser passions.¹⁸ Literary, art and musical works should be mindful to address that interior sense, and doing so conferred on them a certain legitimacy.¹⁹

Tracts and writings that considered music and the arts as objects of taste tended to draw attention to the similarities as well as the differences between them. Avison, for instance, drew analogies between music and visual art because the latter was, in his view, better known than music. He often alludes to terms more usually associated with the visual arts, such as design, colouring and expression. Discord in music, he compares to shades in painting, the composer to the poet.²⁰

Of course, practitioners of one sort of art often claimed its superiority over the others – John Dryden’s comments on the superiority of poetry over painting and music are a case in point – and different arts had different problems of legitimation. Instrumental music, for instance, was always open to the accusation that it lacked ‘sense’, that it appealed only to the ear, in Dryden’s words pleasing “the Hearing, rather than gratifying the mind”,²¹ just as painting could be accused of appealing only to the eye. But what really mattered, for all apologists of the arts, was the ability to draw a distinction between the sensual and the tasteful. Thus Thomas Bisse, in his *Rationale on Cathedral Worship or Choir Service* (1720) contrasts “pleasures that are calculated for carnal sensual men” with church music that “raises the mind and its desires above their low level, drives out carnal thoughts and inclina-

18 Avison 1752, *Essay on Musical Expression*, p. 2. The terminology comes from Francis Hutcheson’s *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, London 1725.

19 Brewer 1997, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 87–91.

20 Avison 1752, *Essay on Musical Expression*, pp. 61, 74, 127. See Ina Knauth’s contribution in this publication.

21 John Dryden, “Preface to Albion and Albanus”, in *Essays of John Dryden*, 2 vols., ed. W. P. Ker, Oxford 1900, vol. 1, p. 271.

tions as dross, and leave it like pure Gold”.²² As Edmund Burke explained in his *Philosophical Inquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), aesthetic appreciation should be distinguished from “desire or lust; which is an energy of the mind, that hurries us on to the possession of certain objects.”²³ Oddly, good taste has a rather passive inflection.

Such distinctions, though they often took the form of philosophical reflections, were largely a response to the puritanical and ascetic criticisms of a culture of refined pleasure, an attack on what critics saw as ‘luxury’. Being one of these critics, Jeremy Collier in his famous attack on the stage published in 1698, *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, feared the seductive power of music that “charms and transports, ruffles and becalms, and governs with an almost arbitrary authority”.²⁴ Speaking of theatre music, Collier described its tunes as:

generally Airy and Galliardizing [...] contriv’d on purpose to excite a sportive Humour, and spread a Gaity upon the Spirits. To banish all Gravity and Scruple, and lay Thinking and Reflection a sleep. This sort of Musick warms the Passions, and unlocks the Fancy, and makes it open to Pleasure like a Flower to the Sun. It helps a Luscious Sentence to slide, [...].²⁵

A generation later, the dissenting minister and teacher, James Burgh, in his best-selling *Britain’s Remembrancer*, written in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, condemned “Plays, Musick-Gardens, Balls, Assemblies, Operas, Concerts, Masquerades, Breakfasting-houses, Ridottos and Fire-works.”²⁶ All these were, in his words, “tumultuous Scenes of Pleasure”, creating a “Ferment of irregular and exorbitant desires”. “[T]he hearing of the most melting Strains of Music, and the most rapturous and passionate Flights of Poetry [...] fill your Fancies with a thousand romantic Wishes and Desires altogether inconsistent with your Station and above your Rank in Life [...].”²⁷

22 Thomas Bisse, *A Rationale on Cathedral Worship or Choir-Service. A Sermon Preach’d in the Cathedral Church of Hereford, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Choirs of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, Sept. 7. 1720*, London ²1721, p. 17.

23 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. James T. Bolton, London 1958, p. 91.

24 James Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality, and Profaneness of the English Stage, together with the Sense of Antiquity of this Argument*, London ²1698, p. 278.

25 Ibid.

26 [James Burgh], *Britain’s Remembrancer. Or, the Danger not over*, London 1746, p. 16.

27 Ibid., p. 43–44.

Collier and Burgh, like many other commentators, were particularly concerned with two intertwined issues in this debate about luxury: patriotism and manliness. Both writing at moments of national political crisis, they were concerned at how new-fangled cultural imports – most famously of course Italian opera – were distracting and corrupting English men, who were being led by foreigners, unpatriotic worshippers of foreign fashion and by women, who had a special place in the culture of ‘shew’, into a state of moral laxity. (This was of course an analysis that chimed in well with the critics of the monarchy and the current political regime.) Thus James Miller, the clergyman, playwright and librettist of George Frideric Handel’s *Joseph and his Brethren* (1743), in his satirical poem of *Harlequin Horace* (1731), dedicated to the theatre proprietor, impresario and dancer, John Rich:

In Days of Old when *Englishmen* were Men,
 Their Musick, like themselves [sic], was grave, and plain;
 The manly Trumpet, and the simple Reed,
 Alike with *Citizen*, and *Swain* agreed,
 Whose Songs in lofty Sense, and humble Verse,
 Their Loves, and Wars alternately rehearse;
 Sung by themselves, their homely Cheer to crown,
 In Tunes from Sire to Son deliver’d down.
 But now, since *Brittains* are become polite,
 Since some have learnt to *read*, and some to *write*;
 Since Trav’ling has so much improv’d our *Beaux*,
 That each brings home a foreign *Tongue*, or *Nose*,
 And Ladies paint with that amazing Grace,
 That their best *Vizard* is their natural *Face*;
 [...]

Since *Masquerades* and *Opera*’s made their Entry,
 And *Heydegger* and *Handell* rul’d our Gentry;
 A hundred different Instruments combine,
 And foreign *Songsters* in the Concert join:
 The *Gallick Horn*, whose winding Tube, in vain
 Pretends to emulate the *Trumpet*’s Strain;
 The *shrill-ton’d Fiddle*, and the *warbling Fluit*,
 The *grave Bassoon*, *deep Base*, and *tinkling Lute*,
 The *jingling Spinnet*, and the *full-mouth’d Drum*,
 A *Roman Weather* and *Venetian Strum*,

All league, melodious Nonsense to dispense,
 And give us *Sound*, and *Show*, instead of *Sense*;
 In unknown Tongues mysterious Dullness chant,
 Make Love in *Tune*, or *thro' the Gamut rant*.²⁸

As Ruth Smith argues in her study of the English oratorio, Miller's rant is about an imagined harmonious (English) past and a confused, disordered (and largely foreign) present – the former crucially is masculine, a time when music was imbued with a collectively shared sense. The latter is the wrong sort of politeness: effeminate – with painted women and eunuch singers. As his fellow satirists, Edward Young and Aaron Hill, made clear the anxiety was about “emasculating present Taste”, a situation where in Young's satire *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion* (1728) Apollo (the god of poetry and music, the embodiment of masculine beauty) is chained down and reduced to impotence by a sexually provocative young woman “[w]ith legs toss'd high on her sophee she sits”.²⁹

It is important to bear in mind, I think, that these sorts of criticism were, more often than not, *not* claims for a wholesale rejection of music and the arts, but rather a call for their reform. And they came from within the musical and artistic community, not just from outsiders. Of course, many of the criticisms were *parti pris* – playwrights and authors attacking instrumental and foreign language music, or musicians or actors attacking ‘spectacle men’, like Rich. Behind the quarrels over the merits of opera (in English or Italian), the relative virtues of spoken drama and music, of foreign and native art and the talents of individual creators and performers lay an absolutely ruthless competition over exiguous resources and tiny profits all subject to the whims of audiences. This led to constant shifts of perspective and allegiance. Miller is a case in point, who at times satirized the oratorio and at others praised it. David Garrick may have attacked tumblers and the like, but this did not stop him using them.

But many proponents of musical and public performance were deeply vexed by their poor reputation and worked tirelessly – and not just in pur-

28 James Miller, *Harlequin Horace. Or, the Art of Modern Poetry*, London 1731, pp. 16–17 (original emphasis), partially reprinted and discussed in Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 50, 75.

29 Edward Young, *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion*. In *Seven Characteristical Satires*, London 1728, p. 91.

suit of profit – to render them polite and respectable. To cite just one well-known example, Jonathan Tyers, the proprietor of Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, a place accused of being “[o]ne of the great Instruments of Luxury, (the Extremes whereof are very fatal to a Nation, and which makes too rapid a Progress among us),”³⁰ devoted himself to both practical measures (policing and lighting) and publicity – both textual and graphic – to ensure that the gardens retained a modicum of respectability.³¹

Part of the problem for such apologists was the very obvious way in which the venues of musical performance and theatre were evidently (and attractively) highly sexualized sites of spectacle, surface, fashion and show. The key terms in Miller’s satire are “Sound”, that is not music, and “Show”, that is lacking the other key term “Sense”. Peter de Bolla has shown how central a certain sort of educated visuality was to eighteenth-century aesthetic experience one that looked as much at and to the viewer / spectator as to the activity viewed.³² Typically, one visitor to the London opera in 1733 commented: “The Company sit for the most part in the Pit, where the ladies form semi-circles, so that their faces are seen, which makes a very good effect”.³³ Or, think of the way in which looking at the paintings in the pleasure garden supper-boxes were described in an article in the 1739 *Scots Magazine* as a means of covertly observing the ‘beauties’ in the gardens.³⁴ John Lockman, who wrote a famous apologetic for the gardens, also wrote many songs for performance there which were full of romance and sexual innuendo. The

30 [John Lockman], *A Sketch of Spring-Gardens, Vaux-Hall, in a Letter to a Noble Lord*, London 1750, p. 28.

31 The literature on Vauxhall is enormous. See among others David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens. A History*, New Haven 2011; Miles Ogborn, “The Pleasure Garden”, in his *Spaces of Modernity. London’s Geographies 1680–1780*, New York 1998, chapter 4; Jonathan Conlin (ed.), *The Pleasure Garden from Vauxhall to Coney Island*, Philadelphia 2013, esp. pp. 100–126; David Solkin, *Painting for Money. The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London 1993, pp. 106–156; Teri Edelstein, *Vauxhall Gardens. A Catalogue*, New Haven 1983; Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman*, New Haven and London 1987, pp. 62–70, 107–09; Brian Allen, “Francis Hayman and the Supper Box Paintings at Vauxhall Gardens”, in *The Rococo in England: a Symposium*, ed. Charles Hind, London 1986, pp. 113–133 and Peter de Bolla, *The Education of the Eye. Painting, Landscape and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Stanford 2003, pp. 72–103.

32 de Bolla 2003, *Education of the Eye*, passim.

33 Karl Ludwig Pollnitz, *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz*, 2 vols., London 1737, vol. 2, p. 466. On the importance of being seen see Michael Burden, “Opera in Eighteenth-Century England. English Opera, Masques, Ballad Operas”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, eds. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti, Cambridge 2009, p. 203.

34 *The Scots Magazine* 1 (1739), pp. 322–324, 363–364, 409–410, esp. 363.

venues, whether highly select, like the opera, or much more open, like the pleasure gardens, were attractive as spectacular, erotic spaces. The impresarios who ran them knew this. As Berta Joncus has argued, an emphasis on the attempts of people like Tyers to ensure respectability overlooks the fact that he and figures like Lockman were in the business of constructing a space and experience that was a sort of pastoral reverie – an arcadian escape from order – whose erotic enchantment was generated in music and song. As she puts it, creating a space where “the boundaries between innocence and concupiscence faded”.³⁵

Desire, lust, possession: these terms used by Burke bring me to a further feature of the period highlighted by historians and also found in Langford’s title, commercialization. What does this mean in the cultural sphere? That cultural goods – music instruments, books and scores – and cultural practices – concerts and balls – are available as commodities for sale; that the pursuit of profit became a motive for cultural provision, as in the case of the cultural impresarios in a variety of fields: John Jacob Heidegger in the opera, Jonathan Tyers at the pleasure garden; John Rich in the theatre; Andrew Hay, the art dealer; a whole raft of booksellers and publishers, like Jacob Tonson. It also means that cultural producers of all kinds – composers, performers, painters, poets and playwrights, even the publishers of music – operated in a marketplace. This entailed the designation of cultural spaces – galleries, theatres, pleasure gardens, assembly rooms, concert halls, coffee houses, tavern rooms etc. which were, as we shall see, to a greater or lesser degree open to a paying public. And just as this phenomenon produced impresarios and public spaces, it also created the enterprising cultural worker, one who improvised a living – or at least hoped to do so – in a variety of ways. Such men and women, though they relied on patronage among other means to make a living, aspired to a certain level of independence and recognition but only later in the century began to define themselves as professionals. A typical example would be Lockman. A man of humble origins, a self-taught translator of the published works of Voltaire, Alain René Le Sage and Pierre Carlet de Marivaux, he was also a compiler of *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*,³⁶ a writer of histories and a regular contributor to the *Gentle-*

35 Berta Joncus, “‘His Spirit is in Action Seen’: Milton, Mrs. Clive and the Simulacra of the Pastoral Comus”, in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2 / 1 (2005), pp. 7–40, p. 33.

36 10 vols., London 1734–1741.

man's Magazine. He published many verses and also wrote many songs for the pleasure garden and theatre and the libretti of a musical drama, *Rosalinda* (1740), performed at Hickford's Great Room, and of an oratorio, *David's Lamentation* (1736). He contributed to the debate on the comparative virtues of Italian and English opera and, as I have mentioned, published *A Sketch of the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall* (c. 1750), a promotional account that shaped contemporary perceptions of the gardens as a respectable venue.³⁷ This sort of career was not confined to the literary and musical arts. Arthur Pond, to give another example, worked as a copyist, restorer, teacher, dealer, importer, factotum of the aristocracy as well as artist in his own right.³⁸ How extensive commercialization was and how it might have differed in extent among the different arts is a subject to which I will return.

One very important aspect of this model of commercialization is that it has been accompanied by a focus on consumption as well as production, on audiences, auditors, viewers and readers, as well as those who create cultural artefacts. It considers the development of markets, commodification and consumption not just as engines of economic growth but as forces of societal transformation, creating different sorts of culture. Most importantly in my view, it has encouraged us, when applied to music and the arts, to think of them in a particular way – one that raises questions about the shifting circumstances of their creation, performance, audience and reception. Inevitably this destabilizes the creative work, making it the potential bearer of a variety of meanings, feelings and responses, over and beyond its status as the product of the creativity of its author. It is also sometimes seen as the impetus behind (relatively) new cultural forms, what Miller disparaged as making “surprising Novelties your Aim”³⁹ – ballad operas, comic history painting, the modern pantomime, the conversation piece, the combination of low and high art forms and a whole variety of pastiche. Perusing the four incredibly rich Cambridge University Press volumes, *George Frideric Handel, Collected Documents*, enables us to see how his work was embedded within a complex system of reproduction and representation that extended far

37 On Lockman generally see James Sambrook, “Lockman, John”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16912> (last access 1 April 2020).

38 Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London. The Rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven and London 1983.

39 Miller 1731, *Harlequin Horace*, p. 5.

beyond the works that he wrote, performed and controlled himself.⁴⁰ Thus his works – especially minuets and airs – were used in comic theatrical afterpieces in the London theatre as well as in the pleasure gardens. This meant that they reached the most demotic audiences (afterpieces could be enjoyed at half-price). Perhaps the best and best-known example of this recycling was John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (which, of course, included Handel's music) and which was taken apart and reinterpreted in myriad ways.⁴¹

Critics saw such disaggregation and heterogeneity – “[a] thousand jarring Things together yoke [...] / Consult no Order, but for ever steer / From grave to gay, from florid to severe”⁴² – as also paralleled by the audience itself.

Though the emergence of the English language sacred oratorio was the result of a complex set of circumstances – did Handel jump or was he pushed? – and though their staging in theatres raised boundary issues of some complexity – did piety belong in the theatre? – and was in no way a guaranteed success, the English oratorio largely solved the problems raised in their most acute form by Italian opera. As Handel put it in his famous letter to the *Daily Advertiser* in 1745 – an obvious ex post facto rationalization made in a public forum: “As I perceived, that joining good Sense and significant Words to Musick, was the best Method of recommending *this* to an English Audience; I have directed my Studies that way, and endeavour’d to shew, that the English Language, which is so expressive of the sublimest Sentiments, is the best adapted of any to the full and solemn Kind of Musick.”⁴³ The oratorio offered “Sense”, emphasized the shared uplifting chorus of many voices rather than the single voice of an opera star, took its themes from religious and patriotic texts and introduced order and decorum into the theatre, promoting an aesthetic of the sublime. Positive (unlike the ballad opera which satirized Italian stars), patriotic and pious (indeed resolutely Anglican), it was also ‘manly’ in a very English way.

I want finally to turn to a set of questions that arise out of one of the claims of historians about English culture in the eighteenth century, that which

40 Donald Burrows et al. (eds.), *George Frideric Handel. Collected Documents*, 4 vols., Cambridge 2014–2020.

41 Berta Joncus, “Handel at Drury Lane. Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive”, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131 / 2 (2006), pp. 179–226, pp. 179–195. For the *Beggar's Opera's* later iterations see Brewer 1997, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 440–449.

42 Miller, “Harlequin Horace” (1731), quoted from Smith 1995, *Handel's Oratorios*, p. 50.

43 *Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1745 (original emphasis).

maintains that its singular development, another version of the peculiarities of the English – its commercialization, the creation of a public culture – arose out of the political and religious circumstances of the seventeenth century. This claim sees the seventeenth-century civil wars and their aftermath as severely diminishing the power of the court (and monarchy) as a cultural institution – certainly when compared to the French court or the courts of the many German states – as well as depleting the influence of the Church in which both visual art and musical expression was often controversial.⁴⁴

I want to look at the case of music to see to what extent it conforms to this view and to look at what was ‘public’ and what sorts of publics there were. We are dealing here with the tricky relations between the court and the town, between the public and private and the relations between patronage and markets. Let me begin with a couple of remarks about the slippery term ‘public’. As late as the 1740s, the royal court could be described as a public place but it was also described in contemporary guidebooks as one of the capital’s diversions, a site on a tourist itinerary. The court was usually thought of as part of a larger audience in the town. When Rich’s pantomime *The Necromancer or Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, put on in the Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre in 1723, drew away audiences from the other theatres, the protagonists of Drury Lane lamented that “[b]oth the Courts have forsaken us”.⁴⁵ This points to a rather loose line between court and town, but an incident in George II’s reign which pertains to spaces rather than people reveals a rather clearer distinction. When George visited the theatre, he liked to insist that, as a court, attendees should remove their hats in the presence of the monarch. But the tory MP Francis Seymour refused to do so. He said, “he should have thought it very wrong to have done anything of that sort in the King’s Palaces, but there were no kings at operas and playhouses where everybody might sit as they pleased”.⁴⁶ This, no doubt, was a calculated insult, but one that could hardly be more anti-absolutist or more conscious of how site-specific behaviour could be.

44 See, inter alia, R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court. Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture*, Stanford 1993; Brewer 1997, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 3–55. For a re-evaluation see Hannah Smith, “The Court in England, 1714–1760. A Declining Political Institution?” in *History* 90 / 1 (2005), pp. 23–41.

45 Letter Robert Wilks, Barton Booth and Colley Cibber to Richard Steele, 12 December 1724, quoted from *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Richard Steele*, 2 vols., ed. Henry R. Montgomery, Edinburgh 1865, reprint New York 1971, vol. 2, p. 283.

46 Quoted and discussed in Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy. Politics and Culture, 1714–1760*, Cambridge 2006, p. 235.

In practice music often moved between the court and the town and at no time more often than in the reign of Queen Anne, a great musical enthusiast but one whose ailments made it difficult for her to appear in public. Thus Giovanni Bononcini's *Camilla*, first performed in Italy in the 1690s, was put on at Drury Lane Theatre late in 1706 and then performed at court for Anne's birthday in 1707. New Year's and birthday songs for Anne in 1703 were published and performed in a public theatre.

Though unquestionably the court was a great centre of music, its importance varied according to the monarch and his / her circumstance. It peaked under Charles II and hit its nadir between 1674 and 1702, especially when William III demonstrated his philistine qualities. Few commercial operations or companies had the resources to mount a production like that of the court masque of 1675, *Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph*, with a libretto by John Crowne and music by Nicholas Staggins. All the spoken parts were by courtiers and it consisted of five acts in verse and six musical performances, employing 90 musicians and costing over £5,000. It took nearly six months of preparation.⁴⁷ Yet it was precisely this sort of extravagance that drove the monarchy into debt, leading ill-paid or unpaid royal musicians, including members of the famous band of 24 violins, to set up schools and, in the case of John Banister, start a concert series. Court musicians were driven out into the town, as in Henry Purcell's move after 1688 from court composer to composer for the theatre.

Court ceremonial remained central to the musical life of London, for example the celebration of royal birthdays and accession days. Commercial performance drew on the singers from the Chapel Royal, St Pauls and Westminster Abbey and royal authority over music and theatre remained powerful – though again fluctuating –, institutionalized both in the licensing of the theatre, the granting of patents or warrants to companies and musical publishers and the role of the Lord Chamberlain as censor. But this was the scaffolding within which a commercial edifice was built. The monarch had tremendous powers – to grant pensions and posts in the royal household, or indeed elsewhere – but in practice he or she was, as in politics, *primus inter pares*. In 1719, George I may have invested £1,000 in the Royal Academy of Music to promote opera and have granted it a charter, but he was only

47 Cf. Andrew R. Walkling, "The Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court. John Crowne's 'Calisto'", in *Early Music* 24 / 1 (1996), pp. 27–62 and James Winn, *Queen Anne. Patron of the Arts*, Oxford 2014, pp. 1–10.

one of the investors in what was a joint stock company that raised £15,000.⁴⁸ And whether the joint-stock company paid dividends was a matter of hard economics – the salaries of performers; the receipts of subscribers and audiences.

Many sorts of music of course were expensive and their audiences were exclusive. As Robert Hume and David Hunter have been at pains to show, opera subscriptions and tickets, even those of the oratorios, were beyond the purse of all but a tiny elite.⁴⁹ Music clubs and bands of amateurs who gathered together to make music and organize concerts, like the Castle Society at the Castle tavern on Paternoster Row (the centre of the London publishing industry), excluded “vintners, victuallers, keepers of coffee houses, tailors, peruke makers, barbers, journeymen and apprentices”.⁵⁰ Access to and exclusion from genteel music defined communities, both in London and especially in the provinces. This has led some to argue that we should think of more than one audience for music: on the one hand, a body of frequent attenders and practitioners, bound together by social and musical interests, and on the other, those who could only afford the occasional concert or visit to the pleasure garden.⁵¹ This of course fits well with the notion that most auditors were ill-informed or (by implication) wanted to hear better-known or more accessible music. However, it overlooks the abundant evidence that many members of the beau monde were far more interested in exclusive sociability than in the performances on offer. For every person – usually a woman – poring over a playbook or score there were others preening themselves before their audience. But more than this, detailed calculations about who had access to a particular performance or concert,

48 Judith Milhaus and Robert D. Hume, “The Charter for the Royal Academy of Music”, in *Music and Letters* 61 / 1 (1986), pp. 50–58.

49 Robert D. Hume, “The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740”, in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 / 4 (2006), pp. 487–533; David Hunter, “Patronizing Handel, Inventing Audiences. The Intersections of Class, Money, Music and History”, in *Early Music* 28 / 1 (2000), pp. 32–36, 38–49; id., “Rode the 12,000? Counting Coaches, People and Errors En Route to the Rehearsal of Handel’s *Music for the Royal Fireworks* at Spring Gardens, Vauxhall in 1749”, in *London Journal* 37 / 1 (2012), pp. 13–26.

50 For the range and price of concerts see Catherine Harbor, “Marketing of Concerts in London, 1672–1749”, in *Proceedings of the 19th Biennial Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing*, ed. Val Larsen, 2019, <https://ojs.library.carleton.ca/index.php/pcharm/issue/view/122> (last access 20 March 2020), pp. 2–26.

51 Cf. esp. Hannah Greig, “‘Altogether and All Distinct’. Social Exclusivity and the Pleasure Gardens of Eighteenth-Century London”, in *Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012), pp. 50–75 and Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century*, Aldershot 2006, p. 4.

though they encourage us to treat with scepticism the eighteenth-century critics who inveighed against promiscuous social mixing and probably exaggerated the demotic presence in the audience, rather miss the point. Where you have the sort of system that prevailed in eighteenth-century England, in which high and low cultures were mixed promiscuously, were reproduced and available in many forms to be experienced vicariously and were repeatedly moved from one context to another, you have to treat text, score and performance as multivalent and protean. Crucially, access to polite print culture, including ways that did not involve purchase, was far easier as well as cheaper than access to polite music.⁵²

A similar sort of problem arises when you think in terms of ‘patronage’ as personal dependence and as antithetically opposed to ‘independence’ in an open market. Most artists, writers, painters, composers and musicians cobbled together a more or less (usually less but, in the case of someone like Handel, a great deal more) of a living by combining a variety of money-making activities. At times this might entail a high level of dependence, tantamount to service (as it did for Handel when he lived in the households of Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington and the egregiously corrupt James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos). But for many, especially those less immediately attractive to the very rich, they made their way by making do. Avison, for example, held a position as the organist of the finest church in Newcastle, St. Nicholas’s, but he also ran subscription concert series in Newcastle and Durham, gave lessons, composed music, published books and, though claiming to be a gentleman, worked throughout his life. At one point his wife supplemented their income by giving sewing lessons.⁵³ Posts, teaching, performance at concerts, assemblies, balls and dances, concert promotion / impresario, composition / publication, usually by subscription, was a common experience throughout provincial Britain.⁵⁴ For most cultural practitioners in literature, the visual arts as well as music, it was a question of making do.

52 For an overview see John Brewer and Iain McCalman, “Publishing”, in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, ed. Iain McClaman, Oxford 1999, pp. 197–206.

53 Roz Southey and Eric Cross (eds.), *Charles Avison in Context. National and International Musical Links in Eighteenth-Century North-East England*, Didcot 2017, esp. chapter 7: Roz Southey, “Managing a Musical Career in the Eighteenth Century. The Interweaving of Patronage and Commercialisation in the Careers of Charles Avison and Edward Meredith”, pp. 179–213.

54 Brewer 1997, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 531–572.

What then do we conclude? How useful has the politeness / commercialization model been in understanding eighteenth-century English society or the relations of music and the arts? The focus on politeness has been essentially discursive, constructed through textual analysis. It sidesteps the sociological question, except where it seeks to address practices and even here it too often reverts to literary accounts and to didactic or prescriptive literature. It offers one overarching reading / interpretation of social and cultural activity and is weak when dealing with anything that falls outside its immediate purview. So politeness as a discourse is largely immaterial for the poor, the majority of the population, unless it is seen simply as a disciplinary mechanism. And it is important to see the contradictions within politeness, which often only become apparent when one looks at specific cultural practices. Take the question of gender. On the one hand, as Richard Leppert notoriously argued long ago, music was often seen as feminine and effeminate, in tension with a notion of politeness as manly and male.⁵⁵ Yet, on the other hand, in general women were often seen as having a special polishing and polite influence on men, through acts of social intercourse, like playing music or engaging in certain sorts of conversation. And, yet again, as I have tried to show, this also produced a deep masculine anxiety about female power. This cannot be dismissed as a sort of discursive construct. If one looks at the power exercised by performers – actresses and singers, for example⁵⁶ – we can see how they shaped both the music and themselves in ways that gave them a certain power and independence.

This point can be made more generally. Both the models of politeness and of commercialization have made us (and I think rightly so) very conscious of audiences, readers and all forms of reception, have made us realize that different arts may be enmeshed in shared, similar processes which may be external to specific cultural forms, and have asked us to think about change. As I have said, they encourage us to see the meaning in cultural performance as situated – both in a particular physical space – and in the context of a certain type of audience and its presumed perceptions. This tends to put the creator / generator of music and other arts in a box, sometimes at the expense of the creator or performer. Like studies of consumption,

55 Richard Leppert, *Music and Image. Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, Cambridge 1988.

56 I am thinking of someone like Kitty Clive for whom see Berta Joncus, *Kitty Clive, or the Fair Songster*, Woodbridge 2019.

such an approach downplays the role of the maker. But this is not a plea to go back to what some, disparagingly, have called genius studies, the love-child of Romanticism in which all that matters is the relation of the creator to the score, the image or the text. Whatever the art form, the creativity of the creator / performer must be both analyzed and respected, their agency within a system of restraints acknowledged and reconstructed. The difficulty of course is to connect in a meaningful way what are often referred to as either 'internalist / formalist' or 'externalist / contextual' studies. But the most productive space in the history of music and the arts lies precisely at their conjunction.

MELANIE UNSELD

„training [...] at his father’s hands and at those of the musical community that surrounded these families“

Musikerfamilien als Ort der Ausbildung und Professionalisierung

„Music was frequently a family affair – sons followed fathers into the profession.“¹ Man mag diesen Satz für einen Gemeinplatz halten, immerhin ist die Musikgeschichte voller mehrgenerationeller Musikerfamilien – und doch ist bezeichnend, wie Roz Southey in ihrer Studie über *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* ein lange bekanntes Phänomen beschreibt: Dass Musikerfamilien in England im 18. Jahrhundert existierten und hier über Generationen hinweg ihre Profession patrilinear weitergegeben wurde, liegt in der Aussage auf oberer Ebene zutage. So weit, so allgemeingültig (übrigens weit über die Grenzen Nordost-Englands hinaus). Was aber im Satz verborgen liegt, ist die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen Musik als „family affair“ und Musik als „profession“: Ist mit „affair“ und „profession“ das gleiche gemeint und wenn nicht, worin liegen die Unterschiede, die (mögliche) Grenze? Weiters wäre zu fragen, ob im Feld der Musik von einer „profession“ (im Singular) die Rede sein kann, und nicht zuletzt liegt die Vermutung auf der Hand, dass sich hinter den beiden Begriffen (auch) die Frage nach der weiblichen Teilhabe verbirgt: „family“ als gemischtgeschlechtliche Gruppe, „profession“ als patrilineare Tradition. Damit wer-

¹ Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century*, Aldershot und Burlington 2006, S. 165.

den Fragen nach dem Konzept des Familialen gestellt, allerdings ohne die Spezifik des Sozialgefüges ‚Familie‘ im 18. Jahrhundert explizit zu machen.

Über Musikerfamilien auf diese Weise zu schreiben, ist keinesfalls unüblich. Dennoch stellt sich die Frage, ob die Art und Weise, wie also über Musik als „family affair“ nachgedacht, gesprochen bzw. geschrieben wird, den Situationen von Musikerfamilien im 18. Jahrhundert entspricht. Denn deutlich wird beim oben zitierten Beispiel, dass die Tatsache, wie über Familie nachgedacht und geschrieben wird, maßgeblich geprägt ist durch das dahinter verborgene Familien-Bild: Von einer ‚father-to-son-profession‘ zu schreiben etwa heißt, eine unilineare (genauer: patrilineare) Deszenz als Grundlage von Professionalität anzunehmen, was nicht nur die Frage aufwirft, wie Virtuosinnen, Sängerinnen etc. zu Professionalität gelangen konnten, sondern auch, welche Rolle Deszenz – mithin blutsverwandtschaftliche Abstammung – in Musikerfamilien überhaupt spielte.

I. Über ‚Familie‘ nachdenken und schreiben: Kritik am impliziten Modell der Kleinfamilie

Wenn sich im Sprechen über Musikerfamilien Grundannahmen über das Familiäre verbergen, sind diese bis heute häufig geprägt vom Familienbild des bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhunderts, das auf „Privatisierung und Emotionalisierung der Familie“ sowie auf „einer verschärften Betonung der unterschiedlichen Geschlechtscharaktere von Mann und Frau“ setzte.² Das eingangs zitierte Beispiel ist nur eines von vielen, dass und wie (vor allem: wie unsichtbar) sich diese Grundannahmen auch dort halten, wo sie – da aus dem 19. Jahrhundert stammend – ahistorisch sind. Dass es sich dabei nicht nur um eine sprachliche Ungenauigkeit handelt, sondern dass sich daran grundlegende ‚blinde Flecken‘ historischer Forschung erkennen lassen, zeigt ein jüngeres Beispiel aus der europäischen Frühgeschichte: 1878 wurde im schwedischen Birka ein Wikingergrab entdeckt, das typische Grabbeiga-

2 Andreas Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München ³2013, S. 5–6. Vgl. zum bürgerlichen Familienbild im deutschsprachigen Diskurs des 19. Jahrhunderts v. a. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Social-Politik*, Bd. 3, *Die Familie*, Stuttgart 1855. S. a. Melanie Unseld, „Argumentieren in Wissenschaft und Musik: Wilhelm Heinrich Riehls *Hausmusik* (1855)“, in: *Zum Selbstverständnis der Gender Studies. Methoden – Methodologien – theoretische Diskussionen und empirische Übersetzungen* (L'AGENDA 1), hrsg. von Corinna Onnen und Susanne Rode-Breymann, Opladen u. a. 2017, S. 121–128.

ben eines Kriegers beinhaltete, darunter mehrere Speere, Axt und Schwert, zwei Pferde und ein Brettspiel. Die Entdeckung geschah zu einem Zeitpunkt, als der Familiendiskurs weithin durch das Modell der bürgerlichen Kleinfamilie geprägt war, und so war es zunächst klar, dass – da es sich *nicht* um ein Familiengrab handelte (keine Gruppe, keine Kinder), noch dazu die entsprechenden Grabbeigaben gefunden wurden – es sich um das Grab eines Wikingerkriegers handelt. Diese Überzeugung hielt annähernd 140 Jahre. Erst 2017 kamen Wissenschaftler_innen auf den Gedanken, nach dem Geschlecht des Skeletts zu forschen: Es war weiblich.³ Offensichtlich aber hatte das im 19. Jahrhundert weitverbreitete Familienbild als Denkgrundlage für Forschung der Frühgeschichte gedient, so dass die These ausgeschlossen zu sein schien, dass es sich bei dem Skelett um eine Frau handeln könne. Die Frau im bürgerlichen Familienbild war nur innerhalb der Familie (und damit in einem Familiengrab zu bestatten) denkbar.⁴ Als epistemologische Grundlage frühgeschichtlicher Forschung wird hier der Diskurs um die bürgerliche Kleinfamilie sichtbar, ein Diskurs, der sich ab dem mittleren 19. Jahrhundert beobachten lässt und dessen Sedimentierung in Gesellschaft, Gesetzgebung und Identitätskonzepte eine derart dominante Denkform abgab, dass er sich nicht zuletzt auch in historisch arbeitenden Disziplinen festsetzte, so dass ein kritisch-differenzierender Blick auf das normierende Potential dieser Denkform lange kaum möglich schien. Die Denkform ‚Familie als Klein- oder Kernfamilie‘ war seit dem bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert so stark verankert, dass selbst hier mit diesem Modell im Sinne einer tendenziell unsichtbaren, gerade daher aber umso wirkmächtigeren Annahme gearbeitet wurde. Besonders wichtig bei der Analyse von Familienstrukturen (auch und gerade vor dem bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert) scheint es daher, genauer nachzufragen, was ‚Familie‘ in der jeweiligen Zeit heißt, ohne dabei freilich ins Gegenteil jenes bürgerlichen Modells zu verfallen, d. h. ein anderes allgemeingültiges Modell zu propagieren, etwa dem einem ‚Mythos von der Großfamilie‘ das Wort zu reden.⁵

3 Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson u. a., „A Female Viking Warrior Confirmed by Genomics“, in: *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 164 / 4 (2017), S. 853–860, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.23308> (abgerufen am 25.03.2020).

4 „Already in the early middle ages, there were narratives about fierce female Vikings fighting alongside men. Although, continuously reoccurring in art as well as in poetry, the women warriors have generally been dismissed as mythological phenomena.“ Ebd., S. 853.

5 Vgl. Dorett Funcke und Bruno Hildenbrand, *Ursprünge und Kontinuität der Kernfamilie. Einführung in die Familiensoziologie*, Wiesbaden 2018, insbes. S. 27–32 (Kapitel „Der Mythos von der Großfamilie“).

Die neuere Familienforschung geht von einem historisch-kritischen Familienbegriff aus, der das Soziotop Familie (a) zeitlich differenziert und (b) weitere Differenzkriterien wie Stand, Religion, Profession, Region, ökonomische Verhältnisse etc. berücksichtigt.⁶ Diese Differenzierungen verbieten denn auch, allzu grobmaschig von persistenten Modellen auszugehen: Weder war das Modell der (nachträglich idealisierten) Großfamilie grundsätzlich etabliert, noch das Modell der Kern- oder Kleinfamilie. Den Historikerinnen Inken Schmidt-Voges, Michaela Hohkamp und anderen ist daher zuzustimmen, dass die Bandbreite möglicher Lebensverhältnisse (eheähnliche Lebensgemeinschaften, gewollte und ungewollte Ehelosigkeit, Lebensgemeinschaften mit und ohne Kinder, gleich- und nicht-gleichgeschlechtliche, generationelle Diversität, leibliche / angenommene Kindschaftsverhältnisse etc.) im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert groß und – jenseits der diskursbestimmenden Schriften und den in den Quellen sichtbaren „Inszenierungen häuslichen Lebens“ – eine enorme Vielfalt der „Ehe- und Paarbeziehungen, der Ausgestaltung von familiärer Ökonomie und Haushaltsstrukturen“ zu beobachten ist.⁷ Dass aber Familien einer ökonomisch stabilen Grundlage bedürfen, dass deshalb ökonomisch sinnvolle Haushaltsstrukturen etabliert wurden und dabei Ausbildung und Professionalisierungsprozesse substantieller Bestandteil von Familienstrukturen waren, ist bei all dieser Vielfalt unbenommen. Auf diesen Ausschnitt des Familialen sei daher im Folgenden der Fokus gelegt, und insbesondere dorthin, wo implizite Vorannahmen des Familialen Phänomene unsichtbar zu machen drohen. Dabei gehe ich davon aus, dass (1) Ausbildung und Profession näher beieinanderliegen als in modernen Vorstellung von Professionalisierungsprozessen angenommen wird und dass (2) Formen des professionellen Handelns in Musikerfami-

6 U. a. Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums. Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)*, Göttingen 2000; Stephanie Coontz, „Historical Perspectives on Family Studies“, in: *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62 / 2 (2000), S. 283–297; Andreas Gestrich, Jens-Uwe Krause und Michael Mitterauer, *Geschichte der Familie*, Stuttgart 2003; François-Joseph Ruggiu, *L'Individu et la famille dans les sociétés urbaines anglaise et française (1720–1780)*, Paris 2007; Albrecht Koschorke u. a., *Vor der Familie. Grenzbedingungen einer modernen Institution*, Konstanz und München 2010; Inken Schmidt-Voges (Hrsg.), *Ehe – Haus – Familie. Soziale Institutionen im Wandel 1750–1850*, Köln u. a. 2010 und Christina von Braun, *Blutsbande. Verwandtschaft als Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin 2018.

7 Vgl. dazu auch Michaela Hohkamp, „Wer ist mit wem, warum und wie verheiratet? Überlegungen zu Ehe, Haus und Familie als gesellschaftliche Schlüsselbeziehungen am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts – samt einem Beispiel aus der Feder eines Mörders“, in: Schmidt-Voges (Hrsg.) 2010, *Ehe – Haus – Familie*, S. 31–47; Inken Schmidt-Voges, „Strategien und Inszenierungen häuslichen Lebens zwischen 1750 und 1820. Eine Einführung“, in: ebd., S. 9–28.

lien existierten, die dann unsichtbar bleiben, wenn man „family affair“ und „profession“ als getrennte und trennbare Sphären des Familialen versteht. Ausbildung und Professionalisierungsprozesse werden im Folgenden mithin als Bestandteil des Konzepts des Familialen gedacht. So ergibt sich nicht zuletzt die Möglichkeit, auch jene Tätigkeiten von weiblichen Familienmitgliedern als Teil eines professionellen Selbstverständnisses wahrnehmbar zu machen, die ansonsten allzu rasch als Assistenz, Zuarbeit oder Vergnügen – mithin als unprofessionell im doppelten Wortsinne – abgewertet wurden. Auf diese Weise geht es den folgenden Überlegungen um einen neuen Blick auf bekannte Familien(konstellationen) der Musikkultur des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die Überlegungen gehen davon aus, dass wir auf bekannte Quellen anders schauen, wenn wir einen anderen Blickwinkel einnehmen. Einen solchen möchte der folgende Text aufzeigen; die Erschließung weiterer Quellen zu der hier vorgestellten Neukonzeption des Familialen muss weiterer (Musikerfamilien-)Forschung vorbehalten bleiben.

II. ‚Familie‘ im 18. Jahrhundert

Will man das Gefüge, aus dem viele Musiker_innen (auch) des 18. Jahrhunderts stammen und in dem sie wesentliche Züge ihrer musikalischen Ausbildung erhalten haben, betrachten, bieten sich neuzeitliche Vorstellungen des Familialen an, insbesondere die Berücksichtigung einer über-generationellen Familie, die als ökonomisch-moralische Einheit verstanden wird: ökonomisch, da sich die so verstandene soziale Einheit einer Ordnung unterwirft, die sich gemeinschaftlich-arbeitsteilig um das Einkommen und finanzielle Auskommen der gesamten, nicht bloß blutsverwandtschaftlich verbundenen Gemeinschaft kümmert; moralisch, da die Einheit allen ihren Mitgliedern einen zwar hierarchisch strukturierten, aber unter religiös-moralischen Gesichtspunkten gesicherten Platz zuweist. Dies war insbesondere für Mädchen und unverheiratete Frauen ein bestimmender, wenngleich auch besonderer Kontrolle unterworfenen Faktor.⁸

8 Erkennbar wird dies u. a. an der Situation der Mägde in der Frühen Neuzeit. Vgl. dazu auch Renate Dürr, *Mägde in der Stadt. Das Beispiel Schwäbisch Hall in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt a. M. 1995.

Für diese familiäre Ökonomie wesentlich war der wirtschaftliche Erfolg.⁹ Darum waren einerseits die (arbeitsteiligen) Strukturen so geschaffen, dass alle an ebendiesem Erfolg mitarbeiten konnten / mussten – woraus sich die Selbstverständlichkeit ableitete, dass Lehrlinge, Kostzöglinge, Dienerschaft etc. zur ‚Familie‘ hinzugerechnet wurden. In Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopædia* (1728) etwa heißt es zum Lemma „Familia, Family“: „commonly implies all the Servants, belonging to a particular Master.“¹⁰ Andererseits war dies die Grundlage dafür, dass innerhalb einer Familie nicht notwendigerweise eine Profession ausgeübt wurde, sondern dass Professionen grundsätzlich so auszuwählen, zu kombinieren und zu realisieren waren, dass die Familie ökonomisch erfolgreich agieren konnte.

Zur Struktur der Familie gehörte eine gattenzentrierte Lebensweise, die vom Hausvater- / Hausmutter-Paar¹¹ ausgehend neben blutsverwandtschaftlichen Familienmitgliedern Gesinde und Lehrlinge umfasste (einschließlich der Eingriffsrechte in die Familienverhältnisse ebendieser), dazu auch Paten- und Vormundschaften. Wiederverhehlung galt ebenso als ökonomisch stabilisierend wie eine Heiratspraxis, die – anders als in Adelsfamilien – darauf abzielte, „rationale Formen der Arbeitsorganisation zu sichern“.¹² Für die familialen Ausbildungszusammenhänge in Musiker-, aber auch Instrumentenbauer-, Theater- oder anderen Künstlerfamilien (zumindest des 18. Jahrhunderts) ist die Situation nicht anders: neben blutsverwandtschaftlichen und angeheirateten Familienmitgliedern gehören auch solche Personen hinzu, die zur Ausbildung in eine Familie geschickt wurden, ohne dass irgendeine Art von Verwandtschaft vorlag. Daraus ergaben sich höchst unterschiedliche (temporäre oder dauerhafte) Familienkonstellationen, die nicht selten enge Schnittstellen zu beruflichen Netzwerken aufweisen.

9 Mit Erfolg ist hier explizit eine möglichst lang andauernde ökonomische Stabilität der Familie gemeint, womit ein markanter Unterschied zu einem Erfolgsbegriff deutlich wird, wie er für Musik als Kunst veranschlagt wird und der insbesondere mit der Neukonturierung des Genie-Begriffs im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert in Verbindung steht. Dort meint Erfolg insbesondere eine *individuelle* Leistung, die nicht notwendigerweise auf finanziellen Erfolg zu Lebzeiten, viel mehr auf Persistenz von Namen und Werk in der Zukunft (Geschichtsschreibung, Kanon etc.) abzielt.

10 Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia. Or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Bd. 2, London 1728, S. 10.

11 Heide Wunder, „*Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond*“. *Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, München 1992.

12 Funcke und Hildenbrand 2018, *Ursprünge und Kontinuität der Kernfamilie*, S. 108.

Wenn Familie, auf diese Weise verstanden, auch ein Ort von Professionalisierung¹³ war, lässt sich hier auch das Erlernen von professionstypischen Handlungsprozessen und von mit der Profession verbundenen habituellen Anforderungen beobachten, wobei nicht zu vergessen ist, dass der Professionen-Begriff selbst historisch zu verstehen ist, zumal an der Schwelle von ständischer zur funktional differenzierten Gesellschaft.¹⁴ Damit ist festzuhalten, nimmt man arbeitssoziologische Ansätze¹⁵ in die historische Familienforschung mit auf, dass die Vorstellung von Profession selbst im 18. Jahrhundert im Wandel begriffen war und sich deutlich von der heutigen Vorstellung von Beruf unterschied,¹⁶ Professionalisierung aber auch in der Familienstruktur des 18. Jahrhunderts wichtiger Bestandteil der Berufsbiographie war, sowie auch das Erlernen von Professionalität, mithin das „habitualisierte[], szenisch-situativ zum Ausdruck kommende[] Agieren[] unter typischerweise sowohl hochkomplexen wie auch paradoxen Handlungsanforderungen“.¹⁷ Festzuhalten ist außerdem, dass sich ab der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts durch die (allmähliche) Auslagerung von Berufsqualifikationen an Universitäten die Bedeutung der Familie für Ausbildung und Professionalisierungsprozesse insofern veränderte, als diese Veränderungen auf Verwissenschaftlichung und den Fokus auf eine exklusiv männliche Individualisierung qua Beruf abzielten. Zugleich aber blieb der soziale

13 Professionalisierungsprozesse werden darüber hinaus auch als Abbild gesellschaftlicher Machtstrukturen, Verteilungskämpfe und Aushandlungsprozesse verstanden, wobei Formen der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsteilung und der Professionalisierung nicht geschlechtsneutral waren und sind. Vgl. dazu Angelika Wetterer, *Arbeitsteilung und Geschlechterkonstruktion. „Gender at work“ in theoretischer und historischer Perspektive*, Konstanz 2002.

14 Rudolf Stichweh, „Professionen in einer funktional differenzierten Gesellschaft“, in: *Pädagogische Professionalität. Untersuchungen zum Typus pädagogischen Handelns*, hrsg. von Arno Combe und Werner Helsper, Frankfurt a. M. 1996, S. 49–69. Vgl. auch Gudrun Ehlert, Art. „Professionalisierung“, in: *socialnet Lexikon*, 2019, <https://www.socialnet.de/lexikon/Professionalisierung> (abgerufen am 09.05.2020).

15 U. a. Niklas Luhmann, *Das Erziehungssystem der Gesellschaft*, hrsg. von Dieter Lenzen, Frankfurt a. M. 2002.

16 Der deutsche Begriff „Beruf“ etwa setzte sich – wie der Begriff „Familie“ – erst im 19. Jahrhundert allmählich durch. Zuvor war von „Gewerben“, „Handwerken“ und „Hantierungen“, auch von „Professionen“ die Rede. Im Französischen überwogen, etwa in der Diderotschen *Encyclopédie* (1751–1780) die Begriffe „sciences“, „arts libéraux“ und „arts mécaniques“, was an mittelalterliche Vorstellungen erinnert. Vgl. Thomas Sokoll, Art. „Beruf“, in: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, Bd. 2, hrsg. von Friedrich Jaeger, Stuttgart 2005, Sp. 43–50, hier Sp. 45.

17 Bernd Dewe und Hans-Uwe Otto, Art. „Profession“, in: *Handbuch Soziale Arbeit. Grundlagen der Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik*, hrsg. von dems. und Hans Thiersch, München und Basel 2011, S. 1131–1142, hier S. 1131. Hierzu gehört freilich auch, was Andreas Reckwitz als professionelles Selbstverständnis des bürgerlichen Arbeitssubjekts des ausgehenden 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts beschreibt. Vgl. Andreas Reckwitz, *Das hybride Subjekt. Eine Theorie der Subjektkulturen von der bürgerlichen Moderne zur Postmoderne*, Weilerswist 2006.

Raum des ‚Hauses‘ ein Ort, an dem Frauen auch professionell agieren konnten. „Das berufliche Tun [...] von Frauen“ sei zwar, so Elisabeth Joris, „im Haus verankert [ge]blieben, das jedoch im Sinne eines ‚offenen Hauses‘ nicht als ein dem Öffentlichen Entgegengesetztes zu verstehen ist.“¹⁸

Eingedenk dieser Beobachtungen zum Familialen scheint es sinnvoll zu sein, im Kontext der Familienforschung mit jenem differenzierten ‚Haus‘-Begriff zu arbeiten, den die Geschichtswissenschaft – nicht zuletzt eingedenk der Problematik des Begriffs und in kritischer Auseinandersetzung damit – in jüngerer Zeit vorgeschlagen hat.¹⁹ Für die hier skizzierten Überlegungen sind dabei vor allem die Perspektiven auf ‚Haus‘ als Ordnungskonzept und als sozialer Raum von Bedeutung: Ersteres meint sowohl die rechtlich-institutionelle Ebene dieser Lebensform, die auf soziale Ordnung abzielt, als auch die Bedeutung, die das ‚Haus‘ als „Bezugspunkt kollektiver und individueller Identitätsbildungsprozesse“ hatte.²⁰ Mit ‚Haus‘ als sozialem Raum fällt der Blick nicht nur auf Fragen der Bedeutung von Verwandtschaft (kinship) und die variablen Grenzen des ‚Hauses‘ etwa durch temporär öffentliche Nutzung konkreter Räume, sondern damit auch auf verschiedene Haustypen, die an Spezifika der Professionen gebunden sind.²¹

18 Elisabeth Joris, „Profession und Geschlecht. Das Haus als Ort der Ausbildung und Berufstätigkeit im 19. Jahrhundert“, in: *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas. Ein Handbuch*, hrsg. von Joachim Eibach, Inken Schmidt-Voges und Simone Derix, Berlin und Boston 2015, S. 355–372, hier S. 356.

19 Zur Auseinandersetzung mit dem Begriff des ‚ganzen Hauses‘ (Otto Brunner) in der deutschsprachigen Forschung („Brunner-Debatte“) vgl. Philip Hahn, „Trends der deutschsprachigen historischen Forschung nach 1945: Vom ‚ganzen Haus‘ zum ‚offenen Haus‘“, in: Eibach, Schmidt-Voges und Derix (Hrsg.) 2015, *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas*, S. 47–63. Siehe dort auch die gegenüber dem Brunner’schen Haus-Begriff formulierte Kritik seitens der Genderforschung, die für die Musikgeschichte von besonderer Relevanz ist.

20 Ebd., S. 54.

21 Vgl. dazu u. a. der Professorenhaushalt: Ulrike Gleixner, „Der Professorenhaushalt“, in: *Das Athen der Welfen. Die Reformuniversität Helmstedt 1576–1810*, hrsg. von Jens Bruning, Wolfenbüttel 2010, S. 129–143; Elizabeth Harding, *Der Gelehrte im Haus – Ehe, Familie und Haushalt in der Standeskultur der frühneuzeitlichen Universität Helmstedt*, Wiesbaden 2014; Melanie Unseld, „Medea auf der Récamière. Transformation zwischen Text, Musik und Performance im Melodram um 1800“, in: *SprachMedienWelten. Wissen und Geschlecht in Musik*Theater*Film** (mdw Gender Wissen 8), hrsg. von Andrea Ellmeier, Doris Ingrisch und Claudia Walkensteiner-Preschl, Wien u. a. 2020, S. 83–111.

III. Im Haus einer Musikerfamilie: Ökonomie, Arbeitserziehung und Berufsvielfalt

Wer im 18. Jahrhundert professionell (im oben genannten Sinne) Musik machte, kam nicht selten aus einer Musikerfamilie. Wenngleich quantitative Erhebungen dazu ausstehen, dürfte es eine Viel-, wenn nicht gar die Mehrzahl der professionellen Musiker und Musikerinnen gewesen sein, und zwar von so unterschiedlichen Bereichen (und strukturell-institutionellen Zusammenhängen) wie höfische Kapelle, städtische Musikdarbietungen, Instrumentalisten- und Virtuositentum, Kantorat und Kapellmeister bis hin zu Stadtpfeiferei, Tanz- und Militärmusik, Instrumentenbau, Musikverlagswesen und -handel. Dies betrifft, um nur wenige Beispiele aus dem 16./17. Jahrhundert zu nennen, die italienisch-englische Musikerfamilie Bassano ebenso wie die englischen Musikerfamilien Gibbons, Purcell, Tomkins ebenso wie die Familie Avison in Newcastle, in der der junge Charles Avison zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts sein „early training [...] at his father's hands and at those of the musical community that surrounded these families“²² erhielt. Nicht zu vergessen sind hierbei auch die Hofmusikerfamilien²³ Mozart, Cramer, Cannabich, Stamitz, Beethoven und Ries an den Höfen in Salzburg, Mannheim oder Bonn, die in verschiedenen Musikprofessionen tätigen Familien wie die Familien Arne, Storace und Dussek / Corri,²⁴ die in Musik, Literatur und Bildender Kunst professionalisierte Familie Burney, die juristisch-bildnerisch-musikalisch-literarisch tätige Familie Coltellini,²⁵ die vor allem in den Tasteninstrumenten reüssierende französische Musikerfamilie Couperin, die italienische Instrumentenbauerfamilien Guadagnini oder die aus Augsburg stammende, in Wien erfolgreiche Familie Stein-Streicher, die unzähligen Theaterfamilien, darunter die irische Familie Hamilton, die

22 Southey 2006, *Music-Making in North-East England*, S. 15.

23 Vgl. z. B. *Süddeutsche Hofkapellen im 18. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von Silke Leopold und Bärbel Pelker, Heidelberg 2014; siehe ebenda insbesondere die Musikerlisten zu den hohenlohischen Residenzen und zur württembergischen Hofmusik sowie die Anmerkungen zu den dichten familiären Querverbindungen von Bärbel Pelker. S. a. Birgit Lodes, Elisabeth Reisinger und John D. Wilson (Hrsg.), *Beethoven und andere Hofmusiker seiner Generation. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn, 3.–6. Dezember 2015* (Musik am Bonner kurfürstlichen Hof 1), Bonn 2018.

24 Melanie Unseld, „Musikerfamilien. Kontinuitäten und Veränderungen im Mikrokosmos der Musikkultur um 1800“, in: ebd., S. 25–54.

25 Dazu vgl. Carola Bebermeier, *Celeste Coltellini (1760–1828). Lebensbilder einer Sängerin und Malerin* (Biographik. Theorie – Kritik – Praxis 4), Köln u. a. 2015.

(Tänzer-), Schauspieler-, Manager-Familien Hallam oder Kemble / Siddons²⁶, zahllose Opern- und Wandertruppen u. v. m. Wie explizit sich jede einzelne der Familien im beruflichen Zusammenhang als solche auswies, auf welche Medien sie dabei zurückgriff (visuelle Medien, Notendruck²⁷, Firmen-Name²⁸, Biographik / Lexikographik²⁹, Stammbaum u. a. m.), und welche Traditionslinien dabei ausgestellt wurden (patrilinear / uxori-linear, Geschwister, Schüler u. a.), ist ebenso unterschiedlich wie die Funktion und Wirksamkeit dieser öffentlichen Sichtbarmachung. Auch die Sichtbarkeit des Familialen in der Musikgeschichtsschreibung ist verschieden. Wenngleich zu einer Reihe von Musikerfamilien Einzelstudien vorliegen – die angeführte Literatur mag hier punktuelle Hinweise geben – steht eine Studie, die vergleichend Musikerfamilien als sozialen Raum in den Blick nimmt, noch aus.

Musikausbildung fand in ganz Europa – abgesehen von frühen Ausbildungsstätten wie den italienischen conservatori oder den Singschulen im kirchlichen Kontext („Sängerknaben“) – in Familien statt.³⁰ Somit war die Ausbildung der folgenden Generation(en) grundlegender Teil der Arbeitsgemeinschaft im ‚Haus‘. Da Musikberufe insgesamt noch stark mit der Idee des Handwerks verbunden waren, lässt sich für die musikalische Ausbildung im ‚Haus‘ durchaus der Begriff der ‚Arbeitserziehung‘ veranschlagen. Der Historiker Andreas Gestrich erläutert den Begriff in Anlehnung an Reinhard Sie-

26 Wobei die Schauspielerin Sarah Siddons auch als Bildhauerin angesehen war.

27 Vgl. u. a. der Hinweis auf die geschwisterliche Verbindung auf Notendruck von Veronika Cianchettini, die auf Titelblättern ihrer gedruckten Kompositionen als „Sister to Mr. Dussek“ ausgewiesen wird. Siehe dazu auch Unseld 2018, „Musikerfamilien“.

28 Vgl. dazu die Firmenbezeichnungen der Klavierbauerfamilie Broadwood (John Broadwood & Son[s], ab 1728 bzw. ab 1808) oder die wechselnden Firmennamen der Steinschen Klavierbauer-Familie, u. a. „Frère et Sœur Stein d'Augsbourg à Vienne“, ab 1802: „Nannette Streicher neé Stein“. Zu letzterer s. Michael Latcham, „The development of the Streicher firm of piano builders under the leadership of Nannette Streicher, 1792 to 1823“, in: *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850. Bericht des Symposiums „Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850“ veranstaltet von der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien vom 16. bis 18.10.2003*, hrsg. von Beatrix Darmstädter, Alfons Huber und Rudolf Hopfner, Tutzing 2007, S. 43–71; Klaus Martin Kopitz, Art. „Nannette Streicher“, in: *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, hrsg. von Beatrix Borchard und Nina Noeske, 2018, http://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/artikel/Nannette_Streicher (abgerufen am 06.11.2020).

29 Für die Familie Dussek vgl. Unseld 2018, „Musikerfamilien“.

30 Dies galt sowohl für die Kinder von Musikerfamilien, als auch für Kinder, die sich für Musik talentiert zeigten, aber aus Nicht-Musikerfamilien stammten: „For talented children from non-musical families, an apprenticeship was the usual way into the profession.“ Lowell Lindgren und Colin Timms, „The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva, 1720–1728, and Related Correspondence with J. P. F. von Schönborn and S. B. Pallavicini“, in: *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 36 (2003), S. 1–174, hier S. 165. Ein anderes Ziel verfolgte das Unterrichten von Schülerinnen oder Schülern, das zwar durchaus auch privatim erteilt wurde, aber nicht auf eine professionelle Tätigkeit abzielte.

der als eine Ausbildungsweise, die gleichsam „naturwüchsig“ zu denken sei, „die von den Kindern zu übernehmenden Einstellungen, Verhaltensweisen und Fertigkeiten durch unmittelbares Erleben im Rahmen der Hausgemeinschaft vermittelt wurden.“³¹ Auch Edward Palmer Thompson unterstrich in seiner bereits 1963 erschienenen Studie *The Making of the English Working Class* die Bedeutung der Kinderarbeit, wobei „[t]he most prevalent form of child labour was in the home or within the family economy.“³²

Musikerfamilien waren der Nucleus der musikalischen Professionalisierung vor der Gründung entsprechender Ausbildungsinstitutionen, die eine Akademisierung³³ der Musikberufe seit dem späten 18., vor allem aber im 19. Jahrhundert vorantrieb. In der Familie wurde musikalisches Wissen tradiert, über Generationen hinweg stabilisiert und weitergegeben. Dabei waren Musikerfamilien Kern- und Knotenpunkte für weiter reichende, zum Teil sich überschneidende professionelle, künstlerische, ökonomische, religiöse u. a. Netzwerke,³⁴ die als wichtige Basis (auch) der Musikausbildung zu verstehen sind. Familien, die im weiten Feld der Professionen der performativen Künste tätig waren, spinnen untereinander ein enges Netz, in dem Kinder, Kindeskiner, aber auch Kostzöglinge oder andere im Haushalt Lebende, in der eigenen oder anderen ortsansässigen, regional bis international vernetzten Familie unterrichtet und früh in die Praxis eingeführt wurden.

Diese Form der Ausbildung qua Lehre bedeutete auch, in der ausbildenden Familie zu leben. Damit wird erkennbar, dass es sich in diesem Sinne beim Familialen nicht notwendigerweise um blutsverwandtschaftliche Zusammenhänge handelte. Gerade weil Musik, Theater, Schauspiel, Tanz – mithin die performativen Künste – mit all ihren notwendigen Tätigkeitsbereichen viele Hände benötigte, waren diese Familien, insbesondere in

31 Andreas Gestrich, Art. „Familie“, in: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, Bd. 3, hrsg. von Friedrich Jaeger, Stuttgart 2006, Sp. 790–812, hier Sp. 803. Vgl. dazu auch Reinhard Sieder, *Vom Patriarchat zur Partnerschaft. Zum Strukturwandel der Familie*, München 1991 (engl. Übersetzung: *The European Family. Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Oxford 1989).

32 Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, London 1963, S. 332. In dieser groß angelegten Studie zur englischen Arbeiterklasse wird „musician“ gleichauf mit zahlreichen anderen Berufen genannt, die die „society of artisans“ (S. 156) bildeten.

33 Wobei die kollektive Professionalisierung qua Akademisierung Musikberufe nicht zuletzt auch – wie andere Berufsgruppen – zu höherer gesellschaftlicher Anerkennung in der beruflichen Hierarchie verhelfen sollte.

34 S. Melanie Unseld, „„Verehrter LandsMann!“. Die Netzwerke der Musikerfamilien Salomon, Ries und Beethoven zwischen Bonn und London“, Vortrag auf dem 3. Hauptsymposium („Der Bonner Beethoven“) im Rahmen des Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Kongresses *Beethoven-Perspektiven*, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 10.–14. Februar 2020 (Druck in Vorb.).

ihren ökonomisch erfolgreichen Phasen, kontinuierlich auf der Suche nach Lehrlingen. Diese kamen für die eigene Professionalisierung in die Familie temporär hinein und arbeiteten hier bereits professionell mit, z.B. indem sie Kopistenarbeit übernahmen, Begleitstimmen aussetzten oder Partien für Nebenrollen komponierten, bei Aufführungen mitwirkten etc. Auf der Bühne zu stehen, zunächst als Kinderdarstellerin oder Tänzerin, später als Schauspielerin, Sängerin, dann auch für die Bühne zu schreiben, ggf. zu komponieren, ggf. – etwa als Witwe – eine Theatertruppe zu leiten – solche Berufsbiographien sind für das 18. Jahrhundert auch für Frauen, etwa aus Schauspielerfamilien, nicht unüblich.³⁵

Solche Ausbildungswege waren ebenso wenig akademisiert wie standardisiert, damit hochgradig kontingent, folgten aber der Grundidee, dass durch die frühe Einbindung in den Alltag der performativen Künste Routinen erlernt, Talente erkannt, entwickelt und erprobt werden konnten. Auf diese Weise im ‚Haus‘ ausgebildet zu werden, bereitete die Heranwachsenden auf eine professionelle Laufbahn in mehreren künstlerischen Feldern, nicht notwendigerweise in einem einzelnen Fach („profession“) vor. Die Zeit als Lehrling war dabei keineswegs immer konfliktfrei: Quellen sprechen von Ausbeutung und Misshandlung, aber auch von unzuverlässigen Lehrlingen, die ihren Pflichten nicht nachkamen.³⁶

Dass Kinder und Heranwachsende zum Zweck der Ausbildung migrierten, war eher erwartbar als die Ausnahme. Und nicht unüblich war, dass Lehrlinge nach der Ausbildungszeit in einer Musikerfamilie auf Reisen gingen. Finanziert werden konnten diese Reisen, die als weiterer Teil der Ausbildung verstanden wurden, durchaus häufig durch die ausbildende Musikerfamilie selbst. Das ist immerhin erstaunlich, denn auf diese Weise übernahm die Musikerfamilie Kosten, die alternativ durch andere, etwa die Aristokratie bzw. der Hof oder andere Patronatspersonen finanziert wurden. Hier wird deutlich, wie eng die Lehrlinge zum ‚Haus‘ als ökonomischer Einheit verbunden

35 Vgl. dazu etwa die weiblichen Mitglieder der Schauspieler-Musikerfamilie Brandes.

36 Vgl. Southey 2006, *Music-Making in North-East England*, S. 165: „Apprentices frequently played in concert and dancing assembly bands but were not necessarily always trouble-free; Avison listed the maintaining of such apprentices as a necessary part of the expenses of a subscription series, and a burdensome one, although he did not state precisely why; he may have been thinking, as he wrote, of the difficulties he had had with one of his apprentices, George William, who had run away in 1739, prompting Avison to advertise for him in local papers.“

blieben und welche Bedeutung sie auch dann noch für das ‚Haus‘ hatten, wenn sie nicht mehr buchstäblich unter dem gemeinsamen Dach wohnten.

Die Reisen dienten zwei wesentlichen Zwecken: der weiteren Ausbildung des Lehrlings und der Vernetzung. Auf diese Weise konnte einerseits das Renommee der Musikerfamilie (der ‚Name‘) etabliert, andererseits die für die Musikkultur so wichtige Vernetzung initiiert und gestärkt werden (Mobilität). In diesem Sinne war eine (Ausbildungs)Reise nach London und seinem im 18. Jahrhundert bereits stark entwickeltem Musikmarkt mit dem Versuch verbunden, hier eine freie musikalische Karriere zu starten und entsprechend für zahllose Musikerinnen und Musiker hoch attraktiv, was an zahlreichen Musiker_innen-Biographien erkennbar ist.³⁷

Wie lange dann jede / r Einzelne und in welcher Form des „apprenticeships“ in Musikerfamilien (vor Ort und auf Reisen) verblieb, differiert von wenigen Wochen bis zu Jahren, von engem Studium bis hin zur losen Nutzung der Familie als ‚Kontaktbörse‘. Musikerfamilien des 18. Jahrhunderts sind, so wäre daher zu verallgemeinern, gerade nicht (bzw. nicht ausschließlich) als räumlich stabile Einheit einer zusammenhängenden blutsverwandtschaftlichen Familie zu denken, sondern auch als Nucleus von ästhetischen und ökonomischen Einheiten, zu deren Interesse es gehörte, gut vernetzt und hoch mobil zu sein.

Versteht man Familie schließlich auch als moralische Einheit, lag ein großes Interesse auch auf der Stabilisierung der moralischen Integrität. Beides war auch für Musikerfamilien essentiell. Die moralische Integrität wird insbesondere dann plausibel, berücksichtigt man zum einen die schmale Trennlinie der Profession zu unteren sozialen Schichten (Spielleute), zum anderen den hohen Anteil der Mädchen und Frauen, die als professionelle Akteurinnen in der Öffentlichkeit (Bühne) standen.³⁸ In Theater- und Musikerfamilien des 18. Jahrhunderts waren – wie in der ökonomischen Ein-

37 Vgl. dazu auch Lindgren und Timms 2003, „The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva“. Zur (ökonomisch erzwungenen) Mobilität von Musikerfamilien im ausgehenden 18. und 19. Jahrhundert vgl. auch Ann V. Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician 1788–1888. A Family of English Musicians in Ireland, England, Mauritius, and Australia*, Oxford 1992.

38 Thomas Sokoll geht sogar davon aus, dass die Geschichte der Berufe „vornehmlich männlich bestimmt gewesen“ sei. Es habe zwar einige wenige „Frauenberufe“ (und auch Frauenzünfte) gegeben, im Grunde aber gehörte die arbeitende Frau zum Teil der männlichen Berufswelt: „[...] die Frau des Meisters [arbeitete] im Betrieb (v. a. in Verkauf und Buchführung) mit[...] oder Töchter [wurden] ‚angelernt‘ [...]. Aber als solche blieb sie im berufl. Schatten des Mannes, aus dem sie erst heraustreten konnte, wenn sie als Meisterwitwe seinen Betrieb weiterführte.“ Sokoll 2006, Art. „Beruf“, Sp. 49. Da Sokoll in seiner Übersicht die

heit Familie vorgesehen – Mädchen und Frauen selbstverständlich Teil der Arbeitsgemeinschaft und damit auch moralisch abgesichert, was aufgrund der hohen moralischen Vulnerabilität von Bühnenkünstlerinnen nicht unwesentlich war.³⁹ Aus der Couperin-Familie beispielsweise waren mehrere weibliche Familienmitglieder, etwa als Töchter des renommierten François Couperin (le Grand) moralisch abgesichert, was sich daran erkennen lässt, dass sie etablierter wie angesehener Teil der Versailler Hofmusik waren, darunter etwa Marguerite-Antoinette Couperin, jüngste Tochter von Couperin und Marie-Anne Ansault. Auch sie war im Familienkontext ausgebildet worden und reüssierte als Cembalistin am Versailler Hof. Dass sie zunächst den Titel als „Maîtresse de Clavecin de Mesdames de France“, mithin als Lehrerin der Töchter Louis' XV., erhielt, später (1736) auch den Titel der königlichen Titularcembalistin, verband künstlerische mit institutioneller Anerkennung.⁴⁰ Aus der böhmisch-englischen Musikerfamilie Dussek wiederum stammten u. a. die Cembalistin, Komponistin und Pädagogin Veronika Dussek, verheiratet mit dem Londoner Musikverleger Francesco Ciani, oder auch die Harfenistin, Sängerin, Pädagogin und Komponistin Sophia Dussek, Schwägerin von Veronika Dussek und aus der Edinburgher Musikerfamilie Corri stammend. Die Schwägerinnen, beide aus Musikerfamilien kommend und in solche wiederum einheiratend, waren mit ihren verschiedenen Tätigkeiten über Jahrzehnte in das Londoner Musikleben integriert.

Die Vielfachbezeichnungen bei den Schwägerinnen Ciani / Dussek – ein in der modernen Lexikographie eher nivelliertes, denn thematisiertes Phänomen – verweist schließlich auch auf das Phänomen der ‚Berufsvielfalt‘. Als ökonomisch stabilisierend galt das Arbeitsteilige innerhalb eines ‚Hauses‘ bzw. das Selbstverständnis, dass zum wirtschaftlichen Erfolg viele Teilbereiche notwendig waren: Alle Beteiligten (unabhängig von Alter, Geschlecht etc.) trugen ebenso grundsätzlich wie arbeitsteilig zum Einkommen bei. Die Vielzahl an notwendigen Tätigkeiten etwa, die Musik zu dem macht, was sie ist – ein klingendes Ereignis –, bedurfte einer Vielzahl an Menschen,

Künste als Beruf nicht inkludiert, dürfte hier Anlass zur Differenzierung geben sein. Zur Frage der Frauenberufe vgl. auch Wetterer 2002, *Arbeitsteilung und Geschlechterkonstruktion*.

39 Vgl. u. a. Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens. Performance and Identity on Handel's Operatic Stage*, Cambridge 2013. Die moralische Vulnerabilität von Künstlerinnen, insbesondere Bühnenkünstlerinnen, existierte noch weit über das 18. Jahrhundert hinaus. Ein familialer Kontext (Heirat, Familie etc.) konnte diese Vulnerabilität abschwächen, wenngleich Heirat nicht selten den Verzicht auf öffentliches Auftreten nach sich zog.

40 Claudia Schweitzer, „...ist übrigens als Lehrerin höchst empfehlungswürdig“. *Kulturgeschichte der Clavierlehrerin*, Oldenburg 2008.

die in der Lage waren, diese Vielzahl an Tätigkeiten gemeinsam und / oder arbeitsteilig auszuführen.⁴¹ Je nach Profession konnte dies sein: Kopisten- und andere Schreibarbeiten, Instrumentenstimmung und -reparaturen, unterrichten, die Organisation von Auftritten, das Leiten von Proben, arrangieren, Generalbass spielen, üben, komponieren, mit dem Publikum kommunizieren, Noten drucken, Geschäftsmodelle entwickeln, Kontakte pflegen u. a. m. Für kaum eine dieser (Teil)Tätigkeiten gab es eine spezialisierte Ausbildung, vieles wurde im täglichen Betrieb bzw. nach täglichem Bedarf erlernt und jedes Mitglied der Familie tat gut daran, ein Bündel dieser (Teil-)Tätigkeiten zu beherrschen. Die ökonomische Stabilität einer Musikerfamilie wurde durch das möglichst reibungslose Ineinandergreifen dieser vielfältigen Tätigkeiten jedes / r einzelnen unterstützt. Vice versa waren vom Scheitern einer solchen ökonomischen Einheit alle Beteiligten betroffen.

Es ist vor diesem Hintergrund nicht erstaunlich, dass in zahlreichen Musikerfamilien zahlreiche Tätigkeiten gebündelt zu finden waren, die heute jede einzelne für sich als „Beruf“ bezeichnet werden, im Verständnis des 18. Jahrhunderts aber zur Existenz des Musikerhauses zusammengehörig gedacht waren. Denn zum (v. a. ökonomischen) Erfolg einer Musikerfamilie zählte insbesondere dort, wo keine Anbindung an einen Hof für eine gewisse ökonomische Stabilität sorgte, ein Portfolio an Tätigkeiten, die sich am Bedarf orientierten, sich bestenfalls ergänzten und auf diese Weise nicht nur individuellen Fähigkeiten Raum gaben, sondern vor allem auch ökonomische Multiplikationseffekte hatten. Das Beispiel der in London tätigen, mehrgenerationellen Musikerfamilien Dussek / Corri / Cianchettini mit Berufsfeldern wie Virtuosität (Tasteninstrumente, Harfe, Gesang), komponieren, unterrichten, Musik verlegen und Musikalienhandel bestätigt das ebenso wie der aus der Mannheimer Musikerfamilie stammende Johann Baptist Cramer, der in London als Pädagoge, Komponist, Klaviervirtuose, Musikverleger, Musikalienhändler und Instrumentenbauer erfolgreich war.

Musikprofessionen waren, darauf mögen die knappen Beispiele hindeuten, im 18. Jahrhundert notwendigerweise ein weites Feld, durchaus kontingent und volatil, am Markt orientiert und noch nicht selbstver-

41 In Theaterfamilien und solchen, die generell performative Künste als Profession ausübten, war dies kaum anders. Hinzu kommen Professionen wie Literatur (Libretti, Dramen, Reise- und Memoirliteratur, pädagogische Literatur), Journalismus, Verlags- und Publikationswesen, aber auch bildende Künste u. a. m., die weitere professionelle Schnittstellen und Synergien boten.

ständig und in umfassendem Maße von Spezialisierung gekennzeichnet, die sich dann im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts zu etablieren begann und hierbei mit der akademischen Institutionalisierung der Musikausbildung Hand in Hand ging. Jene kontingent-volatilen Professionen aber ließen sich durch einen sozialen Zusammenhang, wie es das Haus als ökonomische Einheit bot, stabilisieren.

IV. Familie Burney. Ein Beispiel für künsteübergreifende Berufsvielfalt, Arbeitserziehung und Professionalisierungs(un)möglichkeiten

Wie aber lassen sich diese allgemeinen Beobachtungen zu Musikerfamilien weiter konkretisieren? Wie lassen sie sich vor allem bei der Darstellung der einzelnen Akteur_innen und ihrer Handlungsfelder nutzbringend einsetzen? Wie werden in den Quellen Hinweise auf künsteübergreifendes Handeln, arbeitsteiliges Handeln und innerfamiliäre Professionalisierungsprozesse erkennbar? Dies sei im Folgenden kurz am Beispiel der Familie Burney⁴² in den Blick genommen. Der 1726 geborene Charles Burney war Sohn von James Macburney, der zeittypisch in mehreren Professionen tätig war. Die Quellen lassen ihn als Tänzer, Geiger und als Porträtmaler auftreten. Die Musik war u. a. in der Familie durch Charles' Halbbruder James verankert, James Burney war Organist in Shrewsbury und unterrichtete den heranwachsenden Charles, bevor dieser für sieben Jahre nach London in das Haus des Komponisten Thomas Augustine Arne und seiner Frau, der bei Francesco Geminiani ausgebildeten Sängerin Cecilia Arne, geb. Young, gegeben wurde. Damit durchlief Burney bereits in jungen Jahren geradezu prototypisch die Ausbildung zum Musiker: innerhalb der Musikerfamilien Burney und Arne, wobei das Haus Arnes mit seinem professionellen Netzwerk in London zukünftige berufliche Vorteile versprach. Immerhin wurde Burney so in die Lage versetzt, unter der Leitung von Georg Friedrich Händel als Orchestermusiker spielen zu können. Die Zeit als Lehrling war für Burney gleichwohl nicht konfliktfrei, so dass er 1748 durch seinen Patron Fulke Greville aus dem Lehrverhältnis zu Arne „ausgelöst“ wurde. An dieser Stelle wird noch einmal deutlich, dass die Ausbildung in einer Musikerfamilie eng mit ökonomi-

⁴² Vgl. grundlegend zu einzelnen Familienmitgliedern <https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020).

schen Bedingungen verknüpft war. Wollte ein Lehrling das Haus verlassen, musste ggf. sogar eine Form der Ablöse gezahlt werden.

Auch die Aspekte von Mobilität und professioneller wie personeller Volatilität von Musikerfamilien lassen sich in der Burney-Familie zeigen.⁴³ Auffällig ist hier, dass sich sowohl die Grenzen zwischen den Professionen, als auch die zwischen den Künsten immer wieder auflösten bzw. durchlässig blieben: Betrachtet man die Familie nur im Ausschnitt dreier Generationen, ist auffällig, dass sich die einzelnen Familienmitglieder in (zum Teil mehreren) Bereichen der Bildenden Kunst (Malerei, Karikatur), der praktischen Musik und der Literatur (Drama, Reise- und Erinnerungsliteratur, Musikkritik, Musikgeschichte u. a.) bewegten. Vom Vater Macburney war schon die Rede, dessen Beruf als Porträtmaler nach zwei Generationen durch Edward Francisco Burney wieder aufgegriffen wurde.⁴⁴ Letzterer arbeitete vorwiegend als Porträtmaler und Illustrator bzw. Karikaturist (in der Tradition von William Hogarth, James Gillray u. a.), und dass seine musikbezogenen Karikaturen (zumindest) von profundem musikhistorischem Wissen zeugen, ist etwa dem Gemälde *Amateurs of Tye-Wig Music* (*Musicians of the Old School*) (ca. 1820) zu entnehmen.⁴⁵ Charles Burney selbst verstand sich⁴⁶ als Musikhistoriker, Komponist, Organist und Lehrer. Schließlich gilt der Fokus auch der nachfolgenden Generation, die Kinder von Burney aus seiner ersten Ehe

43 Die nachfolgenden biographischen Angaben sind den von Philip Olleson herausgegebenen Tagebüchern und Briefen von Susanna Elizabeth (Susan) Burney entnommen, ebenso der „Biographical Introduction“ von Olleson, ebd. Olleson vertritt dabei nicht explizit die Perspektive einer Musikerfamilie als ökonomisch-moralische Einheit, ist sich der Problematik in der Darstellung, insbesondere der Aktivitäten der Töchter von Burney aber wohl bewusst. Insofern lassen sich Darstellung und Kommentierung der Arbeitssituation als Musikerfamilie auch jene Fiktionen entnehmen, die dann entstehen, wenn eine stärker am bürgerlichen Kernfamilienmodell orientierte Lesart zum Vorschein kommt. Siehe zu Ollesons weiterer Auseinandersetzung mit Musikerfamilien auch ders., „Father and Sons. Charles Wesley, Samuel Wesley, and Charles Wesley ‚the Younger‘“, in: *Music and the Wesleys*, hrsg. von Stephen Banfield und Nicholas Temperley, Urbana 2010, S. 175–182 und ders., „Charles Wesley and his Children“, in: *Charles Wesley. Life, Literature and Legacy*, hrsg. von Kenneth Newport und Ted Campbell, Peterborough 2007, S. 124–140.

44 Vgl. <https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/resources/edward-francisco-burney-1760-1848> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020).

45 S. <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/burney-amateurs-of-tye-wig-music-musicians-of-the-old-school-t07278> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020). Vgl. dazu auch Thomas Tolley, „Stamp of Genius: Beethoven as Satire in Regency Britain“, auf dem 1. Hauptsymposium („Der politische Beethoven“) im Rahmen des Internationalen wissenschaftlichen Kongresses *Beethoven-Perspektiven*, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 10.–14. Februar 2020 (Druck in Vorb.).

46 Burney selbst beschrieb seine Tätigkeit zu Beginn seiner Karriere folgendermaßen: „[I] began to be in fashion in the City, as a Master, and had my hands full of professional business of all kinds with scholars at both ends of the town, Composition, & public playing.“ Zit. aus den *Memoirs* in: Olleson 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, S. [5].

mit Esther, geb. Sleep: Die älteste Tochter, die Cembalistin Esther (genannt: Hetty) Burney⁴⁷ heiratete ihren Cousin, den Geiger und Cembalisten Charles Rousseau Burney, beide waren professionell musikalisch tätig; die zweite Tochter, Frances (genannt Fanny), war höchst erfolgreiche Schriftstellerin und Dramatikerin (zunächst pseudonym veröffentlichend).⁴⁸ Auch die dritte Burney-Tochter, Susanna Elisabeth, war schreibend tätig, allerdings ohne zu veröffentlichen.⁴⁹ Und auch die Söhne waren literarisch tätig: James Burney war Reiseschriftsteller (und Admiral⁵⁰), Charles Burney d.J. war Lehrer, Intellektueller und bibliophiler Sammler: „His collection included about 13,500 printed books and manuscript volumes, nearly 400 volumes of notes, cuttings, playbills and other material related to the history of the English theatre, and about 700 volumes of newspapers spanning the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.“⁵¹ – Betrachtet man das professionelle Spektrum der Burneys im Ausschnitt dieser Generationen, wäre es dann, statt von einer Musiker-Familie zu sprechen, ebenso plausibel, von einer Literaten-Familie oder auch einer Maler-Familie zu schreiben? In der Tat – was freilich nicht gegen den Begriff der Musikerfamilie spricht, sondern ausschließlich gegen die Verengung der Vorstellung solcher als Musikerfamilien bezeichneten familiären Konstellationen auf eine (Kunst)Sparte oder Profession.

Zugleich sind die drei Burney-Töchter gute Beispiele für Wesentliches in Bezug auf Ausbildung, Partizipation von Frauen und die künstlerischen Professionen im Rahmen einer Musikerfamilie im England des 18. Jahrhunderts: Burney, der Vater, kannte, wie erwähnt, selbst das Prinzip, die nachfolgende Generation in einer Musikerfamilie auszubilden. Wie gestaltet er dies nun für seine Töchter? In Anbetracht seiner vielfältigen Tätigkeiten und zudem

47 Hetty Burney spielte Harfe und Cembalo und taucht in den Familiendokumenten als herausragende Interpretin auf. Sie bekam sieben (vgl. Olleson 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, Family Tree) bzw. zehn Kinder (vgl. Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim und Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Bd. 1, Carbondale 1973, S. 428).

48 Vgl. dazu u. a. Barbara Darby, *Frances Burney Dramatist. Gender, Performance, and the Late-Eighteenth-Century Stage*, Lexington / Kentucky 1997, sowie <https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/resources/frances-fanny-burney-darblay-1752-1840> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020).

49 Vgl. Olleson 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*.

50 James Burney begleitete Captain Cook auf zwei seiner Expeditionen (1772–1773, Antarktis und Pazifik) und veröffentlichte zahlreiche Bücher darüber, u. a. die fünfbändige *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, London 1803–1817. Für weitere Informationen s. <https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/resources/james-burney-1750-1821> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020).

51 S. <https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/resources/charles-burney-jr-1757-1817> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020).

zwischen 1762 und 1767 Witwer von sechs Kindern,⁵² konnte er, wie er 1771 an Denis Diderot schrieb, nicht viel Zeit für die Ausbildung erübrigen. Über seine Tochter Susan berichtete Burney: „She [...] is very fond of Music, has a good Ear, & talents Which I have not had leisure to cultivate.“⁵³ Dennoch zeigen die Tagebücher und Briefe der Schwestern, dass alle eine profunde Musikausbildung erhalten hatten und zwar nicht primär durch den Vater, sondern – eben im Musikerfamilien-Prinzip – durch Personen, die im ‚Haus‘ Burney lebten. Dazu gehörten Kollegen des Vaters, durchreisende Musikerinnen und Musiker, aber auch Aktivitäten wie gemeinsame Konzert- und Opernbesuche, Austausch über Musik, musikalische Aufführungen und Unterricht im Haus: Diese Form der literat-musikalischen „Arbeitserziehung“ legte – um nur die Kinder aus erster Ehe zu berücksichtigen – nicht zuletzt die Grundlage für die Musikerin Hetty Burney, die Dramatikerin Fanny Burney, die ‚Musikexpertin‘ Susan Burney, den Reiseschriftsteller James Burney und den ebenso enzyklopädisch wie historisch sammelnden Wissensenthusiasten Charles Burney d.J. Darüber hinaus ist in den Familiendokumenten erkennbar, dass die Phase der „Arbeitserziehung“ gleichsam nahtlos in die professionellen Praktiken übergang. So wurde beispielsweise um 1775 im Haus Burney über die Musik von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach diskutiert – zu diesem Zeitpunkt war Hetty Burney bereits mit Charles Rousseau Burney verheiratet und Mutter dreier Kinder:

In the mid-1770s C. P. E. Bach’s music was also a staple of the Burney household, for in a letter of 2 March 1775 to family friend Samuel Crisp (1707–1783), Fanny Burney (1752–1840) writes of entertaining the Italian soprano Lucrezia Aguiari or Aguiari (1743–1783): „After Tea, we went into the Library, & Hetty [i.e., Esther, Charles Burney’s daughter] was prevailed upon to play a Lesson of Bach of Berlin’s, upon our Merlin Harpsichord. It was very sweet, & she [Aguiari] appeared to be really much pleased with it, & spoke highly of the Taste & feeling with which she [Hetty] played. Mr Burney sat down next. They all stared, as usual, at his performance.“⁵⁴

52 1767 heiratete Burney in zweiter Ehe die Witwe Elizabeth Allen, die selbst drei Kinder mit in die Ehe brachte. Zwei weitere gemeinsame Kinder folgten 1768 und 1772.

53 Brief Charles Burney an Denis Diderot, 10.10.1771, zit. nach Olleson 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, S. 13.

54 Todd Gilman, „The Evolution of Charles Burney’s Musical Taste Between 1770 and 1811“, Forschungsbericht, https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/files/burneycentre/2014_fellowship_report_todd_gilman_0.pdf (abgerufen am 01.04.2020). Brief Fanny Burney an Samuel Crisp, 02.03.1774, in: *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, Bd. 2, 1774–1777, hrsg. von Lars E. Troide, Oxford 1990, S. 77–78.

Der Fall von Susan Burney wiederum zeigt, dass es für Frauen aus Musikerfamilien für die Frage weiterer professioneller Handlungsspielräume existentiell war, welchen Partner sie heirateten. Denn obwohl sie als das musikalisch begabteste Kind galt, obwohl auch ihr jene „Arbeitserziehung“ zuteil wurde und sie als Musikerin wie als Diskussionspartnerin zu einem festen Bestandteil des Londoner Salons ihres Vaters gehörte, erwuchs ihr daraus nicht die Möglichkeit einer professionellen Entfaltung. Das berufliche Umfeld ihres Ehemannes Molesworth Philips, einem Offizier der Royal Navy, ließen keine professionellen Ambitionen der gebildeten und hochmusikalischen Susan Burney zu. Ihre musikalischen Aktivitäten nach ihrer Heirat lassen gleichwohl erkennen, dass die Basis ihrer musikalischen Ausbildung profund war: Sowohl während ihrer Besuche in London, als auch in ihrem Haus in Mickleham (Surrey), wohin die junge Familie nach der Hochzeit gezogen war, spielte sie als Cembalistin mit professionellen Musikern (etwa dem aus der Schweiz stammenden Geiger Scheener⁵⁵ oder Johann Peter Salomon), die sie regelmäßig besuchten. Sie führte damit nach der Heirat fort, was sie aus dem ‚Haus‘ ihres Vaters gewohnt war, war aber zugleich abgeschnitten von der Idee der musiko-literarischen Professionalität, die bei Burney (Vater) und ihren Schwestern Hetty und Frances weiter existierte. Obwohl weiterhin Teil der familialen Künste-Netzwerke (die wiederum weitere Musikerfamilien mit einschloss und auf diese Weise ebenso breit wie tief in die Londoner Musik- und Theaterkultur verwoben war), verlor Susan Burney durch ihre Rolle als Offiziersgattin zwar nicht ihre musiko-literaten Kompetenzen, aber doch den Status des arbeitsteilig-professionellen Handelns innerhalb des ‚Hauses‘ Burney. Denn dass sie weiterhin Konzerte und musikalische Salons mit deren gängigen konzertähnlichen Musikdarbietungen mit großer Kenntnis rezipieren und kritisieren konnte, zeigen ihre Tagebuch-Eintragungen immer wieder. Über das Konzert der französischen Geigerin Louise Gautherot in den Hanover Square Rooms etwa schrieb sie:

Mad^e Gautherot played a Violin Duet with Cramer – I was glad to see she was supposed to do herself credit in it – but for my own part it seemed a great disadvantage to her – she executed all the passages – but it was wth evident Labour – nothing was distinct – nothing clear – the powerful tone, the *freedom – decision*, & most of all the perfect *facility* wth w^{ch} Cramer repeated every passage after her,

55 Auch „Shanere“ oder „Sheneer“. Weitere Informationen s. Olleson 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, S. 200, FN 4.

disgraced all that she attempted, & betrayed the weakness & inferiority, w^{ch} tho' certainly it was no wonder to perceive w^d have appeared far less glaring had she not subjected herself to so close & immediate a comparison. She has labored infinitely there can be no doubt to attain such rapid execution, & so much precision – but in the most valuable points is I believe very inferiour to Sirmen indeed. – It is true I heard Sirmen before I had heard any great Violin Players – & now perhaps she w^d not seem so charming to me as she did in those *early* days [...].⁵⁶

Susan Burney zeigt sich hier als kenntnisreiche, kritisch abwägende und durchaus unabhängige Kritikerin. Denn die Londoner Presse sah die Leistung von Gautherot weitaus positiver: Der *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* schrieb (2. März 1789): „*Madame Gautherot's concerto was so delicious and charming a performance, that the audience could not contain their raptures till the end of the respective movements*“. In der *London Evening Post* (26. Februar 1789) hieß es: „*Madame Gautherot played on the violin a Concerto of Viotti's, a Parisian Composer, with amazing taste and brilliancy. There are few professional men who can surpass her exertion*“. Und die *Whitehall Evening Post* vom gleichen Tag hielt fest: „*Madame Gautherot's concerto on the violin was equal to any performance on the same instrument by the first musical master of the present times*“.⁵⁷ Die Konzertberichte, die Susan Burney in ihr Tagebuch notierte, zeigen mithin nicht nur eine sehr eigenständig kritische Haltung und eine profunde Kenntnis der (Violin)Spielpraxis, sondern die weite Kenntnis verschiedener Interpretinnen und Interpreten (Gautherot, Cramer, Sirmen).

Ist mithin die schiere Wahrnehmung der künstlerischen Tätigkeiten und ihrer professionell-familialen Settings der Burney-Schwestern bereits eine Herausforderung, ist die historiographische Darstellung eine zweite Hürde, insbesondere dann, wenn die Idee von Familie als Lebenszusammenhang außer Acht bleibt: die arbeitsteilig, künsteüberschreitend, innerfamiliäre Ausbildung hin zur Professionalität, letztere im Sinne eines „habitualisierten, szenisch-situativ zum Ausdruck kommenden Agierens unter typischerweise

56 Tagebucheintrag Susan Burney, 25.04.–01.05.1789, zit. nach Olleson 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, S. 226–227 (Hervorheb. orig.).

57 Zit. nach Volker Timmermann, Art. „Gautherot, Louise, geb. Deschamps“, in: *Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2008, <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/gautherot-louise> (abgerufen am 01.04.2020); s. dort auch weitere Informationen zu Gautherot sowie das Konzertprogramm des von Susan Burney kommentierten Konzerts.

sowohl hochkomplexen wie auch paradoxen Handlungsanforderungen“.⁵⁸ Im Fall der Burney-Familie betrifft das insbesondere diejenigen Familienmitglieder, die in den großen Publikationsprojekten von Charles Burney mit ihrer Expertise eingebunden waren, insbesondere Fanny und Susan Burney, beide zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch unverheiratete, junge Frauen in ihren frühen zwanziger Jahren:

By the mid-1770s, Charles Burney's reputation was at its height. Following the success of the two volumes of *Tours* and an intensive period of writing in which both Susan and Fanny were *employed as secretaries and assistants*, he published the first volume of the *General History of Music* in January 1776 [...]; the second volume would follow in 1782 and the third and fourth in 1789.⁵⁹

Das Dilemma, wie ein solcher Arbeitszusammenhang adäquat bezeichnet werden könnte, ist offensichtlich. Bezeichnet man Fanny und Susan Burney allerdings als Sekretärinnen ihres Vaters, wird das Missverständnis über Musikerfamilien deutlich: Im Sinne des ‚Hauses‘ war es selbstverständlich, dass ein Großprojekt wie das Schreiben einer Musikgeschichte ein ökonomisches Unterfangen war und dabei alle zur Verfügung stehenden Kräfte des Hauses Burney mitarbeiteten. Doch ‚Sekretärin‘ ist eine moderne Berufsbezeichnung, noch dazu eine, die seit dem 19. Jahrhundert zutiefst in die Wirrungen abwertender Gender-Hierarchien verstrickt wurde. Wie aber soll man insbesondere Susan Burney, verh. Philips, alternativ bezeichnen? Der oben verwendete Begriff ‚Musikexpertin‘ bringt immerhin ihre Expertise und Professionalität zum Ausdruck, ohne dass sich daraus der (moderne) Anspruch ableitet, die Bezeichnung ‚Musikexpertin‘ als Profession oder gar als Beruf zu verstehen.

58 Dewe und Otto 2011, Art. „Profession“, S. 1131.

59 Ollsen 2012, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, S. 14 (Hervorheb. M. U.). Zu bedenken ist bei dem Begriff ‚Sekretär‘, dass der Beruf des Sekretärs / der Sekretärin im 19. Jahrhundert eine starke Feminisierung des Berufsbildes durchlief, insbesondere aufgrund der geringen Aufstiegschancen. In der heutigen Begriffsverwendung spielt diese Feminisierung eine starke Rolle, was bei der Verwendung des Begriffs für die vorindustrielle Berufssituation (vgl. hierfür etwa den Eintrag „Sekretär“ im Grimmschen Wörterbuch: http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GS25724#XGS25724, abgerufen am 01.04.2020) mitberücksichtigt werden muss.

V. Verlorene Gewissheiten und neue Einblicke. Ein Ausblick

Nimmt man Musikerfamilien als ökonomisch-moralische Einheit wahr, nicht als Abbild einer (früh- / vor-)bürgerlichen Idealform von Kernfamilie, erweitert sich das Wissen über Produktionsbedingungen von Musik erheblich. Verloren gehen dabei Gewissheiten über die genaue Grenzziehung zwischen Berufsfeldern und auch über jene implizit angenommene Grenze zwischen „family affair“ und „profession“. Erkennbar wird, dass zwischen Profession und Handeln als Experte bzw. Expertin dort ebensowenig eine Grenze gezogen werden kann wie zwischen ‚öffentlichem‘ und ‚privatem‘ Handeln, dass gerade das gemeinschaftliche Handeln und Arbeiten im ‚Haus‘ gegen eine solche Distinktion spricht. Deutlicher zum Vorschein treten allerdings die Bedingungen musikbezogenen Handelns im 18. Jahrhundert mitsamt ihren gelebten und immer wieder neu ausgestalteten Übergängen zu anderen Künsten, anderen Professionen.

Es werden dabei Spezifika der Professionalisierung wie die der ‚Arbeitserziehung‘ sichtbar, die wesentliche Bedeutung vor der Gründung von Musikausbildungsstätten und der damit einhergehenden Akademisierung hatten.⁶⁰ Prägnanter tritt auch hervor, was im 18. Jahrhundert unter ‚(Musik-)Beruf‘, besser: Musik-Professionen, verstanden wurde. Das ‚Haus‘ als ökonomische Einheit ist Basis für eine Vielfalt an Tätigkeiten, die – je nach ökonomischem Wert und des mit dem Haus (bzw. Namen) verbundenen kulturellen Kapitals – zur Stabilisierung des Hauses dienen kann. Dass hierbei auch jene Grenzen überschritten wurden, die die akademischen Disziplinen der Gegenwart ausschließlich mit dem Impetus der Interdisziplinarität überschreiten, etwa Bildende Kunst, Literatur und Musik, war in diesem Modell gang und gäbe. Das Beispiel der ‚Musikerfamilie‘ Burney ließe sich entsprechend auch als ‚Malerfamilie‘ Burney oder auch als ‚Literatenfamilie‘ Burney beschreiben. Auf diese Weise wird auch besser erklärlich, woher ein Karikaturist wie Edward Burney seine profunden musikalisch-musikhistorischen Kenntnisse hatte, und wie das Schreiben über Reisen, über Geschichte, über Musik u. a. m. miteinander zusammenhängen, warum Reiseliteratur, Theaterdichtung, Musikgeschichtsschreibung und -kritik in der Burney-Familie

⁶⁰ Es wäre weiterer Überlegungen wert, warum sich das Konzept der Arbeitserziehung insbesondere in den Musikerfamilien erfolgreich behaupten konnte, trotz einer allgemeinen Tendenz zur Institutionalisierung der Erziehung, die für das so genannte „pädagogische Jahrhundert“ zu verzeichnen ist.

nicht unverbunden nebeneinander stehen. Schließlich kann mit einem Modell von Musikerfamilie als ökonomisch-moralischer Einheit die Berücksichtigung von Frauen adäquater gelingen. Das Beispiel der Burney-Töchter konnte zeigen, dass sie in die Produktions- und Rezeptionsbedingungen von Musik ebenso einbezogen waren wie ihre männlichen Altersgenossen, auch wenn ihnen – etwa durch Heirat – Handlungsspielräume beschränkt wurden. Um all jenes historiographisch wahrnehmbar zu machen, was jenseits der Beschränkungen für Musikerinnen (und andere Künstlerinnen) des 18. Jahrhunderts möglich war zu rezipieren und zu produzieren, kann das Modell der Familie als ökonomisch-moralische Einheit hilfreich sein. So ist das Modell nicht zuletzt dazu geeignet, angemessenere Begrifflichkeiten für die hier vorhandene, hohe Expertise zu finden, die sich – etwa im Haus Burney – (auch) in den Töchtern zeigte.

TIM EGGINGTON

Raising the Status of Music and the Musician at the Academy of Ancient Music in Eighteenth-Century London

It is widely recognised that eighteenth-century London's fast changing commercial and cultural environment provided multiple contexts for artistic legitimisation and advancement which took the art of music in new directions.¹ This paper identifies an important, yet little known approach taken by a gathering of musicians who in 1726 met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand to form a club that became known as the Academy of Ancient Music.² Although this organisation is well known to those interested in eighteenth-century English music, not least for having hosted one of the earliest public performances of a George Frideric Handel oratorio,³ the wid-

1 Recent additions to this literature can be found in Matthew Gardner and Alison DeSimone (eds.), *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge 2019, especially Amanda Eubanks Winkler's chapter in that volume, "English Music in Benefit Concerts. Henry Purcell and the Next Generation", pp. 145–161. Further examples include John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1997; Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, Cambridge 1993; William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England. A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*, Oxford 1992.

2 Accounts of the Academy of Ancient Music can be found in Christopher Hogwood, "'Gropers into Antique Musick' or 'A very ancient and respectable Society'? Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music", in *Coll'astuzia, col giudizio. Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. Cliff Eisen, Ann Arbor 2009, pp. 127–182; H. Diack Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music. A Library once Lost and now Partially Recovered", in *Music & Letters* 95 (2014), pp. 329–373; Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England. Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*, Woodbridge 2014; H. Diack Johnstone, "The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802). Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes", in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020), pp. 1–136.

3 This was the last of three performances of *Esther* initiated by the academician Bernard Gates that took place on 23 February, 1 March, and 3 March 1732. See Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, Oxford 2005, pp. 288–289.

er significance of the Academy's various activities when viewed collectively has been less appreciated. This is partly due to the fact that, for much of its long period of existence, the Academy led an insular existence, apparently more interested in furthering its own learned agenda than in promoting its performances as part of London's growing concert life. As we shall see, it was mainly through a network of professional musicians that permeated English musical culture throughout the eighteenth century and after that the ethos of the Academy would ultimately make its mark. By projecting a conception of music as a learned and serious art these musicians assumed a countercultural relationship with mainstream tastes some of which they saw as frivolous. Yet, this story is about much more than simply a reaction to new fashions and habits of consumption. In the Academy's self-avowed commitment to the "Advancement of Musick"⁴ can be perceived an aspiration to further and inform the art of composition, in part, by establishing for music those same tools of historiography and criticism that had been achieved in relation to literature.

I. A "Musick Meeting" for "Grave ancient vocell Musick"

As recorded by one contemporary observer, the Academy first met on 7 January 1726 "at Y^e Crown Tavern near S^t Clements... cheifly [sic] for Grave ancient vocell Musick".⁵ Initially named the Academy of Vocal Musick, the club's aims may be deduced from various overseas correspondences early academicians instigated, partly as a means to raise their status and profile amongst the musical profession both at home and abroad. One of these, written to the Venetian composer Antonio Lotti in 1732, explains how the Academy had been formed:

not for the Management of Theatrical Affairs, but the Improvement of the Science, by searching after, examining, and hearing performed the Works of the Masters, who flourished before, or about the Age of Palestrina: However, not entirely neglecting those who in our Time have grown famous.⁶

⁴ *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Musick at London, to Sigr Antonio Lotti of Venice. With his Answers and Testimonies*, London 1732, p. 17.

⁵ Inscription in a manuscript music volume, GB-DRc MS E15, which indicates that the Academy's inaugural meeting began with Luca Marenzio's five-part madrigal, "Dolorosi martir". See Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, Oxford 1986, p. 66.

⁶ *Letters from the Academy*, 1732, p. 3.

We get an impression of what it was that this gathering of musicians performed at their semi-public fortnightly performances in another international networking letter, this one sent to Agostino Steffani in 1727:

Seeing that good and true music was everywhere in decline, it was proposed by some to form a band of virtuoso singers and composers, who would meet once a fortnight for two continuous hours in a large room, where they would spend their time singing Masses, psalms, motets, madrigals, canons, and other well-wrought items in four, five or more parts, without instruments.⁷

The letter goes on to include the names of Josquin des Prez, Orlande de Lassus, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and a number of other Renaissance and early Baroque composers, some of whose works may never before have been heard in England, and certainly not in a tavern. In order to understand what it was the early academicians intended to achieve through their commitment to “the Advancement of Musick” and the role in it of early music (especially Renaissance polyphony), it must be remembered that at that time, the musical past was relatively little known. Unlike poetry and drama, no musical works had survived from antiquity that could be enjoyed and revered as classics. Viewed by many as ephemeral entertainment, performed music tended to be the work of living composers, conceived, perhaps, for a specific purpose or occasion, after which it was forgotten. So widespread was the acceptance of this ‘contemporaneity’ in musical taste in the early eighteenth century that there was little comment on the matter in published literature.⁸ Yet, a rare and informative exception can be found in the publication of three articles alluding to “Old Stile” music in the *Universal Journal* in 1724, the third appearing on 25 July as a letter from an unidentified correspondent “addressed to” the journal’s “author”.⁹ This letter was

7 Letter from Nicola Haym to Agostino Steffani, 13 / 24 February 1727, transcribed and translated in Colin Timms and Lowell Lindgren, “The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva, 1720–1728, and Related Correspondence with J. P. F. von Schönborn and S. B. Pallavicini”, in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 36 (2003), pp. 1–174, pp. 111–112.

8 William Weber has written widely on this subject. See, inter alia, “The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste”, in *Musical Quarterly* 70 (1984), pp. 175–194; id., “The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England”, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994), pp. 488–520; id. 1992, *Rise of Musical Classics*.

9 *Universal Journal*, 25 July 1724, p. 3. The preceding two pieces appeared on 27 May and 11 July. I am indebted here to discussion by William Weber and Donald Burrows in “Henry Purcell and *The Universal Journal*: the building of musical canon in the 1720s”, in *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, eds. Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey, Jackson 2005, pp. 181–199. This quotes all three pieces in full and suggests that they may have been the

devoted entirely to veneration for “the late famous Mr. Henry Purcell” and the correspondent’s resentment towards those who would “lay his Memory low in Oblivion”. Having condemned those “modern Fops who seem resolv’d to tear the Laurel from his Brow” on account of his music being in “Old Stile”, the correspondent asks why this “nice Distinction of Old Stile and New Stile” is applied to music, but not its “Sister-Arts”, painting and poetry:

We have doubtless many good Painters now living; must therefore *Rubens, Vandyke, Lilly, and Kneller* be forgot? Must *Spencer, Milton, Shakespear, and Addison* be never read, because there are Writers of a later Date? And must *Corelli, Bird, and Purcel* never be sung, because they are Old Stile?¹⁰

As this correspondent would have known, Purcell had in fact been performed during the first decades of the eighteenth century in certain specific contexts, as had the other composers he mentions. Service music and anthems by Elizabethan composers had never entirely fallen from use in the services of the Chapel Royal and certain cathedrals.¹¹ Indeed, it was in part amongst musicians from London’s choral foundations that the activities of the academicians took root. Likewise, following his death in 1713, the concertos of Arcangelo Corelli remained popular in Britain, both among amateur musicians owing to their relative technical ease, but also due to the rare status Corelli’s compositional style attained as an exemplar for clarity and order in harmony and melody, not least, amongst members of the Academy.¹² The reasons for the continued performance of Henry Purcell after his death can to some degree be attributed to factors specific to Purcell. With regard to his theatre music, William Weber has argued that an uncertain commercial and political environment at the turn of the century had led some managers to seek out previously popular works for revival. This and Purcell’s high standing in literary circles had contributed to the revival from 1704 of several plays containing Purcell’s music, and in turn, to the inclusion of his music

work of Ambrose Philips and Leonard Welsted. The last of the three is also quoted in full in the *Handel Reference Database* created by Ilias Chrissochoidis, <http://ichriss.ccarh.org/HRD/> (last access 19 November 2020).

¹⁰ *Universal Journal*, 25 July 1724, p. 3.

¹¹ Weber 1992, *Rise of Musical Classics*, chapter 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 77–89. For discussion of the exalted position attained by Corelli in the teaching and thinking of the founder academician, Johann Christoph Pepusch, see John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], new ed., 2 vols., London 1853, vol. 2, p. 832.

in concerts of the period.¹³ Within the wider context of English eighteenth-century musical culture these were, however, relatively isolated instances and the popularity of Corelli and Purcell had in any case largely dissipated by the 1750s.¹⁴ Indeed, the following remarks concerning the public's "love of Novelty" by the academician John Hawkins in 1769 suggest that as far as he was concerned, little had changed since publication of the letter on "Old Stile" over forty years previously: "Nothing in music is estimable, that is not new. No music tolerable, which has been heard before". In Hawkins' view, such reasoning had never been applied to other "intellectual gratifications": "no man was ever yet so weak as to object to the works of Virgil or Raffaëlle, that the one wrote seventeen hundred, or that the other painted two hundred and fifty years ago."¹⁵

With little knowledge or appreciation for the musical past amongst audiences, the academicians' cosmopolitan breadth of interest in "Grave ancient vocell Musick" would have seemed remarkable, if not eccentric at the time of their first meeting. We get a hint of uncertainty concerning the dating of the music that featured in their own performances from the early academicians themselves. A memo dated 26 May 1731 in a manuscript volume containing the Academy's original constitution and subscribers' lists defines the word "ancient" thus: "By y^e Compositions of the Ancients is meant of such as lived before y^e end of the ~~fifteenth~~ ^{Sixteenth} Century".¹⁶ It was precisely this kind of uncertainty that academicians and their associates would do so much to diminish through their various historicist activities.

As possibly the first organisation to revive and perform Renaissance madrigals, masses and motets in a secular and semi-public context for the purposes of studying and enjoying them, the academicians anticipated the emergence of musical classics that would occur early in the next century. There was, however, much more to the Academy than a seemingly eccentric taste for old music. In reality, their interest in the musical past was

13 Weber 1992, *Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 89–102. See also Richard Lockett, "'Or Rather our Musical Shakespeare': Charles Burney's Purcell", in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, eds. Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett, Cambridge 1983, pp. 59–77; Winkler 2019, "English Music in Benefit Concerts".

14 Surviving Academy programmes suggest that Purcell was little performed at the Academy until the 1760s when his music began to achieve greater prominence at its meetings. For further discussion see Eggington 2014, *The Advancement of Music*, pp. 94–96.

15 [John Hawkins], *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music*, London 1770, p. 13.

16 GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 16r.

part of a more ambitious agenda that played a pioneering role in activities such as music editing, theorising, publishing and historiography. Even more importantly for some of the club's members, study of the musical past promised the means to advance the modern art of composition. Before considering aspects of this agenda and its role in the legitimisation and advancement of music and musicians, let us first consider who the club's early members were.

II. The Academy's founding membership

The sense of exclusivity that characterised the club's early years is emphasised in the academician Nicola Haym's boast that the Academy's activities were "undertaken solely for our study and pleasure, and not to provide unappreciated nourishment for the ignorant".¹⁷ It was in order to realise this aspiration for exclusivity that the subscribing membership was initially restricted to members of the music profession.¹⁸ Although this would undergo a degree of relaxation in 1735 to allow for the admittance of auditors as subscribers¹⁹ the status of the Academy as a professional club directed by learned musicians would remain for a period of over fifty years. In this the Academy privileged musical expertise above any lingering obligations to patronage that may still have held sway over English musical life. Amongst the thirteen who attended the Academy's first meeting were a group from London choral foundations, the most accomplished being the composer Maurice Greene (then vicar-choral and organist at St Paul's Cathedral).²⁰ The presence of two German musicians, Johann Christoph Pepusch and John Ernest Galliard, emphasises the cosmopolitan nature of the organisation in its earliest years, both in terms of its membership and interests. The aforementioned manuscript volume now in the British Library containing lists of early subscribers to the Academy shows how the society's programme of fortnightly meetings quickly attracted new members, some of whom can

17 Letter from Nicola Haym to Agostino Steffani, 13 / 24 February 1727, in Timms and Lindgren 2003, "The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva", p. 111.

18 The original constitution states that "any Gentleman of his Majesty's Chappel Royal, or of the Cathedrals may be admitted of this Academy if they desire itt, and no other persons, but such as profess Musick, and shall be approv'd of by the Majority". GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 1r.

19 Joseph Doane, "History of the Academy of Ancient Music", in *Musical Directory for the Year 1794*, London 1794, pp. 76–83, p. 79.

20 Listed in GB-Lbl Add. MS 11732., fol. 2r.

be numbered amongst Europe's greatest living musicians, then working in London. For example, the opera composer and impresario, Giovanni Bononcini, paid all eight subscriptions from 1726 until 1730 whilst the violinist and composer Francesco Geminiani and the finest opera singer of the age, Francesco Bernardi (nicknamed Senesino) both paid subscriptions in 1726 and 1727. The outward-looking ambition of the early academicians is evident in their decision to search abroad for a musician of high standing to act as the society's president. This led to the election in absentia on 1 June 1727 of the aforementioned Steffani who, as an internationally important opera composer, diplomat and bishop, must have seemed ideal for the role.²¹ That Steffani was based in Hanover and unlikely ever to visit London on account of his advanced age and infirmity seems not to have mattered to the academicians. As Galliard explained, their intention had been to elect a figure-head able to "add lustre to the whole body", the honour being "due by right to him, in preference to any other person alive today."²² Following requests from the Academy, Steffani sent copies of his own compositions to London, including a specially composed madrigal and motet, and his famous *Stabat Mater*. Conceived or chosen with a view to gratifying the academicians' tastes for learned contrapuntal styles, these works were deposited in the Academy's growing library. There they would subsequently be joined by further similarly learned music, some of it acquired via a comparable method of solicitation from other continental composers.²³ It was however from around 1731, at the time of an infamous Academy controversy in which Bononcini was found guilty of plagiarising the work of Lotti, that the Academy appears to have become less attractive to the Italian opera stars.²⁴ With the disgraced Bononcini and his associates no longer in attendance, other big names, for varying reasons, also departed leaving behind a clique of mainly (but not entirely) English musicians under the leadership of Pepusch. By

21 Steffani's election ("Nemine Contradicente") is recorded in *ibid.*, fol. 4^v.

22 Letter from John Ernest Galliard to Giuseppe Riva, 7 / 18 July 1727, in Timms and Lindgren 2003, "The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva", pp. 120–122.

23 Although Academy correspondence suggests that the *Stabat Mater* was composed by Steffani with the Academy in mind, recent research suggests the work was in fact begun much earlier. See Colin Timms, "La canzone and *Stabat Mater*. Steffani's First and Last Gifts to the Academy of Ancient Music?", in *Early Music* 47 (2019), pp. 65–82.

24 *Letters from the Academy*, 1732. See also Lowell Lindgren, "The Three Great Noises 'Fatal to the Interests' of Bononcini", in *Musical Quarterly* 61 (1975), pp. 560–583, and Stephen Rose, "Plagiarism at the Academy of Ancient Music. A Case Study in Authorship, Style and Judgement", in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, Woodbridge 2013, pp. 181–198.

now renamed as the Academy of Ancient Music, it was in this guise, aided by a growing contingent of “auditor members” that the Academy over the next fifty years would achieve its greatest contribution to musical culture.²⁵

The founder-academician Pepusch provides the most revealing insight into the distinctive ethos for musical advancement and legitimisation that characterised the Academy in its early years. Having arrived in London in around 1697, Pepusch went on to prosper as an orchestral musician, as a musical director and as a composer. In that capacity he produced much instrumental and vocal music including solos, trio sonatas, concertos, as well as some fine English cantatas, anthems and famously, the overture for John Gay’s *Beggar’s Opera* (1728) for which he also arranged the airs. In around 1717 Pepusch became associated with Handel as a guest, and two years later as Musical Director, at the Cannons estate of James Brydges (from 1719, First Duke of Chandos) for whom both composers produced anthems and other works. It was however, in part, through the learned pursuits with which Pepusch was increasingly engaged in later life that he made his mark. Collecting old music, music theory (especially ancient Greek music theory) and music history all played a part in Pepusch’s pursuit of what he reputedly termed “the true, ancient, art” of music, “depending on nature and mathematical principles”.²⁶ It was this conception of music that would so influence an entire generation of English musicians who came in contact with it, either as pupils of Pepusch or as members of the Academy of Ancient Music.

III. Collecting and editing

One dimension of the historicist conception of music championed by Pepusch and his followers can be seen in the music collections amassed by academicians and, in particular, the Academy itself. In an age when earlier music was little known and copies of foreign works could be hard to come by, a crucial objective for the Academy was the procurement of music and the formation of its library. That the academicians achieved this objective is proclaimed in Hawkins’ description of their library as “perhaps, the most

25 The new name probably came into use in 1731 when the Academy defined its use of the term “Ancient” (see above.)

26 John Wesley, diary entry dated 13 June 1748, in *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley [...]*, ed. Nehemiah Curnock, 8 vols., London 1909–1916, vol. 3, 1909, pp. 355–356. See D. F. Cook, *The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with special reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas*, PhD thesis, King’s College, University of London 1982, chapter 7.

valuable repository of musical treasure in Europe”.²⁷ Indeed, one of the great achievements of the Academy and those associated with it was their preservation for posterity of musical scores, many of which can now be found in research collections in the UK and beyond.²⁸ Some of this collecting took the form of prints, autographs and manuscript copies acquired, perhaps, with a view to chronicling and mapping the then little known musical past. The very act of copying works from partbooks into score is significant as evidence of some of the earliest attempts to grapple with issues of editing.²⁹ Through various publication projects undertaken by musicians influenced by Pepusch and the Academy during the course of the century these works were brought to light for the first time. We see this in transcriptions made by the prominent academician and pupil of Pepusch, Benjamin Cooke, who sometime after Pepusch’s death in 1752 “at length” succeeded him as the Academy’s Director.³⁰ Cooke transcribed several part songs from the famous Fayrfax Manuscript of early Tudor secular song³¹ and other early sources for inclusion in Hawkins’ *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776).³² Perhaps the most famous published product of the ethos surrounding the Academy’s culture of collecting was the monumental edition of *Cathedral Music* by “English Masters” of the previous “Two Hundred Years” compiled by the former Pepusch pupil, William Boyce.³³ Published in three instalments (1760–1773), this was the outcome of a project first conceived early in the century by the founder academician, Greene, from whom Boyce had received musical training as his apprentice. Although Boyce’s collection was avowedly practical in its ground-breaking objective to provide what

27 [Hawkins] 1770, *An Account*, p. 9.

28 Foremost amongst these are the British Library and the libraries of Westminster Abbey, Royal College of Music, Royal Academy of Music all of which are in London, together with the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See Johnstone 2014, “Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music”.

29 For further discussion of collecting and editing by academicians see A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c. 1600–1960*, Cambridge 1961, pp. 1–47; D. F. Cook, “J. C. Pepusch: An 18th-Century Musical Bibliophile”, in *Soundings* 9 (1982), pp. 11–28; Percy Lovell, “‘Ancient’ Music in Eighteenth-Century England”, in *Music & Letters* 60 (1979), pp. 401–415; Owen Rees, “Adventures of Portuguese ‘Ancient Music’ in Oxford, London, and Paris: Duarte Lobo’s ‘Liber Missarum’ and Musical Antiquarianism, 1650–1850”, in *Music & Letters* 86 (2005), pp. 42–73.

30 Doane 1794, “History of the Academy of Ancient Music”, p. 78.; See also [Henry Cooke], *Some Account of Doctor Cooke, Organist of Westminster Abbey, &c.*, London 1837, p. 12.

31 GB-Lbl Add. MS 5465.

32 Hawkins [1776] 1853, *A General History*, vol. 1, pp. 368–376. Discussed in Eggington 2014, *The Advancement of Music*, pp. 173–176.

33 Cf. H. Diack Johnstone, “The Genesis of Boyce’s ‘Cathedral Music’”, in *Music & Letters* 56 (1975), pp. 26–40.

might now be termed a critical edition for performance, Boyce also aimed to provide “reputable models” of the “true style and standard of such compositions.”³⁴ In this Boyce alluded to a key Academy aim which was, as Hawkins later put it, to enable “students and performers to contemplate and compare styles” so as to “fix the standard of a judicious and rational taste”.³⁵ It was, in part, for this reason that a whole community of copyists associated with the Academy copied into score the works of Lassus, Alonso Lobo, Jean Mouton and numerous other Renaissance polyphonists from which much Academy repertory was selected. As extant Academy programmes concur, the most performed of these composers was Palestrina whose works appear to have assumed a classical status in the minds of academicians.³⁶

It is crucial to remember, however, that a large proportion of Academy collections and performances was devoted not to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music, but rather to a particular kind of eighteenth-century music. Much of it sacred and for chorus and orchestra, the music that played so important a part in Academy thinking tended to include large scale masses and liturgical settings by Steffani, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Lotti and other nowadays neglected Italians. In addition, by far the most important exponent of this kind of statement was the Academy’s most performed composer, George Frideric Handel. Although Handel was undoubtedly an unwitting participant in this venture, it was a particular seam of his output that played so important a part at the Academy. This comprised orchestral anthems, Te Deums and, following the first public performances of *Esther* in 1732, oratorios.³⁷ In their combination of up-to-date Italianate melody with

34 William Boyce, *Cathedral Music*, 3 vols., London 1760–1773, vol. 1, 1760, p. iii.

35 Hawkins [1776], *A General History*, vol. 2, p. 886.

36 [Hawkins] 1770, *An Account*, pp. 18–19. The music of Palestrina features more than that of any other “ancient” composer in surviving Academy programmes (in which he is sometimes referred to as Prenestini), see Eggington 2014, *The Advancement of Music*, pp. 36–39, 90–93. Palestrina featured often in the collecting undertaken by Academy members, the twenty-seven volume collection copied out by the academician Henry Needler including over two hundred of his works, GB-Lbl Add. MSS 5036–5062. Alongside newspaper reports, evidence of Academy repertory exists in surviving published wordbook programmes, and in a publication entitled *The Words of Such Pieces as Are Most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music* issued in 1761 with a second edition in 1768. There is also a bound volume containing a complete run of hand-written programmes covering five entire seasons from September 1768 until May 1773 now held in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Conservatoire Collection (F-Pn Rés. F. 1507). For a transcribed listing of all known Academy programmes see H. Diack Johnstone, “The Academy of Ancient Music (1726–1802). Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes”, pp. 1–136, pp. 17–120.

37 See Burrows 2005, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, pp. 288–289.

learned choral counterpoint these works, as much as any others, offered the “perfect models” Hawkins hoped might enable the Academy’s students of composition to form their style.³⁸

We might at this point ask why modern music played so central a part in the performances and collecting of an organisation calling itself the Academy of Ancient Music. The key to understanding what it was that interested academicians in this seemingly diverse assortment of old and new music, and why they prized Palestrina, Steffani and Handel in particular, is in a much idealised, though never clearly defined property, which they termed “harmony”. Although, of course, harmony was an essential element of most music, it was in the music academicians revered most that its potential had, in their view, been truly realised. In harmony, certain academicians perceived a mathematical and archetypal language of nature, essential to what they saw as music’s highest calling, the expression of serious and profound sentiments. Although a sometimes vague notion, broadly speaking, their harmony correlated in part with what might now be termed polyphony but it also denoted the language of composers such as Handel and Pergolesi, who had used expressive and adventurous harmonic language to invoke sublime effects.³⁹

IV. Harmony

This interest in harmony can be seen as a defining theme for the Academy in the way it delineates the society’s relationship with eighteenth-century music and arts more generally. More than simply a concern for practical pedagogy, the academicians’ engagement with this subject sought music’s underlying metaphysical basis. We see one dimension of this interest in the Academy’s connections with the highly prestigious Royal Society, an organisation founded in 1660 as a collective whose mission was to improve “natural knowledge” for the good of the state. During the Academy’s earliest years, at least eight academicians are known to have been Royal Society fellows, whilst further academicians combined membership of both clubs in subsequent years, including Thomas Birch who during the 1750s was

38 [Hawkins] 1770, *An Account*, p. 23.

39 See Eggington 2014, *The Advancement of Music*, chapters 4 and 5; in particular, see pp. 160–163 for the academician Benjamin Cooke’s ideas concerning harmony and temperaments.

both an Academy director and secretary of the Royal Society.⁴⁰ As an indication of the academicians' perspectives on music this relationship reveals a conception of music that was at once both new and old. Influenced by Francis Bacon's calls for a detailed investigation of acoustical phenomena, the Royal Society in its early days had sponsored many musically-related experiments that had the effect of positioning music towards the centre of early Enlightenment science.⁴¹ We see evidence of how the worlds of natural philosophy and music interacted in the activities of the academician and prominent Cambridge mathematician, Brook Taylor. Motivated in part by his well-documented interest in music he wrote a treatise on music theory that seems to claim on one of its title-pages to have been co-written by both Pepusch and none other than Sir Isaac Newton (see figure 4.1). Whilst it is difficult to gauge the extent of any direct involvement Newton may have had in this venture, his name would nevertheless play a part in Academy-related explorations into music theory. For Taylor and other like-minded academicians, these tended to locate music's foundation in ancient Greek harmonic theory from which a continuum could be traced leading via the Renaissance to the Newtonian present.

It was in the light of such ideas that Pepusch published a paper on music theory in the Royal Society's prestigious *Philosophical Transactions*, following his election as a Royal Society fellow in 1745.⁴² The very fact that a professional musician aspired to be elected to such an organisation, and that he sought to write and publish a learned paper on music is significant in itself as evidence of ways in which Pepusch was seeking new contexts in which to raise the standing of both music and himself as a musician. Entitled "Of the various Genera and Species of Music among the Ancients", Pepusch's paper provides an indication of the theoretical position that informed the activities of some academicians. Although Pepusch's stated purpose was "to throw some Light upon the obscure Subject" of the ancient Greek system of scales, we can infer in the paper a further underlying agenda.⁴³ With the

40 The early academicians known to have been Royal Society Fellows are John Freind, John Freke, James Hamilton, 7th Earl of Abercorn, John Perceval, 1st Earl of Egmont, William Rutt, Pepusch, Henry Popple and Brook Taylor.

41 See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, New Haven 1999, pp. 61–63, 184–191.

42 Johann Christoph Pepusch, "Of the various Genera and Species of Music among the Ancients", in *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (1746), pp. 266–274.

43 Ibid., p. 268.

Figure 4.1: Title-page from Brook Taylor's papers on music theory, GB-Cjc TaylorB / B; reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

increasing use by modern-day composers of all twelve notes of the scale as key notes it had become necessary for musicians to effect minute adjustments to musical intervals, making them seem inconsistent with some of the mathematically perfect intervals described in ancient Greek harmonic theory. Pepusch invoked the seemingly obsolete Greek micro-intervals of less than a semitone to argue that they were, in reality, equivalent to the minute variations between tones and semitones deployed in "a true and accurate practice of singing" as a means to negotiate changes in key.⁴⁴ This was not simply yet another investigation into how best to divide the octave of the kind that had engrossed generations of music theorists before (and have since). At stake for Pepusch was the viability of being able to argue that the art of music, ancient and modern, had a common foundation in mathematics and nature. This paper was followed by several treatises by Academy-related musicians that sought to explain musical language in terms of natural, timeless principles through reference to ancient Greek harmonic theory, mathematics and the new science of acoustics.⁴⁵

Although, with some exceptions, the academicians were frustratingly unclear as to the precise relationship between the styles of music they admired and their theorising, there is nevertheless a clear significance to their theoretical writings. The early Academy existed in an age when writers such as Jean-Baptiste Dubos and James Harris invoked the doctrine of imitation

44 Ibid., p. 274.

45 Others included Benjamin Cooke, William Boyce, John Keeble, Marmaduke Overend, John Travers and of course Brook Taylor.

as an aesthetic that subjected all fine arts to the same criteria.⁴⁶ In accordance with the new aesthetics, many argued that imitation in music was best achieved through simple sung melody.⁴⁷ With continental writers such as Johann Mattheson claiming that complicated harmony and counterpoint obstructed musical meaning, the academicians would have found themselves at odds with the simpler imported galant styles that increasingly delighted London audiences.⁴⁸ Indeed, it seems conceivable that at least part of the reason the Academy had sought out Steffani as their president was on account of the role he had played in countering Mattheson in the debates his ideas occasioned in Germany.⁴⁹ There, Steffani's learned advocacy of rational music founded on Greek theory and mathematical harmony had been invoked to counter Mattheson's galant ideal for clear vocal melody and expression. It was by privileging their mathematical view of harmony as both timeless product of nature, and the means to convey grave meaning that academicians rationalised their taste for learned harmony (and counterpoint). In so doing they charted a course for music that in some ways set it apart from other arts more generally. Yet, it is not fanciful to see in the academicians' attempts to rationalise harmony in terms of mathematical relationships an approach that in some ways prefigured the aesthetic of musical autonomy that later in the century would finally supersede the Aristotelian doctrine of music as an imitative art.⁵⁰

Of course, in an age of burgeoning arts criticism the earnest endeavours of the professional musicians at the Academy fell easy prey to the ridicule of men of letters whose stock in trade was satire. We see this early on in a piece entitled "Harmony in an Uproar", fictitiously attributed to one Hurllothumbo

46 James Harris, *Three Treatises. The First concerning Art, the Second concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the Third concerning Happiness*, London 1744 and Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, Paris 1719, translated into English by Thomas Nugent as *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Music*, London 1748.

47 See John Neubauer's discussion in *The Emancipation of Music from Language. Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics*, New Haven 1986, pp. 60–75.

48 See Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, Lincoln 1992, pp. 59–82.

49 Agostino Steffani's theoretical ideas on music were published in his *Quanta certezza habbia da suoi principii la musica et in qual pregio fosse perciò presso gli Antichi*, Hanover 1694. In Germany Steffani's treatise gained increased influence though Andreas Werckmeister's German translation of it, *Send-Schreiben, darinn enthalten wie grosse Gewissheit die Music aus ihren Principiis, und Grund-Sätzen habe*, Quedlinburg and Aschersleben 1699. See Lippman 1992, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, p. 61.

50 This is explored further in Eggington 2014, *The Advancement of Music*, chapters 4 and 5.

Johnson.⁵¹ In it the “great Handel” is mocked for not having a music degree by Doctors “Pushpin” and “Blue”, both of whom absurdly suggest that their compositional achievements surpassed Handel’s on account of having “the Commencement Gown” “thrown over their Shoulders”. Clearly a jibe at Drs Greene and Pepusch, the pamphleteer goes on to quote the latter berating Handel for being “no mathematician”.⁵² It was, of course, easy to ridicule the academicians as cobwebbed pedants, devoid of spirit and invention. In an age when most professional musicians were viewed as artisans and tended not to express themselves in newspapers and periodicals, the academicians provided an easy target for those who opposed them. We see abundant criticism of a similar vein later in the century exemplified in Charles Burney’s observation that Pepusch “jumped to any conclusion that would involve a musical question in mysterious and artificial difficulty”.⁵³

V. Education at the Academy

The author of “Harmony in an Uproar” touched on a potent Academy theme when he lampooned the academicians’ fondness for academic qualifications. Although there was no course in music offered by either of the universities and few musicians had music degrees, many leading Academy-related musicians nevertheless sought and achieved music doctorates, apparently as a seal of professional competency. This educative dimension to the Academy’s interests is further evident in its “seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of music and laws of harmony”, established following a further Academy disagreement.⁵⁴ This one involved Bernard Gates who as Master of the Choristers at the Chapel Royal had deprived the Academy of choirboys when he withdrew in 1734, having conceived “some dislike”.⁵⁵ Al-

51 Published in *The Miscellaneous Works of the Late Dr. Arbuthnot*, 2 vols., Glasgow 1751, vol. 2, pp. 18–42; the true authorship of “Harmony in an Uproar” is unknown.

52 Ibid., pp. 28, 34.

53 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* [1776–1789], ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols., London 1935, vol. 1, p. 34. Burney, who is dismissive of Pepusch’s historicist interests throughout his *History* also quotes, for example, the French mathematician Abraham de Moivre, who having assisted Pepusch with his theorising, later described him as ‘a stupid German dog, who could neither count four, nor understand any one that did’ (Ibid., p. 988). The hostile critical reaction to Hawkins’ publication of 1776 (*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, London 1776) can be seen in much the same light. See Percy Scholes, *Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins*, London 1953, pp. 131–138.

54 Hawkins [1776], *A General History*, vol. 2, pp. 885–886.

55 Doane 1794, “History of the Academy of Ancient Music”, p. 77.

though the initial motivation for the seminary was to avail the Academy of choirboys for its performances this venture appears to have taken on a more substantive position at the core of the Academy's mission. With Pepusch employed as their teacher, boys learnt singing, composition and harpsichord accompaniment as well as English grammar, writing and arithmetic.⁵⁶ By combining the traditional apprenticeship model with elements of the liberal education available to choral foundation choristers the Academy offered a further dimension to its elevation of music and the music profession. Indeed, the learned aspect to the achievements of Pepusch pupils such as Cooke, Boyce, John Travers and John Keeble, all of whom enjoyed some familiarity with classical languages, reflects the role education had in instilling in student musicians the Academy's ideals for musical advancement.

VI. Aftermath and conclusions

While these and other musicians associated with the Academy went on to play active and influential roles in English musical culture of the later eighteenth-century, the Academy itself encountered mixed fortunes in its later years as its original mission underwent a process of dilution. A significant development occurred in February 1783 with the formation of a committee "to examine the several Laws and regulations since the institution of the Academy, and prepare a new Code as agreeable to the original intention of its Founders as the present temper of the Times would admit".⁵⁷ With the confirmation of a new constitution the following month the Academy relocated in September 1784 from the Crown and Anchor Tavern to the larger Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. There, increased subscriber numbers and revenue enabled soloists and musicians to be engaged that would raise performance standards and thus enhance the Academy's competitiveness within the wider context of London's thriving concert life. However, with the orchestra and chorus now relegated to the status of employees, it was no longer a learned musical club, but rather a straightforward concert society aimed at attracting the paying public to its annual series of concerts. The previous fare of masses, motets, madrigals and entire oratorios was diminished to make way for a repertory deemed

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 78.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

more palatable to paying audiences, including glees and miscellaneous arias drawn from oratorios.⁵⁸ By the time the Academy finally dissolved in 1802 the idea of ancient music had long since been successfully appropriated and popularised by other organisations in London, most famously, through the establishment in 1776 by members of the nobility of the highly prestigious Concert of Ancient Music.⁵⁹

Notwithstanding its ultimate decline, there are many ways in which the Academy's earlier ideals for musical advancement can be seen playing a part in shaping the enhanced standing music enjoyed in England at the end of the century, as an art informed by a growing sense of its past.⁶⁰ It was, in part, through a network of musicians linked to Pepusch and the earlier Academy that aspects of its founding ethos became embedded more widely in English musical culture during the later eighteenth century. We have already seen examples of this influence in the collecting, editing and publishing projects with which Boyce and Cooke were engaged. A similar influence can be seen behind the careers of two generations of musicians who gained prominence in English musical life as academicians or as former pupils of either Pepusch, or his pupils. Amongst these can be included James Kent, James Nares, John Keeble, Thomas Linley, Samuel Arnold, James Bartleman, John Wall Callcott, Thomas Greatorex, John Stafford Smith, R. J. S. Stevens and others. Whether through their achievements as composers or editors or collectors or theorists or musical directors, all to differing degrees advanced aspects of the same historicist ethos that can be traced back to the Academy.⁶¹ Antecedents to these achievements can be perceived in the promotion by the founder academicians earlier in the century of innovations in music borne of practices already in existence elsewhere in English cultural life. We can see such antecedents in the Academy's early commitment to "searching after, examining, and hearing performed the Works of the Masters" as well as in efforts to develop theoretical strategies to establish music's metaphysical basis. Many of the early academicians' activities were in their own ways pioneering, and all of them evince the aspiration to

58 Ibid. See also Eggington 2014, *Advancement of Music*, Epilogue.

59 Weber 1992, *Rise of Musical Classics*, chapter 5.

60 For discussion of English musical culture at the end of the century and the influence on it of 'the ancient-modern quarrel' see Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music*, Aldershot 1999.

61 On the "Genealogy of Pepusch and his Pupils" see Cook 1982, *The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch*, p. 324.

establish for music the same basis for study, criticism and status that increasingly played a part in other arts. Due to the semi-public nature of the Academy prior to 1784, it cannot be said to have established a recognised canon of classics. Yet, its programming of old music did prove influential on later organisations, thereby helping to lay foundations for the classical music tradition that emerged in the nineteenth century. By collecting, editing, publishing and theorising the academicians sought the means to discover what was best. By placing themselves above both nobility and the paying public as arbiters of musical taste, the early academicians contributed to a process that would elevate the status not only of the art of music, but also of their profession.

ALEXANDER AICHELE

Musik ist, was man fühlt

Der Spuk John Lockes in Charles Avisons *Essay on Musical Expression*

Echte Mehrfachbegabungen und gar die Ausbildung der dazu passenden technischen Fähigkeiten sind selten. Und noch seltener werden alle damit verbundenen Tätigkeiten auf gleich hohem Niveau ausgeübt. Deswegen verwundert es mich immer ein wenig, wie leicht davon gesprochen wird, dass beispielsweise der Künstler X durch die Arbeiten des Philosophen Y beeinflusst worden sei. Denn dazu gehört jedenfalls Lektüre und obendrein Verständnis. Sonst bräuchte es ja nicht ausgerechnet der Philosoph Y zu sein. Denn dessen Einfluss zu identifizieren, setzt zumindest voraus, dass nicht irgendwelche seinerzeit im Schwange befindlichen Allerweltsauffassungen, sondern charakteristische Thesen irgendeine Art von Aufnahme oder Verarbeitung finden. Sonst könnten es auch viele andere oder keiner gewesen sein, sondern das seiner- und jederzeit anonyme Übliche oder das zu jeder Zeit ebenso konventionelle Unübliche. Weniger verwundert es hingegen, wenn die Zeugnisse solchen Einflusses öfter eher dilettantisch anmuten. Denn vielleicht hat der Künstler X das Handwerk eines Philosophen gar nicht gelernt oder die entsprechende Doppelbegabung oder auch nur philosophisches Interesse samt anstrengender und zeitraubender Lektüre liegt nicht vor.

Ebenso mögen hinter einem vermeintlichen Einfluss Missverständnisse oder bloßes Hörensagen auf Seiten des theoretisierenden Künstlers oder der wie auch immer begründete Wunsch eines Forschers stecken, im Werk ‚seines‘ Künstlers philosophische Einflüsse zu entdecken. So sehr deren sachgerechte Feststellung die Arbeit eines Künstlers erhellen und dem

Wissenschaftler ein zusätzliches Analysemittel geben mag, so groteske Verzerrungen können sich ergeben, wenn man ganz selbstverständlich philosophische Belesenheit und entsprechende technische Fertigkeiten unterstellt – besonders wenn man dabei Selbstzuschreibungen der erforschten Autoren folgt, wie das etwa Laurenz Lütteken mit Johann Mattheson und John Locke passiert ist.¹ Kurz: Nicht jede kleine Rezeption oder jedes zustimmende Zitat macht gleich einen Einfluss – Bücher können auch genervt oder gelangweilt aus der Hand gelegt, desinteressiert oder verständnislos überflogen, aus der Presse oder Gesprächen gekannt oder erworben, einsortiert und gar nicht gelesen werden. Und oft geht es auch ganz ohne philosophische Autorität, ohne dass deswegen die theoretische oder praktische Arbeit eines Künstlers gleich schlechter werden müsste.

Sie merken, ich nähere mich meinem Thema mit allergrößter Vorsicht. Es besteht nämlich folgendes Problem: Pierre Dubois, der Herausgeber von Charles Avisons *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752), behauptet am Anfang seiner Einleitung mit Nachdruck einen Einfluss von Lockes Erkenntnistheorie und in der weiteren Folge Joseph Addisons auf seinen Autor. Dabei unterstellt er Locke unter allgemeinem Verweis auf dessen *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) erkenntnistheoretischen Relativismus aufgrund der Ablehnung angeborener und also notwendigerweise universaler Ideen und generell wegen der Erfahrungsabhängigkeit des Wissenserwerbs. Dies schlosse „eine allgemeine Theorie von Relativität und Toleranz“ ein, weswegen sich Addison in seinen *Spectator*-Essays „On the Pleasures of the Imagination“ (1712) vom „präskriptiven Dogmatismus“ vergangener Regelpoetiken und anderer Kunsttheorien ab- und der Betrachtung des Schönen durch das jeweilige Subjekt zuwende.² Das innige Festhalten eigentlich aller Empiristen an einem ‚standard of taste‘ scheint hier nicht weiter ins Ge-

1 Laurenz Lütteken, „Matthesons Orchesterschriften und der englische Sensualismus“, in: *Die Musikforschung* 60 / 3 (2007), S. 203–213; vgl. dazu Alexander Aichele, „Sinnesurteil, Mode und Erfolg. Empirismus und Sensualismus in Johann Matthesons Orchesterschriften?“, in: *Johann Mattheson als Vermittler und Initiator. Wissenstransfer und Etablierung neuer Diskurse in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Wolfgang Hirschmann und Bernhard Jahn, Hildesheim 2010, S. 347–369.

2 Pierre Dubois, „Introduction“, in: *Charles Avison's 'Essay on Musical Expression'. With Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, hrsg. von dems., Aldershot 2004, S. iv–xlvi, hier S. ix: „This entailed a general theory of relativity and tolerance. In the *Essays on the Pleasures of the Imagination*, Addison thus turned his back on the prescriptive dogmatism of the past and, instead, laid the emphasis on man's personal response to the stimuli provided by the contemplation of a beautiful scene or object.“ Alle Übersetzungen englischer Texte in diesem Aufsatz stammen vom Autor (A. A.).

wicht zu fallen. Leider führt Dubois diese Überlegungen nicht weiter aus, und unglücklicherweise erwähnt Avison in seinem *Essay* weder Locke noch Addison oder sonst jemanden von den Empiristen auch nur ein einziges Mal. Beides erschwert die Überprüfung von Dubois' These ungemein.

Weiterhin erscheint problematisch, dass Locke wie alle Empiristen die Zuschreibung eines epistemologischen Relativismus gewiss als Vorwurf verstanden und sich energisch dagegen verwahrt hätten. Denn den Empiristen ging es ja gerade darum, die Wahrheit allgemeiner Sätze zu beweisen, jedoch allein durch Experiment und Beobachtung, aber nicht auf der Basis von der Erfahrung unzugänglichen metaphysischen Annahmen. Dass diese Methode mit großem Erfolg betrieben werden konnte, hatte Isaac Newton – auf den Dubois ebenfalls verweist³ – unter Beweis gestellt, und Newton wird man gewiss nicht als Relativisten bezeichnen wollen. Schon deswegen mutet eine entsprechende Einordnung Lockes, der, grob gesagt, versucht, Newtons Methode zu universalisieren, ziemlich ungewöhnlich an. Auch der Verweis auf Toleranz führt hier kaum weiter: Denn im *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) nimmt Locke nicht nur Katholiken aufgrund ihrer Loyalität gegenüber einem fremden Staatsoberhaupt, dem Papst, von der Toleranz aus, sondern auch Atheisten, und zwar gerade weil sie keine oberste metaphysische Instanz anerkennen, die für die Zuverlässigkeit ihrer Versprechen bürgen könnte.

Das macht die Lage ein wenig disparat. Und es ist gut möglich, dass am Ende die triviale Einsicht herauskommen mag, dass Avison, vermutlich wie jeder einigermaßen gebildete Brite in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, irgendwie empiristische Grundsätze verinnerlicht hatte oder wenigstens irgendwie gut fand. Das muss nicht gleich zu Locke oder auch Addison führen. Denn immerhin waren 1752, als Avisons *Essay* zum ersten Mal erschien, etliche ‚Klassiker‘ des Empirismus auf dem Markt, die sich, anders als Locke auch mit dem Schönen bzw. der Kunst beschäftigen, nämlich vor allem – um nur die bekanntesten zu nennen – Francis Hutchesons *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725) bzw. seinen *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections with Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (1728) und David Humes *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739 / 1740) und seine *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* (1741 / 1742). Ebenso stand Anthony Ashley Coopers, des Third Earls of Shaftesbury, *The Moralists* (1709)

3 Ebd., S. ix.

schon lange zur Verfügung, das ebenfalls zur empiristischen Tradition im weiteren Sinne zählt.

Um in diese unübersichtliche Lage etwas Ordnung hineinzubringen, werde ich Folgendes versuchen: Zunächst sind kurz die Grundprinzipien von Lockes Empirismus darzustellen. Sodann werde ich Avisons Begriff der Musik und seine Überlegungen zur ‚Freude‘ (pleasure) an ihr analysieren und schließlich erörtern, wodurch all dies angeregt worden sein mag. Dass es sein kann, dass sich diese Quellen als eine Mischung aus eher unspezifischen empiristischen Versatzstücken herausstellen und sich Avison schlicht als gebildeter Mann seiner Zeit erweist, wurde bereits warnend betont.

I. Lockes Empirismus und die Ideen des Gefühls

Das Etikett ‚Empirismus‘ ist nicht authentisch. Erst Immanuel Kant bezeichnet in der *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781 / 1787) diejenige Position als Empirismus, die im Gegensatz zum Rationalismus den „*Ursprung* reiner Verstandeserkenntnisse [...] aus der Erfahrung ab[.]leitet“.⁴ Empirismus steht also für eine erkenntnistheoretische, keine metaphysische Position. Deshalb folgt aus der Skepsis an Aussagen über metaphysische Gegenstände bzw. ihre Eigenschaften, die nicht Gegenstand möglicher Erfahrung sind, keineswegs Skepsis an der Existenz solcher Dinge wie der Seele oder Gott. Man kann demnach durchaus wissen, dass es diese Dinge gibt, ohne über vollständiges Wissen darüber verfügen zu müssen, was sie sind.

All dies vielfältige Wissen muss jedoch erst einmal erworben werden. Denn der Geist verfügt den Empiristen zufolge nicht schon von selbst über angeborene und jederzeit präsente Wahrheiten. Vielmehr enthält er von sich aus noch überhaupt keine Inhalte, d. h. keine ‚Ideen‘ (ideas). Nach Lockes äußerst weiter Bestimmung sind Ideen daher alle aktuellen Gegenstände des Bewusstseins bzw. Denkens.⁵ Weil die einzige Tätigkeit, die der Seele tatsächlich zugeschrieben werden kann, Denken ist,⁶ umfasst Denken jeden

4 Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Weischedel, Frankfurt a. M. 1974, S. 710 (A 854 / B 882). Hervorhebungen werden, soweit nicht anders angegeben, immer gemäß der zitierten Quelle wiedergegeben.

5 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [1689], hrsg. von Peter H. Niddich, Oxford 1975, S. 47 (I.1, § 8): „[...] that Term, which, I think, serves best to stand for whatsoever is the Object of the Understanding when a Man thinks, I have used it to express whatever is meant by *Phantasm*, *Notion*, *Species*, or whatever it is, which the Mind can be employ'd about in thinking.“

6 Ebd., S. 228 (II.19, § 4).

bewussten, aktiven oder passiven seelischen Vorgang, also alle mentalen Zustände von Empfinden über Wissen und Wollen bis hin zum Haben von Gefühlen.⁷ Jede Gemüts-tätigkeit besteht so in einem Umgang mit Ideen. Dazu müssen sie bewusst sein. Die Behauptung, unbewusste Ideen zu haben, ist eine *contradictio in adiecto*. Weder eine unterbewusste Seelenregung noch ein bloßer Sinneseindruck, verstanden als physische Veränderung eines entsprechenden Organs, zählen als Ideen.⁸

Allgemein gilt also: Es ist erst ihre Bewusstheit, welche Sinneseindrücke und seelische Vollzüge zu empfundenen oder reflektierten Ideen macht. Dies setzt stets Verstandestätigkeit voraus. Dies bedeutet indes nicht dessen unablässige Aktivität. Im Gegenteil verläuft die bloße Wahrnehmung von Sinneseindrücken meistens passiv, so dass der Geist gar nicht vermeiden kann, Empfindungen zu haben.⁹ Der aktive Vollzug bestimmter Operationen mit und an Ideen hingegen erfordert immer „einen bestimmten Grad willentlicher Aufmerksamkeit“.¹⁰ Solche Ideen von Ideen können demnach vermieden werden, woraus umgekehrt folgt, dass sie durch den Geist selbst produziert werden müssen. Ideen sind nach Locke also Bewusstseinsinhalte, die mentalen Zuständen entsprechen. Diese werden entweder passiv durch extramentale Ursachen oder aktiv durch geistige Akte hervorgerufen.

Die einzige Quelle von Ideen bildet nach Locke die ‚Erfahrung‘ (*experience*). Aus ihr stammt alles Material unseres Denkens.¹¹ Erfahrung umfasst demnach nicht nur bewusste Sinneswahrnehmungen, sondern ebenso die Tätigkeit des Geistes selbst.¹² Zwei Arten von Ideen gelten demzufolge als

7 Vgl. ebd., S. 226–229 (II.19).

8 Ebd., S. 144 (II.9, § 4): „A sufficient impulse there may be on the Organ; but it not reaching the observation of the Mind, there follows no perception: And though the motion, that uses to produce the *Idea* of Sound, be made in the Ear, yet no sound is heard. [...] that which uses to produce the *Idea*, though conveyed in by the usual Organ, not being taken notice of it in the Understanding, and so imprinting no *Idea* on the Mind, there follows no Sensation.“ Ebd., S. 143 (II.9, § 3): „This is certain, That whatever alterations are made in the Body, if they reach not the Mind; whatever impressions are made on the outward parts, if they are not taken notice of within, there is no Perception.“

9 Ebd., S. 143 (II.9, § 1): „For in bare naked *Perception*, the Mind is, for the most part, only passive; and what it perceives, it cannot avoid perceiving.“

10 Ebd.: „Though Thinking, in the propriety of the *English* Tongue, signifies that sort of operation of the Mind its *Ideas*, wherein the Mind is active; where it with some degree of voluntary attention, considers any thing.“

11 Vgl. ebd., S. 104 (II.1, § 2): „Whence has it [the Mind] all the materials of Reason and Knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, From *Experience*: In that, all our Knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives it self.“

12 Ebd.: „Our Observation employ'd either about *external, sensible Objects*; or about the *internal Operations of our Minds, perceived and reflected on by our selves*, is that, which

gleichberechtigte Quellen von Erkenntnis: zum einen diejenigen, welche vermittels eines hinreichend starken Sinneseindrucks durch extramentale und materielle Dinge verursacht werden und den Weisen entsprechen, wie diese die Sinne affizieren. Locke nennt sie ‚Sinnesideen‘ (sensations).¹³ Zum anderen entstehen Ideen durch die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Operationen des Geistes selbst, wie er sie zunächst an jenen Sinnesideen vollzieht.¹⁴ Solche ‚Reflexionen‘ (reflections) haben insofern gar nichts mit den sinnlich wahrgenommenen materiellen Dingen zu tun, als diese in ihnen nicht thematisch werden. Sie bieten bloß die Gelegenheitsursachen für geistige Aktivität. Denn die Ideen der Reflexion, zu denen Locke auch generell durch Freude und Schmerz bestimmte, emotionale Reaktionen auf bestimmte Ideen zählt, folgen nicht notwendig aus dem Besitz sinnlicher Ideen. Der Geist hätte ohne sie nur keine Gelegenheit zur Reflexion auf seine Tätigkeit. Folglich kann er, ohne über Sinnesideen zu verfügen, zwar nicht zu denken anfangen, aber er muss sich deswegen nicht immer und ausschließlich mit Sinnesideen beschäftigen. Er kann im Gegenteil auch über seine Tätigkeit und seine Vermögen nachdenken und dadurch Ideen erzeugen, die mit äußeren, materiellen Dingen überhaupt nichts zu tun haben und trotzdem wahre und gewisse universale Sätze ermöglichen.¹⁵

Erkenntnis, wie ein Ding an sich beschaffen ist, können daher nur Sinnesideen liefern. Allerdings sind sie ihrem Ursprung nach auf Körper eingeschränkt und lassen allein auf zwar sehr fundamentale, aber nur sehr wenige Eigenschaften schließen, nämlich diejenigen, welche Körperlichkeit selbst ausmachen, d. h. Undurchdringlichkeit, Ausdehnung, Gestalt und Bewegbarkeit.¹⁶ Diese ‚primären Qualitäten‘ (primary qualities), wie Locke sie

supplies our Understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the Fountains of Knowledge, from whence all the *Ideas* we have, or can naturally have, do spring.”

13 Vgl. ebd., S. 105 (II.1, § 3).

14 Vgl. zum folgenden ebd. (II.1, § 4) und S. 55 (I.2, § 15).

15 Ebd., S. 638–639 (IV.11, § 14): „Many of these [general Propositions] are called *æternæ veritates*, and all of them indeed are so; not from being written all or any of them in the Minds of all Men, or that they were any of them Propositions in any ones Mind, till he, having got the abstract *Ideas*, joyn'd or separated them by affirmation or negation. But wheresoever we can suppose such a creature as *Man* is, endowed with such faculties, and thereby furnished with such *Ideas*, as we have, we must conclude, he must needs, when he applies his thoughts to the consideration of his *Ideas*, know the truth of certain Propositions, that will arise from the Agreement or Disagreement, which he will perceive in his own *Ideas*.”

16 Vgl. ebd., S. 135 (II.8, § 9): „Take a grain of Wheat, divide it into two parts, each part has still *Solidity, Extension, Figure, and Mobility*; divide it again, and it retains still the same qualities; and so divide it on, till the parts become insensible, they must retain still each of them all those qualities.”

nennt, „existieren tatsächlich in den Körpern selbst“, weswegen ihre Ideen deren Struktur wiedergeben und zu ihren Ursachen in einer Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung stehen.¹⁷ Alle anderen Ideen entsprechen ‚sekundären Qualitäten‘ (secondary qualities). Sie bestehen allein in der Kraft der Dinge, durch ihre primären Qualitäten auf die Sinne zu wirken und mannigfaltige Ideen „wie Farben, Geräusche, Geschmäcke usw.“ zu verursachen. Sekundäre Qualitäten sind daher „nichts in den Gegenständen selbst“.¹⁸ Folglich haben die von ihnen hervorgebrachten Ideen „überhaupt keine Ähnlichkeit mit ihnen. Es gibt nicht so etwas wie unsere Ideen, das in den Körpern selbst existierte.“¹⁹

Aus Lockes Unterscheidung von primären und sekundären Qualitäten folgt nun ganz allgemein, dass wir, wenn wir den Dingen andere als ihre primären Qualitäten zuschreiben, nicht eigentlich über die Dinge, sondern über unsere Art, sie bewusst wahrzunehmen, reden. Das gilt a fortiori auch für die Seele und die Ideen der Reflexion, d. h. sprechen wir über die Seele, sprechen wir allein darüber, wie und was wir denken. Und da nun zweifelsohne jeder für sich allein empfindet und denkt, scheinen wir beim individualistischsten Relativismus zu landen, der sich nur vorstellen lässt. Allerdings scheint dies nur so. Locke unterscheidet nämlich nicht nur zwischen primären und sekundären Qualitäten, sondern auch zwischen einfachen und komplexen Ideen.

Denn zunächst müssen alle Qualitäten die Kraft besitzen, genau eine, uniforme Wahrnehmung hervorzubringen, anhand deren sie überhaupt erst voneinander unterschieden werden können. Aus der kategorischen Unähnlichkeit der sekundären Qualitäten mit den Ideen, die sie hervorbringen, folgt ja gerade nicht, dass die wahrhafte Beschaffenheit des jeweiligen Dings beliebig ist, sondern im Gegenteil nur, dass es genau so beschaffen sein muss, um, wie die Alltagserfahrung lehrt, konstant diese und keine andere Idee hervorzubringen. Auch wenn also sekundäre Eigenschaften nur auf bestimmte Kräfte von Dingen schließen lassen, müssen diese Kräfte doch etwas an den Dingen sein, weil der menschliche Geist gar nichts und

17 Ebd., S. 137 (II.8, § 15): „That the *Ideas of primary Qualities* of Bodies, are *Resemblances* of them, and their Patterns do really exist in the Bodies themselves; [...]“

18 Ebd., S. 135 (II.8, § 10): „Such *Qualities*, which in truth are nothing in the Objects themselves, but Powers to produce various Sensations in us by their *primary Qualities*, i.e. by the Bulk, Figure, Texture, and Motion of their insensible parts, as Colours, Sounds, Tasts, etc. These I call *secondary Qualities*.“

19 Ebd., S. 137, (II.8, § 15): „[...] but the *Ideas*, produced in us by these *Secondary Qualities*, have no resemblance of them at all. There is nothing like our *Ideas*, existing in the Bodies themselves.“

also auch keine Idee aus Nichts hervorbringen kann.²⁰ Dies gilt genauso für Ideenkombinationen, die nach Lust und Laune zusammengesetzt werden mögen. Das Material solcher komplexer Ideen muss erst in Form von Sinnesideen bzw. bewussten Empfindungen oder Reflexionen vorliegen, die selber nicht zusammengesetzt, sondern einfach sind, d. h. immer genau und nur einen Bewusstseinsinhalt transportieren, der nicht weiter analysiert, sondern allein erfahren werden kann.²¹

Locke unterscheidet anhand der Wege, wie sie ins Bewusstsein gelangen, vier Arten solcher einfacher Ideen: Durch genau einen Sinn empfangene; durch mehrere Sinne empfangene; durch Reflexion empfangene; und solche sowohl der Empfindung als auch der Reflexion. Entscheidend ist nun, dass einfache Ideen immer wahr sind. Das hat den negativen Grund, dass Falschheit nur in der Zusammensetzung von Ideen liegen kann, und einfache Ideen eben nicht zusammengesetzt sind. Locke führt aber auch einen positiven Grund an, der jeden Gedanken an die Relativität der Wahrheit einer Aussage über Gegenstände der Empfindung oder Reflexion verbannt; so sehr, dass ihm nicht einmal dann Falschheit vorgeworfen werden darf, „wenn der Geist (wie er [...] das bei den meisten Menschen tut) urteilt, dass diese Ideen in den Dingen selbst sind.“²² Gott nämlich hat jene einfachen Ideen als Unterscheidungsmerkmale zwischen den Dingen eingesetzt. Sie ermöglichen dem Menschen erst stabile Identifikation und Gebrauch der Dinge. Es macht daher in praktischer Hinsicht keinen Unterschied, „ob wir denken, dass die Idee des Blauen im Veilchen selbst oder bloß in unserem Geist sei und nur die Kraft, sie durch die Textur ihrer Teile, die die Lichtpartikel auf bestimmte Weise reflektieren, hervorzubringen, im Veilchen selber sei.“²³

Zu diesen notwendigerweise wahren, d. h. auch nicht bestreitbaren, Ideen gehören nun auch ‚Freude‘ (pleasure, delight) und ‚Schmerz‘ (pain, uneasiness). Sie kommen sowohl durch Empfindung als auch durch Reflexion zu Bewusstsein und „gesellen sich zu fast all unseren Ideen sowohl der Empfindung als auch der Reflexion.“²⁴ Die Ideen von Freude und Schmerz

20 Vgl. ebd., S. 119–120 (II.2, § 2).

21 Vgl. ebd., S. 229 (II.20, § 1).

22 Ebd., S. 388 (II.32, § 14): „Nor do they become liable to any Imputation of *Falshood*, if the Mind (as in most Men I believe it does) judges these *Ideas* to be in the Things themselves.“

23 Ebd.: „whether we think, that the *Idea* of Blue, be in the Violet it self, or in our Mind only; and only the Power of producing it by the Texture of its Parts, reflecting the Particles of Light, after a certain Manner, to be in the Violet it self.“

24 Ebd., S. 128 (II.7, § 2): „*Delight*, or *Uneasiness*, one or other of them join themselves to almost all of our *Ideas*, both of Sensation and Reflection.“

erlauben nun die Unterscheidung von ‚Gut‘ und ‚Böse‘, die nicht anderweitig aus der Erfahrung gewonnen werden könnte:

*That we call Good, which is apt to cause or increase Pleasure, or diminish Pain in us; or else to procure, or preserve us the possession of any other Good, or absence of any Evil. And on the contrary we name that Evil, which is apt to produce or increase any Pain, or diminish any Pleasure in us; or else to produce us an Evil, or deprive us of any Good.*²⁵

Nun bietet Locke aufgrund ihrer schier endlosen Variationsbreite zwar keine erschöpfende Analyse aller ‚Leidenschaften‘ oder ‚Gefühle‘ (passions), die das menschliche Bewusstsein modifizieren und seine Einstellungen gegenüber Dingen oder Zuständen bzw. genauer: gegenüber den Ideen, die sie in uns erzeugen, bestimmen können. Dennoch lässt er keinen Zweifel darüber, dass diese ihrerseits auf Modifikationen der sinnlichen oder reflexiven Ideen von Freude und Schmerz beruhen:

*Pleasure and Pain, and that which causes them, Good and Evil, are the hinges on which our Passions turn: and if we reflect on our selves, and observe how these, under various Considerations, operate in us; what Modifications or Tempers of Mind, what internal Sensations, (if I may so call them,) they produce in us, we may thence form to our selves the Ideas of our Passions.*²⁶

Dass wir also Freude oder Schmerz verspüren, kann sowohl aus Empfindung als auch aus Reflexion herrühren und ist stets eine Wirkung des Guten oder Bösen; welche Art von Gefühl es ist, das mit dieser oder jener Freude oder Schmerz verbunden ist, ist Gegenstand der Reflexion. Da dazu gehört, Freude oder Schmerz mit einem bestimmten Gegenstand oder Zustand zu verbinden, sind Gefühle anders als ihre Ursachen Freude und Schmerz niemals einfache Ideen. Daher muss man auch niemals gegenüber einem bestimmten Gegenstand oder Zustand genau und nur dieses eine und kein anderes Gefühl haben. Weil es aber eine komplexe Idee darstellt, kann es trotzdem das ‚falsche‘ sein.

25 Ebd., S. 229 (II.20, § 2).

26 Ebd., S. 229–230 (II.20, § 3).

II. Charles Avison: Das gute Gefühl der Musik

Schon die Überlegungen zu den Grundlagen der Musik, mit denen Avison seinen *Essay* beginnt, lassen den Leser kaum als erstes an Locke denken. Dem Wesen des Menschen zufolge übe die Musik durch ihre Harmonik und Melodik nämlich eine mächtige Wirkung „sowohl auf seine Einbildungskraft [imagination] als auch auf seine Gefühle [passions]“ aus.²⁷ In Lockes *Essay* spielt die Einbildungskraft aber eigentlich keine Rolle. Er gebraucht dafür nicht einmal den Ausdruck „imagination“, sondern verwendet „phansy“, und dies auch nur einmal, wenn er das ‚Erinnerungsvermögen‘ (memory) als denjenigen Teil des Verstandes analysiert, der die beliebige Zusammensetzung einfacher zu komplexen Ideen ermöglicht.²⁸ An ihnen interessiert Locke jedoch nur ihr Verhältnis zur Erkenntnis, d. h. ihre mögliche Wahr- oder Falschheit. Dies außer Acht gelassen, könnte die von Avison herausgestellte Wirkung von Musik auf die Gefühle nach Locke nur bedeuten, dass Musik Freude oder Schmerz verursacht, die ihrerseits wiederum in der Reflexion Gefühle erzeugen bzw. das Bewusstsein modifizieren.

Zwar verursacht auch nach Avison das Hören von Musik Freude. Ganz anders als Locke jedoch führt Avison, um diese Wirkung zu erklären, eigens einen Extra-Sinn ein, ohne den die schönste Musik Geräusch bliebe:

THE Capacity of receiving Pleasure from these musical Sounds, is, in Fact, a peculiar and internal Sense, but of a much more refined Nature than the external Senses: For in the Pleasures arising from our internal Sense of Harmony, there is no prior Uneasiness necessary, in order to our tasting them in their full Perfection; neither is the Enjoyment of them attended either with Languor or Disgust. It is their peculiar and essential Property, to divest the Soul of every unquiet Passion, to pour in upon the Mind, a silent and serene Joy, beyond the Power of Words to express, and to fix the Heart in a rational, benevolent, and happy Tranquility.²⁹

Der Mensch besitzt also nicht nur äußere Sinne, sondern auch einen speziellen, inneren Sinn für Harmonie, auf dessen Quelle weiter unten kurz einzugehen sein wird. Er lässt sich aber weder in Lockes Terminologie überset-

²⁷ Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, S. 5: „If we view this Art in it's Foundations, we shall find, that by the Constitution of Man it is of mighty Efficacy in working both on his Imagination and his Passions. The Force of *Harmony*, or *Melody* alone, is wonderful on the Imagination.“

²⁸ Vgl. Locke [1689] 1975, *Essay*, S. 153 (II.10, § 8).

²⁹ Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, S. 5.

zen noch in sein Modell einpassen. Denn die notgedrungen durch das Gehör empfangenen äußeren Sinneseindrücke wirken unmittelbar auf jenen inneren Sinn, der folglich nicht deswegen freudvolle Ideen produzieren wird, weil er anlässlich jener Höreindrücke auf seine eigene Tätigkeit reflektiert. Er gehört nicht zur verstandesmäßigen Ausstattung, sondern ist eine natürliche Fähigkeit *sui generis*. Deswegen setzt er auch keinen Zustand der Unlust – wie etwa ‚Begehren‘ (*desire*) oder ähnliches – voraus, sondern versetzt das Bewusstsein des Hörers unmittelbar in einen freudvollen Zustand. Und weil der innere Sinn für Harmonie so wie die einzelnen äußeren Sinne allein für eine einzige Art von Eindrücken empfänglich ist, erzeugt er reine, durch keinerlei negative Gefühle getrübe Freude. Da sie ohne weitere Voraussetzungen auf das Gemüt wirkt, mit Notwendigkeit etwaige unangenehme Gefühle beseitigt und das Bewusstsein in einen Zustand ‚stiller und heiterer Freude‘ versetzt, besitzt der durch Musik aktivierte Sinn für Harmonie kausale Kraft. Dass eine solche zwingende Wirkung über einige wenige einfache Ideen hinaus, deren Wahrnehmung man sich schlechterdings nicht entziehen kann, überhaupt möglich ist, ließe sich von Lockes Position aus füglich bezweifeln.

Wird aber dieser notwendige Effekt von Musik und damit die Existenz jenes Extra-Sinns in allen Menschen (oder wenigstens in musikinteressierten Gentlemen) anerkannt, lässt sich seine Wirkung variieren und – was viel wichtiger ist – auch präzise kontrollieren. An dieser Stelle kommt nun die Einbildungskraft ins Spiel. Sorgt der Sinn für Harmonie generell für Freude, spezifiziert die Einbildungskraft diese zu bestimmten Gefühlen, variiert also die natürliche Wirkung von Melodik und Harmonik. Dies geschieht durch die Hinzufügung „der Macht musikalischen Ausdrucks“, der die Wirkung von Melodik und Harmonik „außerordentlich steigert, denn dann nehmen sie die Kraft an, all die angenehmsten Gefühle der Seele zu erregen.“³⁰

Dieser musikalische Ausdruck (*expression*) besteht im Gebrauch derjenigen Klänge, die von Natur aus den verschiedenen Gefühlen entsprechen, „und indem wir diese hören, fühlen wir von Natur aus mit denen mit, die sich entweder freuen oder leiden“.³¹ Die Wiedergabe der den verschiede-

30 Ebd., S. 6: „BUT, though this be the natural Effect of *Melody or Harmony* on the Imagination, when simply considered; yet when to these is added the Force of *Musical Expression*, the Effect is greatly increased; for then they assume the Power of exciting all the most agreeable Passions of the Soul.“

31 Ebd.: „So again, there are certain Sounds natural to Joy, others to Grief, or Despondency, others to Tenderness and Love; and by hearing *these*, we naturally sympathize with those who either *enjoy or suffer*.“

nen Gefühlen natürlichen Klänge verursacht also durch ihre natürliche Wirkung auf die Einbildungskraft ebendiese Gefühle im Hörer. Diese Wirkung ist dann am stärksten, wenn jene Klänge Personen sinnlich wahrnehmen lassen oder in der Einbildung hervorrufen, die sich in den ausgedrückten Gefühlszuständen befinden. Der musikalische Ausdruck versetzt demnach den Hörer in eine bestimmte Situation, der es von Natur aus eignet, bestimmte Gefühle zu erzeugen. Die Natürlichkeit dieses Vorgangs, die Avison so sehr betont, besteht dabei in der Assoziation von Ideen:

Thus Music, either by imitating these various Sounds in due Subordination to the Laws of *Air* and *Harmony*, or by any other Method of Association, bringing the Objects of our Passions before us (especially when those Objects are determined, and made as it were visibly, and intimately present to the Imagination by the Help of Words) does naturally raise a Variety of Passions in the human Breast, similar to the Sounds which are expressed.³²

Tatsächlich findet sich eine Theorie der Assoziation bei Locke. In ihr unterscheidet er zwischen natürlicher und zufälliger bzw. gewohnheitsmäßiger, mithin willentlicher Assoziation von Ideen.³³ Erstere „aufzuspüren und in ebender Vereinigung und Entsprechung, die in ihren besonderen Dingen begründet ist, ist die Aufgabe und die Vortrefflichkeit unserer Vernunft“, denn sie tragen zur Erkenntnis der Dinge bei.³⁴ Alle anderen Ideenassoziationen sagen nichts über die Dinge aus, sondern nur über zufällige Absichten, Bildungsstandards, Interessen usw. einzelner Personen oder deren gewohnte Denkweisen, Willensbestimmungen und Körperbewegungen. Wendet man diese Unterscheidung auf Avisons Begriff des musikalischen Ausdrucks an, folgt daraus, dass jeder musikalische Ausdruck prinzipiell demjenigen natürlichen Klang entsprechen, ihn also nachahmen muss, der mit einem bestimmten Gefühl von Natur aus verbunden ist, geschehe dies nun durch unmittelbare Nachahmung gemäß den ‚Gesetzen‘ des musikalischen Gegenstandes bzw. der Melodik und der Harmonik oder mittelbar durch die Fortbestimmung der Klänge durch Text, Handlung, Szenerie und ähnliche

³² Ebd.

³³ Vgl. zum folgenden Locke [1689] 1975, *Essay*, S. 395–396 (II.33, §§ 5, 6).

³⁴ Ebd., S. 395 (II.33, § 5): „It is the Office and Excellency of our Reason to trace these, and hold them together in that Union and Correspondence which is founded in their peculiar Beings.“

außermusikalische Mittel, die strenggenommen ebenfalls das Natürlichkeitskriterium erfüllen müssten.

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass diese Überlegungen sich nicht mit Lockes Begriff der natürlichen Assoziation vertragen. Zwar diskutiert Locke den Begriff der Nachahmung ebenso wenig, wie er eine Theorie der Einbildungskraft liefert, jedoch zeigt ein einfaches Argument, dass nach seiner Assoziationstheorie jede Form von Nachahmung gemäß einer eigens ausgebildeten Konvention erfolgen muss und deswegen gerade nicht durch natürliche Assoziation geschehen kann. Denn ohne Zweifel entspringen gezielte Nachahmungen der Reflexion und setzen die Kombination einfacher Ideen im Geiste voraus, deren Resultate sodann durch geeignete und womöglich ihrerseits erst zu erfindende, zu bauende oder jedenfalls zu benutzende Instrumente in sinnlich erfahrbaren Klängen erprobt und verwirklicht werden. Das ist etwas anderes, als die rationale Erkenntnis und Aufrechterhaltung der Einheit natürlicher Ideenassoziationen, die durch die Kraft der sie verursachenden Gegenstände gebildet werden. Es wird gewiss natürliche Klänge geben und vielleicht sind manche davon auch mit bestimmten Gefühlen verbunden; ihre Nachahmungen aber sind zum einen ebenso gewiss und zum anderen genau deswegen auf eine Vielzahl von kulturellen, technischen und ähnlichen Konventionen angewiesen. Die Assoziation eines dementsprechend hergestellten Klanges mit seinem adäquaten Gegenstand samt der Erregung des wiederum diesem adäquaten Gefühls mag dann vielleicht aufgrund ihrer Üblichkeit natürlich erscheinen, ist es aber nicht. Das könnte nur dann der Fall sein, wenn man die Gesetze, nach denen jene Klänge produziert würden, selber für universale Naturgesetze hielte, die mit entsprechender Notwendigkeit wirkten, also immer einen zureichenden Grund für die Entstehung des jeweils adäquaten Gefühls lieferten. Genau dies aber scheint nach Avison für die „*Laws of Air and Harmony*“ zu gelten, so dass jede Form musikalischen Ausdrucks zumindest in ihrem Kern eine natürliche Assoziation von Ideen haben muss; denn zweifellos wird auch die Musik zu einer Oper oder einer sonstigen von Text, Bühnenbild, Tanz und dergleichen mehr verstärkten Komposition genau diesen Gesetzen folgen müssen, sofern sie denn ihren Zweck erreichen und überhaupt Musik sein will.

Ganz anders als dies Dubois in seiner Einleitung darstellt, vertritt Avison einen äußerst restriktiven und imitativen Begriff von Musik, die zwar unmittelbar sinnlich auf das hörende Subjekt, aber keinesfalls subjektiv wirken soll; denn das im Subjekt hervorgebrachte Gefühl ist ja durch den musikali-

schen Ausdruck objektiv vorgegeben. Dieser Begriff von Musik ist zwar kaum mit Lockes ursprünglichem Modell des Empirismus vereinbar, dafür aber ist er geeignet, Avisons Thesen über die prinzipielle und unaufhebbare ‚Gutheit‘ der Musik bzw. der durch sie im Hörer hervorgebrachten Gefühle einigermaßen zu rechtfertigen. Denn nicht nur „haben wir schon gesehen, dass es die natürliche Wirkung von Melodik und Harmonik ist, das Bewusstsein in einen freudvollen Zustand zu versetzen“,³⁵ sondern alle „Gefühle, welche sie [die Musik] erweckt, sind, obwohl sie missgeleitet oder übertrieben sein mögen, von der wohlwollenden und geselligen Art, und sie sind wenigstens ihrer Absicht nach interessefrei und edel.“³⁶

Diese universale Gutheit zu betonen, ist deswegen wichtig, weil sich die empiristisch fundierte britische Kritik seinerzeit standardmäßig mit dem Problem der paradoxen Wirkung der Tragödie befasste.³⁷ Dieses Problem besteht schlicht darin, wie es geschehen und moralisch vertretbar sein kann, dass man Freude daran empfindet, wenn es anderen Leuten entsetzlich schlecht geht, wie dies in Tragödien und Opern eben so passiert.

Hierzu formuliert Avison zunächst eine allgemeine These: „I think we may venture to assert, that it is the peculiar Quality of Music to raise the *Sociable and happy Passions*, and to *subdue the contrary ones*.“³⁸ Avison kann schlecht anderes behaupten, weil aus der ‚vernünftigen, wohlwollenden und heiteren Ruhe‘, welche die Musik durch ihre Wirkung auf den inneren Sinn für Harmonie sofort im Bewusstsein eines jeden Hörers herstellt, durch Spezifikation dieser Grundstimmung vermittels des Ausdrucks kaum gegensätzliche Gefühle hervorgehen können.

Damit stellt sich Avison gegen die seiner Darstellung nach allgemein anerkannte Überzeugung von der moralischen Neutralität der Musik, dass nämlich „ihre Kraft sich gleichermaßen auf jede Affektion des Bewusstseins erstrecke“.³⁹ Avison hält dies naturgemäß für einen „allgemeinen und grund-

35 Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, S. 7: „We have already seen that it is the natural Effect of Air and Harmony to throw the Mind in a pleasurable State.“

36 Ebd., S. 6: „But still the Passions which it raises, though they may be *mised* or *excessive*, are of the benevolent and social Kind, and in their Intent at least are disinterested and noble.“

37 Vgl. Timothy M. Costelloe, *The British Aesthetic Tradition. From Shaftesbury to Wittgenstein*, Cambridge 2013, S. 46.

38 Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, S. 6.

39 Ebd.: „I know it has been generally believed and affirmed, that it's Power extends alike to every Affection of the Mind.“

sätzlichen Irrtum“⁴⁰ den er in einem ersten Schritt mit einem eher schwachen empirischen Argument aufzudecken sucht:

I would appeal to any Man, whether ever he found himself urged to Acts of Selfishness, Cruelty, Treachery, Revenge, or Malevolence by the Power of Musical Sounds? Or if he ever found Jealousy, Suspicion, or Ingratitude engendered in his Breast, either from HARMONY or DISCORD? I believe no Instance of this Nature can be alledged with Truth.⁴¹

Eine bejahende Antwort, die Avisons Behauptung widerlegen würde, würde nicht gegen die Musik, sondern nur dafür sprechen, dass der entsprechende Hörer nicht ganz richtig im Kopf ist (s. u.).

Ähnlich schwierig ist Avisons Behandlung der Gefühle, die eine gewöhnliche Tragödie begleiten, nämlich ‚Schrecken‘ (terror) und ‚Kummer‘ (grief). Auch wenn Avison in einer längeren Fußnote ausdrücklich darauf eingeht, dass auch diese Gefühle „keine Ausnahme von der Regel“ bilden,⁴² bereitet doch vor allem der Schrecken Probleme, obwohl oder gerade weil er ihn theoretisch durchaus konventionell einzufangen versucht:

[The] *Terror* raised by *Musical Expression*, is always of that grateful Kind, which arises from an Impression of something terrible to the Imagination, but which is immediately dissipated, by a subsequent Conviction, that the Danger is entirely imaginary. [...] In all these Cases, as in that of musical Expression, the Sense of our *Security* mixes itself with the terrible Impressions, and melts them into a very sensible Delight.⁴³

Offensichtlich muss das verschreckte Bewusstsein darauf reflektieren, dass ihm seine Einbildungskraft etwas vorstellt, das nicht real ist, um zu einem Lustgewinn zu kommen. Dies kann aber keine unmittelbare und natürliche Wirkung der gehörten Musik sein, sondern nur eine der Einsicht, dass man hier eben bloß Musik hört. Dass hingegen der Kummer über miterlebtes Unglück eines anderen prinzipiell eine soziale Empfindung ist, klingt demgegenüber schon eher überzeugend.⁴⁴

40 Ebd.: „But I would offer it to the Consideration of the Public, whether this is not a general and fundamental Error.“

41 Ebd.

42 Ebd., Fn.

43 Ebd.

44 Ebd.: „As to the second instance, that of Grief, it will be sufficient to observe, that as it has always something of the social Kind for it's Foundation, so it is often attended with a Kind

Wie dem auch sei, Avisons eigentliches Argument folgt erst, und er kündigt es als ‚zureichenden Grund‘ (sufficient reason) an.⁴⁵ Seine Prämisse bleibt die These von der natürlichen, freudeerzeugenden Wirkung der Musik. Ist diese nun eingetreten, und befindet sich das Bewusstsein im Zustand jener heiteren Ruhe,

it will of course exert those Powers [Melodik und Harmonik, A. A.], and be susceptible of those Passions which are the most natural and agreeable to it. Now these are altogether of the benevolent Species; inasmuch as we know that the contrary Affections, such as Anger, Revenge, Jealousy, and Hatred, are always attended with Anxiety and Pain: Whereas all the various Modifications of Love, whether human or divine, are but so many Kinds of immediate Happiness.⁴⁶

Hier dürfen wir uns endlich tatsächlich an Locke erinnern, nämlich an seine Unterscheidung von Gut und Böse auf der Basis der Erfahrung von Freude und Schmerz. Wenn es Gefühle gibt, die notwendigerweise mit Schmerz verbunden sind, sind sie böse, und wenn es solche gibt, die notwendigerweise mit Freude verbunden sind, sind sie gut. Allerdings ist genau dies nach Locke ein heikles Thema, da Gefühle aus der Reflexion entstehen und deswegen in die Irre geleitet werden können und, solange es nicht um pure körperliche Erlebnisse wie „ein Stück Stahl, das unser Fleisch teilt“,⁴⁷ handelt, gerade nicht unmittelbare Wirkungen von Dingen auf unsere Sinne darstellen.

Jedoch macht diese Anlehnung an Locke Avisons Argument weder stärker noch schwächer. Avisons Schluss folgt nämlich erst und lautet folgendermaßen: „From this view of Things therefore it necessarily follows, that every Species of musical Sound must tend to dispel the malevolent Passions, because they are *painful*; and nourish those which are benevolent, because they are *pleasing*.“⁴⁸ Damit folgt genau das, was in der Prämisse vorausgesetzt worden ist. Avisons Argument ist schlicht zirkulär, und für die fundamentale Prämisse, dass Melodik, Harmonik und musikalischer Ausdruck den Geist mit natürlicher Notwendigkeit in einen freudvollen Zustand versetzt, gibt es keine Begründung.

of Sensation, which may with Truth be called *pleasing*.”

45 Ebd., S. 7.

46 Ebd.

47 Locke [1689] 1975, *Essay*, S. 136–137 (II.8, § 13).

48 Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, S. 7.

III. Der empiristische Gemischtwarenladen eines Gentlemans von einiger Bildung

Das klingt schlimmer, als es ist. Denn Avison hat ja keinen professionellen philosophischen Traktat, nicht einmal einen im engeren Sinne philosophischen Essay verfasst und dies vermutlich auch nicht tun wollen. Vielmehr hat er sich, wie es die Art gebildeter Personen und darüberhinaus ihr gutes Recht ist, zur argumentativen Unterfütterung seiner eigenen Überlegungen bei den philosophischen Autoren und Theorien bedient, die gerade en vogue waren. Dies sind seinerzeit eben die Empiristen gewesen. Locke gehörte aber wohl eher nicht zu Avisons bevorzugten Gewährsleuten, wenngleich er in den Anklängen an seine Assoziationstheorie und sein Unterscheidungskriterium zwischen Gut und Böse Avisons *Essay* noch wie der Geist des Empiristen-Urahns spuken mag.

Andere Autoren kommen eher in Frage, allerdings ohne dass Avison eine systematische Entscheidung zugunsten einer bestimmten Theorie getroffen hätte. Wie es einem Gentleman von einiger Bildung geziemte, scheint er sich unter den renommierten Theorien eher wie an einem festlichen Buffet bedient zu haben. Dazu abschließend noch einige Hinweise:

Am zwanglosesten lassen Avisons Ausführungen an Addison Texte zu den Freuden der Einbildungskraft aus dem *Spectator* denken: Anders als Locke, bei dem sie eine durchaus randständige Rolle spielt, wertet Addison die Einbildungskraft zu einem eigenständigen Gemütsvermögen auf. Sie fungiert nicht mehr als Adlatus der Erinnerung und demzufolge als Teil des Verstandes und seiner Fähigkeit zu freudvoller kombinatorischer Aktivität,⁴⁹ sondern übernimmt geradewegs diese Aufgabe und wird so zum verstandesunabhängigen Organ spezifisch ästhetischer Erfahrung. Sie verursacht sogar eine eigene Freude, die einfacher zugänglich und deswegen gewissermaßen demokratischer ist als die Freuden des Verstandes.⁵⁰ Nach Addison ist die Phantasie die Kraft „of retaining, altering, and compounding those images, which we have once received, into all varieties of picture and vision that are most agreeable to the imagination; for by this faculty a man in a dungeon is

49 Vgl. Locke [1689] 1975, *Essay*, S. 119–120 (II.2, § 2).

50 Vgl. Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, Nr. 411, 21.06.1712, in: *Critical Essays from the Spectator with Four Essays by Richard Steele*, hrsg. von Donald F. Bond, Oxford 1970, S. 176: „Besides, the pleasures of the imagination have this advantage, above those of the understanding, that they are more obvious, and more easy to be acquired. It is but opening the eye, and the scene enters.“

capable of entertaining himself with scenes and landscapes more beautiful than any that can be found in the whole compass of nature“.⁵¹

Was allerdings wiederum gar nicht zu Avisons Ausführungen passt, ist Addisons radikale Fixiertheit auf visuelle Eindrücke und Vorstellungen.⁵² Die Einbildungskraft ist bei Addison eine Art innerlicher Gesichtssinn, so dass alle anderen empfangenen oder gespeicherten Sinneseindrücke in visuelle Vorstellungen umgewandelt werden müssen, bevor sie ästhetische Freude bereiten können. Die unmittelbare, naturkausale Wirkung musikalischer Höreindrücke, die Avison vertritt, ist auf dieser Basis ausgeschlossen. Addisons Unterscheidung zwischen ‚primären‘ Freuden der Einbildungskraft, die durch der Sinneswahrnehmung unmittelbar präsente Eindrücke hervorgerufen werden, und ‚sekundären‘, bei denen die Einbildungskraft Vorstellungen absenter oder fiktiver Gegenstände bildet, könnte hingegen – lässt man die Exklusivität visueller Ideen außer Acht – mit einigem Wohlwollen auf Avisons Differenzierung zwischen ohne weitere Zutaten wirkende Musik und ihre Fortbestimmung durch außermusikalische Elemente übertragen werden, obwohl das eine eher wackelige Analogie wäre. Denn Addisons Charakteristik jener primären Freuden durch das Große bzw. Erhabene, das Neuartige bzw. Überraschende oder das Schöne lehnt Avison, zumindest was das Überraschende angeht, ausdrücklich ab.⁵³ Hinsichtlich des Schrecklichen teilt Avison dagegen Addisons Position: Die Freude daran entsteht aus dem Bewusstsein unserer eigenen Sicherheit, so dass sie umso größer wird, je schlimmer die Vorstellungen unserer Einbildungskraft sind.⁵⁴

Avisons innerer Sinn für Harmonie wiederum scheint von Hutcheson entliehen zu sein, bei dem er allerdings Gentlemen vorbehalten bleibt. Zugleich steht Hutcheson sowohl in der Tradition Lockes als auch Shaftesburys. Allerdings ist er dort nicht auf Harmonie eingeschränkt, sondern bezieht sich generell auf das Schöne.⁵⁵ Es mag daher sein, dass Avison Hutchesons „inneren Sinn für Schönheit und Harmonie“ einfach weiter spezifiziert und die Interessensfreiheit (disinterestedness),⁵⁶ die sein Tun auszeichnet, von Shaftesbury übernommen haben mag.

51 Ebd.

52 Vgl. ebd.

53 Vgl. Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, S. 15.

54 Vgl. Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, Nr. 418, 30.06.1712, in: Bond (Hrsg.) 1970, *Critical Essays*, S. 198.

55 Vgl. Costelloe 2013, *The British Aesthetic Tradition*, S. 21–29.

56 Vgl. ebd., S. 19–21.

Wenn man möchte, kann man sogar noch Spuren David Humes vermuten, da Avison fast nie von „sensations“, sondern häufiger von „impressions“ spricht. Hume nämlich hatte Lockes Ideenbegriff und seine Aufteilung in „sensations“ und „reflections“ aufgrund seiner Missverständlichkeit kritisiert und durch „perceptions“, die entweder „impressions“ oder „ideas“ sind, ersetzt.⁵⁷

Ohne diese Spurensuche weiter fortsetzen zu wollen, sieht man doch vielleicht, dass sich Avison schlicht der theoretischen Elemente bedient hat, die sich seinerzeit eines Gentleman geziemten, ohne sich offensichtlich große Gedanken über ihre systematische Einheit zu machen. Auch wenn dies doch wider den Textbefund der Fall sein sollte, lässt sich die Frage auf der Basis des *Essay on Musical Expression* kaum entscheiden: Um von einem echten, systematischen Einfluss zu sprechen, ist das, was dasteht, einerseits zu heterogen und andererseits reichen die genuin philosophischen Daten schlicht nicht aus. Es handelt sich um den an der Oberfläche durchaus informierten, aber philosophisch unsystematischen Text eines Gentlemans von einiger Bildung.

57 Vgl. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, hrsg. von Lewis A. Selby-Bigge und Peter H. Nidditch, Oxford 1978, S. 1–7 (I.1.1).

INA KNOTH

Art Criticism and the Professional Perspective

The Functions of Analogies between Music and Painting in Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* and William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*

Analogies are one of the most ancient tools for constructing and imparting knowledge. Without them, no history of knowledge and no history of judgement would seem possible. Loosely defined as a means of transferring one set of relations from one object to another, analogies as scientific tools can function in various ways.¹ The type of analogy most often used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholarly writings is a heuristic tool which presupposes that at least one fundamental principle of character is shared by a minimum of two objects associated through the comparison to suggest further similarities. In the writings which are usually said to mark the beginnings of aesthetic thinking and art criticism² in Britain – those by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson and David Hume among others – such analogies involve general assumptions about correlations between the arts in general as well as correlations between their

1 Cf. e.g. Klaus Hentschel, "Die Funktion von Analogien in den Naturwissenschaften, auch in Abgrenzung zu Metaphern und Modellen", in *Analogien in Naturwissenschaften, Medizin und Technik* (Acta historica Leopoldina 56), eds. id. and Benno Parthier, Stuttgart 2010, pp. 13–66 and Paul Bartha, "Analogy and Analogical Reasoning", in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, 2013 / 2019, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2019/entries/reasoning-analogy/> (last access 25 February 2020), § 1.

2 It is important to note that in this essay 'art criticism' refers to general criteria applied to all the arts. Where criteria for an individual art are addressed, the individual art will be named specifically, in this case 'painting criticism' and 'music criticism'.

sensual and moral perception. More importantly, as the example of *imitatio naturae* shows most prominently, the extent to which these ‘analogous’ principles could be argued for the different arts often played a justificatory role. Analogies between nature, art and morality were often argued to justify art’s respectability and were therefore fundamental to art criticism.

Moral philosophy by authors like Shaftesbury, Hutcheson and Hume was part of and drew on the then common mixture of renaissance-humanist and empiricist learning of the educated English gentleman virtuoso or connoisseur; that is the educated gentleman with a peculiar interest in the ‘arts and sciences’.³ Their interest could even result in publishing on different aspects of these fields.⁴ Contemporary artists on the other hand rarely authored comparably extensive critical writings, for reasons such as their lack of university education and appropriate eloquence.⁵ There are individual as well as profession-related differences to bear in mind of course, writers being the obvious exception with regard to training in eloquence.⁶ Leaving them aside, this essay concentrates on ‘professional voices’ in music and painting in the first half of the eighteenth century. ‘Professional voices’ refers here to publications by artists who practised their art in order to make a living and not as a means of elegantly passing their leisure time. Due to their essential dependence on patrons and other solvent consumers of their performative, productive and teaching services, artists in general were required at the very least to perform a degree of awareness of a moral and

3 Arts and sciences in this historical context are not as firmly distinguished from each other but rather understood in conjunction, cf. Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*, New Haven und London 1999, pp. 3–22.

4 While Shaftesbury in several essays of his *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 3 vols., London 1711, speaks of the ‘virtuoso’ as a commendable man of learning who was interested in and also practised the arts and sciences on an amateur level, the (likewise) Italian and to some extent synonymous term ‘connoisseur’ was established shortly afterwards with a stronger emphasis on competence in judgement of the arts. Cf. Brian Cowan, “An Open Elite. The Peculiarities of Connoisseurship in Early Modern England”, in *Modern Intellectual History* 1 / 2 (2004), pp. 151–183; id., *The Social Life of Coffee. The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*, New Haven 2011, pp. 5–15; Walter E. Houghton, “The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century. Part I / Part II”, in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3 (1942), pp. 51–73 / pp. 190–219; Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso. Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism*, Chicago 2009.

5 On the complexity of authoring (critical) art writings cf. from James S. Malek, *The Arts Compared. An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics*, Detroit 1974, pp. 11–14, to Michael Gavin, *The Invention of English Criticism, 1650–1760*, Cambridge 2015, pp. 1–23.

6 Cf. e.g. *ibid.*; Philip Smallwood, *Critical Occasions. Dryden, Pope, Johnson, and the History of Criticism* (AMS studies in the eighteenth century 65), New York 2011; Henrik Knif, *Gentlemen and Spectators. Studies in Journals, Opera and the Social Scene in Late Stuart London* (Bibliotheca historica 7), Helsinki 1995.

a broader understanding of subjects relevant to the arts, even though educational access to higher learning was largely unrealistic.⁷ Suitable knowledge was transferred by way of apprenticeship.⁸ Furthermore, prints and manuscripts were discussed in social clubs and academies⁹ for instance as well as through interaction with the artists' noble employers. In this sense, musicians and painters shared similar preconditions with respect to their familiarity of standards of reasoning in advanced learning and judgement, including the use of analogies to compare the arts and their perception.

Neither music nor painting had established a strict sense of specific art criticism in England until the middle of the eighteenth century. The extent to which musicians or painters then became involved in appropriate efforts to create one conspicuously favoured the latter. At this time, English music criticism as a whole can be summarised as a "sporadic and unsystematic activity".¹⁰ When composers published knowledge on music, they authored manuals such as Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Musick* (1678), Henry Purcell's contribution to Henry Playford's twelfth edition of *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1694) and John Christopher Pepusch's *Treatise on Harmony* (1731) with little if any pretence to philosophical judgement. On the other hand, critical writings specific to painting had a longer tradition. Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters* (1550) still enjoyed iconic status and several gentlemen published writings concentrating exclusively on painting, most notably William Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* (1685), John Savage's translation of selected writings by Roger de Piles (*The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters*, 1706) and Shaftesbury's *Essay on Painting* (1714).¹¹ Shortly after Shaftesbury's *Essay*, the painter Jonathan Richardson published several influential writings, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715) and *Two Discourses* (1719). With gentlemen being the obvious addressees, Richardson also adopted learned standards, including analogies to music.¹² However, no major comparable English painter's or musician's writings followed until the middle of the

7 Cf. the contribution by John Brewer in this publication.

8 Cf. the contribution by Melanie Unseld in this publication.

9 Cf. the contribution by Tim Eggington in this publication.

10 Rebecca Herissone, "Music Criticism in Britain up to Burney", in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, ed. Christopher Dingle, Cambridge 2019, pp. 81–103, p. 81.

11 There were further writings on painting available. However, they were mostly translations of French treatises, cf. Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768*, New Haven 2019, pp. 119–132, 199.

12 E.g. Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London 1715, pp. 8, 150, 155.

century when almost simultaneously the painter William Hogarth and the musician Charles Avison took up the task of adding a professional voice to their respective art criticism.¹³

Avison in his *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752) and Hogarth in his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) chose different ways to join moral and general art criticism with their own art-specific perspectives. While Avison added to ‘gentlemanly’ writings with a specific focus on music, Hogarth tried to deprive the gentleman connoisseur of a critical voice on painting altogether.¹⁴ In the following, I argue how these two agendas are fundamentally reflected in the way both artists employed analogies between music and painting.

I. Painting criticism as a model: Avison’s *Essay on Musical Expression*

In his advertisement Avison pointed out that his *Essay* was dedicated to “those who are not particularly conversant in Music”¹⁵ and in his ensuing dispute with the musician and composer William Hayes he explained it was “[i]ntended, indeed, as a critical, but yet as a liberal, Examen of this pleasing Art [of Music]”¹⁶. With this, Avison underlined his wish to address the “liberally” interested gentleman virtuoso or connoisseur, not the pedant. His intention seems to address the ideals of a learned gentleman as put forward by Shaftesbury who, in his *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711), wrote he was “persuaded that to be a *Virtuoso* (so far as befits a Gentleman) is a higher step towards the becoming a Man of Virtue and good Sense, than the being what in this Age we call a *Scholar*. For even rude Nature it-self, in its primitive Simplicity, is a better Guide to Judgment, than

13 There are exceptions in painting but again mostly with regard to translations of foreign treatises, for example, the painter John Frederick Fritsch published Gérard de Lairese’s writings in English translation as *The Art of Painting*, London 1738; Roger de Piles’ *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris 1708 was translated “by a painter” as *The Principles of Painting*, London 1743. John Frederick Lampe’s *The Art of Musick*, London 1740, discusses music applying a vague empirical approach at times but does not refer to other arts specifically.

14 There have been several studies stressing Hogarth’s critique of Shaftesbury’s writings in particular, cf. Ruth Mack, “Hogarth’s Practical Aesthetics”, in *Mind, Body, Motion, Matter. Eighteenth-Century British and French Literary Perspectives*, eds. Mary Helen McMurrin and Alison Conway, Toronto 2016, pp. 21–46; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 2, *High Art and Low. 1732–1750*, Cambridge 1992, p. 62.

15 Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* [?1753], in *Charles Avison’s ‘Essay on Musical Expression’. With Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, ed. Pierre Dubois, Aldershot 2004, pp. 1–67, p. 4.

16 Charles Avison, *A Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression* [1753], in Dubois (ed.) 2004, *Charles Avison’s ‘Essay on Musical Expression’*, pp. 131–156, p. 133.

improv'd Sophistry, and pedantick Learning."¹⁷ Accordingly, in all three parts of his *Essay* Avison only used basic musical terms, which were explained in the advertisement. Conveniently, this would not only address gentlemen but also ladies, who were denied access to higher education as is well-known. Furthermore, Avison incorporated elements of universal learning and respectability such as substantial praise of music from Ancient Greece by citing Polybius extensively, at the same time implying a noble history of music.¹⁸ Additionally, he employed several comparisons between music and other arts, not just painting, throughout the *Essay*. For example, the basic musical terms in the advertisement were largely illustrated by comparisons with linguistic terms. Furthermore, the help he most likely received from acquaintances point to easy access to knowledge on literature and religion rather than painting. As Norris L. Stephens has argued, Avison was a member of a literary club in Newcastle and his circle probably included the poets Thomas Gray, Revd William Mason and Dr John Brown, Robert Shaftoe as well as the ecclesiastical historian and literary critic John Jortin and the engraver and printer Joseph Barber.¹⁹ There are no known associations to painters.

Therefore, it seems conspicuous that the second half of its first part entirely and prominently consists of a list of eight exclusive analogies between music and painting.²⁰ Avison's rationale for this prominent placement of analogies between music and painting lies in what he claimed to be the illustrative quality of painting:

BUT as musical Composition is known to very few besides the Professors and Composers of Music themselves; and as there are several Resemblances, or Analogies between this Art and that of *Painting*, which is an Art much more obvious in its Principles, and therefore more generally known; it may not be amiss to draw

17 Shaftesbury, "Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author", in id. 1711, *Characteristicks*, vol. 1, pp. 153–364, pp. 333–334 (original emphasis). Cf. also Martin Donougho, "Shaftesbury as Virtuoso. Or, the Birth of Aesthetics out of a Spirit of Civility", in *Fictional Characters, Real Problems. The Search for Ethical Content in Literature*, ed. Garry L. Hagberg, Oxford 2016, pp. 325–339.

18 Cf. Avison [21753] 2004, *Essay*, pp. 7–10. For further elements which underscore how Avison tried to make his *Essay* suitable to a gentleman's learning cf. in the contribution by Alexander Aichele in this publication, pp. 91–93.

19 Norris L. Stephens, "Avison, Charles", in *Oxford Music Online. Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01598> (last access 20 March 2020); cf. Pierre Dubois, "Introduction", in id. (ed.) 2004, *Charles Avison's 'Essay on Musical Expression'*, pp. iv–xlvi, p. xxi; See also Avison's notion that the *Essay* was a "Junto": Avison [1753] 2004, *A Reply to the Author of Remarks*, p. 73 Avison quotes Brown's *Essays on the Characteristics of the Earl of Shaftesbury* (1751) in Avison [21753] 2004, *Essay*, p. 18.

20 Avison [21753] 2004, *Essay*, pp. 11–13.

out some of the most striking of these Analogies; and by this Means, in some Degree at least, give the common Reader an Idea of musical Composition.²¹

Accordingly, Avison argued that knowledge on the art of painting was more widespread than knowledge on the art of music. Of course, painting as a representational art form was also descriptively more accessible. However, by using analogies between the one art as a whole with the other, he infers that painting was artistically sufficiently similar to music that analogies between painting and music could aid understanding of the latter – in line with common moral writings which address or were even written by gentlemen. Rather unusually though, as an entire subchapter organized in eight elucidated points and speaking of painting's "Principles", this would suggest not just sporadic illustration for more or less random features, but systematic correspondence in essential elements of both art forms which assist the reader to better comprehend the rest of the *Essay*. The analogies he chose in order to do so however, are indeed a curious mixture which serve this function rather unsatisfactorily (figure 6.1).

The first and third analogies reflect comparisons in line with renaissance-humanist learning. They had been called forth (from Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Aristoxenus and other ancient theorists) since the sixteenth century by various artists like Albrecht Dürer and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, with regard to music most prominently by Gioseffo Zarlino and Athanasius Kircher, who were still considered authorities in eighteenth-century England. The first analogy employs the Pythagorean idea of a mathematical basis to all arts underlining their common origin. However, Avison did not make use of this idea in his *Essay* again. The third analogy of chiaro-oscuro on the other hand is particularly interesting since it was quite a widespread analogy with significantly diverse variants.²² Avison's use of it, linking light and shade of colour to chords, can be said to have roots in writing on music as well as painting. In 1558, Zarlino was the first early modern musician to compare different colours to concords. He linked the 'principal' consonances with the

21 Ibid., p. 11 (original emphasis).

22 On the differences in the use of this analogy cf. Jörg Jewanski, "Von der Farbe-Ton-Beziehung zur Farblichtmusik", in *Farbe – Licht – Musik. Synästhesie und Farblichtmusik* (Zürcher Musikstudien 5), ed. id., Bern et al. 2006, pp. 131–209, pp. 135–147. Cf. also Herbert M. Schueller, "Correspondences between Music and the Sister Arts, According to 18th Century Aesthetic Theory", in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 11 / 4 (1953, Special Issue on the Interrelations of the Arts), pp. 334–359, p. 338.

basis for analogy	painting	music
1 geometric proportion	proportions in visible objects	proportions in undulations of air
2 categories for excellence	design, colouring, expression	melody, harmony, expression
3 gradations (chiaro-oscuro)	mixture of light & shade	mixture of concords & discords
4 layers	degrees of distances (fore-ground, intermediate part, off-skip) [rel. to landscape painting]	pitch range of parts (bass, tenor, treble)
5 principal subject	principal figure [rel. to history painting]	principal melodic subject
6 minor subjects	figures dependent on principal figure	supporting melodic subjects
7 recipient's position	removed to a certain distance	removed to a certain distance
8 styles	grand, terrible, graceful, tender, passionate, joyous	[not specified here but later (1757)]

Figure 6.1: Analogies in Avison’s *Essay on Musical Expression*, part 1, section 2

‘principle’ colours white and black and further, less perfect consonances to further colours (“between” white and black).²³ Kircher adapted this model in his *Musurgia universalis* (1650) and expanded the correspondence of chords from “just” colours to colours as well as their shades.²⁴ Avison’s description, “[a]s Shades are necessary to relieve the Eye, which is soon tired and disgusted with a level Glare of Light; so Discords are necessary to relieve the Ear, which is otherwise immediately satiated with a continued, and unvaried Strain of Harmony”²⁵ echoes this meaning. However, the important analogical link in Avison’s context is the link to musical harmony. Because of this, the third analogy of chiaro-oscuro bears more of a connection with his further line of argument than most of the others. It can be interpreted as one aspect of harmony, one of the three categories for excellence Avison gave as his second analogy (corresponding to painting’s colouring). It parallels de Piles’ notion that „[i]n the distribution of Colours there ought to be an Agreement or Harmony, which has the same effect on the Eye, as Musick has on the Ear.”²⁶ The other two categories of the second analogy in their pain-

23 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, Venice 1558, facsimile New York 1965, p. 155 (III, 8).
24 Cf. Jewanski 2006, “Von der Farbe-Ton-Beziehung”, pp. 139–141.
25 Avison [21753] 2004, *Essay*, p. 12.
26 Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters*, London 1706, p. 7. See also de Piles [1708] 1743, *Principles of Painting*, pp. 5–6; cf. in Gesa zur Nieden’s contribution

ting-related sense – melody / design and expression – can also be found as quality criteria voiced by both de Piles and Richardson.²⁷

This second analogy actually seems to be the most important since detailed explanations of melody, harmony and expression with regard to the composer (part two) and the performer (part three) structure the rest of Avison's *Essay*. One of these three categories – melody – may also be interpreted as the principal term for analogies five and six. However, even if one can make sense of some of the analogies this way it becomes obvious that the categories of 'music' and 'painting' are themselves inconsistent. Furthermore, Avison changed the genre of painting with which to compare music (landscape and portrait painting in analogies four and five), left different styles undefined for music (eighth analogy)²⁸ and the seventh analogy does not even refer to the arts at all but to the spatial position of their recipients. This is then compounded by the fact that these analogies do not serve the alleged explanatory function much further in the rest of his *Essay*.²⁹ When Avison treated melody, harmony and expression in the rest of his *Essay*, he drew comparisons primarily with poetry rather than returning to his analogies of painting.³⁰ Overall, this set of analogies constitutes a somewhat incoherent sum of rather unfocused information.

In consequence, it seems curious that Avison placed so much weight on analogies to painting in the first part of his *Essay*. In fact, it seems much easier to explain them not by what was 'understood' by transferring painting characteristics to music but rather by focusing on the way in which painting criticism provided structural role models for a more art-specific form of

to this publication, p. 139.

27 Piles [1708] 1743, *Principles of Painting*, identifies composition, design, and colouring as the three parts of painting; Jonathan Richardson also names all three in both his publications (design being used synonymously to drawing), cf. *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London 1715, p. 38 and *Two Discourses*, London 1719, pp. 27–30, 48.

28 For his later specification see Charles Avison, *Remarks on the Psalms of Marcello* [1757], in Dubois (ed.) 2004, *Charles Avison's 'Essay on Musical Expression'. With Related Writings*, pp. 189–198, pp. 193–194.

29 The only analogy he briefly resumed is the third, but in a rather unorthodox fashion. Avison links it to a twisted restatement of the sixth analogy and links the entire piano part in a song to "fainter parts" – or "figures" (cf. the sixth analogy) – of painting. Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, p. 52 (original emphasis): "AS Discords in Music are like Shades in Painting, so is the *Piano* like the fainter Parts or Figures in a Picture; both which do greatly assist in constituting and supporting an agreeable Variety." In the third part of his *Essay*, he introduces an analogy between history painting and fugue in general, vaguely recalling the prominence of a "*Principal*" in both history painting and fugue, cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

30 Cf. Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, pp. 29–34, 45.

criticism.³¹ For example Richardson, in both his publications, had already established a set of eight quality criteria for painting.³² Accordingly, the decision to list eight analogies to painting so prominently may have more to do with structure than content.

While this explanation might initially appear somewhat far-fetched, there are further indications in the *Essay* which argue this point. For example, other basic structural elements Richardson established included three categories for painters.³³ Furthermore, like Vasari, Aglionby and de Piles before him, Richardson provides a list of who he judges to be the best painters in history.³⁴ Avison adopted both these components when, towards the end of the second section, he presents his ideas on how to improve church music specifically for services in cathedrals. Among others, he made a case for official lists of commendable church repertoire. This time, he drew the comparison explicitly to painting criticism:

AN Improvement of this Kind might be still more easily set on Foot, were there any History of the Lives and Works of the best Composers; together with an Account of their several *Schools*, and the *characteristic Taste*, and *Manner* of each: – a Subject, though yet untouched, of such extensive Use, that we may reasonably hope it will be the Employment of some future Writer. PAINTING has long had an Advantage of this kind, [...].³⁵

This passage clearly shows Avison's wish for a regulated music criticism which, in his view, painting already enjoyed. He acts accordingly. Rather than waiting for "some future Writer", he presents his own list of composers and their benefits with regard to melody and a further list with regard to harmony (though without any history of the composers' lives) even before the quoted passage. Like Richardson, he groups them into three categories.³⁶

31 With this, I would like to add to the explanation Malek offered, which reinforces the illustrative function Avison points out as cited above, albeit with a view to 'existing' painting criticism as opposed to 'non-existing' music criticism. Malek 1974, *The Arts Compared*, pp. 53–54.

32 Richardson 1715, *Essay*, p. 38 and Richardson 1719, *Two Discourses*, pp. 27–30, 48.

33 Ibid., p. 34 (mediocre, excellent, sublime).

34 Richardson 1715, *Essay*, pp. 232–239. To de Piles 1706, *Art of Painting*, was added, supposedly by Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *An Essay towards an English-School, with the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters*, pp. 398–480. For more writings on painting which contained similar lists cf. Cowan 2004, "An Open Elite", pp. 162, 170–171.

35 Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, p. 37 (original emphasis).

36 Ibid., pp. 17–18, 21–22.

Overall, it seems likely that Avison incorporated structural inspiration he gathered from taking into account an uncertain number of writings from painting criticism in his “critical, yet liberal” *Essay* in order to establish similar music criticism with his initial eight analogies to painting as a starting point.³⁷ While he borrowed parts of the structure from painting criticism, he filled the contents with his own views on music and composers.

II. Difference trumps analogy: Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*

Hogarth wrote in the introduction to his *Analysis* that “[t]o those, then, whose judgments are unprejudiced, this little work is submitted with most pleasure”.³⁸ While this might sound as if he was targeting the same audience as Avison, by this point Hogarth had already excluded gentlemen virtuosi and connoisseurs from his targeted audience, especially those who had already claimed a voice in painting criticism. In his preface Hogarth attacked them directly:

[...] and after many prettinesses, in very pleasing language, [those ingenious gentlemen³⁹] do fairly set you down just where they first took you up; honestly confessing that as to GRACE, the main point in question, they do not even pretend to know any thing of the matter. And indeed how should they? when it actually requires a practical knowledge of the whole art of painting (sculpture alone not being sufficient) and that too to some degree of eminence, in order to enable any one to pursue the chain of this enquiry through all its parts: which I hope will be made to appear in the following work.⁴⁰

37 At this point, it seems impossible to ascertain which pieces of painting criticism Avison (and his circle) drew into consideration, even though at least de Piles and Richardson seem very likely as argued above.

38 William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste*, London 1753, p. 3. Shortly afterwards he adds “merely for the encouragement [...] of such of my readers, as are neither painters, nor connoisseurs” (p. 5).

39 Ibid., p. iii.

40 Ibid., p. iv (original emphasis). Hogarth might have been referring to Roger de Piles’ rather vague notions on grace, *Art of Painting*, pp. 47–48, cf. Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. vii. A more general attack on gentlemen doing the grand tour is on p. 5 (original emphasis): “This mistake [to disregard the substance] happens chiefly to those who go to Rome for the accomplishment of their studies, as they naturally will, without the utmost care, take the infectious turn of the connoisseur, instead of the painter: and in proportion as they turn by those means bad proficients in their own arts, they become the more considerable in that of a connoisseur. As a confirmation of this seeming paradox, it has ever been observ’d at all auctions of pictures, that the very worst painters fit as the most profound judges, and are trusted only, I suppose, on account of their *disinterestedness*.” A quality like “disinterestedness” was specifically stressed by Shaftesbury in his “The Moralists”, in id. 1711, *Characteristicks*, vol. 2, pp. 181–443.

While Avison presented himself – at least rhetorically – as an author in a line with eloquent connoisseurs, Hogarth did not hesitate to claim an authoritative voice as a professional over them. As pointed out in this excerpt, it is Hogarth's most vigorously defended premise that proper judgement be able to name precise quality criteria for beauty and grace in painting – or, as the subtitle states, to “fixing the fluctuating ideas of taste”. For Hogarth, a major problem was that connoisseurs were only “discoursing of effects instead of developing causes”⁴¹. In his view, in order to explain and thoroughly judge painting, profound practical knowledge was necessary. Moreover, it was the sole purview of professional painters and therefore worth considerably more than the unspecific *je ne sais quoi* of the connoisseurs (who might also be amateur painters).⁴²

However, Hogarth still seems to share the ideals of beauty and grace with more general art criticism and did not completely refrain from all common standards of learned writing. It is very likely that he was supported or counselled by writers of his acquaintance such as Dr Benjamin Hoadly, James Ralph, Revd Thomas Morell and Revd James Townley.⁴³ Morell's handwriting attests to his involvement in a draft of a revised version of the *Analysis* in 1754.⁴⁴ He also wrote some of the oratorio librettos for George Frideric Handel and might therefore have been competent to provide some information on music. Moreover, Hogarth was no stranger to music himself as has already been discussed at length.⁴⁵ The most famous indicator of Hogarth's interest in musical expertise is his likely involvement in meetings of the Academy of Vocal (later Ancient) Music.⁴⁶

Nonetheless, music and analogies between painting and music do not play a major role in Hogarth's *Analysis*. Most important to his line of argument is a leaning towards ‘modernist's’⁴⁷ empiricist attitudes as far as they

41 Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. iv.

42 For a summary on Hogarth's disputes with connoisseurs see Joseph Burke, “Introduction”, in William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke, Oxford 1955, pp. xiii–lxii, pp. xiii–xvii.

43 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

44 GB-Lbl Add MS 27992, fols. 33^r–35^v.

45 See, among others, Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician. Hogarth's Musical Imagery*, Aldershot and Burlington 2005; Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art. The Rise of the Arts in 18th-Century Britain*, [London] 2007.

46 Hogarth's name appears twice in its attendance list 1729 / 1730, GB-Lbl Add MS 11732, fols. 9^r–12^v.

47 This refers to Hogarth's clear opposition towards any (neo)classicist tendencies as well as mathematical foundations of the arts, cf. e.g. Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, pp. xii–xx. Cf. also Ilias

concern the recipient's perception, which necessarily comprises a certain attention to "effects" as well as "causes". Focusing on perception with specific regard to the art of painting, he concentrated on the eye with little attention to the other senses. However, in the few instances he used analogies to music, they refer to the organs of perception.⁴⁸ With this in mind, these analogies seem even more noteworthy.

His most intense endeavours to discuss analogies between painting and music are part of his two chapters on light, shade and colour.⁴⁹ Hogarth highlighted them as being the two chapters most specific to painting. This induced him, somewhat ironically, to employ the illustrative function of analogies. He explained at the beginning of the first of these two chapters:

ALTHOUGH both this and the next chapter may seem more particularly relative to the art of painting, than any of the foregoing; yet, as hitherto, I have endeavour'd to be understood by every reader, so here also I shall avoid, as much as the subject will permit, speaking of what would only be well-conceived by painters. There is such a subtle variety in the nature of appearances, that probably we shall not be able to gain much ground by this enquiry, unless we exert and apply the full use of every sense, that will convey to us any information concerning them.⁵⁰

To be understood "by every reader" and in line with his empiricist approach, Hogarth subsequently compared the senses of perception and the way art is perceived which – when speaking of the ear – led him to analogies between painting and music. Hogarth's aim in these two chapters is to explain two different kinds of shade a painter can use to represent different lighting on objects: first, the hue or the shade which can be generated by variances of colour which he calls "prime tints" and second, "retiring shades" which can be achieved by addition of white and black.⁵¹ To make these subtle

Chrissochoidis, "Handel, Hogarth, Goupy. Artistic Intersections in Early Georgian England", in *Early Music* 37 (2009), pp. 577–596, pp. 578, 591.

48 Barlow presents Hogarth's notions on music as rather outstanding (*The Enraged Musician*, 2005, pp. 14–17) while I suggest that this view rather overstresses the point when bearing in mind the usual amount of art analogies in critical contemporary writings as outlined in the introduction of this essay.

49 In the printed edition of 1753, this means chapters 12 and 13, pp. 93–112. However, the chapter numbers vary between the drafts to be discussed below, but the logical sequence is recognizable and substantial analogies to music / the ear can always be found in comparable semantic contexts.

50 Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. 93.

51 Ibid., p. 96.

differences in shade comprehensible to the reader, he unquestioningly embraced the chiaro-oscuro analogy which Avison used as his third analogy. However, Hogarth took up a different variant. As mentioned above, many artists and scientists adapted this analogy in various ways – again bearing in mind that differences between ‘sciences’ and ‘arts’ were not as clear-cut as they might appear today. Isaac Newton, for instance, was interested in both music and painting and considered both in his writings. He too linked colour and sound in his several lectures and his writing on optics.⁵² Within a complex analogous construct of ideas, Newton exposed analogical similarity between the musical gamut and the colours of a spectrum; he likened pitches to colours (varying in number, ultimately seven analogous to the seven notes of the musical gamut). Furthermore, he compared hue with chords.⁵³ Hogarth might have embraced this perspective to a certain point since, like Newton, Hogarth compared the musical gamut to the “painter’s gamut”⁵⁴. However, he did not talk about concords or discords at all but only about a relation between hue or “prime tints” and pitch. This view corresponds to synesthetic ideas by Louis Bertrand Castel about his ocular harpsichord.⁵⁵ To help the distinction between shades of prime tints and retiring shades, he did not only link prime tints to notes but, quite innovatively, he also linked retiring shades to different volumes of sounds / notes:

There is so strict an analogy between shade and sound, that they may well serve to illustrate each other’s qualities: for as sounds gradually decreasing and increasing give the idea of progression from, or to the ear, just so do retiring shades shew progression, by figuring it to the eye. Thus, as by objects growing still fainter, we judge of distances in prospects, so by the decreasing noise of thunder, we form the idea of its moving further from us. And, with regard to their similitude in beauty, like as the gradating shade pleases the eye, so the increasing, or swelling note, delights the ear.⁵⁶

52 Isaac Newton, *The Optical Papers by Isaac Newton*, vol. 1, ed. Alan E. Shapiro, Cambridge 1984; id., *Opticks*, London 1704.

53 Jewanski 2006, “Farbe-Ton-Beziehung”, pp. 144–147.

54 Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. 97.

55 Louis-Bertrand Castel, *L’optique des couleurs*, Paris 1740. Cf. Jewanski 2006, “Farbe-Ton-Beziehung”, pp. 151–152.

56 Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. 97. Cf. also the earlier draft in GB-Lbl Egerton MS 3012, fol. 9r: “This gentle vanishing shade is like, and gives in pleasure like those of falling sounds varying by degrees to the Eye as the other doth to the Ear”

This analogy version is not only new to English art criticism and in opposition to common learned standards – Zarlino, Kircher or Avison seem to have understood light and shade differently. It is also the strongest analogy to music that Hogarth presents.⁵⁷ He carries it further in the following chapter when he discusses the use of these two different shades within the composition of a painting. When arguing for the well-known segmentation of a picture to represent spatial dimensions into foreground, intermediate part and off-skip, he transfers the analogy between colour and musical notes to an analogy between different segments in a picture and different vocal parts in music – and does so without explanation (cf. Avison’s fourth analogy):

the painters accordingly divide theirs [their composition of colours, lights and shades] into fore-ground, middle-ground, and distance or back-ground; which simple and distinct quantities mass together that variety which entertains the eye; as the different parts of base, tenor, and treble, in a composition in music, entertain the ear.⁵⁸

This rendering of analogous principles in painting and music to illustrate painting techniques which are difficult to understand seems comprehensible, given Hogarth’s aim to be ‘understood’ – even though he uses a rather uncommon version of his most prominent analogy. His aim to dive into the specific nature of his art as opposed to general art criticism might even explain why he chose to apply analogies following ideas by Castel who was not only exploring natural qualities of colour and sound but was innovative in striving for synesthetic phenomena. These imply a much closer link between the art forms, not just between their natural ‘material’. Since it was Hogarth’s aim to show that “it actually requires a practical knowledge of the

57 Nevertheless, there are lighter forms of comparisons of the senses still aiming at the ‘beauty’ of the arts, for example in Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, pp. 16 / 42: “All senses delight in it [variety], and equally are averse to sameness. The ear is as much offended with one even continued note, as the eye is with being fix’d to a point, or to the view of dead wall.” / “When you would compose an object of a great variety of parts, let several of those parts be distinguish’d by themselves, by their remarkable difference from the next adjoining, so as to make each of them, as it were, one well-shap’d quantity or part, as is marked by the dotted lines in figure ++ (these are like what they call passages in music, and in writing paragraphs) by which means, not only the whole, but even every part, will be better understood by the eye”. There are further notions on music, only some of which can be regarded as analogies to painting in earlier as well as later drafts for a revised version (see my argument below), some of which are also given in Burke’s 1955 edition, pp. 176–177, 182–183, 186–187.

58 Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. 112 (original emphasis). See also his drafts GB-Lbl Egerton MS 3012, fol. 12^r; GB-Lbl Egerton MS 3013, fols. 118^r–119^r; GB-Lbl Egerton MS 3015, fols. 173^r, 174^r.

whole art [...] and that too to some degree of eminence [...] to pursue the chain of this enquiry through all its parts”⁵⁹, it can be regarded as essential to explore art’s nature(s).

However, this might actually be the problem of Hogarth’s analogies, since his aim not only required him to explain painting “through all its parts”. To be consistent in his call for expertise, he would have to consider any other art thoroughly if analogies to painting should help his point. This is where differences between the arts prove awkward. While painting was widely believed capable of depicting nature, difficulties in judging music based on its powers to imitate nature were widely discussed at the time and – as is well known – quite problematic.⁶⁰ These problems were sure to occur to Hogarth, too. In fact, a study of his drafts reveals how Hogarth struggled to accept the analogy based on Castel. In an earlier version, he included a passage where he explicitly mocked Castel’s ocular harpsichord.⁶¹ Furthermore, he relativised this “analogy between sound and shade” or note and colour (in the sense of hue) in the further run of his *Analysis*. In the subsequent chapter, he practically took back the analogy by elaborating on how sound and shade were not comparable after all:

we will digress a little, to see how the parallel may be drawn between compositions of musick and those of light and shade and colours by which we shall find that tho they illustrate each other extremely well, there is a wide difference in their natures. For; notwithstanding the notes of a scale in musick range greatly similar to the colours as they stand in the rainbow or those dispersed by the Prism, yet we shall find they differ much in their operations and manner of acting in conjunction one with another. For example let all the keys of a harpsichord be prest [sic] down at one stroke and the Ear will be offended with a harsh and confused [sound], but if you run your fingers along them in succession it is harmony. The case is the reverse with colours for the colours of the Rainbow strike the Eye agreeably at first sight but were they to follow each other in quick succession appearing to, and vanishing from the sight the Eye would be in pain and suffer in proportion as the colours were more or less bright or mov’d quicker or slower.⁶²

59 Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, p. iv, see full quotation given above.

60 For a concise overview cf. Jin-Ah Kim, “Mimesis und Autonomie. Zur Genese der Idee der ‘autonomen Musik’”, in *Die Musikforschung* 64 / 1 (2011), pp. 24–45.

61 GB-Lbl Egerton MS 3012, fols. 15^r–17^r.

62 Ibid., fols. 21^r, 22^r.

Hogarth picked an example in which the effects of music and painting perception – i.e. the simultaneous vs. successive perception of the respective artefact – differ in correspondence to the “nature” of music and painting. By arguing the fundamental difference between music’s temporality and the simultaneity of visual objects (with painting in mind), Hogarth changes the perspective from the connoisseur’s unspecific effects to the arts’ individuality as causes of different effects. His aim in this draft seems to be to lead the reader smoothly from common analogies to “real” differences between the arts for both artist and recipient.

There are further instances in Hogarth’s *Analysis* with the same line of argument. Most fundamentally, in the same draft he distinguishes separate categories of excellence for painting and music: “Here’s one more remark[-ed?] difference between the nature of sounds and that of colours, which is that the compositions of the former may be improv’d by art whilst those of the latter will admit of no improvement at all. On the contrary the utmost lack of art doth but faintly imitate her most harmonious compositions.”⁶³ The point about music actually sounding better if it does not imitate nature as opposed to painting – a nice twist on common notions on music’s ‘weakness’ to imitate nature – might actually serve as a key argument why analogies between painting and music are counterproductive to Hogarth’s aim of presenting an art-specific insight into painting. If useful at all in Hogarth’s context, the crucial goal might be to prove how the key role that specific knowledge of the individual art plays, and spelling out how analogies do not work after all prove this very point. Following this line of argument, Hogarth’s standpoint can be pointedly summarised as follows: too much analogical thinking blurs a sober understanding of painting – an understanding which the painter is most qualified to impart due to his intricate knowledge of painting’s individuality. By way of implication and confirming his introductory remarks regarding this point, the painter should actually be the authority in painting criticism.

Even if Hogarth never printed this version, he fervently opposed common ideas ascribed to Dürer, Lomazzo and others which drew analogies between mathematical proportions in bodies and mathematical proportions in music (cf. Avison’s first analogy).⁶⁴ Moreover, a further look at his drafts con-

⁶³ Ibid., fol. 25^r.

⁶⁴ Hogarth 1753, *Analysis*, pp. xii–xx, pp. 76–77. This is further commented on in GB-Lbl Eger-ton MS 3015, fol. 156^r.

firms this tendency to question common analogies between painting and music. In his draft of a revised version of *Analysis of Beauty* in 1754, there are three attempts to rephrase a passage from one of the chapters on light, shade and colour. He obviously tried to find a suitable version of an analogy between beauty and harmony in painting and music as perceived by the eye and the ear, starting with ...

The power of distinguishing the Beauty of forms or the Harmony of sounds depend primarily on the perfection of the organs of sight or hearing.⁶⁵

... trying a second time but re-thinking the sound and hearing similarity...

The Power of distinguishing in a more than ordinary accuracy the delicacies of forms ~~or the Harmony of Sound~~, arising on the perfection of the organs of Sight ~~and hearing~~ [...].⁶⁶

... ending without any analogy or comparison ...

The Power of distinguishing with a more than ordinary accuracy the delicacies of forms engages the mind in a particular attention to them. [...] There are certain degrees of perfection in the organ of sight. Some men having a greater degree of perfection in their organ of sight as well as in mind which gives them a power of distinguishing with more than ordinary accuracy the delicacies of Forms.⁶⁷

This doubly revised passage clearly shows how Hogarth started his revision still reproducing the common empiricist conviction that the senses of perception and more particularly the senses of learning (sight and hearing) are comparable up to a certain point. Initially, he may have been aiming at another line of argument to deconstruct the similarity of perception by showing how the individuality of the arts calls for different ways of perceiving them as shown above. In this draft however, he subsequently chose to cross out analogies in perception and focused strictly on the eye, without any reference to the ear and music. This carries his ambivalent attitude towards analogies between painting and music a step further. By dismissing the illustrative function of these analogies as commonly admitted within art criticism, he more directly addressed the peculiarity of painting. Regarded in this way,

65 GB-Lbl Add MS 27992, fol. 19^v.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., fol. 20^r.

his aim to develop an independent criticism of painting with the professional voice as the authority (painters like himself) seems even more pointed.

III. Conclusion

A closer look at Avison's and Hogarth's adaptations of common analogies between music and painting reveals two quite distinct appreciations of how these analogies could function as tools not in their then common heuristic sense but to advance the professional voice in music and painting criticism. Both Avison and Hogarth introduced analogies as common learned standard in line with their aim to address a broader audience and to make themselves comprehensible – however, this is as far as the similarities go. The difference starts with Avison and Hogarth's contrary attitude towards these analogies: Avison's affirmation of and Hogarth's defence against them.

Avison not only used analogies to advance music's respectability but employed analogies to painting specifically with the ambition of establishing a music criticism like the painting criticism well known by the beau monde. He incorporated structural aspects known from painting criticism authored by both painters and connoisseurs. He did not criticise connoisseurs directly but rather presented himself as one of them trying to further – and influence – the conversation about music.⁶⁸ However, as a musician he naturally underlined the importance of his professional voice, specifically by claiming that music was much harder to understand than painting – the justification he offered for his set of eight analogies between painting and music. Therefore, Avison used analogies between music and painting to tie in with existing aspects of painting criticism in order to establish and shape a new music criticism.

Hogarth's case is a little ambivalent and therefore more complicated. As a professional painter he argued for more precision in painting criticism with the empirical method he employed. Since analogies have always been used to compare different objects and may be drawn between objects at varying degrees of similarity or difference, they were and are liable to offer only very vague informative value. Hogarth's call for precise professional judgement congruously increased his scepticism towards the information to be gained from analogies between music and painting, a scepticism he

68 Cf. Avison [1753] 2004, *Essay*, p. 4.

encouraged also in his readers. His argument that analogies between the arts cannot provide deeper insight into one specific art due to the arts' individual natures asserts the importance of the professional painter's voice in painting criticism. Ultimately, by correcting or dismissing analogies, he at least indirectly confirmed his already confident view that contemporary analogy-loving connoisseurship was insufficient.

CHRISTOPH HEYL

The Pastoral Pipes

A New Musical Instrument and the Aesthetics of Neo-Classicism

During the 1740s, musical instrument sellers in London began to offer a new product: a sophisticated and expensive type of bagpipe suitable for chamber music. This instrument was called “the Pastoral or New Bagpipe”¹. It could do things older types of bagpipes of the British Isles such as the Scottish Highland bagpipes could not. It was quiet, so it could be played together with other musical instruments. It was bellows-blown, so its reeds were not exposed to moisture while the instrument was being played. It therefore tended to stay in tune for much longer. Unlike mouth-blown wind instruments, it could be played without any visible physical effort, so the player could easily maintain a nonchalant, socially superior smile.

Older types of bagpipes tended to have a very limited compass. On these, one could typically play not much more than nine notes, and they gave a largely diatonic scale. This in turn limited what one could do both in terms of viable keys and repertoire. It also limited the social settings available for music-making. The more vociferous older types of bagpipes were appropriate for open-air music-making and did not readily fit into a chamber music scenario. For different reasons, the same was true for quieter varieties of the instrument. Their narrowly circumscribed compass and their lack of chromatic versatility made them a less-than-obvious choice when it came to playing together with, for instance, flutes, violins and keyboard instruments.

1 John Geoghegan, *The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe*, London n.d. [1746 or earlier, see below].

The new instrument for which we begin to have evidence in the 1740s had three drones fitted with single reeds. These provided a constant accompaniment in the shape of a permanent chord. The chanter, i. e. the pipe on which the melody was played, had a narrow conical bore and a double reed. In this it much resembled an eighteenth-century oboe.² Therefore, its compass could be extended by overblowing, and a largely chromatic scale could be obtained by cross-fingering. On a good day and with a well-adjusted reed, one could play two (or almost two) largely chromatic octaves. This would have been unremarkable for a flute of the period; however, this compass was extremely innovative and impressive for a bagpipe.

Some late-eighteenth-century instruments of this type had what was called a regulator. This was an additional pipe stopped at the end and fitted with four or five closed keys. Together with the drones, it issued from a common stock, forming part of a bunch of pipes lying across the player's right knee. The regulator was positioned so that its keys could be struck with the player's wrist. This peculiar *modus operandi* for the regulator was necessary because the player's fingers would have been busy with the chanter. Add to this that the bellows which were strapped to the piper's body needed to be worked with the right arm, pumping air into the bag typically placed under the left arm. At the same time, the air pressure in the bag had to be kept under control which, as in all bagpipes, required permanent micro-adjustments of the left arm. Regulators (later sets of Pastoral Pipes could have more than one) enabled the player to create a flexible polyphony that would have been well beyond the reach of earlier bagpipes, which had been limited to a permanent and unchanging underlying drone chord. Now, this chord could temporally be changed by introducing another note, creating a rudimentary but novel accompaniment that moved with the tune that was being played.

Regulators appeared in the later eighteenth century, so this was not yet something that the Pastoral Pipes emerging in the 1740s could do. However, even without any regulators, the key innovation provided by the new instrument – that is the combination of the permanent drone accompaniment of a bagpipe with much of the flexibility and compass of the baroque oboe – was a step forward and a step upward in musical and social terms

² For a detailed discussion of technical aspects of the Pastoral Pipes see Hugh Cheape, *Bagpipes. A National Collection of a National Instrument*, Edinburgh 2008, pp. 80–83.

respectively.³ It has rightly been described as an attempt to elevate this new bagpipe into a more sophisticated and socially superior context; it was “designed to make bagpipe music appeal to sophisticated and discriminating audiences and to fit in a social and even musical context of the violin, piano or harpsichord, flute or oboe.”⁴

The most important source for the early history of this new, upmarket instrument is a 32-page pamphlet, the *Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe* by John Geoghegan.⁵ It was printed in London. The title-page does not give a year of publication. A copy in the British Library has been dated to “c.1745”⁶, another in the National Museums of Scotland to “c.1746” and also, confusingly, “1740”.⁷ Seán Donnelly has drawn attention to a reference to an advertisement which would seem to suggest 1743 as the year of its publication.⁸ In any case, this was “the first book of bagpipe music printed in Britain”.⁹

3 The use of the bellows can also be regarded as an innovative element. Hugh Cheape discusses the hypothesis that the pastoral pipes may have been the first bellows-blown type of bagpipe in the British Isles. Hugh Cheape, “The Pastoral or New Bagpipe: Piping and the Neo-Baroque”, in *The Galpin Society Journal* 61 (2008), pp.285–304, p.287. However, paintings by Egbert van Heemskerck would seem to confirm the existence of bellows-blown sets of border / lowland pipes as early as the late seventeenth century. See Paul Roberts, “The Border Bagpipe in 17th Century Art. The First Images” in *Common Stock. The Journal of the Lowland and Border Pipers Society* 28 / 2 (2011), pp.22–34, <http://lbps.net/lbps/commons-stock/CS%20december%202011%20online%20version.pdf> (last access 26 September 2020).

4 Cheape 2008, “The Pastoral or New Bagpipe”, p.285.

5 Geoghegan n.d., *Compleat Tutor*; 32 pages plus frontispiece engraved title-page. Geoghegan’s tutor is our only early written source on the appearance of the instrument in London and it is reasonable to infer from the nature of the instrument and the way it was marketed that it originated in a metropolitan context. However, one must agree with Hugh Cheape that this is of necessity an educated guess: “To date, there is no clearly discernible evidence on where this type of instrument may have first been made or by whom, although suggestions may be made.” Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, pp.79–80.

6 British Library Main Catalogue, <http://explore.bl.uk> (last access 15 July 2020), Music Collections d.47.f.(1.).

7 In the online catalogue it is described as “Book entitled ‘The Complete Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe’, by Geoghegan, published by Simpson, London, c.1746”, however, in the same online catalogue entry, its date is given as “1740”. See <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/music-book/378086> (last access 22 May 2020), A.1947.129. Geoghegan’s *Compleat Tutor* went through multiple editions, the last one was published by Clementi & Co in the early nineteenth century. For an overview building on Roderick Cannon’s *A Bibliography of Bagpipe Music*, Edinburgh 1980, updated by Geoff Hore 2008–2015, see <http://www.altpiobroch.com/bibliography/bibliographies/union-pipes/101-2/> (last access 26 September 2020).

8 “Daily Advertiser”, v. 20, Sept. ’43”. Seán Donnelly, “A Publication Date for John Geoghegan’s *Compleat Tutor*”, in *An Píobaire* 4 / 47 (2008), pp.26–27. I am most grateful to Hugh Cheape for pointing me to this reference.

9 Cheape 2008, “The Pastoral or New Bagpipe”, p.289.

Geoghegan's *Tutor* came with a remarkable frontispiece depicting a sophisticated young gentleman enjoying himself with an expensive piece of musical equipment.¹⁰ The musician is shown in what is instantly recognizable as a neo-classical setting. It includes architectural props such as a balustrade and an urn just behind the musician and a little ornamental temple in the background. The vegetation depicted in this image is more than just random greenery. It has been carefully arranged to create the visual effect associated with English landscape gardens. Such gardens were not just about creating an ideal landscape, but an ideal landscape of classical antiquity. In this image, we see a bagpipe purged of any lower-class connotations, a musician inhabiting a social sphere that is worlds apart from, for instance, the piper depicted in William Hogarth's engraving *Southwark Fair* (1734).¹¹ His instrument does not evoke any Scottish connotations the bagpipe may possibly have had.¹² Its technical sophistication (as well as its musical sophistication emerging from Geoghegan's *Tutor*) would have placed it at a considerable distance from any vernacular traditions of piping in the British Isles or elsewhere.

The frontispiece that came with Geoghegan's *Tutor* was part of a marketing strategy for a new product. Here we have a young man in a hip and trendy neo-classical setting which suggests that the instrument must be both hip and trendy in some neo-classical way. This bagpipe was marketed as an instrument for affluent English (and not just English, but metropolitan) amateurs. Its presentation in text and image was consistent with the location of the music shop where this booklet was sold and where one could also buy such a bagpipe. The shop was situated "in Sweetings Alley opposite y^e East Door of the Royal Exchange".¹³

In his preface, Geoghegan is at pains to point out the versatility of this new type of bagpipe. At a time when the Pastoral Pipes had become silent

10 The author is most grateful to Ross Anderson for making a high-resolution scan of Geoghegan's frontispiece available. This image can also be seen on his website, <https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html> (last access 14 June 2020), along with a complete scan of Geoghegan's *Tutor*.

11 For a reproduction, see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/400729> (last access 23 May 2020).

12 This would seem to strengthen the case for a date of publication before the Jacobite rising of 1745. However, we cannot be sure at all that there would have been a dominant perception of the bagpipes as "Scottish" in the 1740s. After all, this was long before the Highland bagpipes came to be regarded in the nineteenth century as the dominant and iconic embodiment of the instrument.

13 Geoghegan n. d., *Compleat Tutor*, title-page.

Figure 7.1: John Geoghegan, *The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe*, London n. d., frontispiece; courtesy of Ross Anderson

exhibits in museums, the claims he made for the new instrument, especially regarding its extended compass, were regarded with a great deal of scepticism. However, in recent years there has been a tentative revival of the instrument. A small number of antique Pastoral Pipes have been made playable again and several bagpipe makers have taken an interest in what had been a musical fossil. Today, aspiring players can once again purchase Pastoral Pipes modelled on period instruments. The resulting experimentation with old and new Pastoral Pipes has shown that the instrument is indeed capable of playing the music provided in Geoghegan's tutor.¹⁴

Geoghegan emphasizes not only the new bagpipe's versatility but also its respectability. In his text, the instrument's technical sophistication and the player's social sophistication go together:

The Bagpipe being at this Time brought to such Perfection as now renders it able to perform y^e same Number of Notes with y^e Flute or Hautboy, I thought it might be acceptable to the Curious to set forth this small Treatise [...]. I have known some young Gentlemen, Who had not only a fine Taste for all sorts of Musick, but also a fine Genius, to have a great Desire to play the Bagpipe, yet have been hindered from what their Inclinations so urged them to, by this Instrument's wanting a Scale or Gamut to learn by, which all other Musical Instruments of any Value have.¹⁵

He employs an elevated register ("Treatise", "acceptable to the Curious", "Gentlemen", "fine Taste", "fine Genius") to good effect. He also makes it clear that this is an instrument for music-literate players, that it positively demands the sort of elite knowledge that makes any cultural practice a mark of social distinction. Then, he helps to fashion an identity for this new instrument by associating it with the idea of something much older:

Those of good Genius who are dispos'd to play this Instrument may be able to improve the Musick of it very much beyond what at present it is. – I flatter myself

¹⁴ A great deal of very practical research has been done by Ross Anderson, who owns two playable antique sets of Pastoral Pipes. An assessment of the instrument's capabilities and a wealth of additional material relating to it can be found on Ross Anderson's website: <https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html> (last access 4 June 2020). Anderson owns and plays two antique sets of Pastoral Pipes. The author of this paper can also attest to the instrument's musical potential – he plays both an antique set and a modern one made by Jon Swayne (both illustrated in this paper).

¹⁵ Geoghegan n. d., *Compleat Tutor*, p. 1.

this Treatise will not be unacceptable to y^e Professers of this antient pastoral Musick or to y^e Makers of the Instrument [...].¹⁶

To an educated reader of the period, the phrase “antient pastoral Musick” would have evoked notions of pastoral life as found in bucolic poetry. The interest in bucolic poetry was part and parcel of the neo-classicism that was so much en vogue at the time. Neo-classical English poems evoking the lives and loves of shepherds were just as artificial as English landscape gardening. In creating ideal rural scenarios, they were both essentially urban phenomena. They can both be understood as reactions to the affluent city dweller’s nostalgia for the rural life that never was, as well as a readiness to embrace the cachet offered by the trimmings of classical erudition. As London’s growth accelerated dramatically in the course of the eighteenth century and the spending power and cultural aspirations of the middle classes grew, more and more people would have been ready to buy into this particular type of nostalgia. Both the frontispiece and the preface of Geoghegan’s *Compleat Tutor* appeal to this desire.

In bucolic poetry, shepherds often play what poets liked to call the “oaten reed”. This very simple instrument was still being made and played in the eighteenth century. The “oaten reed” was technically a primitive clarinet. It could easily be fashioned from a suitable bit of straw which provided a natural cylindrical bore. Its sound was produced by an idioglot single reed cut out of the body of the straw. Preparing the tongue and cutting some fingerholes would only have taken a few minutes, resulting in a simple but instantly playable little wind instrument. This form of pipe was readily available in a rural setting – an actual pastoral pipe, a homemade instrument of the utmost simplicity that cost nothing at all.¹⁷

The instrument Geoghegan chose to call “the Pastoral Bagpipe” could not have been further away from all this.¹⁸ His strategic use of the word “Pastoral” allowed him to play the card of classicism, to evoke the sort of bucolic nostalgia that would have appealed to the metropolitan milieu of

16 Ibid.

17 The author of this paper has often made such pipes and can therefore attest to the utter simplicity of the process.

18 We cannot be sure who first came up with this name. However, as Geoghegan was so adept at promoting the new instrument, I entirely agree with Hugh Cheape who thinks that he may well have been “the sole begetter” of this idea. Cheape 2008, „The Pastoral or New Bagpipe“, p. 289.

privileged and educated young gentlemen. However, at the same time, all of this was daringly counterfactual. In spite of the simplicity suggested by the word “pastoral”, which suggested something akin to the simple straw instrument, everything about the new bagpipe was modern, high-tech and therefore expensive. The innovative nature of the instrument, with its combination of bellows and an oboe-type chanter designed to overblow and produce a largely chromatic scale, cannot be stressed enough. Making such an instrument required considerable skill and expertise in many fields, including metalwork. The instrument was often rendered more compact by making its very long bass drone do a double u-turn. For the u-turn sections, short lengths of metal tubing had to be bent; a difficult task which required the mastery of techniques employed in the manufacture of brass instruments. A further, entirely different set of leatherworking skills was required for making bellows and bags. Perhaps the greatest difficulty lay in making the reeds, both the single reeds for the drones and even more so the double reed for the chanter. We know from experience with restored instruments and modern copies that chanter reeds suitable for the Pastoral Pipes are extremely delicate, and that they can be temperamental. They had to be precisely adjusted so as to respond to an increase in air pressure by going into the second octave.¹⁹ The chanter reed was both high-tech and potentially high-maintenance.

In terms of the materials used, the Pastoral Pipes can be described as the product of an economy that was both internationalised and increasingly imperial. While older, vernacular traditions of pipe making in the British Isles had made use of native hardwoods and horn (for the decorative mounts), the instrument described by Geoghegan was a luxury item that tended to be fashioned from luxury materials. Surviving instruments from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were made not only of boxwood, but also of tropical hardwoods. Domestic supplies of boxwood, which was commonly

¹⁹ An oboe reed can be manipulated by the player. As it is held between the player’s lips, micro-adjustments in pressure can be made which greatly facilitate the transition between the first and the second octave. A chanter reed for the Pastoral Pipes needs to be set up to achieve this transition automatically, just responding to an increase in air pressure. Making reeds, and especially chanter reeds, presents the greatest challenge when it comes to making antique sets of Pastoral Pipes playable again. Some of the difficulties that will be encountered are vividly described by Dave Singleton, “Pastoral pipes – Can It [sic!] Find a place in 2016”, in *Common Stock* 33 / 1 (2016), <https://lbps.net/j3site/index.php/common-stock/archive-issues/138-june-2016/823-pastoral-pipes-can-it-find-a-place-in-2016> (last access 26 September 2020).

Figure 7.2: Antique Pastoral Pipes with one regulator, no maker's mark, perhaps made in Edinburgh or Northumbria, c. 1800–1820?; author's collection

Figure 7.3: Pastoral Pipes made by Jon Swayne, Baltonsborough, 2017, modelled on a late-eighteenth century instrument by Hugh Robertson, Edinburgh; author's collection

used in quality woodwind instruments such as flutes, were limited. It was therefore also imported from the Mediterranean, especially from the core of the Ottoman Empire.²⁰ Tropical hardwoods from Africa and the Caribbean became increasingly available and fashionable. These dark-coloured woods were dense and heavy, which affected not only their sound. They were also set apart by their very distinctive visual and haptic appeal. Such woods could be polished to a beautiful lustre, and their weight suggested solidity and value. All of this would have mattered to the style-conscious young men who might have considered taking up a new musical hobby.

Many, probably even most sets of Pastoral Pipes were fitted with decorative mounts and finials made of ivory, the bulk of which would have come from West Africa.²¹ Here, makers followed the aesthetics developed in other branches of fine woodwind instrument-making. The material value and the visual appeal of Pastoral Pipes could be further increased by dispensing with wooden parts altogether. There is a particularly splendid set of Pastoral Pipes in the St Cecilia's Hall collection (Edinburgh) which is made entirely of ivory.²²

On the one hand, the Pastoral Pipes were meant to appeal to a neo-classical nostalgia for a simple pastoral world that never was. On the other hand, it appealed to a metropolitan target group of affluent young men who were highly style-conscious and who loved the latest high-tech gadgets. It offered the best of both worlds and the naming of the instrument – both “pastoral” and “new” – was an inspired marketing strategy.

The Pastoral Pipes were meant to bring the bagpipes into the realm of polite middle-class music-making. Geoghegan's tutor provided not only instructions on how to play the instrument but also a concise introduction to reading music for those that were not yet music-literate. There are para-

20 We find boxwood in a list of goods exported from the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century that were subject to an export fee (masdariye). See R. Murphy, “Conditions of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. An Appraisal of Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Documents from Aleppo”, in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33 / 1 (1990), pp. 35–50, p. 41.

21 See Harvey M. Feinberg and Marion Johnson, “The West African Ivory Trade during the Eighteenth Century: The ‘... and Ivory’ Complex”, in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15 / 3 (1982), pp. 435–453. Indian Ivory would have been less commonly available in eighteenth-century England as the ships of the East India Company took most of it to China. So-called marine ivory (i.e. mostly walrus ivory) would have been another choice. It seems to have been less popular with makers of luxury woodwind instruments including Pastoral Pipes. Its appearance is not as smooth and white as that of elephant ivory.

22 <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/stcecilias/record/99203> (last access 22 June 2020).

graphs entitled “Of Flats and Sharps”, “Of the Cadences or Shakes”, “Of Pricks, Rests, and Pauses in Music” and “Of Tyed Notes”.²³ In this, the tutor followed the basic conventions of the genre. Tutor books for absolute beginners frequently contained a section on how to read music. Being able to read music rather than learning by ear was a cultural practice that was very much at the heart of polite music-making. It was therefore also a social marker. Associating the new bagpipe firmly with this type of practice served to elevate it from older traditions of piping. Here the text once again moves very much in tandem with the frontispiece. Players of the Pastoral Pipes are envisaged as music-literate gentlemen (which includes those willing to brush up their skills or to build them up from scratch). They inhabit a world that is, both in social and in musical terms, meant to be far removed from that of a piper such as the itinerant street musician depicted in Hogarth’s *Southwark Fair*.

Geoghegan’s pamphlet also contained an appendix with a rather grand title: “A DICTIONARY Explaining such Greek, Latin, Italian and French words as generally occur in Musick”. The somewhat grandiloquent use of the term “dictionary” for something that filled just one page (!) was more to do with aspirations than with realities. However, in England, and especially in London, aspirations could lead to new realities. There was a degree of social mobility that would have been unthinkable in most continental societies of the period. Of course, it was still best to be born a gentleman, but this status could also be attained by means of social emulation. The way of becoming a gentleman was to acquire the cultural habitus of the gentleman. Owning a luxury musical instrument and acquiring skills based on music literacy could be part of this strategy. Genteel music-making was associated with elite sociability. Being able to play a musical instrument compatible with others such as the flute or the violin gave the player a chance to become part of social networks that could substantially facilitate social climbing.

Mastering elite linguistic codes and being able to hold one’s own in polite conversation (here: in conversation about music) would also have been helpful. No privileged young man who had had the benefit of a classical education would really have had much use for a one-page “Dictionary” promising to explain Greek and Latin words occurring in music – all the more so as Greek and Latin were in fact conspicuously absent from this list, which entirely consisted of Italian terms. Likewise, no young man who had been

23 Geoghegan n.d., *Compleat Tutor*, pp.6–8.

fortunate enough to have done the grand tour and who was of a musical bent would have needed such a list of “Italian and French words” as he would probably have known most of them anyway. (And by the way, “French” was another empty promise here.) As far as this section of the readership was concerned, the presence of the “Dictionary” was symbolic rather than functional. Its purpose was not to convey information but to reassure and to signal respectability. However, for those less fortunate who had never been to university or done the grand tour, this elementary crib could be of some practical value. Social climbing by means of social emulation very much required linguistic emulation, and a smattering of impressive words was better than nothing at all. What is more, the mere token presence of the words “Greek” and “Latin” chimed in with the theme of Neo-Classicism evoked in both the frontispiece and the text with a view to bolstering the status of the new bagpipe.

Geoghegan’s tutor was one of several very similar instructional pamphlets published by John Simpson in the 1740s. There was, for instance, a *Compleat Tutor for the French Horn*. Comparing its engraved title-page with that of the *Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe*,²⁴ it becomes immediately clear that the layout and design of the title pages is identical, including words such as “The Compleat Tutor for the [...] Containing [...]” as well as the precise shape of all the decorative flourishes surrounding them. It is likely that the engraved title-pages for the entire series were printed using one and the same copper plate, which could be adapted for each pamphlet by hammering out and then re-engraving individual names of instruments and other words as required. This would also explain the enigmatic absence of the year of publication from the title-page: a sufficient supply of undated title-pages could be printed and stored for use with later editions of the pamphlet. This guaranteed the visual uniformity of a whole series of different tutor books sold in Simpson’s shop, while avoiding the impression of ever selling anything that was not brand-new. Thus, the pamphlet on how to play the “Pastoral or New Bagpipe” would itself appear new for years to come, which was a good thing as Simpson catered to customers valuing novelty.

24 [Anon.], *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency [...]*, London n. d.. For a scan, see [https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Compleat_Tutor_for_the_French_Horn_\(Anonymous\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Compleat_Tutor_for_the_French_Horn_(Anonymous)) (last access 4 June 2020).

The horn tutor published by Simpson also came with a frontispiece depicting a player of the instrument and the one-page “Dictionary” found in Geoghegan’s bagpipe tutor. “Compleat Tutors” for the Harpsichord and the Flute, also published by Simpson, are listed in the British Library catalogue.²⁵ Geoghegan’s tutor stands out from other very similar offerings available from Simpson’s shop in one respect: In this case, the author’s name is given. Otherwise it conforms to an established type. It would therefore have been perceived as a respectable tutor belonging to an entire class of other respectable tutors. The instrument was thus presented as a respectable bagpipe that would not have seemed to be out of place among other respectable instruments, and therefore as a viable and tempting choice for those who were interested in polite music-making but also in forms of sociability that went with it.

The Pastoral Pipes became fashionable among well-to-do amateurs, and they remained so well into the early nineteenth century. Although we find the earliest evidence for them in London, they were soon also made in Edinburgh and Dublin. What about the musical practice associated with the instrument? Geoghegan’s tutor, which is once again our key source for the early history of the instrument and its music, gives a basic repertoire of 41 tunes drawn from a variety of musical idioms. There are short English, Scottish and Irish tunes, the kind of material that would probably be classified as traditional music today. Here we have pieces such as “Portsmouth Harbour”, “A Highland Rant” or “The Humours of Westmeath”.²⁶ Scottish music was popular in England.²⁷ If the tutor was indeed published before the Jacobite rising of 1745, its Scottish tunes would not have given offence at all, and, at any rate, the popularity of Scottish music in England survived this political upheaval remarkably well.²⁸

25 [Anon.], *The Compleat Tutor for the Harpsichord or Spinnet wherein is shewn the Italian Manner of Fingering*, London n.d., “c. 1745” according to the British Library Main Catalogue; [Anon.], *The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute, containing the best and easiest instructions for learners to obtain a proficiency*, London n.d., “1746?” according to the British Library Main Catalogue.

26 Geoghegan n.d., *Compleat Tutor*, pp. 27, 14, 18.

27 For a concise account of its popularity especially in London, see Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, p. 89.

28 Simpson also published an edition of James Oswald’s *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 6 vols. This edition is not dated; the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland dates it to 1745–1760. It contains Jacobite tunes such as “There are few good Fellows when Jamie’s awa” or “The King shall enjoy”, which would have been instantly recognizable as “The King shall enjoy his own again”, or “Over the water to Charlie” (*The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, Lon-

Sometimes Geoghegan's titles can be misleading. A piece he called "A Scotch Measure"²⁹ was in fact a version of "O' Carolan's Receipt for Drinking", a tune composed by the famous blind Irish harper Turlough O'Carolan (1670–1738).³⁰ O'Carolan was influenced by the Italian baroque style, which shows in this particular tune. There is also an extraordinary piece entitled "A Bagpipe Concerto call'd the Battle of Aghrem, or the Football Match".³¹

Geoghegan's basic repertoire for the Pastoral Pipes also includes pieces in a very different idiom. There is a composition by or associated with the early seventeenth-century composer Thomas Ravenscroft, "Ravenscroft's Fancy".³² There is also a piece entitled "With early Horn", an instrumental version of a bravura aria from the popular Covent Garden pantomime *The Royal Chace* (1736).³³ This is a fearsomely challenging piece emulating the human voice trained in the operatic tradition. It would have been well outside the range of anything that was doable and indeed thinkable in any vernacular tradition of piping in the British Isles at the time. The author of this paper can confirm that "The Royal Chace" can indeed be played on the Pastoral Pipes – it does demand a considerable effort, but it is entirely possible to get there eventually.

"The Royal Chace" was a glittering showpiece. As such, it substantiated Geoghegan's implicit claim that the Pastoral Pipes could indeed go where no other bagpipe in the British Isles had gone before. It legitimated this new type of bagpipe as a social climber. "The Royal Chace" also points to a connection between the Pastoral Pipes and the stage. The instrument

don n. d., vol. 1, p. 20, vol. 2, p. 20 and vol. 3, p. 7). Incidentally, we can see very similar strategies at work in the development of the Pastoral Pipes and the arrangement of the tunes found in Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*. Oswald's Scottish tunes came with variations heavily influenced by baroque convention. In both cases, elements of technical sophistication were introduced to make a product associated with the ideas of simplicity and tradition more palatable to an elite group of metropolitan customers.

²⁹ Geoghegan n. d., *Compleat Tutor*, p. 10.

³⁰ Cf. Francis O'Neill (ed.), *O'Neill's Music of Ireland. Eighteen Hundred and Fifty Melodies. Airs, Jigs, Reels, Hornpipes, Long Dances, Marches etc., Many of which are now Published for the First Time. Collected from all available Sources*, Chicago 1903, p. 113. For continental influences on O'Carolan, see Breandán Ó Madagáin, "Carolan, Turlough (Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20484> (last access 4 June 2020).

³¹ Geoghegan n. d., *Compleat Tutor*, p. 16. Hugh Cheape's reading of this piece is intriguing: "It must also represent a residual form of *piobaireachd* music surviving in Ireland." Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, p. 86.

³² Geoghegan n. d., *Compleat Tutor*, p. 14.

³³ For more information on *The Royal Chace*, see Ian Bartlett and Robert J. Bruce, *William Boyce. A Tercentenary Sourcebook and Compendium*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2011, p. 176.

would have been capable of accompanying ballad operas, secular cantatas and such like, for instance Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* (1725), John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728) and *Love and Liberty, a Cantata* (1785) by Robert Burns, all of which used "traditional" tunes.³⁴ Although such a connection is more than plausible, there is no hard evidence for any of this. However, it is worth remembering that absence of evidence is not to be confused with evidence of absence. One may also assume that the Pastoral Pipes would have been used in the more raucous contexts of musical entertainments in gentlemen's clubs and other informal gatherings.

The instrument underwent further development, and a modified variant of it acquired a new name. This modification came about by shortening the chanter. The first step towards this was probably to take off the chanter's foot, the segment that had vent holes that always remained open. Without the foot, the chanter could be stopped on the player's thigh. Thus, a staccato effect could be achieved. From the 1790s, people increasingly talked about such instruments with a short, that is, footless chanter as the Union Pipes. There is one hypothesis saying that "Union" refers to the complexity of the instrument, to its union of components and sounds. There is another saying that this might have referred to the political union of the Crown.³⁵ To begin with, the new instrument had been meant to appeal to a sense of neo-classical pastoral nostalgia. Other nostalgias and modes of self-fashioning followed. As the second half of the eighteenth century progressed, the pastoral past acquired a new meaning. It also came to be thought of as a past located in the pre-industrial British Isles. It could thus become part of a Romantic rather than a neo-classical nostalgia.

The instrument was used in theatrical representations of Scottishness. In 1791, the English actor and composer William Reeve wrote a piece called *The Grand Pantomime Ballet of Oscar and Malvina*, which was produced at

34 One tune in Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, "Sang XVII. Tweed-side" (Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy*, Glasgow 1758, p. 83) is also found in Geoghegan's *Compleat Tutor* (p. 11), which may or may not indicate a connection. In the absence of reliable and substantial sources, we are left with what, at best, may be tantalizing hints.

35 Sarah Deters in Arnold Myers (ed.), *Catalogue of the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments*, vol. 2, Part G: *Bagpipes*, Edinburgh 2013, p. viii. The instrument's name was used as a political allusion in a cartoon by William Dent entitled *A Scotch Reel, or Sawny's Jofull Turn into Office* (1793, published by James Aitken). Here William Pitt is seen playing a bagpipe (mouth-blown, drones held in a common stock, transparent bag half filled with gold coins), with the words "UNION PIPES" on its bag. There is a copy of this print in the British Museum (accession number: 1948,0214.453), see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1948-0214-453 (last access 20 November 2020).

Covent Garden.³⁶ Its subject matter was drawn from James Macpherson's Ossianic poems. *Oscar and Malvina* had it all – sublime nature, love interest, Highland games and a grand battle scene. It was hugely successful for the next 25 years or so. The instrument was used to give the music of *Oscar and Malvina* a Scottish flavour.³⁷ In this case, we are very much looking at unionist stage Scottishness concocted for a Covent Garden audience.

The Pastoral or Union Pipes acquired associations of Scottishness outside Scotland. Two manuscript collections dating from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggest that in Scotland, a repertoire of predominantly Scottish tunes was played on the Pastoral Pipes.³⁸ However, from the early nineteenth century, yet another re-fashioning of the instrument's identity was already under way. The instrument was now increasingly associated with Ireland and Irish music.

Patrick O'Farrell, the piper who performed in early nineteenth-century Covent Garden productions of *Oscar and Malvina*, published a collection of music for his instrument c. 1804. Its title was *O'Farrell's Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes*.³⁹ On the title-page, we find a rather interesting little vignette with a portrait of O'Farrell that indicates clearly that we are in a transitional phase regarding the perception of the instrument. It depicts, as it says underneath the portrait, "O'Farrell playing the Union Pipes in the Favorite Pantomime of Oscar & Malvina". The piper is "dressed as a stage Highlander"⁴⁰. However, one unusual feature has been added to his cliché Scottish outfit. Three huge feathers attached to his cap form a highly conspicuous element of his costume. These would immediately have

36 For a detailed account, see Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, pp. 113–116. Libretto: [Anon.], *The Airs, Duets, Choruses and Argument of the New Ballet Pantomime (Taken From Ossian) Calles Oscar and Malvina; Or, The Hall of Fingal. As Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden*, London 1791.

37 There is a score entitled "Overture to Oscar and Malvina, with the Highland March & Battle Pieces. Composed by Mr. Reeve", see scan in the Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, Johns Hopkins Sheridan Libraries & University Museums, <https://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/collection/015/095> (last access 15 June 2020). The Rondo was originally played on the Union Pipes and the Harp "(Mr. Meyer)", see *ibid.*, p. [4].

38 See Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, p. 100. A very useful overview along with scans of several manuscripts and articles by Ross Anderson can be found on his website: <https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html> (last access 14 June 2020).

39 [Patrick O'Farrell], *O'Farrell's Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes*, London n. d.

40 Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, p. 104, where a reproduction of this detail can also be found. A scan of the entire title-page (from the copy held in Yale University Library) can be found here: http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/ref/collection/1027_2/id/18 (last access 14 June 2020).

been recognized by Regency audiences as the Prince of Wales's feathers, the heraldic badge of the Prince of Wales.

The three feathers may have been stuck in O'Farrell's cap for a number of reasons. Everything connected with the prince was regarded as fashionable. Adding the feathers might have been an attempt at currying favour with the Prince in person as he was an habitu of Covent Garden. At any rate, the conspicuous use of this royal badge on stage was a useful indicator of loyalty to the Crown during the time of the Napoleonic Wars. It was a visual equivalent of the loyal toast that became mandatory at all sorts of gatherings.

All in all, the title-page of O'Farrell's *Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes* indicates clearly that we are entering a transitional phase in the perception of the instrument. It combines notions of Irishness (*National Irish Music*) and Scottishness (the stage Scot in an Ossianic pantomime) with an indication of loyalty to the crown providing a unionist umbrella. One can see why the instrument's name at the time, "Union Pipes", whatever its origins may have been, could have been read as a reference to the Union and therefore as politically charged.

In a subsequent publication, O'Farrell called his instrument not just the Union pipes but, right on the title-page "[...] *the Irish or Union pipes* [...]".⁴¹ The newly acquired Irishness of this expensive, high-tech instrument of course meant "Irish" as in affluent, Protestant and therefore Unionist.

This was the state of affairs in the early nineteenth century. In the Victorian period, the Pastoral Pipes and their later incarnation, the Union Pipes, disappeared first in England and then in Scotland. In Scotland they were elbowed aside by the Highland bagpipes which were adopted by the army. As Hugh Cheape has pointed out, by the mid-nineteenth century the Pastoral Pipes had totally dropped out of the narrative of English and Scottish music-making, and much the same happened to the instrument in the guise of the Union Pipes.⁴² In Ireland, the instrument gradually lost its upmarket status. It was increasingly played by poor Catholic musicians for poor Catholic audiences. The bagpipe invented for gentlemen became a bagpipe played by paupers. In the context of the Celtic revival in Ireland, it was just

41 [Patrick O'Farrell], *O Farrells, [sic!] Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes, Being a Grand Collection of Favourite Tunes both Scotch and Irish, adapted for the Pipes, Flute, Flageolet and Violin*, 4 vols., London n. d., "possibly between about 1805 and 1811" according to Cheape, *Bagpipes*, p. 112.

42 Cheape 2008, *Bagpipes*, pp. 100, 120.

about kept alive by a small number of affluent gentlemen players taking an interest in it. Promoting the pipes became part of the agenda of Irish cultural nationalism.

This led to yet another re-naming of the instrument. As the term “Union” was odious from an Irish pro-Home Rule perspective, it is not altogether surprising that a new Gaelic term was popularized in 1911 by Grattan Flood, an Irish musicologist.⁴³ Now they were called “uilleann pipes”, i.e. elbow pipes, as the bellows were placed under the player’s elbow. This linguistic camouflage, together with inflated claims of antiquity, helped to obliterate the earlier history of this bagpipe. It came to be regarded as an indigenous, traditional Irish instrument. Its documented early history in London and its initial associations with neo-classicism and English metropolitan elite culture were conveniently forgotten.

Thus, we see this peculiar type of bagpipe as a signifier that was time and again re-inscribed with meaning, with new social, cultural and political connotations: from neo-classicism via Scottish and Irish unionism to Irish cultural nationalism. The changing fortunes of this remarkable bagpipe turned it into an ideological chameleon.

43 “The fact is that there were two classes of Irish bagpipes – the *piob mor* and the Uilleann pipes, the latter of which came into vogue about the year 1588. [...] Curiously enough, the Irish name of the domestic Irish pipes has in more recent times been corrupted to ‘union’ [...]” William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Bagpipe*, London and New York 1911, p. 95. Note the inversion of the development from “union” to “uilleann”.

„E manca l’arte“?

Die intermediale Pasticcio-Ästhetik im London des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts

Dem Opernpasticcio des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts wurde in der Forschung lange eine Sonderrolle zugewiesen. Dies lag erstens an der Konzentration auf möglichst geschlossene Werkdramaturgien und der damit zusammenhängenden Einordnung von Skizzen, Abschriften, Fragmenten und ‚borrowings‘ in eine eher palimpsestartig-personenorientierte als flächig-kontrastreiche, aus Musiktransfers und Musiker*innenmobilität erwachsene Struktur.¹ Zweitens scheint für diese Sonderrolle auch eine strikte Trennung zwischen der ästhetischen Weiterentwicklung des Musiktheaterrepertoires und dem pragmatischen Theateralltag, in dem Opernkompositionen oft innerhalb kürzester Zeit fertiggestellt werden mussten, ausschlaggebend gewesen zu sein.² Drittens ist das Opernpasticcio vor allem noch nicht vor dem Hintergrund der sich rasant entwickelnden intertextuellen und intermedialen Rezeptionskontexte in der Epoche der Aufklärung gelesen worden, die sich vor allem im London des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts durch die Etablierung von Zeitschriften und die Vielzahl zirkulierender Karikaturen und Pamphlete bemerkbar machten.

1 Vgl. George J. Buelow, „The Case for Handel’s Borrowings. The Judgment of Three Centuries“, in: *Handel. Tercentenary Collection*, hrsg. von Stanley Sadie und Anthony Hicks, Houndmills 1987, S. 61–82.

2 Zur Akzentuierung des Zusammenhangs vgl. jedoch Reinhard Strohm, „Händels Pasticci“, in: *Händels Opern* (Das Händel-Handbuch 2,2), hrsg. von Arnold Jacobshagen und Panja Mücke, Laaber 2009, S. 351–358, hier S. 351; Christine Siegert, „Zum Pasticcio-Problem“, in: *Opernkonzeptionen zwischen Berlin und Bayreuth. Das musikalische Theater der Markgräfin Wilhelmine*, hrsg. von Thomas Betzwieser, Würzburg 2016, S. 155–166.

Ich möchte mich in meinem Beitrag genau diesem letzten Punkt widmen, und zwar anhand einer Untersuchung des Zusammenhangs von Opernpasticcios im London der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts mit aufklärungsrelevanten Diskursen, die in der zeitgenössischen Kunsttheorie geführt und in den opernbezogenen Karikaturen präsent waren. In einem ersten Teil wird es um die Einordnung der ersten ‚pastiche‘-Definition durch den Maler Roger de Piles in die englischen Diskussionen zur Herausbildung eines Kunstgeschmacks zwischen John Lockes Erkenntnistheorie und William Hogarths Kunstästhetik gehen. Danach wird in einem zweiten Teil die Verbindung zwischen dem pastiche in der Malerei und dem Pasticcio in der Musik untersucht. Sie lässt sich an den zahlreichen Karikaturen erkennen, die im London der 1730er und 1740er Jahre zur italienischen Oper und zu Georg Friedrich Händel entstanden, der in den 1730er Jahren im King’s Theatre regelmäßig Pasticcios auf das Programm setzte. Ein dritter Teil zu Händels Kompositionsweisen von Opernpasticcios schließt den Beitrag ab.

I. Das Pasticcio in philosophischen und kunsttheoretischen Aufklärungsdiskursen

In der englischen Aufklärung erschienen zahlreiche Einführungen in die Malerei, die zur Entwicklung eines ausgereiften Kunstgeschmacks der Rezipientinnen und Rezipienten beitragen sollten. In einer derselben findet sich die erste überlieferte Definition des pastiche. Sie wird dem französischen Maler Roger de Piles zugeschrieben und wurde lange mit seiner Publikation *Conversations sur la Connaissance de la Peinture et sur le Jugement qu’on doit faire des Tableaux* aus dem Jahr 1677 verbunden. Dort ist sie aber, wie Ingeborg Hoesterey gezeigt hat, gar nicht auffindbar.³ Ihre ersten Publikationen auf Französisch finden sich in de Piles’ Abhandlung *Abrégée de la Vie des Peintres* (Paris 1699)⁴ und in Félibien des Avaux’ *Conférences de l’Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, die 1706 in Amsterdam publiziert wurden. Ein Jahr später erschien sie in der Londoner Publikation von de Piles’ *L’Idée du Peintre parfait, pour servir de Règle aux Jugemens que l’on doit porter*

3 Ingeborg Hoesterey, *Pastiche. Cultural Memory in Art, Film, Literature*, Bloomington 2001, S. 4–5.

4 Roger de Piles, *Abrégée de la Vie des Peintres. Avec des reflexions sur leurs Ouvrages. Et un Traité du Peintre parfait, de la connoissance des Desseins, & de l’utilité des Estampes*, Paris 1699, S. 104. Diese Referenz war der genannten pastiche-Forschung bisher nicht bekannt. Ich danke Berthold Over für den Hinweis darauf.

sur les Ouvrages des Peintres (1707), die bereits im Jahr 1706 unter dem Titel *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters* auch schon in einer englischen Übersetzung bei John Nutt gedruckt worden war.⁵ Allein aus dieser Publikationsgeschichte lässt sich erkennen, dass es sich bei den kunstbezogenen Aufklärungsdiskursen um eine internationale Diskussion handelt; gleichzeitig ist eine Betrachtung der Frage hilfreich, warum de Piles' Schriften zum Geschmack in der Malerei gerade in London publiziert und auch ins Englische übersetzt wurden.

In Bezug auf den Londoner Kontext ist zunächst festzuhalten, dass de Piles sich in seinen Publikationen stark mit der Betrachtung von Drucken und Kopien beschäftigt, die eine vergleichende Auseinandersetzung mit Kunstwerken ermöglichen. Vor allem das zumeist verkleinerte Format der Drucke hält de Piles für einen Vorteil, um sie zu Hause aufzuhängen oder auf einem Tisch nebeneinander zu betrachten. Gleichzeitig unterstreicht er die Wichtigkeit, sich mit der Qualität der Kopien und den dahinterstehenden malerischen Fähigkeiten und Intentionen auseinanderzusetzen.⁶ Vor diesem Hintergrund wird klar, dass es de Piles um die Absetzung verschiedener Stile, aber auch Werkideen durch eine vergleichende visuelle Betrachtung geht, und dass er dafür auch die sich in den europäischen Großstädten stark verbreitenden Drucke akzeptiert.⁷ Im London des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts wurden zudem zahlreiche Kopien oder pastiches von Gemälden für individuelle Kunstsammlungen angefertigt und verkauft.⁸

Des Weiteren ist für den Nachvollzug der Anbindung von de Piles' Überlegungen an das Londoner Kulturleben ein Vergleich der französischen Version seiner pastiche-Definition mit der englischen Übersetzung erhellend. Das französische Zitat bezieht sich auf das pastiche als Sonderfall zwischen Original und Kopie, in dem durch die kunstfertige Zusammenstellung ko-

5 S. a. Michelle Fletcher, *Reading Revelation as Pastiche. Imitating the Past*, London und New York 2017, S. 49–51.

6 „[...] par le moyen des estampes, vous pouvez sur une table voir sans peine les ouvrages des différens [sic] maîtres, en former une idée, en juger par comparaison, en faire un choix, & contracter par cette pratique une habitude du bon goût [...]“ („[...] durch die Drucke kann man auf einem Tisch ohne Mühe die Werke verschiedener Meister betrachten und sich durch einen Vergleich eine Idee davon machen, eine Auswahl treffen und durch diese Praxis eine Gewandtheit im guten Geschmack annehmen.“). Roger de Piles, *Les Eléments de Peinture pratique*, Amsterdam und Leipzig 1767, S. 450.

7 Zur Verbreitung von Drucken und insbesondere Karikaturen vgl. Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference. Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth*, New Haven 1999, S. 1.

8 Thomas McGeary, „Handel as Art Collector. Art, Connoisseurship and Taste in Hanoverian Britain“, in: *Early Music* 37 / 4 (2009), S. 533–576, hier S. 536–537.

pierter Elemente ein abgerundetes Ganzes erwächst, das mit einer kulinarisch perfekten Pastete gleichzusetzen ist:

Il me reste encore à dire quelque chose sur les Tableaux, qui ne sont ni Originaux, ni Copies, lesquels on appelle Pastiches, de l'Italien, Pastici, qui veut dire Pâtez: parce que de même que les choses différentes qui assaisonnent un Pâté, se réduisent à un seul goût; ainsi les faussetez qui composent un Pastiche, ne tendent qu'à faire une vérité.⁹

Bei der englischen Übersetzung wird das französische Wort *pastiche* weggelassen und der italienische Begriff *Pasticcio* dementsprechend als Ursprung der Gattung unterstrichen. Zudem wird das französische Wort für Pastete bei der ersten Nennung durch das englische Wort für Teig (*paste*) ersetzt, mit dem die perfekte Mischung der Elemente gegenüber der bestmöglichen Auswahl an zu kopierenden Einzelementen noch einmal herausgehoben wird:

It remains for me to say something of those Pictures that are neither Originals nor Copies, which the *Italians* call *Pastici*. From Paste, because, as the several things that Season a Pasty, are reduc'd to one Tast, so Counterfeits that compose a *Pastici* tend only to effect one Truth."¹⁰

Die Zentrierung des *Pasticcios* auf den Aspekt der Vermischung zu einem Teig und nicht nur zu einer Pastete, in der sich unterschiedliche, ausgesuchte Ingredienzien zu einem neuen Geschmack verbinden lassen, hängt eng mit den zwei Dimensionen der Wirkung und des Umgangs mit *Pasticcios* zusammen, mit denen sich de Piles auseinandersetzt. Das *Pasticcio* definiert de Piles dabei zum einen als ‚Idee‘ eines anderen Malers, die durch die Übernahme von Bildelementen imitiert wird, und zum anderen als eigene ‚Idee‘, welche mit fremden Maltechniken oder Imitationen eines bestimmten Kunstgeschmacks dargestellt wird. Hierdurch können täuschend echte Bilder im Stil einzelner Maler entstehen, die auf den ersten Blick ein erstaunenswertes harmonisches Ganzes ergeben, auch wenn das Bild keine direkte Kopie eines bereits bestehenden Bildes ist. Ein derartiges *Pasticcio* macht für de Piles jedoch nur Sinn, wenn die Kunstfertigkeit der Kopie tat-

9 Roger de Piles, *L'idée du peintre parfait, pour servir de règle aux jugements que l'on doit porter sur les ouvrages des peintres*, London 1707, S. 78.

10 Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters*, London 1706, S. 74 (Hervorheb. orig.).

sächlich auf der Höhe der Kunstfertigkeit des Originals ist. Um dies herauszufinden, rät der französische Maler zu einem genauen Vergleich der Farbgebungen, Zeichnungen und Pinselführungen in den Pasticcios mit denjenigen der Originale, was sich praktisch durch das Nebeneinanderlegen von Drucken bewerkstelligen ließ.¹¹ Über die nicht nachzuverfolgende Verbindung ausgesuchter Elemente zu einer übergreifenden, funktionierenden und geschmackvollen Harmonie hinaus (wobei die perfekte Vermischung in der englischen Übersetzung im Vergleich zum französischen Original noch einmal akzentuiert worden zu sein scheint), geht es bei de Piles somit auch um ein geschultes Erkenntnisinteresse, die Einzelbestandteile der Komposition durch einen detaillierten visuellen Vergleich mit den Originalen zurückverfolgen und qualitätsmäßig bewerten zu können. Insofern siedelt de Piles das Pasticcio in der Malerei zwischen einer perfekten Täuschung und einer umfassenden kunstgewandten Gelehrtheit an.

De Piles' Ausführungen zur Schulung des Kunstgeschmacks anhand von Pasticcios bleiben im Sinne der Aufklärung jedoch nicht bei der Schilderung einer bloßen Umgangsform mit dieser Kunstgattung stehen. Stattdessen thematisiert de Piles auch das Problem der verstandesmäßigen Verarbeitung der wahrgenommenen Bilder und Stile auch bei nicht umfassend geschulten Rezipierenden. Hierfür verwendet er eine ähnliche Metapher wie John Locke, der sich in seinem *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* von 1689 ebenfalls mit der Verbindung von Wahrnehmung und Verstandesleistung beschäftigt hatte. In Lockes Erkenntnistheorie bildet die sinnliche Wahrnehmung von Dingen die Grundlage für die Erkenntnis und die Herausbildung von Begriffen, indem die Wahrnehmungen innerhalb des Verstandes durch Kombination, Zusammenstellung und Abstraktion zu komplexen Ideen wie zum Beispiel „rot“ oder „Schönheit“ weiterverarbeitet werden.¹² Zur Schil-

11 „A Painter that wou'd deceive in this way, ought to have, in his Mind, the Manner and Principles of the Master, of whom he wou'd give an Idea, whether he takes any part of a Picture which that Master has made and puts it in his own Work, or whether the Invention is his own, and he imitates lightly, not only his Touches, but even his *Goût* of Design and Colouring. [...] There are some of his [David Ternier's] *Pastici* made with so much cunning, that the Eyes of the most judicious are surpriz'd by them at first Sight, but after having examined them nearer, they soon distinguish the One's Colouring, and the One's Pencil, from the Other's. [...] 'Tis the same with all *Pastici*, and if we wou'd not be deveiv'd by them, we shou'd examine their *Goût* of Design, their Colouring, and the Character of their Pencils, with the Originals from whence they were taken.“ Ebd., S. 74–75 (Hervorheb. orig.).

12 „But as the mind is wholly passive in the reception of all its simple ideas, so it exerts several acts of its own, whereby out of its simple ideas, as the materials and foundations of the rest, the others are framed. The acts of the mind wherein it exerts its power over its

derung dieser Verstandesleistung nutzt der Philosoph die Metapher einer ‚Dunkelkammer‘, in die durch eine kleine Öffnung Licht fällt. Während Locke damit die Erkenntniskraft der Wahrnehmung als einzig erhellendes Element innerhalb des ansonsten verdunkelten Verstandes unterstreicht, kann man ihn an dieser Stelle auch so lesen, dass nicht nur die verstandesmäßige Verarbeitung mit dem Moment der Abstraktion operiert, sondern dass bereits die Wahrnehmung einfacher Ideen von einer gewissen Abstraktion betroffen ist.¹³ Schon diese erscheinen dem Verstand eher umrisshaft beziehungsweise in ihren systematisierten Eigenschaften, sodass die sinnliche Wahrnehmung mit den abstrahierenden Operationen des Geistes unmittelbar verbunden ist.¹⁴

Dark room. I pretend not to teach, but to inquire; and therefore cannot but confess here again, that external and internal sensation, are the only passages that I can find, of knowledge, to the understanding. These alone, as far as I can discover, are the windows by which light is let into this dark room. For, methinks, the understanding is not much unlike a closet wholly shut from light, with only some little opening left, to let in external visible resemblances, or ideas of things without; would the pictures coming into such a dark room but stay there, and lie so orderly as to be found upon occasion, it would very much resemble the understanding of man, in reference to all objects of sight, and the ideas of them.¹⁵

simple ideas are chiefly these three, 1. Combining several simple ideas into one compound one, and thus all complex ideas are made. 2. The 2d. is bringing two ideas, whether simple or complex, together; and setting them by one another, so as to take a view of them at once, without uniting them into one; by which way it gets all its ideas of relations. 3. The 3d. is separating them from all other ideas that accompany them in their real existence; this is called abstraction: and thus all its general ideas are made. This shows man's power and its ways of operation to be much what the same in the material and intellectual world.“ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [1689], hrsg. von Kenneth P. Winkler, Indianapolis 1996, S. 66 (II.12, § 1).

13 Zu Lockes Metaphern für den Verstand vgl. auch Walter Euchner, *John Locke zur Einführung*, Hamburg 1996, S. 30.

14 In ähnlicher Weise ist in philosophischen Überlegungen zu Locke versucht worden, den stark kritisierbaren unidirektionalen Zusammenhang von Wahrnehmung und Verstandesleistung über den Charakter der Beispielhaftigkeit der wahrgenommenen Erscheinungen und Ideen zu erklären, der dann auch zu eher ostensiven Begriffsdefinitionen führt. Lorenz Krüger, „War Locke ein Empirist?“, in: *John Locke. Essay über den menschlichen Verstand* (Klassiker auslegen 6), hrsg. von Udo Thiel, Berlin 2008, S. 65–88, hier S. 77–78. Auch Euchner unterstreicht den engen Zusammenhang von Wahrnehmung, Abstraktion und Verstandesleistung bei Locke. Euchner 1996, *John Locke*, S. 43.

15 Locke [1689] 1996, *Essay*, S. 65 (II.11, § 17).

Auch bei de Piles wird das sinnlich geleitete Verstehen mit dem Bild eines abgeschlossenen Raumes beschrieben, als dessen Eingänge er die Augen und Ohren der Rezipierenden sieht. Der Kunstgeschmack der Rezipierenden wird dabei jedoch nicht durch umrisshafte Bilder angesprochen, die durch eher kleine Öffnungen in die ‚Dunkelkammer‘ des Verstandes hineingelangen, sondern de Piles spricht gerade von einer möglichst großen Weitung der Öffnungen durch kontrastreiche künstlerische Ausdrucksweisen. Obwohl also Locke wie de Piles mit dem Moment des Vergleichs arbeiten, um Begriffe zu bilden und den eigenen Kunstgeschmack weiterzuentwickeln, geht de Piles von möglichst detailgetreuen Abbildern wie in einer Camera Obscura und Locke eher von abstrahierten Umrissen der wahrgenommenen Dinge in einer Black Box aus. Eine gewisse Abstraktion im Stil von Lockes einfachen, durch unterschiedliche Sinne erfahrenen Ideen ergibt sich bei de Piles dafür eher aus seiner Analogisierung von Malerei und Musik, die bei Locke so nicht zu finden ist:¹⁶

All visible objects enter the understanding by the faculty of seeing, as musical sounds do by that of hearing. The eyes and ears are the doors, which admit us to judge of painting, and musick: The first care therefore both of the painter and the musician should be, to make these entrances free and agreeable, by the force of their harmony; the one in his colouring conducted by the claro-obscuro, and the other in his accords.¹⁷

De Piles' Gleichsetzung von Techniken der Farbgebung und Harmonisierung wurde von William Hogarth eher skeptisch aufgenommen.¹⁸ Statt daraus generelle Prinzipien für beide Künste abzuleiten, nutzte Hogarth die Analogie von Malerei und Musik in seiner Abhandlung *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753) im Hinblick auf konkrete künstlerische Darstellungsformen wie zum Beispiel Schattierungen und Dynamik, mit denen sich die sinnliche Erfahrung von Nähe und Ferne hervorrufen lassen:

16 Unter den einfachen Ideen fasste Locke Farben oder Gerüche. Ebd., S. 41–42 (II.3, § 1–2).

17 Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting*, London 1743, S. 5–6 (Übersetzung des *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris 1708, S. 9).

18 „The knowledge of colours bears so strong an analogy with the science of Musick that some have been Induc'd to think that Identical principles, for the compositions of musick would equally serve for those of colours.“ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* [1753], hrsg. von Ronald Paulson, New Haven und London 1997, S. 131. Ein Überblick über Hogarths Analogisierungen von Malerei und Musik findet sich bei Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician. Hogarth's Musical Imagery*, Aldershot und Burlington 2005, S. 14–17; s. a. den Beitrag von Ina Knoth in diesem Band.

There is so strict an analogy between shade and sound, that they may well serve to illustrate each other's qualities: for as sounds gradually decreasing and increasing give the idea of progression from, or to the ear, just so do retiring shades shew progression, by figuring it to the eye. Thus, as by objects growing still fainter, we judge of distances in prospects, so by the decreasing noise of thunder, we form the idea of its moving further from us. And, with regard to their similitude in beauty, like as the gradating shade pleases the eye, so the increasing, or swelling note, delights the ear.¹⁹

Zudem war Hogarth die Analogisierung von Malerei und Musik in Bezug auf die kunstvolle Kombination einzelner Objekte und Ornamente wichtig, wie sie anscheinend eher für das französische Original der *pastiche*-Definition von de Piles relevant war. Auf dieser Grundlage überführte Hogarth de Piles' minutiösen Vergleich verschiedener Bilder zurück zu einer künstlerischen Kombination einzelner Versatzstücke. Die Kunstwertigkeit dieser kombinierten Objekte testete Hogarth dabei unter anderem durch den Vergleich von Nah- und Fernsichten. Auf diese Weise schuf Hogarth eine Verbindung zwischen de Piles' Orientierung an der *Camera Obscura* zur detaillierten Visualisierung der Vergleichsgegenstände und Lockes Dunkelkammer mit den umrisshaften Abstraktionen.²⁰

When you would compose an object of a great variety of parts, let several of those parts be distinguish'd by themselves, by their remarkable difference from the next adjoining, so as to make each of them, as it were, one well-shap'd quantity or part, [...] (these are like what they call passages in music, and in writing paragraphs) by which means, not only the whole, but even every part, will be better understood by the eye: for confusion will hereby be avoided when the object is seen near, and the shapes will seem well varied, tho' fewer in number, at a distance; as figure [...] supposed to be the same as the former, but removed so far off that the eye loses sight of the smaller members.²¹

19 Hogarth [1753] 1997, *The Analysis of Beauty*, S. 77–78.

20 Zur Rezeption John Lockes in Hogarths *Analysis of Beauty* vgl. Katherine Eustace, „The Key is Locke. Hogarth, Rysbrack and the Foundling Hospital“, in: *The British Art Journal* 7 / 2 (2006), S. 34–49, hier S. 37.

21 Hogarth [1753] 1997, *The Analysis of Beauty*, S. 44.

II. Das Pasticcio in Karikaturen zum Londoner Opernleben der 1730er und 1740er Jahre

Die im zeitlichen Rahmen bzw. ausgehend vom Lockeschen Empirismus um 1689 formulierten Anleitungen zur Herausbildung eines Kunstgeschmacks zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts von de Piles und Hogarth stehen auch in einem engen Verhältnis mit dem Londoner Musikleben. Die Relevanz der beiden Dimensionen des Pasticcios – diejenige der perfekten und auf den ersten Blick nicht nachvollziehbaren Verbindung einzelner (kopierter) Elemente oder diejenige der vergleichenden Wahrnehmung ihrer geschmackvollen Verschmelzung –, sowie der Abstraktion beziehungsweise der Nah- und Fernverhältnisse, die von Locke und Hogarth diskutiert wurden, lässt sich vor allem anhand der zeitgenössischen Karikaturen feststellen, die im London des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts zirkulierten. Ich habe bereits an anderer Stelle das komplexe Bezugsnetzwerk aufgezeigt, das sich in den Karikaturen zu Händel und seinen Opern aus den zahlreichen übernommenen Bildelementen aus anderen Graphiken oder Gemälden ergab.²² Die Wirkung von Pasticcio-orientierten, auf künstlerischen Anleihen und ihrer rezipierenden Nachverfolgung basierenden Darstellungsweisen in zeitgenössischen Karikaturen hört aber nicht bei der Verdichtung von Bedeutungen und Interpretationsweisen zur Kritik der italienischen Oper innerhalb des Londoner Musiklebens auf. Sie wird zudem oft mit einem für die Herausbildung des damaligen Kunstgeschmacks allgemein wichtigen Objekt für die empirische Wahrnehmung verbunden, und zwar mit dem Vergrößerungsglas, wie in Hogarths Stich *A Chorus of Singers* (1732), in dessen Mitte Händel zu vermuten ist.²³ Während Händel eine Brille trägt, ist am rechten Bildrand ein Sänger mit einer Lupe zu erkennen.

22 Gesa zur Nieden, „Native‘ – ‚Foreign‘. Zum Nexus von Sozialstruktur und Rezeptionsästhetik in der Musikmetropole London“, in: *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 20 (2019), S. 27–44. Zudem gab es einen Markt für Kopien bekannter Gemälde, aus denen einzelne Kunstsammlungen zusammengestellt wurden, auch diejenige Händels. McGeary 2009, „Handel as Art Collector“, S. 533–574; Alison Meyric Hughes und Martin Royalton-Kisch, „Handel’s Art Collection“, in: *Apollo* 146 / 427 (1997), S. 17–23.

23 William Hogarth, *A Chorus of Singers*, 1732, reproduziert auf <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/a-chorus-of-singers-1> (abgerufen am 30.04.2020). Die Karikatur thematisiert Willem de Feschs Oratorium *Judith* (UA 1733). Zur Wichtigkeit des visuellen Heranholens in der Praxis des Erkennens und Herstellens von Kunst vgl. Maria H. Loh, „New and Improved. Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory“, in: *The Art Bulletin* 86 / 3 (2004), S. 477–504, hier S. 489.

Ein Vergrößerungsglas nutzte auch Joseph Goupy in seiner berühmten Karikatur, die Händel als Eber an der Orgel zeigt. In den verschiedenen Versionen der Karikatur, die unter den Titeln *The Harmonious Boar* (1743–1744), *The True Representation and Character &c* (1749–1750) und *The Charming Brute* (1754) erschienen,²⁴ wird die Lupe in der Bildmitte zunächst als Instrument zum Vergleich der pastichehaft zusammengestellten Bildelemente aus verschiedenen Stillagen von Karikatur bis Aquarell herausgehoben. Auf diese Weise unterstreicht Goupy die geschmacksbildende Notwendigkeit, thematisch und auch malereitechnisch disparate Elemente einem detaillierten Vergleich zu unterziehen. In der letzten Version, der anonym als Stich erschien, wird dem an der Orgel sitzenden Händel dann nicht mehr ein Vergrößerungsglas von einem Zwerg, sondern ein Spiegel vom Teufel höchstpersönlich vorgehalten. Auch die Händel umgebenden Objekte und Stile sind nun allesamt ins Groteske gezogen und konzentrieren sich fast ausschließlich auf die Darstellung der Völlerei, die in den ersten beiden Versionen nur eines der angesprochenen Themenbereiche darstellte.²⁵ Aufgrund des Schriftzugs unter der Karikatur „I am myself alone“ lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass die rein kulinarische Zusammenstellung oder sogar Vermengung vergleichbarer Elemente nicht der Geschmacksbildung der Zeit entsprach.²⁶

Über die Verbindung von Völlerei und Vergrößerungsglas lassen sich Goupys Karikaturen als Reflexion über den Zusammenhang zwischen Geschmacksbildung, empirischer Kunstwahrnehmung und pastiche bzw. Pasticcio lesen. In Bezug auf de Piles wird klar, dass seine zwei Dimensionen einer täuschend echt imitierenden Kunst und der vergleichenden Betrachtung verschiedener Kunstwerke bei Goupy nicht als zwei aufeinanderfolgende Schritte des Erstaunens und vergleichenden Nachvollzugs dargestellt wurden. Stattdessen wird die Komposition präexistenter Elemente in den Karikaturen explizit gemacht und fordert bereits innerhalb des Bildes zu Vergleichen der kombinierten Dinge und Stile heraus, die auf weitere Karikaturen ausgedehnt werden können. Insofern fallen Komposition und Re-

24 Vgl. Ilias Chrissochoidis, „Handel, Hogarth, Goupy. Artistic Intersections in Early Georgian England“, in: *Early Music* 37 / 4 (2009), S. 577–596; Ellen T. Harris, „Joseph Goupy and George Frideric Handel. From Professional Triumphs to Personal Estrangement“, in: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 / 3 (2008), S. 397–452.

25 [Anon.], *The Charming Brute*, 1754, abgedruckt in Chrissochoidis 2009, „Handel, Hogarth, Goupy“, S. 589.

26 Eine detailliertere Analyse der drei Karikaturen habe ich hier vorgelegt: zur Nieden 2019, „Native‘ – ‚Foreign‘“, S. 27–44.

zeption im satirischen Pasticcio der Londoner Karikaturwelt in einem Moment zusammen, in ganz ähnlicher Weise wie auch bei Locke die sinnliche Wahrnehmung und ihre verstandesmäßige Verarbeitung über das Moment der Abstraktion miteinander verbunden werden. Dennoch geht es in den Karikaturen genau wie bei de Piles nicht um die Abstraktion, sondern um das vergleichende Verständnis von Details. Bei Goupy wird dieses Moment durch das empirische Instrument des Vergrößerungsglases akzentuiert; bei Hogarth schon in engerer Anlehnung an Locke durch die Rolle der Schattierungen und Formen für den Ausdruck oder verschiedene Wirkungen innerhalb von Nah- und Fernverhältnissen. Vor diesem Hintergrund wäre zu schließen, dass der intermediale Pasticcio-Begriff im London der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts die empiristische Stoßrichtung der Lockeschen Epistemologie aufnahm, sie aber in einen empirisch-visuellen Vergleich en détail überführte beziehungsweise in einen Vergleich, der unterschiedliche Nah- und Fernwahrnehmungen zur Entwicklung neuer künstlerischer Objekte berücksichtigt.

III. Händels Kompositionsweisen von Opernpasticcios

Ellen T. Harris hat Goupys Karikaturen bereits im Jahr 2008 als Kritik an Händels Oratorien interpretiert, denen sich der Komponist ab den 1740er Jahren nach einer Phase regelmäßiger Pasticcio-Produktionen zuwandte.²⁷ Die Gattung des Oratoriums gab Händel die Möglichkeit, der Forderung nach der Vertonung englischsprachiger Texte und der damit zusammenhängenden Etablierung einer ‚nationalen‘ englischen Gattung nachzukommen.²⁸ Ilias Chrissochoidis hat dagegen darauf hingewiesen, dass William Hogarth seine Überlegungen zur Analogie von Malerei und Musik möglicherweise stark auf Goupys Händel-Karikaturen stützte.²⁹ Insofern ist davon auszugehen, dass auch Händels Musik in die aufklärerischen Diskurse des Londons der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zwischen Empirismus, künstlerischer Geschmacksbildung und Kunstästhetik eingebettet war.

27 Harris 2008, „Joseph Goupy and George Frideric Handel“, S. 432.

28 Tim Blanning, „Nation-Building through Music? Music in English National Consciousness in the Eighteenth Century“, in: *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 15 (2014), S. 21–38, hier S. 28; Donald Burrows, „The English Chapel Royal as the Intersection of Religion and Personal Politics“, in: *Händel-Jahrbuch* 59 (2013), S. 187–193, hier S. 190, 193.

29 Chrissochoidis 2009, „Handel, Hogarth, Goupy“, S. 578–581.

Wie aber komponierte Händel seine Opernpasticcios und in welcher Relation standen diese Kompositionen zu Goupys Konzept des Vergrößerungsglases oder zu Hogarths Arbeit mit Nah- und Fernsichten? Angesichts der nur sehr übergreifenden Ebene wie derjenigen der Harmonik oder Dynamik, auf der die oben behandelten Kunsttheoretiker die Analogien zwischen Musik und Malerei beschrieben, ist eine Rückverfolgung der Übertragungsmöglichkeiten und Vergleichsprinzipien nur auf relationale Weise möglich. Dennoch lassen die oben beschriebenen beiden Zugänge zum Pasticcio in opernbezogenen Karikaturen tentative Richtungsbeschreibungen für das Verständnis des kompositorischen Umgangs mit dem Londoner Pasticcio-Begriff durch Händel zu. Dabei handelt es sich erstens um den von Goupy deutlich gemachten Umstand, dass Komposition und gelehrte Rezeption im Pasticcio zusammenfallen sollten, indem die Zusammenstellung präexistenter Elemente und Stile zu einem direkten Vergleich herausforderte (Ähnlichkeitsstudie disparater Elemente). Bei einem solchen Vergleich wäre das Augenmerk auf die Details der verwendeten Elemente und ihrer Darstellung zu legen. Zweitens kann auch der Akzent auf die Skalierung der Nah- und Fernsicht gelegt werden, die von Hogarth vertreten wurde. Hier bieten sich in Anlehnung an Hogarth die Diminution und die Augmentation rhythmischer, melodischer und harmonischer Motive, u. a. zur kompositorischen Hervorbringung von Dynamiken, aber auch die Konzeption von dramaturgischen Formteilen an.

In Bezug auf die Herausforderung der Rezipierenden zu Vergleichen ist zunächst zu sagen, dass die Opernpasticcios Händels nicht verschieden von den eigens von ihm komponierten Opern wahrgenommen wurden.³⁰ Dass den Pasticcios im Londoner Opernleben keine Sonderrolle zukam, machte Charles Burney u. a. an John Walshs Herausgabe von „Favourite Songs“ zu Pasticcio-Produktionen wie derjenigen von *Catone in Utica* aus dem Jahr 1732 fest:

In November following the lyric theatre wae [sic] opened with a new opera called CATO, which had six representations. No composer is mentioned, though the favourite songs were printed by Walsh, during its run. A drama, however of the same name, set by Leo, was performed at Rome and Venice in 1728.³¹

30 Reinhard Strohm, „Handel’s Pasticci“, in: ders., *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, Cambridge 1985, S. 164–211, hier S. 182.

31 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, Bd. 4, London 1789, S. 362.

In den von Walsh herausgebrachten, zum Teil sehr virtuosen und koloraturreichen „Favourite Songs“ zu *Catone* sind die einzelnen Arien nicht nummeriert oder mit Textincipits übertitelt, sondern mit der für diese Publikation üblichen Angabe „sung by Sig.ra Strada in Cato“ oder „sung by Sigr.a Celeste in the Opera of Cato“.³² Vor diesem Hintergrund nimmt die Präsenz der Sängerinnen und Sänger, deren Virtuosität durch den Notendruck noch einmal schriftbildlich dokumentiert wurde, eine weitaus wichtigere Rolle für die Rezeption ein als die Komposition und ihre musikdramaturgische Dimension.³³

Da ein Vergleich dementsprechend eher auf der Ebene des virtuosen Gesangs angebracht scheint, nicht jedoch auf derjenigen des Vergleichs verschiedener Kompositionsstile und ihrer Details, rückt die zweite Herangehensweise, d. h. die Arbeit an oder mit Vergrößerungen und Verkleinerungen unterschiedlicher kompositorischer Ausdrucksweisen in den Vordergrund. In Bezug auf Hogarth stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern es um bloße Augmentatio und Diminutio (Vergrößerungsglas) ging, oder eher um die Abstraktion bestimmter Motive im Hinblick auf das Austesten ihrer musikdramaturgischen Verwendbarkeit (Nah- und Fernverhältnisse).

Ich möchte diese Alternative von Vergrößerung und Verkleinerung im Gegensatz zur Abstraktion abschließend anhand eines Motivs untersuchen, das eine ähnliche kunstkritische Haltung signalisiert, wie sie aus Goupys Karikaturen hervorgeht. Es geht um die Textzeile „E manca l'arte“ aus der Schlussarie des III. Akts, „Vò solcando un mar crudele“, die Händel nicht aus einer der zahlreichen Vertonungen des Metastasianischen *Catone*-Librettos, sondern aus Leonardo Vincis *Artaserse* (Rom 1730) übernahm.

Vò solcando un mar crudele
 Senza vele, e senza sarte
 Freme l'onda il ciel s'imbruna
 Cresce il vento e manca l'arte
 E il voler della Fortuna
 Son costretta a seguitar.

32 *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Cato*, London 1732. Vgl. auch William C. Smith und Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721–1766*, London 1968, S. 77.

33 1757 beklagt Oliver Goldsmith die Geschmacklosigkeit der englischen Oper mit folgenden Worten: „Every performer sings his favourite song, and the music is only a medley of old Italian airs, or some meagre modern capriccio.“ Oliver Goldsmith, „Of the Opera in England“, in: *The Bee*, 24.11.1757, zitiert nach: *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, Bd. 3, hrsg. von Peter Cunningham, London 1854, S. 134.

Infelice in questo stato
 Son da tutti abbandonata [Artaserse: abbandonato]
 Meco e sola l'innocenza [Artaserse: meco sola è l'innocenza]
 Che mi porta a naufragar.³⁴

Der Text dieser Arie spricht die Schattierungen an, die auch bei Hogarth in Bezug auf die Analogien zwischen Musik und Malerei im Vergleich zu einem herannahenden oder sich entfernenden Gewitter thematisiert wurden („Il ciel s'imbruna, cresce il vento“ / „Der Himmel verdunkelt sich, der Wind wird stärker“). Direkt darauf folgt die Textzeile „e manca l'arte“ („Die Kunst / Fertigkeit fehlt“) und die Klage, deshalb vom ansteigenden Wind beziehungsweise vom Schicksal alleine fortgetragen zu werden. Die oben behandelten Karikaturen und kunsttheoretischen Abhandlungen von Goupy und Hogarth entstanden alle erst nach der Produktion des Pasticcios *Catone in Utica*, dennoch ist die Vermutung nicht ganz abwegig, dass Händel sich durch die Auswahl dieser Arie als Schlusspunkt der gesamten Oper mit ähnlichen kunstästhetischen Problemen beschäftigte, wie sie später von Goupy und Hogarth artikuliert wurden.

Dies ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als dass die Zeilen „il ciel s'imbruna“ und „e manca l'arte“ in Vincis Vertonung durch ein absteigendes Motiv in halben Noten musikdramaturgisch herausgehoben und auch miteinander verbunden werden. Durch die Verwendung des Viertotonmotivs in Kombination mit Quartvorhalten und einem die Harmonie in einem Schwebezustand haltenden Trommelbass drückt Vinci zunächst den (dynamischen) Zustand eines unmittelbar bevorstehenden, aber noch nicht ausgebrochenen Sturms oder Gewitters aus. Indem er für die Zeile „e manca l'arte“ ebenfalls ein absteigendes Motiv in halben Notenwerten einsetzt, bindet er das Sturmmotiv mit der fehlenden Kunst / Fertigkeit zusammen („e manca l'arte“), die durch einen gehenden Bass und die Rückführung zur Dominante jedoch weit aus unausweichlicher klingt (Notenbeispiel 8.1)³⁵. Diese Überlagerung führt dann zum Gefühl der eigenen Machtlosigkeit im Angesicht des nahenden Sturms, die im Folgenden u. a. durch Sextakkorde auf der Tonika vertont

34 Georg Friedrich Händel, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, fol. 154–160 [Dirigierpartitur], D-Hs, MA 1012.

35 Alle Notenbeispiele entstammen der digitalen Edition von Georg Friedrich Händels handschriftlicher Dirigierpartitur, D-Hs, MA 1012, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, hrsg. von Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier und Berthold Over (edition.pasticcio-project.eu).

wird. In Bezug auf die Londoner Kunstwelt beinhaltet die Arie somit zwar ein Vergleichsmoment der ähnlichen Vertonung von „il ciel s’imbruna“ und „e manca l’arte“. Auf der musikdramaturgischen Ebene verweist der Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Zeilen jedoch nicht auf einen gelehrten, in aller Ruhe angestellten Vergleich, sondern auf die dynamische Situation des Sturms, in dem die konkrete Auswahl und Ausrichtung auf einen Kunstgeschmack nicht unmittelbar möglich ist, sondern von außen gesteuert wird.³⁶

In Händels *Pasticcio* schließt das absteigende Motiv in halben Noten die Oper jedoch nicht nur ab, sondern es eröffnet sie auch. Die nicht näher auf einen bestimmten Komponisten zurückzuführende Sinfonia beginnt mit einem ebenfalls viertönigen absteigenden Motiv, das von zwei Posaunen gespielt wird, nur dass die Notenwerte hier aus Vierteln bestehen, die jeweils von einer Viertelpause unterbrochen werden und dass hier nicht mit Sekund-, Quart- und Nonen-Vorhalten gearbeitet wird, sondern eine einfache T-D-T-D-Struktur unterlegt ist (Notenbeispiel 8.2). Da Vincis Arie „Vò solcando un mar crudele“ ebenfalls im Original Bläserstimmen enthält, ist davon auszugehen, dass Händel sie eventuell zur dramaturgischen Abrundung einsetzte, obwohl in seiner Dirigierpartitur zu *Catone* nur die Streicherversion zu finden ist. Für eine formbezogene Interpretation gibt es zwei weitere Anhaltspunkte: In der Sinfonia werden die absteigenden Viertelnoten gegen Ende des A-Teils in den Oboen durch synkopierte Halbe mit Trillern augmentiert, wobei die zwei Posaunenstimmen wechselseitig Quartvorhalte über einem gehenden Bass beinhalten (Notenbeispiel 8.3). Am Schluss der ersten Periode des B-Teils findet sich zudem ein melodisch-rhythmisches Motiv, das dem entschiedeneren Duktus der Textzeile von „e manca l’arte“ aus der Arie vom Ende des III. Aktes sehr ähnlich ist.³⁷ In dieser Zusammenstellung ergibt sich zwischen der Schlussarie und der Sinfonia eine symmetrische Form, die auf der Verwendung des Viertonmotivs in halben Noten und mit Trillern beruht. Da dieses Motiv in der Sinfonia jedoch erst entwickelt wird und da sich auch die Begleitformeln des Motivs (gehender Bass oder Trommelbass) in der Sinfonia und der Schlussarie unterscheiden, lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass Händel anhand einer rhythmisch herausgehobenen melodischen Formel das Augenmerk der Rezipierenden für die unterschiedlichen harmonischen, rhythmischen und dynamischen Kontexte der

36 Eine Erklärung dieser Interpretation ergibt sich u. a. aus der Rolle der Sängerinnen und Sänger für die Auswahl der Arien, vgl. zur Nieden 2019, „Native“ – „Foreign“, S. 41–43.

37 Händel 1732, *Il Catone Opera*, fol. 7.

Melodie schärfen wollte und dies zwischen der instrumentalen und gesanglichen Wiedergabe des Motivs.

Wie sieht es aber mit diesem bereits in der Sinfonia akzentuierten Viertonmotiv im Verlauf der folgenden, von verschiedenen Komponisten stammenden Arien aus? Auch hier scheint es zunächst, dass die Herkunft der Arien sich nach den jeweiligen Sängerinnen und Sängern richtete, zumal Anna Maria Strada del Pò und Senesino Arien aus Leonardo Leos *Catone* bekamen, die anderen Sängerinnen und Sänger Arien anderer Komponisten (Hasse, Vivaldi, Porpora etc.).³⁸ In der erste Arie „Con si bel nome di fronte“ (von Leo, gesungen von Senesino, I.1) ist in den Oboenstimmen ebenfalls ein absteigendes Motiv in halben Noten über Trommelbässen auf den Stufen der Tonika, Subdominante und Dominante enthalten, das zunächst fünf Töne und dann nur noch drei Töne umfasst (Notenbeispiele 8.4 und 8.5).³⁹ Die Holzbläser kontrastieren dabei mit der schnell absteigenden Achtel-Tonleiter in der Gesangstimme („combatterai più forte“).⁴⁰ Während ein ähnlicher Lauf in der folgenden Arie „Non ti minaccio“ (I.2), die ebenfalls aus Leos *Catone* stammt, im Hinblick auf die Wut weiter ausformuliert wird, ist das Viertonmotiv in halben Noten in der nächsten Arie von Johann Adolf Hasse („Un raggio di speme“, I.3) wieder präsent, und zwar in aufsteigender Form, zunächst als Trillerkette in den Violinen, dann in der Singstimme auf dem Wort „Pace“ in der Zeile „un raggio di speme foriera di Pace“ (Notenbeispiele 8.6 und 8.7). Beide Male wird das Motiv mit einem oszillierenden Bass ausgesetzt.⁴¹ In der nächsten Arie, in der die absteigenden Halben in absteigender Linie wieder auftauchen („Non paventa del mar le procelle“ von Nicola Porpora, I.6) werden sie durch schnell absteigende Läufe auf dem Wort „fidarti“ unterbrochen und durch stufenweise fortschreitende Trommelbässe begleitet (Notenbeispiel 8.8). Bei der Wiederholung des Motivs in derselben Koloratur werden die halben Noten dann auf einen Oktavsprung in zwei Vierteln aufgeteilt (Notenbeispiel 8.9). Im Bild des stürmischen Meeres, um das es auch in dieser Arie geht, stellen die halben Noten somit durchaus eine dramaturgische Verbindung zwischen der Sinfonia und der von Vinci

38 Eine Auflistung der verwendeten Arien und ihrer Herkunft hat Reinhard Strohm etabliert, vgl. Reinhard Strohm, „Catone (HWV A7)“, in: Jacobshagen und Mücke (Hrsg.) 2009, *Händels Opern*, S. 391–392.

39 Händel 1732, *Il Catone Opera*, fol. 12, 15, 17^v–18^r.

40 Ebd., fol. 14.

41 Ebd., fol. 25–27.

stammenden Schlussarie „Vò solcando un mar crudele“ dar. Hierbei ist auch der ähnliche Anfang der Gesangsmelodie in beiden Arien zu beachten.

Die bis zur 6. Szene des I. Akts durchgeführte Analyse zeigt bereits, dass sich das Motiv auch beim Einsatz der nicht von Leo stammenden Arien nie ganz von einer formbezogenen oder dramaturgischen Funktion entfernt. In der Tat rücken durch das Viertonmotiv ganz unterschiedlich große Formteile in den Vordergrund, wie zwischen Sinfonia und Schlussarie, aber auch zwischen Sinfonia und Porporas „Non paventa del mar le procelle“ (I.6), sowie zwischen Leos paarweise angeordneten Arien („Con sì bel nome di fronte“ (I.1) und „Non ti minaccio sdegno“ (I.2)), aber auch zwischen der Sinfonia und Hasses Arie „Un raggio di speme“ (I.3, über die Trillerketten), obwohl die harmonischen und rhythmischen Kontexte vor allem der Bassbegleitung zum Teil ganz andere sind. Insofern ergeben sich aus den zusammengestellten Arien tatsächlich formorientierte Bezüge auf vielen verschiedenen Ebenen. Indem aber so viele Ebenen maßgeblich sind, wird der Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Begleitungen und ihrer musikdramaturgischen Funktionen im Kontext des Viertonmotivs geschärft.

Neben dem kompositorischen Vergleich legte Händel im Pasticcio *Catone* noch zwei weitere Vergleichsdimensionen an: Erstens lassen sich in diesem Pasticcio auch Vergleiche von Arien zu ähnlichen Ausdrucks- und Themenbereichen wie dem stürmischen Meer in ihrer Umsetzung durch verschiedene Komponisten durchführen, wie es sich bei „Non paventa del mar le procelle“ von Porpora und „Vò solcando un mar crudele“ von Vinci andeutet. Zweitens rücken anhand des absteigenden Viertonmotivs in Halben unterbrechende Koloraturen wie die dazwischengeschalteten Läufe in „Non paventa del mar le procelle“ in den Vordergrund. Das Augenmerk auf die gesangliche Virtuosität könnte durch den Abgleich von Instrumental- und Gesangstimmen, in denen das Motiv ausgeführt wird, noch verstärkt worden sein.

Insofern lässt sich folgern, dass Händel durchaus auf einen detaillierten Stilvergleich bedacht war, der ihn für die Weiterentwicklung seiner eigenen Kompositionsästhetik bei der Zusammenstellung von Opernpasticcios auch interessiert haben mag, dass er aber näher an Hogarths Ausrichtung auf das Moment der Abstraktion durch verschiedene Bezugsgrößen der Betrachtung (Symmetrie von Sinfonia und Schlussarie auf der einen Seite, Vergleich des Viertonmotivs über zwei oder auch mehrere Arien hinweg auf der anderen Seite) orientiert war, als an de Piles’ detaillierter Konfrontation disparater Elemente, die verschiedene Stile ausmachten. Und genau dies wollte even-

tuell auch Goupy in seiner Karikatur als Kritik gegenüber Händel äußern, indem er die zunächst disparaten Stilistiken der verschiedenen Objekte immer mehr annäherte und damit den Reiz des gelehrten Vergleichs verloren sah. Wenn Goupy Händel am Ende als ‚allein‘ darstellt, ist dies dementsprechend im Hinblick auf seine Entfernung von den gelehrten Malereidiskursen der Zeit zu verstehen, wie sie bei de Piles ausgeprägt worden waren.

Zwei Schlussfolgerungen lassen sich aus diesen Rekonstruktionen ziehen: Zum einen erscheint Händel anhand der Analyse seiner Pasticcios im Kontext der zeitgenössischen Kunstdiskurse und Karikaturen sehr nah an Hogarths Überlegungen gewesen zu sein. Dies lässt sich eventuell auch dadurch belegen, dass er Georg Philipp Telemann aus England Pflanzen und Blumen schickte, um über sie zu diskutieren, wobei auch Hogarth die Form von Blättern und Blüten zur Demonstration einer perfekten Kombination aus einzelnen Formteilen herangezogen hatte.⁴² Zum anderen zeugt die ausgewählte Arie von Vinci davon, dass er sich über seine Opern möglicherweise aktiv in die empiristisch-aufklärerischen Diskurse seiner Zeit einbrachte, nur eben nicht als rein empirisch vergleichender Wahrnehmender, sondern als kunsttheoretisch überlegter Experimentator der Musiktheaterdramaturgie. In den Pasticcios scheint es dabei nicht zuletzt sein Ziel gewesen zu sein, dramaturgische und sängerisch-performative Dimensionen im Hinblick auf die Geschmacksbildung der Rezipierenden in Einklang zu bringen.

42 Näher dargestellt in Gesa zur Nieden, „Between Dwarfs and Giants. Aesthetics of the Pasticcio between London and Hamburg“, in: *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th Century Europe. Contexts, Materials and Aesthetics*, hrsg. von Berthold Over und Gesa zur Nieden, Bielefeld [2021] (im Druck).

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Marzia

Bc.

il ciel s'im - bru - na, cre - sce il ven -

to e man - ca l'ar - te

Notenbeispiel 8.1: Ausschnitt aus „Vò solcando“, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 155; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

Spiritoso

Oboe I

Oboe II

Tromba in D I

Tromba in D II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Bc.

Notenbeispiel 8.2: Ausschnitt aus Sinfonia, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 1; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

The image displays a musical score for an orchestra, specifically an excerpt from the Sinfonia of *Il Catone Opera*. The score is organized into two systems of staves. The first system covers measures 71 to 75, and the second system covers measures 76 to 80. The instruments listed on the left are Oboe I, Oboe II, Tromba in D I, Tromba in D II, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Bc. (Bassoon), Ob. I, Ob. II, Tr. D I, Tr. D II, V.I (Violoncello I), V.II (Violoncello II), Va. (Viola), and Bc. (Bassoon). The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, trills, and slurs.

Notenbeispiel 8.3: Ausschnitt aus Sinfonia, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA1012, fol. 5^v–6^r; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

Oboe I

Oboe II

Corno di Caccia I

Corno di Caccia II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Catone

Bc.

Notenbeispiel 8.4: Ausschnitt aus „Con si bel nome“, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 12^v; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

Oboe I

Oboe II

Corno di Caccia I

Corno di Caccia II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Catone

Bc.

fi - glio in te.

Notenbeispiel 8.5: Ausschnitt aus „Con si bel nome“, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 17^v-18^r; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Arbace

Bc.

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

53

54

55

56

57

58

59

60

61

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

93

94

95

96

97

98

99

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

129

130

131

132

133

134

135

136

137

138

139

140

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

151

152

153

154

155

156

157

158

159

160

161

162

163

164

165

166

167

168

169

170

171

172

173

174

175

176

177

178

179

180

181

182

183

184

185

186

187

188

189

190

191

192

193

194

195

196

197

198

199

200

201

202

203

204

205

206

207

208

209

210

211

212

213

214

215

216

217

218

219

220

221

222

223

224

225

226

227

228

229

230

231

232

233

234

235

236

237

238

239

240

241

242

243

244

245

246

247

248

249

250

251

252

253

254

255

256

257

258

259

260

261

262

263

264

265

266

267

268

269

270

271

272

273

274

275

276

277

278

279

280

281

282

283

284

285

286

287

288

289

290

291

292

293

294

295

296

297

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

307

308

309

310

311

312

313

314

315

316

317

318

319

320

321

322

323

324

325

326

327

328

329

330

331

332

333

334

335

336

337

338

339

340

341

342

343

344

345

346

347

348

349

350

351

352

353

354

355

356

357

358

359

360

361

362

363

364

365

366

367

368

369

370

371

372

373

374

375

376

377

378

379

380

381

382

383

384

385

386

387

388

389

390

391

392

393

394

395

396

397

398

399

400

401

402

403

404

405

406

407

408

409

410

411

412

413

414

415

416

417

418

419

420

421

422

423

424

425

426

427

428

429

430

431

432

433

434

435

436

437

438

439

440

441

442

443

444

445

446

447

448

449

450

451

452

453

454

455

456

457

458

459

460

461

462

463

464

465

466

467

468

469

470

471

472

473

474

475

476

477

478

479

480

481

482

483

484

485

486

487

488

489

490

491

492

493

494

495

496

497

498

499

500

501

502

503

504

505

506

507

508

509

510

511

512

513

514

515

516

517

518

519

520

521

522

523

524

525

526

527

528

529

530

531

532

533

534

535

536

537

538

539

540

541

542

543

544

545

546

547

548

549

550

551

552

553

554

555

556

557

558

559

560

561

562

563

564

565

566

567

568

569

570

571

572

573

574

575

576

577

578

579

580

581

582

583

584

585

586

587

588

589

590

591

592

593

594

595

596

597

598

599

600

601

602

603

604

605

606

607

608

609

610

611

612

613

614

615

616

617

618

619

620

621

622

623

624

625

626

627

628

629

630

631

632

633

634

635

636

637

638

639

640

641

642

643

644

645

646

647

648

649

650

651

652

653

654

655

656

657

658

659

660

661

662

663

664

665

666

667

668

669

670

671

672

673

674

675

676

677

678

679

680

681

682

683

684

685

686

687

688

689

690

691

692

693

694

695

696

697

698

699

700

701

702

703

704

705

706

707

708

709

710

711

712

713

714

715

716

717

718

719

720

721

722

723

724

725

726

727

728

729

730

731

732

733

734

735

736

737

738

739

740

741

742

743

744

745

746

747

748

749

750

751

752

753

754

755

756

757

758

759

760

761

762

763

764

765

766

767

768

769

770

771

772

773

774

775

776

777

778

779

780

781

782

783

784

785

786

787

788

789

790

791

792

793

794

795

796

797

798

799

800

801

802

803

804

805

806

807

808

809

810

811

812

813

814

815

816

817

818

819

820

821

822

823

824

825

826

827

828

829

830

831

832

833

834

835

836

837

838

839

840

841

842

843

844

845

846

847

848

849

850

851

852

853

854

855

856

857

858

859

860

861

862

863

864

865

866

867

868

869

870

871

872

873

874

875

876

877

878

879

880

881

882

883

884

885

886

887

888

889

890

891

892

893

894

895

896

897

898

899

900

901

902

903

904

905

906

907

908

909

910

911

912

913

914

915

916

917

918

919

920

921

922

923

924

925

926

927

928

929

930

931

932

933

934

935

936

937

938

939

940

941

942

943

944

945

946

947

948

949

950

951

952

953

954

955

956

957

958

959

960

961

962

963

964

965

966

967

968

969

970

971

972

973

974

975

976

977

978

979

980

981

982

983

984

985

986

987

988

989

990

991

992

993

994

995

996

997

998

999

1000

Notenbeispiel 8.6: Ausschnitt aus „Un raggio di speme“, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 25r; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Arbace

Bc.

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

53

54

55

56

57

58

59

60

61

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

93

94

95

96

97

98

99

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

129

130

131

132

133

134

135

136

137

138

139

140

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

151

152

153

154

155

156

157

158

159

160

161

162

163

164

165

166

167

168

169

170

171

172

173

174

175

176

177

178

179

180

181

182

183

184

185

186

187

188

189

190

191

192

193

194

195

196

197

198

199

200

201

202

203

204

205

206

207

208

209

210

211

212

213

214

215

216

217

218

219

220

221

222

223

224

225

226

227

228

229

230

231

232

233

234

235

236

237

238

239

240

241

242

243

244

245

246

247

248

249

250

251

252

253

254

255

256

257

258

259

260

261

262

263

264

265

266

267

268

269

270

271

272

273

274

275

276

277

278

279

280

281

282

283

284

285

286

287

288

289

290

291

292

293

294

295

296

297

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

307

308

309

310

311

312

313

314

315

316

317

318

319

320

321

322

323

324

325

326

327

328

329

330

331

332

333

334

335

336

337

338

339

340

341

342

343

344

345

346

347

348

349

350

351

352

353

354

355

356

357

358

359

360

361

362

363

364

365

366

367

368

369

370

371

372

373

374

375

376

377

378

379

380

381

382

383

384

385

386

387

388

389

390

391

392

393

394

395

396

397

398

399

400

401

402

403

404

405

406

407

408

409

410

Cesare

fi - dar - - - - - (ti)

Bc.

Notenbeispiel 8.8: Ausschnitt aus „Non paventa“, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 38; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

Cesare

(mar.)

Bc.

Notenbeispiel 8.9: Ausschnitt aus „Non paventa“, *Il Catone Opera*, London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 40; edition.pasticcio-project.eu

BARBARA SEGAL

The Contribution of Dance and Pantomime to London's Musical Culture

Throughout the long eighteenth century, dance in its various guises was arguably the most popular attraction on the English stage and seems often to have been used as a lure to get people into the theatre to see a play or an opera. An evening at the playhouse was quite different from one today. One might listen to half an hour of instrumental music while the audience was entering the playhouse, before the curtain rose. After a prologue, the first act of the play would commence – maybe some grand tragedy, such as *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*. At the end of the first act, there might be a comic scene with Harlequin and Scaramouche, doing a short comedy routine in dance and mime – it would not matter in the least that the mood of the comedy did not quite match that of the tragic play. And thus the evening would proceed, with a great variety of entr'acte (or interlude) entertainments interspersed between all the acts of the play – dances, singing, comic interludes, instrumental music, even occasionally rope walking and strange animals. When the play, or main-piece, was finally over, an epilogue would follow, then there would usually be an afterpiece, or maybe even two – a pantomime, a ballet, a farce, or perhaps an opera, *Dido & Aeneas*, for instance. An evening at the theatre provided a far greater variety of entertainments than is the case today and much of this entertainment was in the form of dance.

However, while it was generally acknowledged that dance was an important contributor to the finances of the theatre, the dancers and dancing masters themselves were not altogether happy with this ancillary role: many wanted to see dance as an art in its own right. This was a theme that ran through the whole development of dance through the long eighteenth century; how to get away from the 'fairground' element with which it had

become inevitably associated in the popular theatre. It is the aim of this paper, first, to call to mind how dance in its various guises was central to the musical culture in England in the Restoration and Early Georgian Period and second, to point out some reasons why this central role was (wrongfully) marginalised even then – with effects on our view of dance in this period persisting to the present day.¹

I. The demand for dance on the stage

In the late seventeenth and early years of the eighteenth centuries, stage dancing was most frequently to be seen among the medley of entertainments between the acts and at the end of a play. Interlude dancing may sound a trivial affair, entertaining the audience while the actors changed costumes or sets, but as early as 1699 Claude Ballon, the most fashionable dancer at the Paris Opera and Chancellor of the Académie Royale de Danse, was enticed to perform in London for five weeks for the enormous sum of 400 guineas, a fee unheard of for actors of the time.² Ballon also performed for the King, William III, at Kensington Palace, dancing with his compatriot Anthony L'Abbé, who remained in London, eventually becoming court dancing master there. L'Abbé composed "The Loure" (figure 9.1),³ a virtuoso dance for two men, which was performed by Ballon and L'Abbé for William III in London in 1699.

Interlude dances were extremely varied, comprising elegant and virtuoso French dancing, comic dancing (including those performed by commedia characters), hornpipes, national-style dances, country dances and more. Dances and dancers were often advertised on playbills. For example, figure 9.2 shows a playbill dating from 1718 for a drama by John Fletcher first staged in 1624 and revived for the Restoration stage in 1697. This playbill clearly indicates that there will be "Entertainments of Singing and Dancing".

1 Editorial annotation: It is intentional that this paper does not delve more deeply into the intimate aesthetic relationship between music and dance but gives a broader overview of the various areas where dance was essential. This is in order to emphasize the function which bodily motion, namely dance brings to sound rather than simply to be an adjunct to sound. After all, dance not only called for specific music to ensure the appreciation of movement but, taking a less accustomed perspective, made sure that composers were ordered to produce dance music in the first place.

2 Jennifer Thorp, "Dance in the London Theatres 1700–1750", in *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250–1750*, ed. Jennifer Nevile, Bloomington 2008, pp. 136–152.

3 Anthony L'Abbé, *A New Collection of Dances*, ed. F. le Roussau, London [c. 1725], p. 1.

Figure 9.1: Anthony L'Abbé, "The Loure" (c. 1725); Universität Salzburg, Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, DdM 4718

The great popularity of dance made it fundamental to the economics of running a theatre.⁴ When in 1699 the talented and popular young dancer Susanna Evans suddenly died, the management of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre was seriously worried about the effect this would have on the finan-

⁴ Cf. Judith Milhous, "The Economics of Theatrical Dance in Eighteenth-Century London", in *Theatre Journal* 55 / 3 (2003), pp. 481–508.

Figure 9.2: Playbill for Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1718); © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

ces of the theatre, no matter that William Congreve's masterpiece, *The Way of the World*, was premiered that season.⁵ Interval entertainments were of such importance that they sometimes took precedence over the plays. An advertisement from 1703 for Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre nicely illustrates

5 Curtis A. Price, "...to make amends for One ill Dance". Conventions for Dancing in Restoration Plays", in *Dance Research Journal* 10 / 1 (1977 / 1978), pp. 1–6, p. 1.

this point: it lists many songs and dances for a performance of Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*. The advertisement ends: "By reason of the Entertainments, the Play will be shortnd".⁶

Not only was dance important for the financial stability of the theatre, it was also a significant source of revenue for musicians, as the demand from the public for dance led in turn to a demand for suitable accompanying music. As 'house composer' for several London theatres, Henry Purcell wrote music for many of the dances within plays, in addition to composing songs, act tunes and overtures. His financial return for this activity is likely to have been a significant component of his income although unfortunately, it is difficult to determine his exact remuneration as much of the musical activity at Dorset Garden and other theatres was cross-subsidised through court appointments.⁷ Later, in the 1690s, Daniel Purcell was house composer for Drury Lane Theatre and John Eccles for Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, where composing music for dances appears to have been a significant component of their employment.⁸

Beginning in the 1670s in England, there developed a taste for 'dramatic operas,' or semi-operas, in which a play was combined with music, song, dance and spectacle in an integrated fashion, as well as interludes of mostly dance and song between all the acts. Among the earliest was William Davenant's re-working of William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* at Dorset Garden in 1673, with "new Cloath's, new scenes, machines, as flying for the witches, and all the singing and dancing in it [...] being in the nature of an opera."⁹ The music was by Matthew Locke and the dances were choreographed by Luke Channell and Josias Priest. The drama and all the songs were in English, and the expressive dancing was integrated into the action.

The libretti of these operas usually featured gods and heroes, along with supernatural themes as in *Psyche* (1675, Thomas Shadwell), *Circe* (1675, Davenant), *Dioclesian (or The Prophetess)* (1690, Thomas Betterton), *King Arthur*

6 Quoted in Emmett Avery, "Dancing and Pantomime on the English Stage, 1700–1737", in *Studies in Philology* 31 / 3 (1934), pp. 417–452, p. 419.

7 Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood, "Come, Ye Sons of Art – Again. Court Cross-Subsidy for Purcell's Opera Orchestra, 1690–1695", in *Early Music* 37 / 3 (2009), pp. 445–466.

8 Cf. Emmett Avery and Arthur Scouten, *The London Stage. A Critical Introduction*, vol. 1, 1660–1700, Carbondale 1968, p. cxviii. Daniel Purcell includes dances in his *Judgement of Paris*, while John Eccles has music for dances in his collection *Theater Musick. Being a Collection of the Newest Ayres for the Violin*, 3 vols., London 1698–1700.

9 John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, London 1708, p. 33. Quoted in Jennifer Thorp, "Dance in Operas in London, 1673–1685", in *Dance Research* 33 / 2 (2015), p. 95.

(1691, John Dryden) and *The Fairy Queen* (1692, anonymous, possibly Betterton). The last three are now much better known for the inclusion of substantial quantities of very fine music by Henry Purcell. Less well-known is that in Purcell's day, dance in one form or another was a substantial feature of all these works. In the case of the Purcell operas, music to accompany dances may have amounted to as much as one third of the score.¹⁰

Priest, as choreographer for the *Fairy Queen*, as well as for *Dioclesian* and *King Arthur*, is likely to have played a significant role in the original staging. It is unfortunate that we have no record of the original choreographies and can only infer the nature of the dances (along with staging details) from existing stage directions in the libretti or score, or from other general information such as the almost four hundred extant notated choreographies from within the period of this publication, 1670–1750.¹¹ *Albion and Albanius* (music by Louis Grabu and words by Dryden) was performed at Dorset Garden in 1685 and in one scene, there were no fewer than 24 dancers.¹² While there would have been many solo and duo dances, numbers of these dancers would have been used in tableaux, or as 'movable scenery'. For instance, in *The Fairy Queen*, stage directions incorporated into the original manuscript indicate how rows of trees move to make arches, dragons form bridges over rivers, swans are seen swimming then transform themselves into fairies and dance.¹³ The stage directions suggest that many of the 'scenic elements' – trees, statues, bridges, swans and so on – were created by using the physical bodies of the dancers themselves (no doubt suitably costumed). This makes many of the transformations implied by stage directions such as the following, intelligible and relatively easy to implement:

10 Of the 59 numbered items in the *Fairy Queen* score (ed. Clifford Bartlett, Huntingdon 1994), 11 are explicitly labelled as dances. Given that dance is also likely to have been featured during the *ritornelli*, act tunes and other introductory sections, as much as a third of the musical content may have involved dance of one sort or another. Some support for this view is given by Michael Burden, "To repeat (or not to repeat)? Dance cues in Restoration English Opera", in *Early Music* 35 / 3 (2007), pp. 397–417, p. 408, where he states that "Close reading of the operas appears to indicate that there was more dancing than even the already copious amounts suggested by the printed sources."

11 See Meredith Ellis Little and Carol Marsh, *La Danse Noble. An Inventory of Dances and Sources*, Williamstown 1992. Although most of these choreographies are ostensibly for ball-room display, they frequently reference the theatre dances from which they are assumed to have been derived.

12 See Thorp 2015, "Dance in Operas", p. 119.

13 See Purcell [1692] 1994, *The Fairy Queen*.

While a Symphony's Playing, the two Swans come Swimming on through the Arches to the bank of the River, as if they would Land; there turn themselves into Fairies, and Dance; at the same time the Bridge vanishes, and the Trees that were Arch'd, raise themselves upright.¹⁴

Lighting in the theatres at this time would have been provided only by candles and therefore quite low, aiding the creation of such transformational illusions.

With their inclusion of dance and elaborate staging as important elements, these multi-media dramatic operas were in a sense, carrying on the tradition of the old English court masques. The new Dorset Garden Theatre was the perfect venue for them. It opened in 1671 and was a most splendid theatre: no expense had been spared in its building – it cost £9,000 – many times that of its rival theatre in Drury Lane.¹⁵ To complement the lavish décor of the theatre, the actor-manager Thomas Betterton went to Paris to gather ideas and to recruit the best French dancers.

Betterton's visit to Paris was motivated by the fact that stage dancing in England had become moribund during the period of Oliver Cromwell and the dominance of Puritan sentiment of the preceding decades. At the same time, a new highly-stylised form of dance had been developing in Paris. This was known as *belle danse* or noble dance and was quite different from the group country dances and the solo jigs and hornpipes then popular in England. It could require a great deal of virtuosity – many of these dances are challenging, even for a trained dancer today. French dancers had been seen in England soon after the Restoration and many, such as L'Abbé, remained in England performing, choreographing and teaching the new French style to English dancers.¹⁶

The popularity of dance on the London stage remained undimmed throughout the eighteenth century. For example, the Duchess of Marlborough recounted an interesting event that took place in London in 1735:

The famous dancing woman (I do not know her name) in the opera, the audience were so excessive fond of her that they hollered out "encor" several times to

¹⁴ Ibid., Act III, p. 54.

¹⁵ William van Lennep, Emmett Avery and Arthur Scouten, *The London Stage 1660–1800. A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment*, vol. 1, 1660–1700, Carbondale 1965, p. xxix.

¹⁶ Moira Goff, "Dancing-Masters in Early Eighteenth-Century London", in *Historical Dance* 3 / 3 (1994), pp. 17–23.

have her dance over again, which she could not do, because as she was coming on again, the King [George II] made a violent motion with his hand that she should not. At last the dispute was so violent that to put an end to it, the curtain was let down, whereby the spectators lost all after the third act.¹⁷

This event is known to have taken place during a performance at Covent Garden of George Frideric Handel's opera *Alcina*, and the famous dancing woman was Marie Sallé, one of the most popular of the French dancers performing in London that season. Because the King did not allow a repeat of Sallé's dance, the whole of the rest of Handel's opera had to be abandoned.

In the eighteenth century, the fashion arose for putting on an afterpiece at the conclusion of a play. This could be a farce, a pantomime, a ballet or a musical entertainment. These afterpieces were significantly longer than the interlude entertainments and could last up to an hour or more. The afterpiece was in addition to the interlude entertainments, which became even more numerous, while the afterpieces often had their own interludes.

An example of an afterpiece is Purcell's (semi-)opera *Dido and Aeneas* (1689), created in collaboration with the choreographer Priest. The first public performance in a theatre of *Dido and Aeneas* was in 1700, presented as an afterpiece although for this first performance, it was unceremoniously chopped into parts, with each part inserted between the acts of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. It is also worth remembering that maybe half of *Dido and Aeneas* comprised dance items, many of which have been lost. The so-called 'Priest libretto' of 1688 mentions no fewer than seventeen dances.¹⁸ Even assuming each dance took only two minutes, that would be 34 minutes of dancing in *Dido and Aeneas* – a third or more of the entire work (giving a performance time as an afterpiece of well over an hour).

17 Letter from Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, to her Granddaughter Diana Russell, Duchess of Bedford, 24 June 1735, quoted in Sarah McCleave, *Dance in Handel's London Operas*, Rochester 2013, p. 1.

18 Nahum Tate, *An Opera Perform'd at Mr. Josias Priest's Boarding-School at Chelsey. By Young Gentlewomen*, GB-Lcm D144. A facsimile can be found in Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. Margaret Laurie, Kent 1979, pp. xiii–xx. See also Andrew R. Walkling, "The Masque of Actaeon and the Antimasque of Mercury. Dance, Dramatic Structure, and Tragic Exposition in *Dido and Aeneas*", in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63 / 2 (2010), pp. 191–242; Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, Oxford 1994, p. 199, and Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, Cambridge 1984, p. 239.

II. The demand for dance in the ballroom

Thomas Bray, dancing master at both Dorset Garden and Drury Lane Theatres, published his collection of *Country Dances* in 1699.¹⁹ Bray's country dances were likely first performed on the stage by actors in the company; most had more intricate patterns than the standard ballroom country dance repertoire of the time. Several of the tunes in Bray's collection of country dances were in fact by Henry Purcell. Playing for social dancing, in addition to the accompaniment of stage dancing, provided an important and lucrative source of employment for many musicians. It is now generally accepted that the so-called English country dances were, throughout the eighteenth century, strictly the preserve of the upper classes or gentry, not rustic 'folk' dancers as the terminology might suggest.²⁰ Formal balls were a regular feature of their social life and, apart from giving employment to many musicians, they also generated a demand for printed music as dance accompaniment, along with the corresponding dance choreographies.²¹ At formal balls, before these sociable country dances could be enjoyed, one had to run the gauntlet of the more formal French courante, later replaced by the minuet. Being proficient in the courante or minuet was necessary to show that you belonged to elite society; it was used as a class identifier.

In addition to Bray's collection of country dances, those of John and Henry Playford contained many dances set to the tunes of Henry Purcell. Some 32 country dances that appeared during the late seventeenth century have been identified as having music by Purcell.²² It would not be unreasonable to suggest that it was through dance that much of the wider public gained experience of his music.

Balls were so popular they were even used to increase revenues at the opera house; finances there were always precarious. As early as 1710, the

19 Thomas Bray, *Country Dances Being a Composition Entirely New. And the Whole Cast Different from all that Have yet Been Publish'd. With Bass and Treble to Each Dance. Also, the Newest French Dances in Use, Entries, Genteel and Grotesque, Chacons, Rigodoons, Minuets, and other Dancing Tunes*, London 1699.

20 The courtly origins of 'country dance' are explored in Keith Whitlock, "John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* 1650 / 51 as Cultural Politics", in *Folk Music Journal* 7 / 5 (1999), pp. 548–578.

21 John and Henry Playford's *Dancing Master* was into its 11th edition by 1701, and many similar publications followed throughout the eighteenth century.

22 Nicholas M. Broadbridge and Marjorie Fennessey, *Purcell's Dancing Master*, Kirkfieldbank 1997, p. 13.

Swiss impresario Jacob Heidegger initiated masquerade balls at the King's Theatre. These expensive but highly lucrative events generally took place after the evening's opera was over (figure 9.3). This practice continued for much of the eighteenth century.

Figure 9.3: Giuseppe Grisoni, *A Masquerade Ball at the Kings Theatre, Haymarket, the 'Opera House'* (c. 1724); © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

III. The ill-consequences for opera of abandoning dance

As is well known, Italian opera began to be staged in London from the early eighteenth century. Unlike the 'dramatic opera,' these had no spoken words. They entirely abandoned the spoken drama, much to the dislike of the playwrights and actors of the day, who feared that music might completely displace poetry in the theatre. What is seldom considered however, is that thirteen of the twenty-one Italian operas produced in London between 1705

and 1719 had dancing, either dances proper to the story or as interludes or both.²³

In 1719, the Royal Academy of Music was founded in London by a group of nobles and Handel was appointed “Master of the Orchestra”, in addition to being one of the principal composers – twelve of his operas were staged under this company over the ensuing years. The directors also intended to hire the most fashionable dancing master in London, L’Abbé, together with a large troupe of dancers, and they were prepared to pay a considerable sum for this.²⁴ Despite these good intentions, however, it seems that the Royal Academy rather neglected the dancing, possibly because, as John Rich claimed in 1727, the importation of foreign singers consumed such a large proportion of any budget:

[...] it is evident, that the vast Expence of procuring Foreign Voices, does necessarily exclude those various Embellishments of Machinery, Painting, Dances, as well as Poetry itself, which have been always esteemed [...] Auxiliaries absolutely necessary to the Success of Music; and, without which, it cannot be long supported, unless by very great Subscriptions, of which we naturally grow tired in a few Years. It seems therefore, the only Way in which Music can be establish’d in *England*, is to give it those Assurances from other Arts which it yet wants, and by that Means to adapt it still more to the Public Taste; to moderate, as much as possible, the Expence of it, and thereby to make it a general Diversion, which hitherto it has not been.²⁵

If there is any truth in Rich’s statement, then it implies that the relative absence of dance in the Academy Opera may have been a significant contributor to its decreasing popularity and eventual decline. At the foundation of the company in 1719, L’Abbé’s original budget for dancers had been £1,000 (increased from an initial £520), but even at this stage the total budget had topped £12,000 and the proposal to include dancers was abandoned, almost certainly because of the huge cost of maintaining such a company, in which fees to leading Italian singers consumed most of the available budgets.²⁶

23 McCleave 2013, *Dance in Handel’s London Operas*, p. 23.

24 Ibid, p. 48.

25 John Rich, Preface to *The Rape of Proserpine*, London 1727, facsimile reproduced as Appendix 1 in Berta Joncus and Jeremy Barlow (eds.), *“The Stage’s Glory.” John Rich, 1692–1761*, Newark 2011.

26 London Public Record Office LC / 7 / 3, fols. 46–47, quoted in Thorp 2008, “Dance in the London Theatres”, p. 141.

That dance was less valued by the Academy is borne out by the fact that, unlike singers, dancers were never named in librettos; they were “conceived as an adjunct, a decoration to the opera.”²⁷ Moreover, for the 1720–1721 season, Milhous estimates that “each of the three leading singers is down for a salary larger than the entire budget for an unknown number of dancers.”²⁸

In 1728, the critic James Ralph wrote of the Academy operas:

The Whole being Meer Musick, not diversify'd with Grand Chorusses, Dancing, Machinery, and all the other Theatrical Embellishments, which are look'd upon as the very Limbs of the Body of an Opera; which it not only allows, but demands; and so essential are they to its Nature, that the Neglect of them shews us at best but a lame, imperfect Figure.²⁹

The attempt of the Academy Opera to establish a form of ‘pure’ opera finally failed in 1729 and the company was disbanded.³⁰

IV. Dance and the English pantomime

Charles Burney later echoed the sentiments of the above two quotations from Rich and Ralph. In his *General History of Music* (1771), he states that opera is “the completest concert”, since it can provide “such dancing as a playhouse, with its inferior prices, is seldom able to furnish.”³¹ Half a century earlier, however, the playhouse of Rich may well have satisfied Burney’s requirements for providing “the completest concert”.

Rich took over the management of Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre in 1714. Both Lincoln’s Inn and Drury Lane were wholly commercial ventures and thus dependent on a paying audience for their survival. Rich knew that Drury Lane had a much stronger cast of actors than he had, so to counter this he staged a large number of interlude dances. He usually had about twenty

27 Milhous 2003, “The Economics of Theatrical Dance”, in *Theatre Journal* 55 / 3 (2003), p.500.

28 Ibid, p. 499.

29 James Ralph, *The Touch-Stone. Or, Historical, Critical, Political, Philosophical, and Theological Essays on the Reigning Diversions of the Town*, London 1728, p.20, quoted in McCleave 2013, *Dance in Handel’s London Operas*, p. 185.

30 This is not to say that opera stopped altogether of course but that the big venture of the Royal Academy failed. On the further development of opera on the English stage cf. for example Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel’s Britain*, New York 2013.

31 Charles Burney, *General History of Music*, vol.2, London 1771, pp.226–227, quoted in McCleave 2013, *Dance in Handel’s London Operas*, p. 49.

dancers on the payroll, comprising 25% of the performer budget.³² The dancing interludes proved so popular that Drury Lane started to lose custom, and was forced to respond in kind.

However, Rich also wanted to promote opera, and he believed that one way of increasing the popularity of Italian-style opera in London was to have it sung in English. This would also avoid paying the exorbitant cost of foreign singers. Such thoughts led Rich to concentrate on perfecting the English pantomime. The drama that had been an essential part of the dramatic operas was abandoned, but the serious opera was kept (and always sung in English), together with much dancing, amazing special effects and dazzling costumes – and to this mix was added an English version of the *commedia dell'arte*.³³

Although Rich was not the first to produce a pantomime, he developed them to spectacular heights, becoming known as the “God of Pantomimes, Jubilees and Installations.”³⁴ The combination of the serious and the comic – which had a long tradition in England – proved to be sensationally popular. This popularity can be gauged not only by the very large number of performances, but also from the fact that ticket sales usually quadrupled on nights when a pantomime was being performed after the main-piece.³⁵ Moreover they appealed to every class of society, from the King and Queen down to the London apprentices.

The comic part of the pantomime was basically an English adaptation of Italian *commedia dell'arte*. It was performed entirely in dumb show – no speech, just dance and mime. It was this lack of speech in the English *commedia* that made it very different from its Italian counterpart, where speech was the mainstay of the show.

Harlequin was the hero of the comic part; he was typically a virtuoso dancer and a comic mime. He was usually presented as having some magical power, which enabled him to transform either himself, another person or his environment into something completely different. The comic part of the

32 See Robert D. Hume, “John Rich as Manager and Entrepreneur”, in Joncus and Barlow (eds.) 2011, *“The Stage’s Glory”*, pp. 29–60, p. 49.

33 Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1986, pp. 67–93.

34 David Williams, *A Letter to David Garrick, Esq. on his Conduct as Principal Manager and Actor at Drury Lane*, London 1772, quoted in Hume 2011, “John Rich”, p. 54, n. 196.

35 For the box-office figures, see Paul Sawyer, “The Popularity of Various Types of Entertainment at Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Covent Garden Theatres, 1720–1733”, in *Theatre Notebook* 24 (1970), pp. 154–163. See also Hume 2011, “John Rich as Manager and Entrepreneur”, pp. 47–48.

pantomime was full of parody and subversive behaviour – Harlequin always triumphed, no matter how immoral or politically incorrect his behaviour. Perhaps the most famous eighteenth century Harlequin was Rich himself (figure 9.4), performing under the stage name of “Lun”.

Figure 9.4: (Artist unknown), *Arlequin – Rich* (1753); © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

There was music throughout the comic part, called the 'comic tunes'. This music was usually published separately, thus providing yet another potential revenue stream for the theatre composers.³⁶ The serious part of the pantomime likewise required a large amount of music, generally combined with both singing and dancing, the singing usually telling the story of the pantomime. The serious part was based on some mythological story, with Gods and Heroes. It could involve mainly dancing, with dances in the highly stylised French belle danse style, mainly singing, or a combination of both.

The performance of Italian-style opera within Rich's pantomimes was not a second-rate affair. It was Rich's policy to use the best musicians, singers and composers available, including, on occasion, some who also worked for the Opera at the Kings Theatre. The singing was of Italian-style opera arias and recitatives (all in English). The best dancers and choreographers of the day were also employed, including one of the two most famous female dancers from the Paris Opera in the first half of the eighteenth century, Marie Sallé.

Although virtuosic French dance had usually been very popular in London, the English had a slightly different approach to dance. Dancers in Paris were generally masked, thereby limiting their means of expression; they were famous for their entrechats and multiple pirouettes, but one dancing master, John Weaver, dismissed this as mere acrobatics, not a true art that exhibited meaning and passion.³⁷ London was not saddled with the strict rules of the Académie Royale de Danse in Paris which prescribed exactly which steps and dances could be done. Dancers in London had much more freedom to experiment with new dance steps, styles and rhythms, and with more expression. However, the virtuosity of the French style of dancing always remained very popular in London throughout the century, despite Weaver's reservations. As with the comic part, the serious part of pantomimes was also very popular, and they were instrumental in bringing many English singers onto the stage.

36 For a discussion of the comic tunes and their publication see Fiske ²1986, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 67–87. See also Clive G. Chapman, *English Pantomime and its Music, 1700–1730*, PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London 1981; Judith Milhous, "Hasse's Comic Tunes. Some Dancers and Dance Music on the London Stage, 1740–1759", in *Dance Research* 2 (1984), pp. 41–55.

37 Richard Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver. An Account of His Life, Writings and Theatrical Productions*, London 1985.

Rich's first pantomime "mixt with Singing", *Jupiter and Europa; or, the Intrigues of Harlequin*, was staged by Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1723 and has been credited with marking the start of a new revival for English stage music.³⁸ The singers in *Jupiter and Europa* were Richard Leveridge, John Laguerre and Isabella Chambers,³⁹ and Rich played his usual Harlequin role. John Galliard composed the music for the serious part of *Jupiter and Europa*, and also for many other pantomimes at Rich's theatres. It is not always easy to establish who composed the comic tunes – Galliard most likely composed several, Thomas Augustine Arne wrote some for the *Rape of Proserpine* (1727). At Drury Lane, Henry Carey wrote the music for *The Miser* (1726), and he and Richard Jones composed many more for that theatre.

While some of the vocal and instrumental music from these stage shows survives today, very little of the music that accompanied the serious dancing remains extant, maybe because the dancers used repeats of chorus tunes,⁴⁰ or possibly because they used dances (and music) from previous shows, even perhaps those from the Paris Opera, with the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully and André Campra⁴¹ – baggage dances, rather like the baggage arias of fashionable singers.

V. Attitudes toward pantomime

Not surprisingly, there was a lot of opposition to pantomime from the playwrights of the day. They were appalled by the popularity of pantomimes, and they thought that the constant interruptions undermined the seriousness of their dramas. For this reason, when one reads an unfavourable account of a pantomime one must bear in mind that the critics were usually also playwrights and therefore biased against pantomimes. They were affronted by the fact that audiences preferred what theatre manager Colley Cibber referred to as "monstrous Medlies"⁴² and "Fooleries"⁴³ to their own worthy dramas. In 1731, an anonymous writer in *The Universal Spectator* bemoaned

38 For the quotation and more on this topic see Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "'Heathen Gods and Heroes': Singers and John Rich's Pantomimes at Lincoln Inn Fields", in Joncus and Barlow (eds.) 2011, *The Stage's Glory*, pp. 157–168.

39 Ibid., p. 159–160.

40 Burden 2007, "To repeat (or not to repeat)?".

41 Moira Goff, "John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes", in Joncus and Barlow (eds.) 2011, *The Stage's Glory*, pp. 85–98, pp. 93–94.

42 Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, London 1740, p. 299.

43 Ibid., p. 300.

the fact that “the most applauded Pieces for some years past in our Theatres, have not been the Composition of *Poets*, but of *Dancing Masters*.”⁴⁴ Henry Fielding was another such playwright critic. In 1736, he wrote *Pasquin*, a satirical attack on both politics and pantomimes, and in 1744, *Tumble-Down Dick*, whose satirical title page (figure 9.5) reveals much about his attitude towards pantomime: “TUMBLE-DOWN DICK: OR, PHAETON in the SUDS. A Dramatick Entertainment of Walking, in Serious and Foolish Characters. Interlarded with Burlesque, Grotesque, Comick Interludes, CALL’D HARLEQUIN A PICKPOCKET.”

Despite this apparent hostility on the part of authors, attitudes of theatre managers towards pantomime were ambivalent; however much they might deplore these “monstrous Medlies” and “Fooleries”, pantomime was a financial necessity for the staging of ‘pure’ drama. In *Tumble-Down Dick*, when Fustian, an author, complains about the first and fifth act of Shakespeare’s *Othello* being cut out to leave more time for the pantomime, the Prompter reminds him that “this gentleman [Machine, composer of the pantomime] brings more money to the house, than all the poets put together.”⁴⁵

Numerous further examples might be quoted showing the opposition of writers to the dominance of pantomime on the London stage, such as the satirical poem *Harlequin Horace* (1731) by James Miller, or the many illustrations by William Hogarth around the same theme. Hogarth’s *Masquerades and Operas* (c. 1724) is a typical representation of this opposition to pantomime by purveyors of high art (figure 9.6).

On the right of the drawing, you see people going in to see a pantomime, *Harlequin Dr. Faustus*, at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Harlequin enticing them in from the balcony. On the left you see people going in to a masquerade ball at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, after an Italian Opera had been performed, led by a satyr and a fool. The words at the bottom mourn the fact that “the English Stage [is now] Debauched by fool’ries, at so great a cost”. In the middle of the illustration is a wheelbarrow containing the works of Shakespeare, Dryden, Ben Johnson and Congreve; at the top of the wheelbarrow is a sign with the words “Waste Paper for Shops”. The man leaning out of the window is thought to be Heidegger – the manager of the opera house.⁴⁶ The

44 *The Universal Spectator*, 10 April 1731, quoted in Avery and Scouten 1968, *The London Stage 1700–1729*, p. clxxv (original emphasis).

45 Henry Fielding, *Tumble-Down Dick Or, Phaeton in the Suds*, London 1744, p. 396.

46 Cf. Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician*, Ashgate 2005, p. 3.

TUMBLE-DOWN DICK:

OR,

PHAETON in the SUDS.

A Dramatick Entertainment of Walking, in
Serious and Foolish Characters.

Interlarded with

Burlesque, Grotesque, Comick Interludes,

CALL'D

HARLEQUIN A PICKPOCKET.

As it is performed at the

NEW THEATRE in the HAY-MARKET.

Being ('tis hoped) the last Entertainment that will
ever be exhibited on any Stage.

Invented by the Ingenious

MONSIEUR SANS ESPRIT.

The Mufick compos'd by the Harmonious

SIGNIOR WARBLERINI.

And the Scenes painted by the Prodigious

MYNHEER VAN BOTTOM-FLAT.

Monstr' horrend' inform.—

First acted in 1744.

C c 2

Figure 9.5: Title page of Henry Fielding's *Tumble-Down Dick* (1744); author's copy

Figure 9.6: William Hogarth, *Masquerades and Operas, Burlington Gate* (c. 1724); © The Trustees of the British Museum

real problem, one might argue, was not so much that pantomime was low-brow but that its popularity and financial success threatened the ‘purity’ of other theatre arts – in particular, poetry and music.

VI. Towards an independent dance theatre

The art most closely related to music during the period in question was undoubtedly dance. Its popularity in the theatre ensured that there was employment for musicians, both as composers and performers. The same was true for the ballroom, where the popularity of social dancing ensured the employment of many musicians, along with the dancing masters. Even in the home, publication of dance manuals along with transcriptions of the music – usually just for keyboard – created an important market for composers and the associated publishers.

Dance as a 'theatre art' – that is, dance open to the public at large, outside the restricted confines of the court or ballroom – became firmly established on the London stage in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Over the succeeding decades it became an exceedingly popular component of most forms of theatre, including drama and opera. Despite this popularity, however, it struggled to define itself and to be accepted as a serious art form comparable, say, to music, poetry or painting.

One problem peculiar to the art of dance in its bid to gain entry into the pantheon of the arts was its ephemeral nature. The introduction of a notational system⁴⁷ at the end of the seventeenth century offered hopes of countering this problem and of promoting dance to a higher status. In 1714, Richard Steele reported: "I am mightily pleased to observe, that the Art of Dancing is, of late, come to take Rank in the Learned World, by being communicated in Letters and Characters, as all other parts of Knowledge have for some Ages been."⁴⁸

Another contribution toward this goal was the theoretical writings of John Weaver.⁴⁹ Weaver was not only a dance historian, but also a teacher, and dancing master at Drury Lane Theatre in the early eighteenth century. He was the chief proponent of dance as a high art but believed that in order to establish itself as a worthy art-form, it must rid itself of its dependence on other disciplines. Weaver wanted to introduce a kind of danced drama where a story was told only through the use of dance and mime, with no spoken word, and no singing. His first production, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (1717), was called "A Dramatick Entertainment of Dance, Attempted in Imitation of the Pantomimes of the Ancient Greeks and Romans". This production is often referred to as the first ballet d'action, that is, ballet where mimed action replaces all words.⁵⁰ His best productions featured plots and mimed acting instead of the then-popular displays of technical virtuosity. In this sense, Weaver was an important precursor of Jean-Georges Noverre and Gasparo Angiolini, innovative choreographers who, later in the eighteenth century, would demand unity of plot, choreography and decor in their ballets d'action.

47 For an example of dance in this new notational system see [figure 9.1](#).

48 Richard Steele, *The Lover*, No. 4, 4 March 1714. Cited in Richard Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, London 1985, p. 108.

49 Weaver's theoretical publications are reproduced in *ibid*.

50 For Weaver and the *ballet d'action*, see Richard Ralph, "Weaver's Contribution to European Ballet", in Ralph 1985, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, p. 84.

Weaver's "Dramatick Entertainments" enjoyed only a modest success, however. One reason for this lack of popularity may have lain in his belief that to have dance accepted as a high art, it must be pruned of both its comedic and its virtuosic elements. In the previous few centuries, courtiers had danced in private theatrical performances – the court masques. Included within the masque but differentiated from the high status dances of the nobility was the anti-masque, with dances that exhibited both technical virtuosity and comedy. The latter had been performed by professional dancers, performers of a much lower social status than the aristocratic courtiers. Was this association of both virtuoso dance and comedy with lower class professionals the reason these had to be excluded from Weaver's conception of high art?

That such concerns are no longer of importance today – due to complex aesthetic developments in the interrelations of dance, music and society not possible to cover here – is borne out by the comparison between the illustration of an eighteenth century fairground performer (resolutely 'low-art') showing an extravagant pose with right leg above the head (figure 9.7)⁵¹ and the characteristic, almost identical pose adopted by modern ballet dancers (virtuosic 'high-art') displaying their extraordinary leg extensions.⁵²

In 1712, Weaver justified his position by an appeal to humanistic values.⁵³ The classical humanists thought that dance and music had to be elegant, because the movements of the body were an outward manifestation of the movements of a person's soul. So comic dancing not only suffered from low-class associations; it was also a sign that the dancer's soul was out of step with the movement of the cosmos that bound heaven and earth together.⁵⁴ The inclusion of comic dance along with virtuoso acrobatic capering would surely disqualify dance from entering the pantheon of high art. Although his

51 This picture can be seen in two sheets of engravings from *Het groote tafereel der dwaasheid*, reproduced in Lynne Lawner, *Harlequin on the Moon*, New York 1998, p. 67.

52 See the numerous online images of dancers such as Sylvie Guillem or Svetlana Zakharova and their extravagantly high leg extensions, for example <https://aballeteducation.com/2014/07/29/want-extension-tilt-your-hips/> (last access 30 March 2020). While this style of dance undoubtedly reflects a change of aesthetics in the development of Romantic Ballet, it is also the case that, for example, Odile's 32 fouettés in *Swan Lake* would not have been completely out of place on the eighteenth-century fairground stage.

53 John Weaver, *An Essay towards an History of Dancing*, London 1712, chapters 4 and 6. See also John Weaver, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes*, London 1728. Both works are reproduced in Ralph 1985, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*.

54 Cf. Jennifer Neville, *The Eloquent Body*, Bloomington 2004, p. 91.

Figure 9.7: Dutch fairground acrobat, detail from (artist unknown), *Toverkaart of geneesmiddel voor de windbreuken* (1720)

“Dramatick Entertainments” enjoyed only limited success, Weaver’s ideas remained to influence other choreographers, culminating in classical ballet.

For much of the period in question, however, dance was most frequently to be seen either in the form of highly popular interlude entertainments in the playhouse or opera theatre, or else in the context of pantomime. It is perhaps unfortunate that the pantomimes of the eighteenth century are so frequently disregarded today, being dismissed in the same words as Cibber, as “monstrous Medlies” or “Fooleries” of no consequence; whereas, in truth, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that these multi-media extravaganzas were the true successors to the ‘spectaculars’ of Dorset Garden. Indeed, in the serious part of a Rich pantomime one might have witnessed the earliest productions of all-sung English opera. Above all, the pantomime in this period provided the public with highly-valued access to the most popular thing on the English stage in the eighteenth century: dance, in all its various guises.

PAUL LABELLE

A Theatre of Catches

Dialogue, Theatre and Ritual in the Restoration Catch

Of the few who have come to look at the catch repertoire after its wane in popularity from the early nineteenth century, most have regarded it with some bemusement. This seemingly simple, juvenile and vulgar musical genre has, despite its popularity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, been an object of derision in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, when not ignored entirely.¹ Eric Ford Hart noted in 1953 that catches, especially their late seventeenth-century manifestations, were an aspect of British musical history “apparently too painful a subject to be spoken of. Nor has there been much change in the official attitude towards catches since Victorian times, [... they] are still on the black list”². The situation has been only slightly alleviated through an increased interest in musical clubs and societies as fruitful venues for musicological research. However, in such studies the catch is often neglected either in favour of more ‘serious’ matters, such as the glee, madrigal, or canon, or in favour of

1 The Exeter composer William Jackson made one of the earliest public attacks on catches, which he considered to be “such pieces as ‘when quartered, have ever three parts obscenity, and one part music.’” Though there is no evidence that his essays were particularly popular, his most dramatic claim – that the performance of a catch (though he had never heard one) would make him “ashamed for [himself] – for [his] company – and if a foreigner was present – for [his] country” – would be imbued with greater significance in the nineteenth century by Edward Rimbault and William Alexander Barrett in their criticisms of the genre. [William] D. Jackson, *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects*, Dublin 1783, pp.51, 57–58; Edward Francis Rimbault, *The Rounds, Catches and Canons of England*, London [1864], pp.xxxi–xxxiii; William Alexander Barrett, *English Gleees and Part Songs. An Inquiry into their Historical Development*, London 1886, pp.213–216.

2 Eric Ford Hart, “The Restoration Catch”, in *Music & Letters* 34 / 4 (1953), pp.288–305, p.288.

entirely sociological investigations.³ However, the less-than-serious material – catches – present in such institutions was not without a certain quantity of serious musical thought.

A particularly interesting example of the depth of this seemingly superficial genre can be found in the catch's relationship with theatre, particularly in the work of one of the genre's greatest masters, Henry Purcell. This link will be explored in Purcell's works both on and off the stage. To begin, I will illustrate the variability in Purcell's treatment of character and dialogue in the catch. Secondly, I will look at the symbolic and dramatic function of Purcell's catches on stage, particularly that of "Jack thou'rt a Toper" in *Bonduca, or, the British Heroine* (1695). Finally, I will argue that the theatrical considerations discussed in the first two sections are a product of the social function the catch held in a certain segment of English male society.

I. Drama in Purcell's catches

The catch, like its regular companion the glee, resists explicit definition. Even the most common (and most inclusive) definition as a humorous round is not universally applicable, as there are indeed serious catches and the later practice of omitting sections in some parts does not coincide with the stricter definition of the round. Edward Rimbault approached a fitting description in his definition of the catch as "a humorous vocal composition of three or more harmonic parts, in which the melodies are so opposed and interrupted by the contrivance of the composer, that in the performance the singers *catch* up each other's sentences and give the words a sense different from that of the original reading."⁴

Turning first to the genre's innate theatricality, it is necessary to separate those catches which feature multiple characters from those containing only narrative or soliloquy. Hart noted that in the former "perhaps more than in any other kind of catch Restoration composers displayed their gifts of 'wit, pleasantry and contrivance'."⁵ Hart recognised only two subsets of

3 The two most significant contributions to the literature of catch and glee clubs in recent decades are: Emmanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III. Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society*, Warren 2003 and Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, Woodbridge 2006.

4 Rimbault [1864], *The Rounds, Catches and Canons of England*, p. xii (original emphasis).

5 Hart 1953, "The Restoration Catch", pp. 303–304; Hart quotes Charles Burney's valuation of Purcell's catches: "he seems hardly ever to have been equalled in the wit, pleasantry and

what he calls “semi-dramatic catches”: those which exclusively feature dialogue – which Ian Spink refers to as “dialogue catches”⁶ – and those with both dialogue and narrative. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between catches in this first category with only one character per voice-part and those which, while also consisting purely of dialogue, feature multiple characters in a single voice-part. This distinction may seem academic, given that each performer will sing through all voice-parts in the performance of a catch. The cadential periodicity of the catch, however, which demarcates the musico-poetic form, composes a sequence of discrete units of action⁷. In a catch with a single character per voice-part, the closure of the cadence ending each voice-part lends an opportunity for the performers to switch characters and thus eases listener reorientation. In catches with more than a single character per voice-part, on the other hand, character changes do not align with the musical structure and require, as a result, different performative considerations. In this regard, this second category shares many of the interpretive difficulties of the catch with both dialogue and narrator, albeit without the expositive and equalising narrative voice. I therefore suggest the following categories: A “dialogue catch” consists of pure dialogue where each voice-part consists of a single character; a “split-dialogue catch” consists of pure dialogue where a single voice-part may consist of more than a single character; and a “semi-dramatic catch” consists of both direct speech and a narrative voice. Despite the significance Hart ascribes to these kinds of catches in the output of Restoration composers, it must be noted that they only make up about one-fifth of Purcell’s catch production: of the sixty catches in the Purcell Society Edition, only three are dialogue catches, one split-dialogue and eight semi-dramatic.⁸

contrivance of his *Catches*.” Charles Burney, *A General History of Music. From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols., London 1776–1789, vol. 3, London 1789, p. 503 (original emphasis).

6 See Hart 1953, “The Restoration Catch”, p. 304 and Ian Spink’s introduction to Henry Purcell, *Catches* (The Works of Henry Purcell 22A), ed. Ian Spink, London 2000, pp. i–xiii, p. xi.

7 I am forced to use this somewhat awkward term, to avoid the, in this context, even more confusing ‘rounds’. What is meant is a bout of play, a stated period comprised of a number of turns or a specified length of time, as in a game of poker or a boxing match. The units of action or ‘rounds’ of a catch are, as with poker or boxing, clear to both participants and spectators alike.

8 The two other dialogue catches not discussed further in this paper are “Fie, nay, prithee John” and “Soldier, Soldier, take of thy Wine”, the four semi-dramatic catches left out are “As Roger last night”, “Great Apollo and Bacchus”, “The Miller’s Daughter” and “Sir Walter enjoying his Damsel”. Purcell 2000, *Catches*.

These three categories pose different difficulties to the matter of musical delineation. The most straight-forward examples are to be found in the dialogue catch. In Purcell's "Since time so kind", composed sometime in the mid-to-late 1680s (see figure 10.1)⁹, the forceful advances of the male character are clearly distinguished from the protestations of the female by the distinctly higher tessitura of the second character / part. In such a setting, the parts are characterised regardless of the singers' personal performative predilections.

1 Since Time so kind to us does prove, so kind - to us does
 2 What do you mean? Oh fye, nay What do you
 3 I must, I must, I can't, for - bear I can't, I can't for -

4
 2 prove do not my dear re - fuse my Love.
 3 do? You'r the strangest man that e'er I knew
 1 bear, lye still, lye still my dear.

Figure 10.1: Purcell, "Since time so kind"

Such methods of distinguishing characters were not limited to dialogue catches. In the more explicit semi-dramatic "Young John the Gard'ner" (figure 10.2), first published in 1683, speakers are delineated by large intervals leading to a shift in register, though the narrator is not always easily dis-

⁹ All musical examples are transcribed from *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices*, London 1701. This collection may be seen as illustrative of the material catch clubs possessed at the turn of the century, as it was, according to its title page, "Published chiefly for the Encouragement of the *Musical Societies*, which will be speedily set up in all the Chief Cities and Towns in ENGLAND." To facilitate cross-reading, the catches have been set in score by the author. All errors, including in punctuation and spelling, have been kept, as they further illustrate difficulties of character delineation in these works. Some hyphenation has been added to facilitate score reading and end repeats have been amended where necessary.

entangled from the other roles. Though the performers need not aid the listener in understanding the relatively inane horticultural dialogue between John and Joan, the setting of the catch invites dramatic performance in distinguishing between the two and the narrator (e.g. at the entry of the fourth voice-part), adding greater effectiveness to Joan’s scatological punchline.

The musical score is for a four-part catch in 4/4 time. The voices are numbered 1 to 4 on the left. The lyrics are as follows:

1 Young John the Gard' - ner hav - ing late - ly got a ve - ry —
2 brag - ging to Joan, Quoth he, so Rich — a Ground for Mel - lons,
3 That's a damn'd lye, quoth Joan, for I can tell a place, that
4 Where's that? says John; in mine Ars quoth Joan, for there — is store of
Rich and — Fer - tile — Gar - den Plot.
can - not in the World be found:
does your Gar - den far — ex - cell:
Dung and Wa - ter - all the Year.

Figure 10.2: Purcell, “Young John the Gard’ner”

The semi-dramatic catch “The London Constable” (figure 10.3), first published in 1685,¹⁰ serves as a particularly egregious example of minimal character delineation. In this night-time confrontation between a police constable and a self-described “honest Tory” – who nevertheless, like the constable, approves of bribery – the music provides little aid in disentangling the two characters, particularly in the second part. Thus, if the listener is to be ex-

10 The text had been published without music the previous year in *Wit and Mirth. An Antidote to Melancholy*, London 1684, pp. 142–143.

pected to comprehend the light political humour of the linear text, the performers must go well beyond the notated music in the performance of their roles – for example, by way of accent (picking up on the educational divide between the characters) or timbre.

The image displays a musical score for three voices, numbered 1, 2, and 3. The music is written in 3/4 time. The lyrics are in English, with some Latin phrases in italics. The score is divided into three systems, each with a measure number (1, 6, 11) at the beginning.

System 1 (Measures 1-5):

- Voice 1: Who comes there? stand: whon comes there? stand, and come be-fore the
- Voice 2: Whence come you Sir? and wheth-er do you go? you may be, Sir, a
- Voice 3: To tell you the truth, Sir, I am an hon-est To-ry; but here's a Crown to

System 2 (Measures 6-10):

- Voice 1: Con-sta-ble, we'll know what you are: What makes you out so late? says the
- Voice 2: Je - su - it for ought — I know. You may as well, Sir, take me —
- Voice 3: drink and there's an end of the Sto-ry. Good mor - row, Sir, a ci - vil Man is

System 3 (Measures 11-15):

- Voice 1: Mid - night Mag-is-trate, with a Nod-dle full of Ale in a wood-en Chair of State.
- Voice 2: for a Ma - ho-me tan. he speaks Lat - in, se-cure him he's a dan - ger-ous Man.
- Voice 3: al - ways wel - com, go Bar - na-by Bounce, light the Gen - tle-man home,

Figure 10.3: Purcell, “The London Constable”

This diversity of character delineation in these catches is not illustrative of more or less competent catch writing. Rather, it is indicative of a broad understanding of the purpose of drama in the catch genre, at the centre of which lies a recognition in the pleasure of playing characters, of flexible role-play. This is especially evident in catches where meaning, performance and convention clash.

The first words sung in Purcell’s only split-dialogue catch, the posthumously published “Pox on you” (figure 10.4), are in response to the offending belch which opens the catch. While the third voice-part is a single character and the second voice-part may also be, the first voice-part necessarily contains dialogue of at least two separate characters. It is, of course, possible that one or both of the two other singers provide the belches during the introduction of the first part. However, once the catch is in full swing, each singer must provide the gas at which they themselves are offended. That is, within the first bar alone, the singer must play two roles, lest the belch become the pox.¹¹

The musical score for Purcell's "Pox on you" is presented in three systems, each with three staves. The first staff is labeled '1' and the second '2'. The third staff is labeled '3' at the beginning of the first system and '1' at the end of the third system. The music is in 3/4 time. Annotations 'Belch.' are placed above the first staff at measures 1, 4, and 7. The lyrics are as follows:

1. Pox on you, pox on you, pox on you for a
2. Fogh, Fogh, Fogh, Fogh, how sow'r he smells; now he's
3. no less than a Cæ-sar, no less than a Cæ-sar no, no, no, less than a —

7. Fop, your Stom-ach too quea-zy, can-not I belch, can-not I — belch and Fart, you
at it, now he's at it a - gain; out ye Beast, out ye Beast I nev-er met so
Cæ-sar de - cree'd with great rea-son, no re - straint, no re - straint shou'd be — laid on the

13. Cox - comb to — ease me: what if I let fly — in your Face and shall please yee?
nas - ty a Man, I'm not a - ble to bear it, what the Dev - il d'ye mean?

Figure 10.4: Purcell, “Pox on you”

11 A similar difficulty is present in all split-dialogue catches. It is perhaps for this reason that they make up only a tiny minority of the restoration literature. Of the 98 catches in the fourth edition of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* only two are split-dialogue catches: “Pox on you” and Bartholomew Isaack’s “A Catch on the London Waterman”.

While the performance of the printed belch in “Pox on you” is self-explanatory, Purcell used a different method to demarcate the non-verbal utterances in the semi-dramatic “Young Collin cleaving of a Beam”, first published in 1690. In the catch’s text – Thomas d’Urfey’s translation of George Buchanan’s “In Rusticum”¹² – the half-cough, grunt-like interjection “Hem!” appears in four different contexts: first as a genuine utterance by Collin; then as a quotation in his explanation to his wife, Joan; the “Hem!” is repeated three times as a genuine utterance by Joan; then as Joan quoting Collin’s “Hem!”; and finally as Collin quoting his own “Hem!” again. Purcell uses this contextual variety of the grunt in his setting (see figure 10.5). Collin’s genuine “Hem!” takes up two beats on the g^2 , while the two referential hems are lower.¹³ Similarly, Joan’s genuine grunts take up two beats rising from e^2 to g^2 , whereas her referential “Hem!”, while also on the g^2 , only occupies a single beat.¹⁴ As one can imagine, clearing one’s throat at a specific pitch is no simple task. The notes in this instance are unlikely indicative of the sounding performance. Rather, they serve as a sort of coded performance direction, indicating a different quality of grunt to be interjected and how it might be brought about.¹⁵ Here, as in “Since time so kind”, though less explicitly, a certain amount of theatricality is forced on the performers, delineating both the characters and the quality of their grunting. However, in contrast with “Pox on you”, a superficial understanding of the linear text of “Young Collin” does not rely on the theatrical capacities of the singers, it merely deepens the listener’s understanding of who is hemming and why.

These experiments in musical character delineation show Purcell’s regard for both the pleasures and challenges of role-play in catch performance. In this, Purcell was responding to a social function of the catch, the characteristics of which are clearly reflected in the genre’s symbolic and dramatic function on the stage.

12 Georgii Buchananani Scoti, *Poemata. In Tres Partes Digesta*, London 1716, pp.466–467. A more accurate translation can be found in Philip J. Ford, *George Buchanan. Prince of Poets*, Aberdeen 1982, pp. 174–175.

13 Referring to the notated pitches, the catch would have likely been sung an octave lower.

14 Genuine grunts have been demarcated from referential ones by exclamation marks in the fourth edition of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*. Such marks are absent in the first publication, Thomas D’Urfey, *New Poems. Consisting of Satyrs, Elegies and Odes*, London 1690, p. 186.

15 For a particularly liberal interpretation, see Henry Purcell, “Young Collin, cleaving of a Beam”, in *Thomas D’Urfey’s Pills to Purge the Melancholy. Lewd Songs and Low Ballads from the 18th Century*, The City Waites, Saydisc CD-SDL 382, 1990.

The musical score is for a three-part setting in 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system (measures 1-6) features three staves. The top staff (labeled '1') has the lyrics: 'Young Col - lin cleav - ing of a Beam at ev - ry thum - ping'. The middle staff (labeled '2') has: 'Plump Joan when at Night to Bed — they came, and both were play -'. The bottom staff (labeled '3') has: 'he laugh - ing ans - wer'd no, no, no, some Work will splitt, will'. The second system (measures 7-12) also has three staves. The top staff (labeled '7') has: 'thum - ping blow, cry'd Hem! and told his Wife, and told his Wife, and told his Wife who the'. The middle staff has: '- ing at — the same, cry'd Hem! Hem! Hem! pre thee,'. The bottom staff has: 'splitt — with half — a blow; be - side now I Bore, now I Bore, now I Bore,'. The third system (measures 13-18) has three staves. The top staff (labeled '13') has: 'couse — — — — — wou'd know, that Hem made the wedge much far - ther goe.'. The middle staff has: 'pre thee, pre thee Col - lin doe, if e - ver thou — Love'dst me, Dear Hem now;'. The bottom staff has: 'now, now, now I Bore, I Hem when I Cleave, but now — I — Bore.'. The staves are numbered 1, 2, and 3 on the right side of the system.

Figure 10.5: Purcell, “Young Collin cleaving of a Beam”

II. Purcell’s catches in drama

Only four of Purcell’s catches have direct ties to the theatre: “My Wife has a tongue” in Edward Ravenscroft’s adaptation of George Ruggle’s *Ignoramus* (1615) entitled *The English Lawyer* (1677); “At the close of the Evening the Watches were set” for a revival (c. 1689) of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher’s *The Knight of Malta* (1618); a catch for d’Urfey’s *The Richmond Heiress* (1693) suspected to be “Bring the bowl and cool Nantz”; and “Jack thou’rt a Toper” for an anonymous adaptation (1695) of Beaumont and Fletcher’s

Bonduca (1614).¹⁶ Of the four productions, Purcell made the greatest contribution to *Bonduca*, writing alongside the catch an overture, two songs, two choruses, two duets, a recitative, as well as two instrumental airs, two horn-pipes and a minuet.

“Jack thou’rt a Toper” (figure 10.6) is rich in hidden meaning. Linearly, the text presents the audience with a (presumably inebriated) speaker attempting to persuade his friend, Jack, to stay out drinking with him. The speaker’s ribbing “none but a cuckold” becomes more explicit in the cross-reading “Jack, thou’rt a – cuckold.” The emphasis on the “coming” of “coming late” in the second part paints three different scenes: it is the voice of the drawer at the inn responding to the ringing of the bar bell; the voice on the other side of the door of the house being “called on and knocked”; and, finally – and this is perhaps the meaning the experienced catch listener would be searching for – at the intersection of the accusation of cuckoldry and the repeated knocking of the third part, it is the climax of the cuckolding act. Furthermore, despite the linear reading revealing only one speaker, Jack himself appears in the fleeting “so are you” when heard as a retort to the first and second’s “thou’rt a – cuckold”.

In the drama, the catch is sung by Roman soldiers in a forward camp in Britain while foraging for foodstuffs in act 2 scene ii, before being captured by Britons.¹⁷ This scene essentially fills in the gap left in the original between the soldiers complaining about their hunger in act 1 scene ii and appearing with “Halters about their Necks” before *Bonduca* and her daughters in act 2 scene iii.¹⁸ The play’s adapter thus gives the audience a small view into the behaviour of these scared and hungry soldiers. How do these soldiers assuage their fear and hunger in this foreign land? By singing about a drunken night back home – a home that seems closer to seventeenth century London than first century Rome. That such a catch – the first words sung in the play – comes from the mouths of the foreign invaders is not the result of the adapter’s carelessness, as the “peculiar inversion of loyalties” in the original

16 W. Barclay Squire, “Purcell’s Dramatic Music”, in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 5 / 4 (1904), pp. 489–564, pp. 500–501, 521–522, 533, 545–546; Curtis Alexander Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 117–125, 168, 202–203.

17 *Bonduca. Or, The British Heroine*, London 1696, pp. 16–17.

18 John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, “*Bonduca*”, in *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, vol. 6, ed. Henry Weber, Edinburgh 1812, pp. 9–130, pp. 21, 45; for a brief comparison of the adaptation and the original, see Arthur Colby Sprague, *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage*, New York 1965, pp. 160–165.

1
2
3

Jack thou'rt a To - per, Jack thou'rt a, thou'rt a To - per, let's
None but a Cuck - old, a Cuck - old, a Cuck - old, a Cuck - old Bul - ly'd
free, — I'm free, and so are you, so are you, so are you too,

6
have toth - er Quart; Ring, ring, ring, ring, ring, ring, ring, ring, ring,
by — his Wife for com - ing, com - ing, com - ing, com - ing, com - ing, com - ing, com - ing, com - ing, com - ing,
call — and knock, knock bold - ly, knock bold - ly, knock bold - ly, knock

11
ring, we're so so - ber, so so - ber, so so - ber 'twere a shame to part;
com - ing, com - ing, com - ing late, fears a Do - mes - tick strife; I'm
bold - ly, tho' Watch - men cry past — two a Clock.

Figure 10.6: Purcell, “Jack thou’rt a Toper”

work – “Fletcher’s sympathy with the Romans and not the British Bonduca” – has been greeted with an almost unanimous interpretation in that “all the play’s interpretations excepting one” see Bonduca as representing “an uncomfortably familiar Otherness, while the Romans and [the British general] Caratach represent British audiences.”¹⁹

The intentions of the adapter go beyond a mere strengthening of Fletcher’s sympathetic portrayal of the Romans. While some have regarded the adaptation as a failed attempt to shift audiences’ sympathies from the Ro-

19 Wendy Nielsen, “Boadicea on Stage before 1800. A Theatrical and Colonial History”, in *Studies in English Literature* 49 / 3 (2009), pp. 595–614, p. 599.

mans onto the Britons,²⁰ Nina Buhadin McQuown makes the case that the 1695 adaptation is a “celebration of British history as a heterogeneous, discontinuous narrative wrought through the process of time and the work of mixture[.]”²¹ In giving the Romans the urban and idiosyncratically English catch – the reference to the bar bell, the anachronistic familiar “Jack”, the quart mug – Fletcher’s adapter(s) bring the ancient Romans closer to the contemporary British audience, though not necessarily at the expense of their sympathy for their fellow Britons on the stage.

The adapter of *Bonduca* was not the first to see the catch’s potential in conferring identity. P. T. Dircks noted the use of the catch as an “identity symbol” in William Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* (1601) and *Tempest* (1610–1611),²² and David Lindley acknowledges, in the same works, the catch’s “strong potential to command the complicity of the audience in its conspiratorial combination.”²³ While the catch is not used to delineate any national identity in Shakespeare, the catch’s interplay between form and substance, which necessitates the active search – on the part of the listener – for hidden meaning made manifest in the performance, is used to similar ends in both *Twelfth Night* and the 1695 *Bonduca*.²⁴

In both candidates for the catch in *Twelfth Night*,²⁵ the one-sided command (“hold thy peace”) – in itself an ironic text for a part-song – quickly becomes an exchange of insults on the entry of the third part (“thou knave – thou knave”). Aguecheek’s choice of a catch with this text carries the irony

20 See Price 1984, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, p. 118; Derek Hughes, *English Drama 1660–1700*, Oxford 1996, p. 429. Bridget Orr refrains from attributing intent, noting only that “a kindlier and more patriotic image of the British” is to be found in the adaptation, while the “plot construction is still slanted to the Romans[.]” Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage 1660–1714*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 261–262.

21 Nina Buhadin McQuown, “‘Britain-Gulf’. *Bonduca* and the English Earth”, in *Restoration. Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 40 / 2 (2016), pp. 23–42, p. 33.

22 Dircks however oversimplifies that which the catch delineates in these examples, seemingly influenced by the class associations Malvolio attributes to it. Linda Phyllis Austern correctly notes that the “reality is that catches transcended conventional boundaries of class[.]” Cf. P. T. Dircks, “Shakespeare’s Use of the Catch as Metaphor”, in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 24 / 1 (1973), pp. 88–90; Linda Phyllis Austern, “Music and Manly Wit in Seventeenth-Century England. The Case of the Catch”, in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, Woodbridge 2013, pp. 281–308, p. 290; see also Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 193–195.

23 David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (The Arden Shakespeare), London and New York 2006, p. 221.

24 The catch in *The Tempest* is not realised and is therefore omitted in this comparison.

25 Cf. Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deutoromelia*, London 1609, sig. B4^r and Jill Vlasto, “An Elizabethan Anthology of Rounds”, in *The Musical Quarterly* 40 / 2 (1954), pp. 222–234, p. 231.

into the dramatic action, given Sir Toby's intent of using a catch to "rouse the night owl" Malvolio.²⁶ Furthermore, regardless of their varying status, they are all very much 'acting the knave', playing at exactly that which Malvolio denounces them as – though as Aguecheek remarks, fooling comes more naturally to some than others.²⁷ The composite meaning is what draws the audience into the conspiracy, to which the catch itself, like "The Mousetrap" in *Hamlet* (c. 1600), serves – in the case of *Twelfth Night*, a mockery of the puritanical Malvolio. To this end, the staging of the catch – three men loudly singing at each other to shut up – is a resounding success and this comedic subplot is not without seriousness, mirroring, as it did, "perhaps the most ominous conflict of Elizabeth's reign."²⁸

In *Bonduca*, the irony of "Jack thou'rt a Toper" – that it is Jack, who presumably proposed cutting the night short, whom the speaker calls a drunkard – is similarly compounded by the irony of the catch's relationship to the dramatic action; there is also something tragic in these starving men singing "I am free and so are you", after being called slaves and threatened with hanging by a Roman officer in the previous scene and being put in halters and threatened with hanging by a British officer in the following scene.²⁹ Here, unlike in *Twelfth Night*, the catch's "strong potential to command the complicity of the audience" serves not to draw the audience into a conspiracy on the stage, but rather serves to draw the audience into the imagination of these three soldiers; the audience's search for meaning – to find a world ulterior to the one presented – mirrors the soldiers' own escapist fantasies.³⁰

Each of Purcell's four stage catches are quite distinct, as are their respective dramatic functions. "My Wife has a Tongue" is the only catch to seemingly be the product of a character's own contrivance;³¹ the catch "in praise of Punch" in *The Richmond Heiress* is performed by "singers" who have no

26 William Shakespeare, "Twelfth Night, Or What You Will" [1601], in *The RSC Shakespeare Complete Works*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 650–696, p. 664 (2.3.43–45).

27 Ibid. (2.3.61–63).

28 J. Simmons, "A Source for Shakespeare's Malvolio. The Elizabethan Controversy with the Puritans", in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 36 / 3 (1973), pp. 181–201, p. 181.

29 *Bonduca. Or, the British Heroine*, pp. 12, 18.

30 A similar fantasy is to be found in *Henry V*: "Would I were in an ale-house in London: I would give all my fame for a pot of ale and safety." Shakespeare, "The Life of Henry the Fifth" [1599], in Bate and Rasmussen (eds.) 2007, *The RSC Shakespeare Complete Works*, pp. 1032–1096, p. 1056 (3.2.10–11).

31 Edward Ravenscroft, *The English Lawyer*, London 1678, p. 38.

other part in the play;³² “At the close of the Ev’ning” is the most particular to its dramatic setting;³³ and “Jack thou’rt a Toper” is the most incongruous with the dramatic action.

While the catch in *Bonduca* is both put to the most effective use and is the most musically interesting of the four, they all share a jovial light-heartedness, which reacts to – and is reacted to by – its dramatic environment: The violinists who accompany Cupes’ catch in *The English Lawyer* are beaten by his wife (the one with the tongue) for their insolence and inability to keep time; the catch in *The Richmond Heiress* and the punch it praises serve unsuccessfully to prevent “brawling and quarrelling” and bring the listeners “lovingly together”; and the guards’ premature celebration of the watch’s end in *The Knight of Malta* is cunningly punished.³⁴ In other words, each example serves as a piece of ritual theatre, conferring group shared identity – whether through exclusion or inclusion, mock or otherwise – and transporting the performers, though, importantly, not the on-stage listeners. This function of the catch in staged drama reflects that which it held off the stage, most significantly in the typically well-lubricated and all-male institutions that formed around the genre and which were becoming increasingly popular at the turn of the century.

III. The social function of the catch and its theatricality

By way of conclusion, I would like to argue that the theatricality of the catch – most notable in the dialogue, split-dialogue and semi-dramatic catches – had a specific use value for the institutions which formed around the genre; a use that, in turn, influenced the symbolic meaning of the catch when used in staged drama. Centring theatricality when looking at the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century catch explains the aptness of the genre for the peculiar goals of these institutions.

32 Thomas D’Urfey, *The Richmond Heiress. Or, a Woman Once in the Right*, London 1693, p. 33.

33 Playford (ed.) 1701, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, no. 88. Given the similarly onomatopoeic texts, it would seem the catch was supposed to reflect the watch’s song that it likely replaced. Beaumont and Fletcher, “The Knight of Malta”, in *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, vol. 8, ed. Henry Weber, Edinburgh 1812, p. 314.

34 As there is no record of the revival of *The Knight of Malta*, in which Purcell’s catch appears, it is impossible to say if the reaction to the watch’s song was altered in any way. Cf. Price 1984, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, p. 203; Sprague 1965, *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage*, p. 67 and Squire 1904, “Purcell’s Dramatic Music”, p. 533.

The preface to the fourth edition of Henry Playford's *Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1701) and its prefixed eulogisms illustrate the priorities of these societies. Playford claims a twofold purpose to the catch collection: "Persons who give themselves the liberty of an Evenings [*sic*] Entertainment with their Friends, may exchange the Expence they shall be at in being Sociable, with the Knowledge they shall acquire from it". To this end, Playford "prevail'd with his Acquaintance and others in this City, to enter into several Clubs Weekly" and provide music, instruction and articles to be observed as "standing Rules, which each respective Society is to go by"³⁵.

Despite Playford's high-minded rhetoric, the eulogism written by "T. B." lays bare the priorities of such societies:

So, Now this is something that's like to be Taking,
For Musick's the Devil without Merry-making.
A Pox on lean Scraping, and Thrumming, and Trilling!
What delight can it give, without Stuffing and Swilling?
[...]
Friend *Harry*, thy Fore-sight prevents this Abuse,
Making that which has sweetness, be likewise of Use;
As the Glass handed forward, puts forward the Song,
And gives life to the Senses, and strength to the Tongue.³⁶

The use that T. B. values in Playford's catch collection is further clarified by the poem appearing on the title page of Playford's *Supplement of New Catches*, published the following year:

Short's a *Catch* united in its Parts,
And leav's a *Lasting* Pleasure in our Hearts.
As it dispells our Sorrows, and destroys
Th' impediment to Friendship's lawful Joys.
While *Bacchus* with *Apollo* jointly Reigns,
And *Rapture* fills our *Soul*, and *Wine* our *Veins*.³⁷

35 Playford (ed.) 1701, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, sig. B1^{r-v}. Hawkins claims that Playford's project had "some success in promoting the process of catch-singing in and about London and also at Oxford". John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols., London 1776, vol. 4, p. 477–478.

36 Playford (ed.) 1701, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, sig. B2^v (original emphasis). Identified by Hawkins as Tom Brown. Hawkins 1776, *A General History*, vol. 4, p. 478.

37 Henry Playford (ed.), *Supplement of New Catches, to The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, [London] 1702 (italics inverted).

The catch's capacity to "destroy" that "impediment to Friendship's lawful Joys" – namely, inhibition – and "strengthen the tongue" is the product, on the one hand, of what Lindley described in its theatrical context as the catch's "conspiratorial combination" and, on the other hand, of its dramatic discourse – that is, role-play and acted dialogue. The listeners of the catch enter into fellowship in their acquisition of the catch's esoteric meaning; the singers likewise enter communion in acting out various forms of interpersonal conversation (jovial, romantic, confrontational), either with the other catch-singers, imagined listeners, or the audience directly.³⁸ It is to this purpose – the catch as musical ice breaker – that the genre's theatricality, even outside the dialogue, split-dialogue and semi-dramatic catches, becomes essential.

The "pale faces" of the catch "Pale Faces, stand by", first published in 1688, are observers, summoned by the singers, whose gaze and countenance they mock, others against which they may define themselves ("we look like our wine, you, worse than our scores").³⁹ The imagined contrast of this direct address to spectators serves to strengthen the collective identity of those present, further breaking down that "impediment to Friendship's lawful Joys". However, whether the "pale faces" are indeed those same bodies listening and watching the catch being performed, turning the catch into a mock intragroup confrontation (i.e. in the vein of "Pox on you" or "Jack thou'rt a Toper"), is a dramaturgical decision not without consequence.

The performative communicativity of the catch is further evidenced by the genesis of Purcell's "To all lovers of music". In John Carr's *Comes Amoris, or, the Companion of Love* (1682), this "Catch by way of Epistle" serves as a musical preface.⁴⁰ It is telling that Carr's mind turned to the catch – in what is otherwise a collection of accompanied songs – for this early example of a musical advertisement; the marketing benefit of commanding "the complicity of an audience" need not be expanded upon. Aside from the catch's commercial aspects however, it is worth noting that the preface is a direct address to the reader / listener and it is here once again that the catch's

38 This dialogue may even extend between catches, e. g. between Henry Aldrich's "Tom Jolly's Nose" and John Blow's "Answer to Tom Jolly's Nose". John Playford (ed.), *Catch That Catch Can. Or, the Second Part of the Musical Companion*, London 1685, nos. 4–5.

39 Playford (ed.) "1701, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, no. 23.

40 John Carr (ed.), *Comes Amoris. Or, the Companion of Love*, London 1682, sig. A2^v.

performativity serves dramatic ends: Carr delivers his sales pitch through the catch singers, speaking directly to his potential customers.

Though the catches presented in this paper exemplify one composer's attempts to respond to a socially-oriented conception of the genre in providing in it a theatrical outlet, Purcell's catches are far from anomalous. That the catch was constantly rediscovered, explored and probed by composers and performers throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century was the result not of a general interest in part-song, but rather a specific interest in this sort of part-song, in which theatricality (in the broadest possible sense) played a primary role. It is, in part, a failure to recognise this critical aspect of the genre which left so many commentators confounded by the catch's perennial popularity.

PIERRE DEGOTT

Self-Celebratory Musical Acts

Cecilian Odes and Other Sung Texts as a Means of Acknowledging the Place of Music within the Arts

It is no doubt a truism that in late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century perceptions of the sister arts, music often ranked as inferior to the other arts, mainly to literature and poetry. Of course, not everyone shared such a vision, least of all musicians or poets interested in music. However, thinkers who addressed the delicate issue of connections between different art forms, in the wake of Horace's famous formula *ut pictura poesis*, tended to deny the idea that the sister arts might actually stand as equals. Basically, poetry was still regarded as the ultimate form, ranking above painting or music. Such a view, for instance, was still held in 1744 by James Harris, among others a fervent musical patron, in the concluding lines of his famous essay in which he endeavoured to compare the respective merits of painting, music and poetry: "Yet must it be remembered, in this Union [that of poetry and music], that *Poetry* ever have the *Precedence*; its *Utility*, as well as *Dignity*, being by far the more considerable."¹ The idea that music was subservient to poetry, or to use Harris's words merely "an *Ally* to Poetry",² is probably best rendered in the following quotation. The meaning is clearly that music needs to rely on words in order to become truly expressive:

1 James Harris, *Three Treatises. The First Concerning Art. The Second Concerning Music, Painting and Poetry. The Third Concerning Happiness*, London 1744, p. 102 (original emphasis).

2 Ibid., p. 95 (original emphasis).

From what has been said it is evident, that these two Arts can never be so powerful *singly*, as when they are *properly united*. For *Poetry*, when alone, must be necessarily forced to waste many of its richest *Ideas*, in the mere raising of Affections, when, to have been properly relished, it should have *found* those Affections in their highest Energy. And *Music*, when alone, can only raise *Affecti- ons*, which soon *languish* and *decay*, if not maintained and fed by the nutritive Images of Poetry.³

Possibly because it was believed to be less intellectual than the other arts, which supposedly required more academic and rhetorical skills to be fully appreciated, music was often seen as an inferior form, mainly judged in its capacity to arouse emotions and to imitate things (noises, movements), accused of being devoid of autonomous sense and deprived of reasonable utility. For example, in Aaron Hill's *Tears of the Muses* (1737), it is thus the absence of purpose in instrumental music which invalidates an art form seen as only redeemable when performing a particular, useful function:

Music, when *Purpose* points her not the Road
Charms, to betray, and softens, to *corrode*.
Empty of Sense, the Soul-seducing Art
Thrills a slow Poison to the sick'ning Heart.
Soft sinks *Idea*, dissolute in Ease,
And all Life's feeble Lesson is, to *please*.
Spirit, and Taste, and generous Toil, take Flight:
And lazy Love, and indolent Delight,
And low luxurious Weariness of Pain,
Lull the soft Mind, – and all its Powers are vain.⁴

John Dennis, in his famous *Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner* (1706), made a similar point when he asserted that music, besides being delightful, also owed it to itself to be profitable, something that could only be attained if it was “subservient to Reason” and capable of “informing the Understanding”, that is, in all likelihood, providing a backdrop to a written text that could in turn be endowed with sense and meaning. Failing that,

³ Ibid., p. 102 (original emphasis).

⁴ Aaron Hill, *The Tears of the Muses. In a Conference between Prince Germanicus and a Male-Content Party*, London 1737, p. 24 (original emphasis).

music could only be liable to stimulate supposedly base sensual impulses and be conducive to sin, sensuality and immorality:

There is no Man living who is more convinc'd than my self of the Power of Harmony, or more penetrated by the Charms of Musick. [...] Musick may be made profitable as well as delightful, if it is subordinate to some nobler Art, and subservient to Reason; but if it presumes not only to degenerate from its ancient Severity, from its sacred Solemnity; but to set up of itself, and to grow independent, as it does in our late Opera's, it becomes a meer sensual Delight, utterly incapable of informing the Understanding, or of reforming the Will; and for that very Reason utterly unfit to be made a publick Diversion, and the more charming it grows, it becomes the more pernicious. [...] [S]oft and delicious Musick by soothing the Senses, and making a Man too much in Love with himself, makes him too little fond of the publick, so by emasculating and dissolving the mind, it shakes the very foundation of Fortitude, and so is destructive of both branches of the publick Spirit.⁵

The excesses and dangers that music could thus lead to, if wrongly channelled towards emotion, were also the staple fare of many contemporary sermons which took up the old, typical puritanical wariness towards an art form that was still seen as ambivalent in its capacity to either soothe and elevate the soul when handled in the right way, or to inflame the spirit and lead to vice and degeneracy when it was misused:

*Music is a two-edged Sword; capable, as of quelling the rebel passions, so of giving a mortal wound to virtue and religion: and therefore should always be in a sober hand. [...] What ought to kindle a devout affection, may blow up every evil desire into a flame; may be the fuel and incentive of vice.*⁶

Needless to say, this dichotomy is the very object of the demonstration carried out in John Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* (1692), a text set to music by seven composers in the course of the period under study, an epic poem that

5 John Dennis, *An Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner, Which Are about to Be Established on the English Stage. With Some Reflections on the Damage Which They May Bring to the Publick*, London 1706, pp. 2, 9.

6 George Lavington, *The Influence of Church-Music. A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Worcester at the Anniversary Meeting of the Choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, September 8. 1725*, London 1753, p. 18 (original emphasis). For an Elizabethan example of how music could be seen, when placed in the wrong hands, as an instrument of depravation, see David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal Ancient and Modern*, London 1990, pp. 112–261.

thematizes the sharp contrast in the effects of music depending on whether it be in the hands of the astute, artful and manipulative Timotheus, or in those of divine Cecilia. In each case, is it the “Power of Musick” which, as the subtitle of the work indicates, is given pride of place; a feature that also transpires from the following extract, taken from yet another sermon on the musical art: “Musick is almost as Dangerous as ’tis Useful, *it has the Force of Gunpowder, and should be as carefully look’d after, that no unhallow’d Fire give it the power of Destroying.*”⁷

In Britain as well as on the continent, the second half of the eighteenth century, with its emphasis on feeling and sentiment, was to have less dogmatic views to the point of re-evaluating the place of music in the hierarchy of the arts, almost going so far as to rank music above its ‘sisters’ at least in its capacity to express feelings and stimulate emotions. The present paper thus aims to focus on a selection of sung texts all meant to thematise the different functions of music and to highlight its various powers in order to advance the art form. Mainly devoted to the various odes to Saint Cecilia that were performed in London throughout the long eighteenth century,⁸ this paper will pay particular attention to two aspects that seem to emerge more saliently: first, the treatment of texts that were reset and consequently partly rewritten, such as Dryden’s two Cecilian odes, and second, the issue of Englishness in music, especially as regards the representation of the figure of Cecilia at a time when English music was trying to find some new identity. In the treatment of these two aspects, this paper will give particular emphasis to George Frideric Handel’s Italian cantata *Cecilia, volgi un sguardo*, a musical piece that was inserted between the two parts of *Alexander’s Feast* (1736) on the day the well-known ode was first performed. The incongruous and paradoxical presence of this Italian cantata seems to crystallise the various tensions that were at work at a turning-point not only in Handel’s career but also in the development of English music.

7 William Dingley, *Cathedral Service Decent and Useful. A Sermon Preach’d before the University of Oxford at St Mary’s on Cecilia’s Day, 1713*, London 1713, p. 14 (original emphasis).

8 In that respect, see William H. Husk, *Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia’s Day in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, to Which is Appended a Collection of Odes on St. Cecilia’s Day*, London 1857; Thomas H. Connolly, “Saint Cecilia”, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, vol. 5, London 2001, pp. 330–32 and, most recently, Bryan White, *Music for St Cecilia’s Day. From Purcell to Handel*, Woodbridge 2019.

I. Cecilian Odes

For all the contextual turmoil surrounding their production in times marked by heavy political unrest, the various texts written in honour of Saint Cecilia all display a surprising number of similarities. The impression of thematic continuity given by this atypical corpus is no doubt reinforced by the fact that some of the texts set by Handel in the 1730s had already been used in Henry Purcell's time,⁹ even though they were all slightly rewritten according to the traditional modes of literary revision (expansion, extension, excision, condensation or merely verbal redistribution, etc.). The issue of rewriting takes further relevance when one considers that the corpus very much relies on the constant repetition of similar motifs and wordings, on the duplication of the same recurrent formulas.

Various scholars, from Richard Lockett or John Hollander to Ruth Smith and David Hopkins, have indeed shown how the lyrics of the various odes to Saint Cecilia display structural, thematic and rhetorical similitudes, their organisation being based on a fairly similar pattern.¹⁰ First, the performers of the ode are exhorted to play in a performative act meant to suggest the reflexive nature of the concert thus mirrored within the text itself. The next inevitable feature consists of the catalogue of musical instruments, with the description of their respective qualities and effects such as the warbling flute and lute invariably suggesting amorous passion, the trumpet leading to combative exaltation, the sprightly violin synonymous with unlimited mirth, the sound of the organ conducive to the elevation of the soul and to divine ecstasy. To the instrumental paradigm can be attached a similarly open list of biblical or mythological figures traditionally associa-

9 For a detailed account of the setting of the two Dryden odes, see Robert M. Myers, *Handel, Dryden and Milton. Being a Series of Observations on the Poems of Dryden and Milton, as Alter'd and Adapted by Various Hands, and Set to Musick by Mr Handel, to Which Are Added Authentick Texts of Several of Mr Handel's Oratorios*, London 1956. See also Percy Young, *The Concert Tradition from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, London 1965 and John D. C. Buck, "The Ascetic Banquet. The Morality of Alexander's Feast", in *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 17 (1975), pp. 573–589.

10 John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky. Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700*, Princeton 1961, pp. 401–422; Richard Lockett, *The Legend of St. Cecilia and English Literature. A Study*, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge 1971; Ruth Smith, "The Arguments and Contexts of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*", in *Studies in English Literature* 18 (1978), pp. 465–490, p. 479; Charles Henry Biklé, *The Odes for St Cecilia's Day in London (1683–1703)*, PhD thesis, University of Michigan 1982; David Hopkins, "The London Odes on St Cecilia's Day for 1686, 1695 and 1696", in *Review of English Studies New Series* 45 / 180 (1994), pp. 486–495, pp. 494–495.

ted with music, whether it be Apollo or Jubal, Orpheus or Arion, etc. Again, the declension of those parameters serves as a pretext for the evocation of the various functions traditionally attached to music. After invariably evoking the harmonizing power of music in creation, the ode usually closes on a brief, almost perfunctory, evocation of Saint Cecilia preceding a final celebration of celestial song; another way of fusing, in a reflexive act, the concert evoked in the text with the real concert taking place at the time of the performance. As has been suggested in some of the publications quoted above, many verbal formulas and rhetorical devices do actually echo one another, creating a form of poetic network apparently meant to suggest the permanence, longevity and unity of the whole corpus.

One leading thread that seems to have been overlooked by previous critics lies in the food metaphor, that is the continuous association between the musical concert and the act of sharing a meal; an analogy that seems to go beyond the fact that the initial London celebrations usually ended up in a banquet at Stationers' Hall. A report by Peter Motteux clearly establishes that music could also be heard while the meal was going on:

Whilst the Company is at Table, the Hautboys and Trumpets play successively. Mr. *Showers* hath taught the latter of late years to sound with all the softness imaginable, they plaid us some flat Tunes, made by Mr. *Finger*, with a general applause, it being a thing formerly thought impossible upon an Instrument design'd for a sharp Key.¹¹

More importantly, the very text of the odes thus draws the explicit analogy between the subtle pleasure of musical hearing and the more concrete joy of food-tasting. As early as 1683, the year of the first celebration, Christopher Fishburn's opening couplet on which Purcell's ode opens mentions the fusion of all senses: "Welcome to all the pleasures that delight / Of ev'ry sense the grateful appetite!"¹²

The lyrics of the ode given the next year, with words by John Oldham, also explicitly develop the analogy between wine and music, here called "the sweets of melody" by the poet. Beyond the repeated use of the word "tongue", which can refer both to singing and to swallowing, the poem multiplies all those metaphors linking the effects of intoxicating music to those

11 Peter Motteux, *The Gentleman's Journal* 1 / 1 (1692), p. 5 (original emphasis).

12 Quoted in Husk 1857, *Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day*, p. 143. Further quotations will refer to this edition unless otherwise stated.

of alcohol, of which the musical art seems to be nothing but a more refined, less terrestrial, form:

Music's the cordial of a troubled breast,
 The softest remedy that grief can find;
 [...]
 Music does all our joys refine,
 It gives the relish to our wine,
 'Tis that gives rapture to our love,
 And wings devotion to a pitch divine;
 'Tis our chief bliss on earth, and half our heav'n above. (146)

The end of the poem clearly associates Saint Cecilia with the consumption of wine, reminding the public of the apparently intricate nature of the two activities:¹³

Let's sing to blest Cecilia's fame,
 That grac'd this art, and gave this day its name;
 With music, wine, and mirth conspire
 To bear a concert, and make up the quire! (147)

If the vision of music as a cordial is also the theme of Thomas Yalden's ode in 1693, the text set to music in 1685 by Nahum Tate develops the same analogy, but on the pastoral mode. The poet thus associates the congregation with the flocks of sheep grazing in the fields, establishing a new link between the verbs "feed", "love" and "play", "play" being of course used to refer to musical playing:

Let your kids and lambkins rove,
 Let them sport or feed at will,
 Grace the vale, or climb the hill;
 Let them feed, or let them love,
 Let them love, or let them stray,
 Let them feed, or let them play;
 Neglect them or guide them,
 No harm shall betide them,
 On bright Cecilia's, bright Cecilia's day. (147)

13 See *ibid.*, p. 171.

In one of the several anonymous poems set by John Blow, musical instruments are explicitly associated with the “dainties” of a delicate meal, the menu of which is scrupulously detailed in the text:

Welcome, welcome, ev’ry guest,
 Welcome to the Muses’ feast!
 Music is your only cheer,
 Music entertains the ear.
 The sacred Nine observe the mode,
 And bring you dainties from abroad;
 The delicious Thracian lute
 And Dodona’s mellow flute,
 With Cremona’s racy fruit.
 At home you have the freshest air,
 Vocal, instrumental fare;
 Our English trumpet nothing has surpast:
 The Carnival has not so rich a taste. (173)

Another ode set by Blow for the 1695 celebration, with text by Motteux, spins out even more explicitly this initial metaphor while also developing the divine function of music, seen as fuel and food to the great machine that constitutes the universe:

Hail, Music! still our Thoughts employ,
 Love’s Food divine, Life’s purest Joy,
 Blest Speech of the Celestial Throng,
 Thou best and universal Song,
 Thou Wing of Zeal, and ev’ry Passion’s Queen,
 Thou Spring, thou Rule, and Soul of Nature’s grand Machine!¹⁴

Similarly, in the text set by Nicola Matteis in 1696, the verb “to taste” is used to refer to the human enjoyment of Heaven, as only music can give a glimpse of:

What mighty Joys from Musick flow!
 Musick the greatest good we Mortals know,
 By which we taste of Heav’n below.¹⁵

14 Quoted in Hopkins 1994, “The London Odes on St Cecilia’s Day”, p. 492.

15 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 493.

It would be tedious to establish a systematic list of similar occurrences but one cannot leave aside *Alexander's Feast*, a poem which uses the background of a banquet as the ideal setting for the musical concert; an event supposed to demonstrate the unlimited power of both secular and religious music. In the course of this multiple "feast", a figure of both the banquet being represented in the poetical work and the real-life concert offered to the congregation, the unexpected arrival of Saint Cecilia allows for a dialectic reflection on the moral and ethical value of the musical art but also leads, in Handel's re-setting of Dryden's text, to an interrogation on the figure of the saint herself.¹⁶

II. The celebration of English music

It is another truism that, in the context of the perception of the values attached to the figure of Cecilia, the celebration of the saint – especially at a time particularly charged in terms of politico-religious issues – was not taken for granted in all quarters. As early as 1692, the French Huguenot Peter Motteux felt obliged to mention, in an issue of *The Gentleman's Journal*, that the Roman saint was not celebrated "thro a Principle of Superstition, but to propagate the advancement of the divine science of music"¹⁷; an idea that Jonathan Swift, who in 1730 objected to the Popish connotations surrounding the celebration of a Roman Catholic saint, obviously did not share:

Grave Dean of St Patrick's, how comes it to pass,
That you know music no more than an ass,
That you who was found writing of Drapiers,
Should lend your cathedral to blowers and scrapers?
To act such an opera once in a year
Is offensive to every true Protestant ear,
With trumpets and fiddles and organs and singing,
Will sure the Pretender and popery bring in.
No Protestant prelate, his Lordship or Grace,
Dare there show his right or most reverend face;

¹⁶ See for instance Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, Cambridge 1995, p. 81–107 (chapter 3, "Music, Morals and Religion").

¹⁷ Peter Motteux, *The Gentleman's Journal* 1 / 1 (1692), p. 4.

How would it pollute their croziers and rochets,
To listen to minims and quavers and crochets?¹⁸

Swift's poem establishes in a fairly direct way the association between Saint Cecilia and Italian opera; an issue that may have more relevance than it seems in one of the last manifestations in honour of Saint Cecilia, Handel's resetting of *Alexander's Feast*, mainly through the adjunction of the Italian cantata *Cecilia, volgi un sguardo* – played during the first performances of Handel's work in 1736 and a piece usually dismissed as a generic oddity or more simply a mere showpiece for the singer Anna Maria Strada del Pò.¹⁹ This cantata, a reshuffling of previously performed Italian works,²⁰ will be used to show to what extent old recipes and formulas could make sense even when they were integrated within a work already based on the recycling of previous textual material.

How can one account for the reappearance or recrudescence of the figure of Saint Cecilia in the 1730s? In his *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, Roger Fiske establishes a possible correlation between the renewal of the odes to Saint Cecilia at the end of the first third of the eighteenth century and the fact that towards the same period English composers started re-using librettos previously set around the beginning of the century.²¹ Fiske thus mentions Thomas Augustine Arne's *Rosamund* (1733), *Comus* (1738) and *The Judgment of Paris* (1742), to say nothing of Handel's *Semele* (1744), the rewriting of which also led to a further thematisation of music.²² It is actually tempting to see in such a coincidence, at a time when English vocal music was recovering from the domination of Italian opera and looking for a new identity, a form of nostalgia for a brighter past when English music could again, after the Elizabethan golden age and the strictures of the Civil War, boast and clamour its identity and its belonging to a national tradition.

18 Jonathan Swift, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Pat Rogers, New Haven 1983, p. 435 ("The Dean to Himself on St Cecilia's Day" [1730]). For the relatively limited importance of the figure of Cecilia in the odes, see Richard Lockett, "St. Cecilia and Music", in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 99 (1972 / 1973), pp. 15–30, pp. 28–29. Throughout his work, Bryan White repeatedly insists on the secular use of the Roman figure (see White 2019, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, passim).

19 See Christopher Hogwood, *Handel*, London 1984, p. 131.

20 For the sources of the cantata, see for instance Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (eds.), *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 130–131, 398.

21 See Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1973, p. 180.

22 See also Pierre Degott, "Handel's *Semele*. A Dual Allegory", in *Goldberg. Early Music Magazine* 49 (2007), pp. 50–61.

One can first highlight the fact that most of these odes refer, in a direct way, to their own rendition, thereby equating the music celebrated in the text with the circumstances of its own production and giving the performance even more weight and actuality. The words for the 1683 ode already seem to welcome, for the twenty years to come, the members of the Musical Society meeting there for the celebration:

Hail, great assembly of Apollo's race!
Hail to this happy place,
This Musical assembly, that seems to be
The ark of universal harmony! (143)

Around 1690, a text written by Samuel Wesley with the allusion to the “annual tribute” also contains an explicit reference to the recurrent nature of the celebration, further reinforcing the identification of the life and blood musicians present on stage with those musicians surrounding the saint. In other words, the celebration of Saint Cecilia is actually more in the form of a self-celebration, or to take up a formulation once used by John Hollander, less “the celebration of singing” than the “singing of that celebration”.²³

Begin, begin the noble song,
Call ev'ry tuneful soul into the ear,
And sweetly chain them there
With numbers soft and strong:
[...]
For these our annual tribute thus we pay,
And thus, fair Saint, we hail thy bright, thy happy day. (157)

It is another striking feature that the verbal texts of some of the seventeenth-century odes also explicitly celebrate, in some way or other, the very Britishness of their own ingredients. Such is the case, for instance, of *Hail, bright Cecilia!*, the famous ode written by Nicholas Brady for Purcell in 1692:

That thine and Music's sacred love
May make the British forest prove
As famous as Dodona's vocal grove. (162)

23 Hollander 1961, *The Untuning of the Sky*, p. 401.

In one of the texts already quoted above and set by Blow, the English trumpet duly celebrated by the poet appears as the ultimate 'dainty' surpassing all others in taste and freshness:

At home you have the freshest air,
Vocal, instrumental fare;
Our English trumpet nothing has surpast:
The Carnival has not so rich a taste. (173)

Other Cecilian odes draw explicit parallels between British valour and the music inspired by Cecilia, thus presenting the saint as a national figure, not only a patroness of music but indirectly a leader in war as seems to be the case for instance of the 1695 ode written by Motteux and set by Blow:

Cecilia did our Art improve.
Our Art encreas'd our sacred Love.
The Charms of Music made her long
To joyn in the Seraphic Song,
And her Example drew the ravisht Throng.
So, when the Trumpet sounds to Arms,
Britons, whom Native Valour warms,
Are doubly fir'd, and doubly run to Arms.
To Arms, they cry, and all around
Ten thousand Braves return the welcome warlike Sound.²⁴

It may be of interest to note that Cecilia's connection with England was somehow fuelled by the probably naïve belief, as formulated in the January 1692 issue of the *The Gentleman's Journal*, that "[s]he was a *Roman* Lady of the Noble Family of the *Cæcilii*, from whence the *Cecils* in *England* are said to be descended."²⁵

Another ode, dating back to Queen Ann's reign, further anglicises Cecilia by linking up the saint and the monarch, again inscribing the former within a resolutely national context. Cecilia is thus presented as the only agent potentially able to assuage, in a time of war and trouble, the mind of the sorely plagued sovereign:

24 Quoted in Hopkins 1994, "The London Odes on St Cecilia's Day", p. 491 (original emphasis).

25 Peter Motteux, *The Gentleman's Journal* 1 / 1 (1692), p. 4 (original emphasis).

Thus royal and triumphant Anna's mind
 From Music does its chief refreshment find;
 All other pleasures pall'd by empire's care,
 Neglected by her, or untasted are.
 Oh may the troubles which disturb the state,
 Fast as her glorious conquest grow, abate;
 May fears, and violence, and party cease,
 And all conspire to court a common peace. (194)

A much later ode by Christopher Smart, dating back to 1744 but not set until 1800,²⁶ goes so far as to make of Cecilia the source of Edmund Waller's poetic inspiration at Penshurst, further endowing the Roman Catholic saint with national attributes. Interestingly enough, Smart's text ends with a stanza explicitly linking Cecilia to Purcell (and not to Handel!). Both figures are apparently portrayed as the champions of a type of music presented as being forceful and meaningful, "mellifluous" yet "manly", "sweet" but "strong". In other words they are presented as a form of music combining sense and sound or as a corrective to another form of music seen as soft, degenerate and lacking in vigour – the Italian opera that was still fashionable in the 1730s and early 1740s:

But hark! the temple's hollow'd roof resounds,
 And Purcell lives along the solemn sounds. –
 Mellifluous, yet manly too,
 He pours his strains along,
 As from the lion Samson slew,
 Comes sweetness from the strong.
 Not like the soft Italian swains,
 He trills the weak enervate strains,
 Where sense and music are at strife;
 His vigorous notes with meaning teem,
 With fire, with force explain the theme,
 And sing the subject into life.
 Attend – he sings Cecilia – matchless dame!
 'Tis she, 'tis she, – fond to extend her fame,
 On the loud chords the notes conspire to stay,

26 See Husk 1857, *Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day*, p. 76.

And sweetly swell into a long delay,
And dwell delighted on her name. (232–233)

Later in the century, the composer Philip Hayes in his *Ode to British Harmony* (1784) clearly and explicitly featured Cecilia as a guide and leader in the development of British music.²⁷

As one can see, far from being the embodiment of music in the widest possible sense, far from being the dangerous papist figure seen by the likes of Swift, Cecilia appears as an emblematic figure of British music or as the very championess of musical creation in Great Britain.

III. The special case of *Cecilia, volgi un sguardo*

In that respect, Handel's setting of *Alexander's Feast* (1736) may be particularly illuminating, especially if one considers the musical additions played during the first performance in order to pad out the programme. As is well-known, Handel not only inserted instrumental concertos to be played at dramatically appropriate places, but he also patched up two previous Italian works so as to come up with a new, original cantata meant to be sandwiched between the two parts of his own setting of Dryden's narrative poem.²⁸

Paradoxically sung in Italian, the lines of the cantata *Cecilia, volgi un sguardo* read like a true manifesto for British music at that time of its history. The verbal text does indeed present itself as an invitation for Cecilia to cast her glance on British soil so that she may see the glorious musical past of the nation, now in the process of renewing a long-lost tradition:

²⁷ See Simon Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes*, New York 1995, p. 219.

²⁸ See particularly Winton Dean, "An Unrecognized Handel Singer. Carlo Arrigoni", in *Musical Times* 118 (1977), pp. 556–58 and Donald Burrows, "The Composition and First Performance of Handel's *Alexander's Feast*", in *Music and Letters* 64 / 3–4 (1983), pp. 206–211.

Cecilia volgi un sguardo	Cecilia, cast a glance
Verso il suolo Britanno, e scorgerai	Upon the land of Britain, and you will see
Che con sonori accenti	That in sonorous strains
Rinova in questo giorno	It renews on this day
Del nume tuo sì caro	The pleasing memory
La gradita memoria,	Of your name so dear,
Per celebrar della virtù la gloria. ²⁹	To celebrate the glory of virtue. ³⁰

A few lines further down, the words of the cantata metonymically allude to the rich past of Great Britain, a fact that can also be seen as an invitation to consider Britain’s musical past and therefore implicitly as a statement on the nation’s present capacity to equal and emulate the musical glory of past centuries:

Carco sempre di gloria	Always a bearer of glory
Fù l’altero Tamigi,	Was the proud Thames,
Ed emulò nella virtù nel merto	And it matched in virtue and merit
I secoli passati; ³¹	past ages.

Similarly, in the tradition of the Cecilian self-celebration, “Armonica Cecilia” is requested to allow her eminent disciples – all British we assume – to match her merits and to surpass her own achievements:

Tu, Armonica Cecilia,	You, harmonious Cecilia,
Che rapisti col Canto,	Who ravished with your singing,
Che incantasti col suono,	Who enchanted with your playing,
Fà pur che sia concesso	Let it be granted to this gathering of your
A questo stuol de tuoi seguaci egregi	worthy followers
Imitarne i tuoi pregi,	That they may imitate your merits,
Perche un nobil natale	For a noble birth becomes obscure
Si rende oscur senza virtute Uguaile. ³²	Without Virtue to match.

Considering the artistic context of the 1730s, and taking account of Handel’s aesthetic options at that time of his career, one might indeed be tempted to

29 Quoted in Myers 1956, *Handel, Dryden and Milton*, p. 95.
30 Translation by Anthony Hicks, as printed in the liner notes to the 2004 CD recording issued by Hyperion, CDA67463.
31 Quoted in Myers 1956, *Handel, Dryden and Milton*, p. 96.
32 Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 95–96.

see in this noble birth (“nobil natale”) the outcome of the new musical genre of the English oratorio (at which Handel himself had only recently tried his hand) as a genre of which *Alexander’s Feast* can be seen as a notable landmark (even though it is not an oratorio in the proper sense of the term), and to which it certainly paved the way. At a time when the composer’s musical choices seemed to flutter between his long-lasting love for Italian opera on the one hand and the temptation to give in to the general call for music set on English words on the other, the insertion of an Italian cantata devoted to the praise of British music in the midst of a resolutely British work can hardly be regarded as insignificant.

In the new context of Dryden’s ode, re-set in a musical climate very much marked by the hectic but impassioned background of the Italian opera – in 1736 the competition with the rival opera company was at its highest – the contrast between the pagan figure of the musician Timotheus, appealing to the more passionate instincts of the human mind, and that of the Christian saint, an incarnation of religious faith and spiritual aspirations, may well take up further meaning – at least if one agrees to take this opposition as an allegorical representation of the opera / oratorio dichotomy that was beginning to be an issue at that time of Handel’s career. The rather incongruous introduction of the Italian cantata, right in the middle of the pagan part of the work, thus seems to crystallise some of the aesthetic tensions inherent, at that time, to the world of English music and to add up to the many ambiguities and complexities of Dryden’s poem.³³

If Dryden’s conclusive stanza seems to point to the difficulty of making a clear-cut choice (“Let old Timotheus yield the Prize, / Or Both divide the Crown”),³⁴ the intrusion of the Italian text in praise of British music further underlines the difficulty of burning one’s old idols. In 1736, Handel, who himself was to be repeatedly compared to Timotheus,³⁵ was far from considering the possibility of giving up Italian opera. It may however be of some interest to point out that for later performances, perhaps when the praise and defence of British music was no longer regarded as a necessity, Handel’s *Alexander’s Feast* was occasionally billed with other works dealing with the difficulty of making definitive choices and opting for a single way. Such was

33 See Smith 1978, “The Arguments and Contexts of Dryden’s *Alexander’s Feast*”, pp. 465–490.

34 Quoted in Myers 1956, *Handel, Dryden and Milton*, p. 104.

35 R. J. Merrett, “England’s Orpheus. Praise of Handel in Eighteenth-Century Poetry”, in *Mosaic (Winnipeg)* 20 / 2 (1987), pp. 97–110.

the case for Handel's *Choice of Hercules*, when the new piece was presented in 1751 as "an additional New Act" to *Alexander's Feast*, sometimes even as "Act the Third",³⁶ as if it were the logical and natural continuation of the main piece. In that respect the first production of Arne's *Judgment of Paris*, given as an afterpiece to *Alexander's Feast* on 26 March 1742, also suggests new possibilities of interpretation. In all these occurrences, the rewriting of a previously set text was implicitly associated with circumstances in which making a choice was a burning issue. Whether British music was to stick to its traditional specificities or whether it was to keep on following continental trends as had been its wont in the recent past, was a problem that remained unsolved for many decades to come. In any event, in the instances that have been noted one cannot overlook the fact that rewriting and resetting previously existing texts was indirectly associated with the circumstances dealing with the issue of Britishness in music.

In his seminal study of the Augustan odes to Saint Cecilia, William Henry Husk once pointed out that the end of the Cecilian celebrations in the early eighteenth century somehow coincided with the arrival of Italian opera on the London musical scene.³⁷ If Italian opera may have ousted – at least temporarily – what we can be tempted to call the patroness of English music, the conspicuous return of the saint in the 1730s certainly marks a new stage in the development of British music, or music in Britain.³⁸ In the case of the Italian cantata, paradoxically inserted in the middle of Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, the reappearance of the Christian saint brings further dynamism to the inner contradictions of English musical life in the first half of the eighteenth century. Without going so far as to suggest that the re-emergence of the saint could be seen as an announcement of the new English oratorio, it is tempting to translate in generic terms what explicitly comes out as a pagan / Christian dichotomy. Handel's later oratorio production, with its self-contained celebrations of music and heavy musical thematisation, was also decipherable along similar lines.³⁹

36 See [John Dryden, Newburgh Hamilton and Thomas Morell], *Alexander's Feast. Or, the Power of Musick. An Ode Wrote in Honour of St. Cecilia, Written by Mr. Dryden. And an Additional New Act, Call'd The Choice of Hercules, Both Set to Music by Mr. Handel*, London 1751, p. 15.

37 Husk 1857, *Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day*, p. 55.

38 For the resurgence of Cecilian odes in the eighteenth century, see White 2019, *Music for St Cecilia's Day*, pp. 308–348.

39 See Pierre Degott, *Haendel et ses oratorios. Des mots pour les notes*, Paris 2001.

What the present paper has tried to show in any event is that the poets' attitude to music seems to have been more lenient towards the middle of the eighteenth century, even though an essayist like James Harris still advocated the idea of the superiority of poetry in the 1740s. The advent of the sentimentalist current, the very acceptance of the mere notion of emotion and above all the belief in the power of music to stimulate and to encourage such emotions were indeed parameters that brought about that remarkable change of paradigms. Similarly, the arrival of imported musical forms like the Italian opera on the English stage was also a factor that helped redefine national characteristics. If the eighteenth century has sometimes been seen as the time of the construction of the British nation, and especially of a feeling of national identity,⁴⁰ the issue of Englishness in the sister arts became more central towards the end of the period covered by the present publication.

40 See Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, London 1992.

Abbreviations

D-Hs	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Hamburg
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
GB-Cjc	St John’s College, Cambridge
GB-DRc	Cathedral Library, Durham
GB-Lbl	The British Library, London
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London

Illustrations, Tables and Music Examples

4.1	Title-page from Brook Taylor’s papers on music theory, GB-Cjc TaylorB/B; reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of St John’s College, Cambridge	69
6.1	Analogies in Charles Avison’s <i>Essay on Musical Expression</i> (1753), part 1, section 2	101
7.1	John Geoghegan, <i>The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe</i> , London n. d., frontispiece; courtesy of Ross Anderson	119
7.2	Antique Pastoral Pipes with one regulator, no maker’s mark, perhaps made in Edinburgh or Northumbria, c. 1800–1820?; author’s collection	123

7.3	Pastoral Pipes made by Jon Swayne, Baltonsborough, 2017, modeled on a late-eighteenth century instrument by Hugh Robertson, Edinburgh; author's collection	123
8.1	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Vò solcando“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 155, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	151
8.2	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, Sinfonia, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 1, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	151
8.3	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, Sinfonia, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 5v–6r, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	152
8.4	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Con si bel nome“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 12v, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	153
8.5	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Con si bel nome“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 17v–18r, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	153
8.6	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Un raggio di speme“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 25r, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	154

8.7	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Un raggio di speme“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 26, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	154
8.8	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Non paventa“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 38, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	155
8.9	transcribed excerpt from G. F. Handel, „Non paventa“, <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732, D-Hs, MA 1012, fol. 40, in digital edition of <i>Il Catone Opera</i> , London 1732 (D-Hs, MA 1012), eds. Martin Albrecht-Hohmaier and Berthold Over; edition.pasticcio-project.eu	155
9.1	Anthony L'Abbé, „The Loure“ (c. 1725); Universität Salzburg, Derra de Moroda Dance Archives, DdM 4718	159
9.2	Playbill for Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1718); © Victoria and Albert Museum, London	160
9.3	Giuseppe Grisoni, <i>A Masquerade Ball at the Kings Theatre, Haymarket, the 'Opera House'</i> (c. 1724); © Victoria and Albert Museum, London	166
9.4	(Artist unknown), <i>Arlequin – Rich</i> (1753); © Victoria and Albert Museum, London	170
9.5	Title page of Henry Fielding's <i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> (1744); Barbara Segal's copy	174
9.6	William Hogarth, <i>Masquerades and Operas, Burlington Gate</i> (c. 1724); © The Trustees of the British Museum	175
9.7	Dutch fairground acrobat, detail from (artist unknown), <i>Toverkaart of geneesmiddel voor de windbreuken</i> (1720)	178

10.1	Author's transcription of Henry Purcell, "Since time so kind", from <i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices</i> , London "1701, No. 46	184
10.2	Author's transcription of Henry Purcell, "Young John the Gard'ner", from <i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices</i> , London "1701, No. 35	185
10.3	Author's transcription of Henry Purcell, "The London Constable", from <i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices</i> , London "1701, No. 48	186
10.4	Author's transcription of Henry Purcell, "Pox on you", from <i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices</i> , London "1701, No. 59	187
10.5	Author's transcription of Henry Purcell, "Young Collin cleaving of a Beam", from <i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices</i> , London "1701, No. 41	189
10.6	Author's transcription of Henry Purcell, "Jack thou'rt a Toper", from <i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion. Being a Choice Collection of Catches, for Three or Four Voices</i> , London "1701, No. 21	191

Notes on Contributors

Alexander Aichele (Priv. Doz. Dr. phil. habil. M. A.) is a private lecturer of philosophy at the University of Halle and also works freelance as consulting philosopher. His main scientific interests include metaphysics, logic, aesthetics, epistemology, theory of action, philosophy of law and political philosophy. His recent publications are *Wahrscheinliche Weltweisheit: A. G. Baumgartens Metaphysik des Erkennens und Handelns* (Meiner 2017), *Rechtsgeschichte* (C. H. Beck 2016) and his upcoming *Deutsch Denken – Die Neue Rechte und ihre Philosophie* (Metzler 2021). For more information see <https://arkesilaos.jimdofree.com>.

John Brewer is the Eli and Edythe Broad Professor Emeritus in Humanities and Social Sciences at the California Institute of Technology, and Faculty Associate of the History Department, Harvard University. He is the author of several books on British eighteenth-century culture and society, including *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the 18th Century*, which was awarded the Wolfson History Prize and was a National Book Awards Nominee in the US. He is currently writing a book on Vesuvius and Naples in the Romantic era. For more information see <https://www.hss.caltech.edu/people/john-brewer>.

Pierre Degott is Professor in English Studies at the Université de Lorraine in Metz, where he mainly teaches eighteenth-century literature. His PhD (published at Éditions L'Harmattan) was a study on the themes and poetics of Handel's oratorio librettis. His current research is on the following subjects: 1. librettology and the reflexivity of the sung text; 2. the representation of musical and operatic performances in Anglo-Saxon fiction; 3. opera and oratorio in translation. Even though his research covers all eras concerned by operatic practise, he mainly concentrates on eighteenth-century musical forms (opera, semi-opera, oratorio, odes, ballad-opera, musical plays...). He has published about a hundred academic articles and organised several conferences, mainly on musico-literary subjects. He is currently the Dean of the UFR Arts, Lettres et Langues in Metz. For more information see <http://idea-udl.org/members/degott/>.

Tim Eggington is Fellow Librarian at Queens' College, Cambridge, where he also teaches music history. His research focuses mainly on music, music historiography and theorising in eighteenth-century England. Tim became interested in the role of English musicians in the revival of Renaissance music that took place in eighteenth-century England during his nine years working as a curator of early manuscripts and prints in the library at the Royal College of Music, London. Tim's research continues to explore the culture of early music collecting and editing that flourished amongst eighteenth-century English composers together with their music and theoretical concerns. Current research projects include an edition of Benjamin Cooke's extended orchestral ode setting of William Collins's "Ode on the Passions" for publication in the *Music Britannica* series. Past publications include his book, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014). For more information see <https://www.queens.cam.ac.uk/dr-tim-eggington>.

Christoph Heyl is Chair of British Literature and Culture at the University of Duisburg-Essen. His research focuses on the interplay between literature and cultural history (including music, the visual arts and architecture). He has worked on topics such as the rise of the private sphere in eighteenth-century London, collections and collectors in seventeenth-century England, Scottish literature and identity, perceptions of India and the Great Fire of London, and he is also a collector, restorer and player of early woodwind instruments. His latest publication is *Kleine Englische Literaturgeschichte* (Metzler, 2020). For more information see <https://www.uni-due.de/anglistik/hey/>.

Ina Knoth is a postdoctoral researcher at the Universität Hamburg, working on a project on music listening in England, c.1670–1750, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). She studied musicology at the Hochschule für Musik FRANZ LISZT Weimar as well as English literature and economics at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. As a recipient of a Georg-Christoph-Lichtenberg scholarship she finished her dissertation on Paul Hindemith's *Harmonie der Welt* at the Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg in 2014. She held posts as lecturer at the Universität Oldenburg as well as the Universität Hamburg and as Academic Visitor at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her publications focus on Hindemith, English music culture around 1700 and the history and sociology of German musicology. For more information see <https://www.kulturwissenschaften.uni-hamburg.de/hm/personen/knoth.html>.

Paul Labelle is a doctoral researcher in the DFG-Graduiertenkolleg 2291 “Gegenwart / Literatur. Geschichte, Theorie und Praxeologie eines Verhältnisses” at the University of Bonn. He studied classical guitar at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester and historical musicology at the University of Hamburg. His research interests include music and institutions, semiotics of music, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British music, and musical modernism. For more information see https://www.grk2291.uni-bonn.de/de/Personen/DoktorandInnen/Paul_Labelle.

Gesa zur Nieden is a Professor of Musicology at the University of Greifswald and a Deputy Professor at the Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media. After completing her German and French doctoral studies on the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris, she worked as a research fellow at the German Historical Institute in Rome and as a Junior Professor at the University of Mainz. She was the German director of the ANR / DFG project *MUSICI. European Musicians in Venice, Rome and Naples (1650–1750)* from 2010 to 2013, and has been a leader of the HERA project *MusMig. Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South* since the middle of 2013. Currently she directs the DFG / NCN project *PASTICCIO. Ways of Arranging Attractive Operas* in cooperation with Aneta Markuszewska from the University of Warsaw. The main focus of her research is on the cultural history of music and on the sociology of music, especially in relation to music and mobility in early modern Europe, and on ethnographical research into the contemporary reception of Richard Wagner and his music. For more information see <https://musik.uni-greifswald.de/personen-ensembles/personen/zurnieden/>.

Barbara Segal is a performer, teacher and historian of dance from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. She is director of *Chalemie*, a group specialising in early dance and music theatre. She has performed and taught throughout Europe, the Baltic States, Russia, the USA and Australia. She has toured for the Early Music Network and the British Council, and has taught historical dance at the Royal Academy of Dance for their B. A. (Hons) degree in Ballet Education. She organises and teaches at the *Chalemie* Easter School at Oxford each year. Currently she is organiser of the Early Dance Circle Biennial Conferences and together with Bill Tuck has edited the Proceedings for the past eight years. Barbara gives lectures on early dance and allied topics for both academic institutions and other interested groups, and she has trained singers in baroque gesture. In 2018 the Early Dance Circle presented Barbara with the Peggy Dixon Award for Outstanding Services to Early Dance. She holds a PhD from London University. For more information see www.baroquedance.co.uk.

Melanie Unseld is Professor of Historical Musicology at the University for Music and the performing Arts in Vienna since 2016. She studied musicology, literature, philosophy, and applied cultural studies in Karlsruhe and Hamburg. From 2002 to 2004 she was a fellow in the Lise Meitner Special Funding Program (funding for a habilitation project), from 2005 to 2008 a research assistant at the Hanover University of Music, Drama, and Media, and from 2006 on at the Research Centre for Music and Gender of the same institution. From 2008 to 2016 she held the chair of cultural history of music at the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg, where she also served from 2009 to 2015 as director of the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Women and Gender (ZFG). In 2013 she completed her habilitation qualification at the Hanover University of Music, Drama, and Media with a thesis on biography and music history. From 2013 to 2015 she served as vice dean of Faculty III at the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg and from 2015 to 2016 as dean. In 2019 she was elected as a corresponding member of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW). Her research interests include biographies, gender studies, memory studies, and cultural musicology. For more information see https://www.mdw.ac.at/imi/melanie_unseld/.

Index

L'Abbé, Anthony (1667?–after 1756?) 158–159, 163, 167	Avison, Charles (c. 1710–1770) 9, 13, 17–18, 29, 41, 44, 75–78, 84–93, 95, 98–105, 107–108, 110, 112
Addison, Joseph (1672–1719) 2, 6, 60, 76–77, 91–92	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714–1788) 51
Aglionby, William (1641–1705) 97, 103	Bacon, Francis (Viscount St Alban; 1561–1626) 68
Aguiari, Lucrezia (1743–1783) 51	Ballon, Claude (1671–1744) 158
Aldrich, Henry (1648–1710) 196	Banister, John (1630–1679) 7, 27
Angiolini, Gasparo (1731–1803) 176	Barber, Joseph (1706–1781) 99
Anne (Queen; 1665–1714) 27	Bartleman, James (1769–1821) 73
Aristotle (384–322 BCE) 100	Bassano (family) 41
Aristoxenus (c. 375– fl. 335 BCE) 100	Beaumont, Francis (1584–1616) 189–190
Arne (family) 41, 48	Beethoven (family) 41
Arne, Thomas Augustine (1710–1778) 48, 172, 208, 215	Betterton, Thomas (1635–1710) 161–163
Arnold, Samuel (1740–1802) 73	Birch, Thomas (1705–1766) 68
Avaux, Félibien des (1619–1695) 134	Bisse, Thomas (1675–1731) 18–19
Avison (family) 29, 41	

- Blow, John (1649–1708)
196, 206, 210
- Bononcini, Giovanni (1670–1747)
27, 63
- Booth, Barton (1682–1733)
26
- Boyce, William (1711–1779)
65–66, 69, 72–73
- Boyle, Richard (Third Earl
of Burlington; 1694–1753)
29
- Brady, Nicholas (1659–1726)
209
- Brandes (family)
44
- Bray, Thomas (1656 / 1658–1730)
165
- Brown, John (1715–1766)
99
- Brydges, James (First Duke
of Chandos; 1674–1744)
29, 64
- Buchanan, George (1506–1582)
188
- Burgh, James (1714–1775)
19–20
- Burke, Edmund (1729 / 1730–1797)
19, 23
- Burney (family)
41, 48–56
- Burney, Charles (1726–1814)
71, 144, 168
- Burney, Susan (Phillips; 1755–1800)
50–53
- Burns, Robert (1759–1796)
129
- Callcott, John Wall (1766–1821)
73
- Campra, André (1660–1744)
172
- Cannabich (family)
41
- Carey, Henry (1687–1743)
172
- Carr, John (fl. 1672–1695)
196–197
- Castel, Louis Bertrand (1688–1757)
107–109
- Cave, Edward (1691–1754)
3
- Chambers, Ephraim (1680?–1740)
38
- Chambers, Isabella (unknown)
172
- Channell, Luke (unknown)
161
- Charles II (1630–1685)
27
- Churchill, Sarah (Duchess
of Marlborough; 1660–1744)
163–164
- Cianchetti (family)
46–47
- Cibber, Colley (1671–1757)
26, 172, 179
- Clive, Kitty (Catherine; 1711–1785)
30
- Collier, Jeremy (1650–1726)
19–20
- Coltellini (family)
41
- Congreve, William (1670–1729)
160, 173

- Cooke, Benjamin (1734–1793)
65, 69, 72–73
- Corelli, Arcangelo (1653–1713)
60–61
- Corri (family)
41, 46–47
- Couperin (family)
41, 46
- Cramer (family)
41
- Cramer, Johann Baptist (1771–1858)
47
- Cramer, Wilhelm (1746–1799)
52–53
- Crisp, Samuel (1707–1783)
51
- Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658)
163
- Crowne, John (1641–1712)
27
- Davenant, William (1606–1668)
161
- Defoe, Daniel (1660?–1731)
4
- Dennis, John (1658–1734)
200–201
- des Prez, Josquin → Josquin
- Dryden, John (1631–1700)
18, 161–162, 173, 201–203, 207, 212–214
- Dubos, Jean-Baptiste (1670–1742)
69–70
- Dürer, Albrecht (1471–1528)
100, 110
- Dussek (family)
41, 46–47
- Dyck, Anthony van (1599–1641)
60
- Eccles, John (c. 1668–1735)
161
- Evans, Susanna (unknown)
159
- Fielding, Henry (1707–1754)
173–174
- Finger, Gottfried (c. 1660–1730)
204
- Fishburn, Christopher (fl. 1678–1698)
204
- Fletcher, John (1579–1625)
158, 189–192
- Fritsch, John Frederick (unknown)
98
- Galliard, John Ernest (1666? / 1687?–1747)
62–63, 172
- Garrick, David (1717–1779)
21
- Gates, Bernard (1686–1773)
57, 71
- Gautherot, Louise (1763–1808)
52–53
- Gay, John (1685–1732)
6, 25, 64, 129
- Geminiani, Francesco (1687–1762)
48, 63
- Geoghegan, John (unknown)
117–122, 124–128
- George I (1660–1727)
27
- George II (1683–1760)
26, 164

- Gibbons (family)
41
- Gismondi, Celeste (d. 1735)
145
- Goupy, Joseph (1689–1769)
142–146, 150
- Grabu, Louis (fl. 1665–1694)
162
- Gray, Thomas (1716–1771)
99
- Greatorex, Thomas (1758–1831)
73
- Greene, Maurice (1696–1755)
62, 65, 71
- Greville, Fulke (1717–c. 1805)
48
- Grisoni, Giuseppe (1699–1769)
166
- Guadagnini (family)
41
- Hallam (family)
42
- Hamilton (family)
41
- Hamilton, Newburgh (fl. 1712–1759)
213–215
- Handel, George Frideric (1685–1759)
10, 20, 24–25, 29, 48, 57, 64, 66–67, 71, 105,
134, 141–155, 164, 167, 202–203, 207–208,
211–215
- Harris, James (1709–1780)
69–70, 199, 216
- Hasse, Johann Adolf (1699–1783)
148–149
- Hawkins, John (1719–1789)
61, 64–67, 195
- Hay, Andrew (fl. 1710–1754)
23
- Hayes, Philip (1738–1797)
212
- Hayes, William (c. 1708–1777)
98
- Haym, Nicola Francesco (1678–1729)
59, 62
- Heidegger, John Jacob (1666–1749)
20, 23, 166, 173
- Hill, Aaron (1685–1750)
21, 200
- Hoadly, Benjamin (1706–1757)
105
- Hogarth, William (1697–1764)
49, 95, 98, 104–113, 118, 125, 134, 139–141,
143–146, 149–150, 173, 175
- Horace (65–8 BCE)
199
- Hume, David (1711–1776)
77, 93, 95–96
- Hutcheson, Francis (1694–1746)
18, 77, 92, 95–96
- Isaack, Bartholomew (1661–1709)
187–188
- Jackson, William (1730–1803)
181
- Johnson, Ben (1572–1637)
173
- Johnson, Samuel (1709–1784)
17
- Jones, Richard (d. 1744)
172
- Jortin, John (1698–1770)
99

- Josquin (des Prez; c. 1450–1521)
59
- Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804)
78
- Keeble, John (1711–1786)
69, 72–73
- Kemble (family)
42
- Kent, James (1700–1776)
73
- Kircher, Athanasius (1602–1680)
100–101, 108
- Kneller, Godfrey (1646–1723)
60
- Laguerre, John (c. 1700–1748)
172
- Lairesse, Gérard de (1641–1711)
98
- Lampe, John Frederick (1702 / 1703–1751)
98
- Lassus, Orlande de (c. 1532–1594)
59, 66
- Le Sage, Alain René (1668–1747)
23
- Leo, Leonardo (1694–1744)
144, 148–149
- Leveridge, Richard (1670–1758)
172
- Linley, Thomas (1733–1795)
73
- Lobo, Alonso (1555–1617)
66
- Locke, John (1632–1704)
5, 9, 75–88, 90–93, 134, 137–141, 143
- Locke, Matthew (c. 1621–3?–1677)
161
- Lockman, John (1698–1771)
22–24
- Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo (1538–1592)
100, 110
- Lotti, Antonio (1660–1740)
58, 63, 66
- Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632–1687)
172
- Macpherson, James (1736–1796)
130
- Marenzio, Luca (1553 / 1554–1599)
58
- Marivaux, Pierre Carlet de (1688–1763)
23
- Mason, William (1724–1797)
99
- Matteis, Nicola (d. after 1713)
206
- Mattheson, Johann (1681–1764)
70, 76
- Metastasio, Pietro (1698–1782)
145
- Miller, James (1704–1744)
20–22, 24–25, 173
- Milton, John (1608–1674)
60
- Moivre, Abraham de (1667–1754)
71
- Morell, Thomas (1703–1784)
105, 215
- Motteux, Peter Anthony (1663–1718)
204–207, 210
- Mouton, Jean (c. 1459–1522)
66

- Mozart (family)
41
- Nares, James (1715–1783)
73
- Needler, Henry (1685?–1760)
66
- Newton, Isaac (1642–1727)
68, 77, 107
- Noverre, Jean-Georges (1727–1810)
176
- Nugent, Thomas (c. 1700–1772)
70
- Nutt, John (d. 1716)
135
- O’Carolan, Turlough (1670–1738)
128
- O’Farrell, Patrick (unknown)
130–131
- Oldham, John (1653–1683)
204
- Overend, Marmaduke (d. 1790)
69
- Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da
(1525 / 1526–1594)
58–59, 66–67
- Pepusch, John Christopher (1667–1752)
60, 62–65, 68–69, 71–73, 97
- Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (1710–1736)
66–67
- Piles, Roger de (1635–1709)
97, 101–104, 134–147, 149–150
- Plato (429?–347 BCE)
100
- Playford, Henry (1657–1709)
97, 165, 195
- Playford, John (1623–1686 / 1687)
165
- Polybius (c. 200–c. 118 BCE)
99
- Pond, Arthur (1701–1758)
24
- Porpora, Nicola (1686–1768)
148–149
- Priest, Josias (c. 1645–1735)
161–162, 164
- Purcell (family)
41
- Purcell, Daniel (c. 1664–1717)
161
- Purcell, Henry (1659–1695)
27, 60–61, 97, 161–162, 164–165, 182–191,
193–194, 196–197, 204, 209, 211
- Pythagoras (570–c. 490 BCE)
100
- Ralph, James (d. 1762)
105, 168
- Ramsay, Allan (1684–1758)
129
- Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino;
1483–1520)
61
- Ravenscroft, Edward (c. 1654–1707)
189, 193
- Ravenscroft, Thomas (1592?–1635)
128, 192
- Reeve, William (1757–1815)
129–130
- Rich, John (1692–1761)
20–21, 23, 26, 167–172, 179

- Richardson, Jonathan (1667–1745)
97, 102–104
- Ries (family)
41
- Rouquet, Jean André (1701–1758)
6
- Rowe, Nicholas (1674–1718)
161
- Rubens, Peter Paul (1577–1640)
60
- Salomon, Johann Peter (1745–1815)
52
- Sallé, Marie (1709–1756)
164, 171
- Savage, John (fl. 1683–1701)
97
- Senesino (Francesco Bernardi; d. 1759)
63, 148
- Seymour, Francis (1590?–1664)
26
- Shadwell, Thomas (c. 1640–1692)
161
- Shaftesbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper,
Third Earl of Shaftesbury; 1671–1713)
5, 15, 17–18, 77, 92, 95–99
- Shaftoe, Robert (unknown)
99
- Shakespeare, William (c. 1564–1616)
60, 161, 164, 173, 192–193
- Shore, John (Showers; c. 1662–1752)
204
- Siddons (family)
42
- Simpson, Christopher (c. 1602–1669)
97
- Simpson, John (d. c. 1749)
126–127
- Sirmen, Maddalena (née Lombardini;
1745–1818)
53
- Smart, Christopher (1722–1771)
211
- Smith, John Stafford (1750–1836)
73
- Spenser, Edmund (c. 1552–1599)
60
- Staggins, Nicholas (d. 1700)
27
- Stamitz (family)
41
- Steele, Richard (c. 1672–1729)
2, 16, 26, 176
- Stein-Streicher (family)
41
- Steffani, Agostino (1654–1728)
59, 62–63, 66–67, 70
- Stevens, Richard John Samuel (1757–
1837)
73
- Storace (family)
41
- Strada del Pò, Anna Maria (fl. 1719–1741)
145, 148, 208
- Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)
6, 207–208, 212
- Tate, Nahum (c. 1652–1715)
205
- Taylor, Brook (1685–1731)
68–69
- Tomkins (family)
41

- Tonson, Jacob (1655 / 1656–1736)
23
- Townley, James (1714–1778)
105
- Travers, John (1703?–1758)
69, 72
- Tyers, Jonathan (1702–1767)
22–23
- d’Urfey, Thomas (1653?–1723)
188–189, 193–194
- Vasari, Giorgio (1511–1574)
97, 103
- Vinci, Leonardo (1696?–1730)
145–150
- Virgil (70–19 BCE)
61
- Voltaire (1694–1778)
23
- Waller, Edmund (1606–1687)
211
- Walsh, John (1665 / 1666–1736)
144–145
- Weaver, John (1673–1760)
171, 176–179
- Wesley, Samuel (1662–1735)
209
- Wilks, Robert (c. 1665–1732)
26
- William III (1650–1702)
27, 158
- Yalden, Thomas (1670–1736)
205
- Young, Edward (1683–1765)
21
- Zarlino, Gioseffo (1517–1590)
100–101, 108